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兩岸大學生交流之近期發展與潛在衝擊之評估(第2年)

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中文摘要：兩岸交流(Cross-strait exchanges)不僅是認識雙方發展的重要途徑，也可透過彼此的軟實力(soft power)，影響對方原有的認知與態度。然而，根據最近的研究顯示，兩岸大學生對社會重大事件，出現相當不同的認知與態度。為此，本研究擬針對 2011 年正式開放陸生來台以後，臺海兩岸大學生交流的變化，以及雙方返國就業狀況進行調查，彙整兩岸陸生與台生之相關論文與專題研究報告，進行後設分析。本研究以兩年為期，透過文獻分析、比較方法、深度訪談、焦點座談與問卷調查方法，等進行資料蒐集與分析。期望研究成果有助於未來兩岸大學招生與交流，建立風險評估機制，並提供我方招收陸生之政策參考。研究中以Allport的族群接觸假設，來檢視陸生來台的滿意度及生活經驗的變化情形，結果發現隨著來台時間的長短會影響陸生來台學習與生活經驗之滿意度。在上述族群接觸理論中的四個重要前提分別為對等的平等的關係、共同的目標、合作的機會以及上述三種關係都是獲得法律等合理的保障。在檢視陸生來台的關係上發現，儘管上述四個前提尤其是在第一個平等的地位上，由於陸生三法中對於陸生有所謂三限六不等限制，儘管這些法令有逐漸鬆綁與增加對陸生保障之權益，但整個立法仍然具有差別待遇之意味，因此在這一方面陸生始終認為在台地位仍有待改善。至於其他的三個前提則大致符合上述假設。此外陸生族群中以來台低於一年的交換生滿意度最高，大學生與研究生通常有滿意度逐年下降的情況，直到第四年之後滿意度才又開始逐漸回升，至於這樣的改變，與陸生本身的性格生活遭遇及對兩岸關係的發展有關。至於台生方面，則隨著大陸經濟發展的影響，有更多前進大陸求學與就業發展的需求。從本研究中可以看出兩岸大學生交流不但可以促進彼此的了解，也會受到一些重大的社會事件而影響，在政策制定上需要做長期的追蹤與評估。

中文關鍵詞：兩岸關係，陸生，接觸假設，文教交流，台灣高等教育機構

英文摘要：Recent changes in the political atmosphere between China and Taiwan have allowed for the recruitment of Chinese university students in Taiwan. Since September 2011, thousands of Chinese degree-seeking students have been admitted to Taiwanese universities. While short-term cross-strait educational exchange programs began in the late 1990s and increased over the years, the enrolment of Chinese degree-seeking students marks a new milestone in the development of cross-strait relations. Despite the political and ideological rivalry between China and Taiwan, studies show that cross-strait educational exchanges have enhanced mutual understanding and changed attitudes of people on both sides. This chapter uses the four conditions of Allport's Contact Hypothesis - equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support by authorities - as a theoretical lens for understanding the experiences

of Chinese university students studying in Taiwan, focusing in particular on how the cultural and educational exchanges affect the individuals involved as well as their societies and cross-strait relations more broadly. It argues that the four conditions have each been met to varying extents and explores the ways in which the exchanges have and have not achieved this. It also finds that the exchanges have been influential for those involved but that they will have to continue for longer before their effects on policies or the political discourse on cross-strait relations will become apparent.

英文關鍵詞：cross-strait relations, Chinese university students, contact hypothesis, cultural exchange, educational exchange, Taiwanese universities

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Abstract

Recent changes in the political atmosphere between China and Taiwan have allowed for the recruitment of Chinese university students in Taiwan. Since September 2011, thousands of Chinese degree-seeking students have been admitted to Taiwanese universities. While short-term cross-strait educational exchange programs began in the late 1990s and increased over the years, the enrolment of Chinese degree-seeking students marks a new milestone in the development of cross-strait relations. Despite the political and ideological rivalry between China and Taiwan, studies show that cross-strait educational exchanges have enhanced mutual understanding and changed attitudes of people on both sides. This chapter uses the four conditions of Allport's Contact Hypothesis – equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support by authorities – as a theoretical lens for understanding the experiences of Chinese university students studying in Taiwan, focusing in particular on how the cultural and educational exchanges affect the individuals involved as well as their societies and cross-strait relations more broadly. It argues that the four conditions have each been met to varying extents and explores the ways in which the exchanges have and have not achieved this. It also finds that the exchanges have been influential for those involved but that they will have to continue for longer before their effects on policies or the political discourse on cross-strait relations will become apparent.

Keywords: cross-strait relations, Chinese university students, contact hypothesis, cultural exchange, educational exchange, Taiwanese universities

Introduction

Throughout history, conflict has often been a byproduct of misunderstandings and an inadequate exchange of ideas between societies. In many instances, tensions between societies in conflict have been improved through a better flow of ideas and people. In the case of relations between China and Taiwan, exchanges of any kind have been severely limited since the Chinese Civil War, which resulted in the Kuomintang-led government of the Republic of China (ROC) relocating to Taiwan and the establishment of the Communist-led People's Republic of China (PRC) in mainland China in 1949. The first proposal to lift restrictions was made by Beijing in 1979. Known as the "three links" (三通), it proposed that Taiwan and China open each other's borders to postal services, transportation, and trade, but this was firmly rebuffed by the ROC government under President Chiang Ching-kuo with its "three-noes policy" (三不政策) of "no contact, no compromise, and no negotiation" with the communist government.

Today, political animosity continues to hinder cooperation and exchanges between the two rivals, but considerable progress has been made since educational and other forms of people-to-people exchanges began in the 1990s. This chapter argues that, in the cross-strait context, the four conditions for optimal contact stipulated by Allport (1954) and refined by many scholars since have been met to varying degrees. Although participants in cross-strait cultural and educational exchanges face many challenges and limitations, evidence suggests that Chinese students studying in Taiwanese universities have, on the whole, been satisfied by their exchange experiences. Chinese students in Taiwanese universities have been able to form positive relationships with their Taiwanese peers and professors, and through these experiences, they have gained clearer understandings of Taiwanese values and lifestyles and a deeper appreciation for the political realities that color cross-strait relations. These relationships and experiences lay the basic groundwork for improved relations between the two societies, but it is likely that much more time – perhaps decades – is needed before the

impacts of these educational exchanges will become evident at the national policy level or in broader political discourse on cross-strait relations.

Historical and Theoretical Context

Cross-Strait Relations and Early Exchanges

Cross-strait relations have been highly politicized since the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949. Since then, the competing visions for the future of China and cross-strait relations, as embodied by the governments and people on each side, have been an ongoing obstacle to people-to-people and many other forms of exchanges. However, cultural and educational exchanges have made enormous progress since the 1990s as a result of changes in the cross-strait context and the forces of globalization. In Taiwan, the lifting of the martial law in 1987 served as a milestone in the process of advancing cross-strait relations and paved the way for its ageing veterans to be granted permission to visit their hometowns in China. Although political and military rivalry continued, the cross-strait relationship entered an unprecedented era with regards to economic, cultural, and educational exchanges (Chou & Yang, 2012).

With respect to cultural and educational exchange programs since November 1987, Taiwan also loosened its policy over Chinese visitors to Taiwan through such policies as the granting of visas to overseas distinguished professionals. As a result, many Chinese professionals in the fields of academia, culture, sports, media, and the arts have visited Taiwan in the years since. From 1988 to 2009, more than 235,591 Chinese professionals in the cultural and educational sectors, out of a total of 2,712,572 Chinese visitors in 20 categories, traveled to Taiwan (Kao, 2009). Exchange flows have increased not only in numbers but also in significance since Taiwan allowed Chinese graduate students to study in Taiwanese universities.

Expansion of Cross-Strait Educational Exchanges

Taiwan started to take on Chinese students and scholars in the early 1990s along with its policy of granting visas to Chinese tourists, but cultural and educational exchanges remained limited in duration and were highly regulated by the Taiwanese bureaucracy. In the fall of 2010, Taiwan passed a law that enabled its universities to admit students from coastal Chinese high schools and forty-one recognized Chinese universities as degree seekers in Taiwan (Chou, 2014). According to the Ministry of Education (MOE), only 823 Chinese students studied in short-term programs in Taiwan during early 2000s, but that number increased to 41,981 full-time students in 2016 (MOE, 2017). This is indicative of a momentous shift in both the numbers and type of exchanges taking place between the two societies and suggests that how the frequent contact Chinese students have had with Taiwanese individuals and institutions has affected their perceptions of Taiwan and cross-strait relations deserves investigation.

Recently, relevant academic research has begun to emerge. Lee and Chen (2015), for instance, examine whether the political tensions between Taiwan and China have impacted the interpersonal relationships between Chinese and Taiwanese international students. It was found that political issues that characterize relations between China and Taiwan, particularly in regards to Taiwan's political status, often created subtle tensions in interactions between Chinese and Taiwanese students, regardless of similarities in their cultural backgrounds. In another study, Shen (2014) examined the impacts of the frequency and duration of exchanges and the linguistic and cultural similarities between Chinese and Taiwanese students. It was found that the similarity in language and culture did not always lead to positive outcomes or eliminate the biases of individuals from the two groups. It also suggested that the relations between the youth of the two societies could be improved through true contact and more positive media coverage in Taiwan about Chinese students. Other studies have examined pull and push factors related to cross-strait educational exchanges and satisfaction among Chinese

students in Taiwan between 2011 and 2016 (Chou, 2017; Chou & Ching, 2015). These studies found that the major reasons that Chinese students chose to study in Taiwan were the opportunities to travel and to experience Taiwanese life.

The Taiwanese government revised three existing pieces of legislation (陸生三法) in 2010 to allow for and regulate the intake of Chinese degree-seeking students by local higher education institutions: the Junior College Act (專科學校法) (Ministry of Justice, 2014), the Act Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area (臺灣地區與大陸地區人民關係條例) (Ministry of Justice, 2015), and the University Act (大學法). Furthermore, the University Entrance Committee for Mainland Chinese Students (大學校院招收大陸地區學生聯合招生委員會) was established in 2011 to monitor all Chinese applications and recruitment issues, and the MOE's Regulations Governing the Enrollment of People from the Mainland Area in Taiwanese Colleges and Above (大陸地區人民來臺就讀專科以上學校辦法) were ratified by the Executive Yuan in 2011 (Wang, 2011) and revised in December 2015 (Ministry of Justice, 2015).

As mentioned earlier, cross-strait relations have been a politically charged issue since 1949, and despite constant exchanges and communication in the last three decades, this continues to be a reality to this day. As a result, the three laws passed in 2010 permitted Chinese students to be admitted to Taiwanese universities, setting a maximum of 1% of the total annual enrolment quota of Taiwanese college students in 2011. In 2013, this quota was increased to 2% of total enrolment (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

According to the University Entrance Committee for Mainland Chinese Students, by 2017, there were approximately 14,247 Chinese degree-seeking university students in Taiwan, most of whom were undergraduate students studying in private universities. The number of Chinese students increased between 2011 and 2015 but slightly declined for the first time in 2016 and then again in 2017 (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Chinese degree-seeking university students in Taiwan, 2011–2017

<Insert Figure 1 here.>

According to surveys on Chinese students in Taiwan (Lu, 2017; Chou & Yang, 2015; Chou & Ching, 2015), policies such as the “three limitations and six prohibitions” (三限六不) policy (see Table 1), which regulates Chinese degree-seeking students in Taiwanese universities, are regarded as the main obstacle to recruiting Chinese university students to study in Taiwan (Lu, 2017). The election of President Tsai Ing-wen and landslide victories for Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) legislators in Taiwan in January 2016 have also led policy makers in Beijing to use various tactics related to cross-strait engagement that are seen as means of sending a message to Taiwan about its shift away from the traditionally more Beijing-friendly Kuomintang (KMT).

Table 1: “Three limitations and six prohibitions” policy regulating Chinese degree seekers in Taiwanese universities (Lu, 2017)

<Insert Table 1 here.>

Contact Hypothesis

Research on cultural and educational exchanges suggests that contact between people of different cultures has the potential to reduce prejudice and cultivate greater mutual understanding and respect for one another. One of the most prominent figures in the advancement of academic understandings on the issue was Gordon Allport (1897–1967), who developed a relevant theoretical framework in the 1950s that has continued to be used and refined by scholars and practitioners to this day. Allport’s “contact hypothesis”, also referred to as “intergroup contact theory”, suggests that contact between two rival groups can promote

tolerance, acceptance, and understanding, thereby reducing discrimination and prejudice and setting the foundation for more positive interpersonal relations (Allport, 1954).

Amidst a rising tide of academic research on intergroup conflicts after World War II (Watson 1947; Williams 1947), Allport's contact theory argued that tensions between rival groups could be eased through interactions that satisfied four conditions: (1) equal status, (2) common goals, (3) intergroup cooperation, and (4) support of authorities (Allport, 1954). In the decades since, researchers have continued to discuss and refine the contact hypothesis. In particular, it has been argued that, depending on the context, positive outcomes from contact may still occur even when these four conditions have not been fully met, as long as they have been addressed to some degree (Pettigrew, 2011).

Contact Hypothesis in the Context of Cross-Strait Educational Exchanges

Contact hypothesis states that four conditions should be met for optimal contact to occur: (1) equal status must be maintained between the groups involved; (2) common goals must exist and be attainable; (3) there must be opportunities for intergroup collaboration; and (4) exchanges must enjoy the support of legal and institutional authorities. Given the long history of rivalry as well as the increasing frequency and duration of exchanges between China and Taiwan, assessing cross-strait cultural and educational exchanges through the lens of contact theory is a worthwhile endeavor. By focusing on Chinese students studying in Taiwanese universities, the following four subsections discuss the ways that the conditions set forth in the contact hypothesis have and have not been met and what impact that has had on the individuals involved and the two societies more broadly.

Equal Status

Optimal contact requires that members of the groups in question enjoy fair and equal status. In the context of Chinese students' experiences in Taiwan, this should be characterized by an inclusive and welcoming environment created by peers, professors, and the community.

In general, this has been the case, but legal, political, and economic obstacles prevent the condition of equal status from being fully realized.

In surveys conducted by the author, most Chinese students have expressed high levels of satisfaction with their study experiences, including the quality of course work, quality of faculty, and academic freedom in Taiwanese universities. Chinese students, on the whole, have viewed their experiences in Taiwan positively. These perceptions have included factors such as people's hospitality, public ethics, environmental awareness, service attitudes, and acceptance of multiculturalism (Chou & Yang, 2015; Chou & Ching, 2015). Cai (2012) also pointed out that Chinese students in general were quite satisfied with their studies and life in Taiwan in terms of their sense of achievement, academic capacity, and psychology. In other words, Taiwanese higher education has provided a positive learning experience for mainland Chinese students, and the inclusive atmosphere facilitated positive results from contact.

Taiwan was found, however, to have a much lower interest in international affairs because of its diplomatic isolation coupled with a degree of social prejudice and discrimination against outsiders, especially toward Chinese people. This attitude is perceived as a negative aspect of Chinese students' educational exchange experiences in Taiwan (Chen, 2012; Chou & Ching, 2015). In addition, Chinese students' reflections suggest that the condition of equal status has been partially compromised by the Taiwanese government's restrictions imposed on Chinese students. These include the "three limitations and six prohibitions" policy mentioned above and discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Common Goals

For optimal contact, two groups should also share common goals on which they can collaborate and support each other. In the context of Chinese students in Taiwanese universities, this condition manifests in two distinct ways. On an individual level, both Chinese and Taiwanese students are working towards similar academic and personal goals while attending

university. However, because of legal restrictions on residency, employment, and other issues, Chinese students are more limited in terms of the personal goals they can realistically pursue in Taiwan. On a societal level, the two groups share similar goals in some areas but contrasting ones in others, especially concerning the political reality and future of cross-strait relations.

As individuals, Chinese and Taiwanese university students share common goals in that they are typically focused on actively pursuing personal educational, career, and life goals. For the most part, they are less concerned with the tense geopolitical realities that hang over the two societies when immersed in their studies and social activities and more inclined to engage in interactions that are more casual and personal in nature. Although the diplomatic complexities of cross-strait relations do not typically feature in the day-to-day interactions between Chinese and Taiwanese students, it is possible that those interactions may form the foundation for more open and constructive cross-strait relations over the long term. However, at the time of writing, current government policy in Taiwan continues to limit Chinese individuals' ability to find work in Taiwan after graduation. This is a potentially insurmountable obstacle for Chinese students that may be interested in a future career in Taiwan and one that their Taiwanese classmates need not confront. Although cross-strait policy is ever in flux, such policies impede Chinese students' abilities to share common goals with their Taiwanese counterparts.

The condition of common goals can also be applied at the societal level. In a general sense, the Taiwanese and Chinese governments agree that opening their borders to allow for cross-strait cultural and educational exchanges, especially between the younger generations, to take place will eventually improve relations and ease tensions between the two sides. That said, the underlying motivations behind these policies do not necessarily align and, in some cases, may even be in direct opposition to one another. China has opened its doors to Taiwanese students and workers in recognition of the potential political value of having more China-educated Taiwanese that may, in turn, be more likely to support Beijing's goal of

eventual reunification (Denlinger, 2010). Although this hope does exist among some policy makers in Taiwan as well, it represents not a political objective upon which there is broad agreement but a point of contention both between and within political parties and among the general population. Many policy makers in Taiwan, notably those within the current administration, hope that the exchanges will lead the younger generation in China to improve their understanding of the political reality in Taiwan and the benefits of an open, democratic society – a far cry from Beijing’s goal of bringing the Taiwanese side closer to accepting eventual unification with the mainland.

Intergroup Cooperation

The shared goals covered in the previous section are an important aspect of the university environment. Universities in Taiwan provide Chinese and Taiwanese students the opportunity to forge meaningful friendships one another through collaborative coursework, social interactions in daily life, and cooperation on research projects in the case of graduate students. The more specific the goals that university activities or course studies require, the better the cooperation and collaboration is between students from both groups (Chou, Wang, & Wang, 2012). This is especially the case when students are asked to work in groups to complete assignments or participate in competitions and other social activities. The acquaintance potential afforded through these cooperative opportunities encourages members of the two groups to develop more intimate and lasting interpersonal and intergroup relations. Through such intergroup cooperation, individuals from both sides engage in more frequent and higher-quality contact with one another, which has the potential to create greater mutual understanding between them. These experiences may continue to affect their perceptions of the other side and eventually reduce hostility and tensions between the two societies.

According to Chen (2012), Chinese students’ ability to adapt to study in Taiwan has become a major focus of research on the issue. It has been found that the more dedicated

Chinese students are to participation in events hosted by local students, the better socially and culturally adapted Chinese students are while studying in Taiwan. Cai and Chen (2012) further indicated that Chinese students who show a stronger interest and are more in touch with their own sense of ideology tend to adapt better than those who show indifference to Taiwanese society and culture. Most Chinese students agree that they have many opportunities to work with local students on an equal footing and do not feel ostracized or experience exclusion or isolation from local student groups.

However, if intergroup cooperation serves as a condition for optimal contact that could eventually improve relations between rival groups, collaboration is more favorable than competition. Yet this is not always how contact plays out. On some occasions, competitiveness and insensitivity during cooperative activities involving Chinese and Taiwanese university students have produced undesirable outcomes (Chou, Wang, & Wang, 2012; Lu, 2017). A common complaint by Chinese students is that many local Taiwanese people have very limited knowledge of China. This can even lead Taiwanese professors to be insensitive in their remarks on the topic of cross-strait relations, and there have been instances in which they have approached the complex subject tactlessly. Respondents have also mentioned there are occasionally jokes made about China, which can offend Chinese students and cause them to feel alienated in the classroom. In regards to contact theory, these feelings of exclusion run counter to the condition of intergroup cooperation and are particularly acute not only because they disrupt the process of cooperation but because they are directed at the minority group. Regarding competitiveness, many Chinese degree-seekers in Taiwanese universities, who have been selected from leading universities in the coastal areas of mainland China, excel academically and are high achievers due to their dedication to their studies and active involvement in class. Although their performance is often beneficial and can help them more easily become appreciated by their classmates and professors, it has also been perceived as a threat by local students as those from a rival society demonstrate their capacity to outperform

their local counterparts. On the whole, however, evidence shows that the frequency of contact between these two groups in the context of Taiwanese universities results in many opportunities for intergroup cooperation, suggesting that, despite occasional exceptions, the condition has been met to a large extent.

Support by Social and Institutional Authorities

The final condition stipulates that contact between groups be supported by relevant authorities such as host institutions and government agencies. In the cross-strait context, intergroup contact is heavily reliant on institutional and governmental support, as the authorities involved have the power to control the flow of people across their borders and enrolment within their institutions. Moreover, higher levels of support may also emphasize the positive effects of the intergroup contact involved in cultural and educational exchanges. Governmental and institutional support establishes norms of acceptance that make it easier for both groups to understand and appreciate each other's interests in participating in the exchanges.

In the case of Chinese students in Taiwanese universities, both Chinese and Taiwanese governments have passed laws allowing cross-border student mobility to become a possibility, after it having been strictly forbidden for decades. This shows considerable progress toward fulfilling the condition of support by authorities. The Taiwanese government has recognized the credentials of several leading Chinese universities and has allowed for limited credit transfers, while the Chinese government has implemented policies favorable to the recruitment of Taiwanese students into Chinese universities. Both countries have established regulations which enhance cultural and educational exchanges. Today, China, in particular, imposes very few limitations on Taiwanese students seeking a degree or exchange experience in China. In fact, Chinese universities actively recruit not only Taiwanese students but professors as well.

In contrast, Taiwan has enforced strict regulations on the inflow of Chinese university

students. These restrictions are defensive in nature and aim to ensure that Taiwan, its institutions, and its people are not harmed economically or politically by drastic changes in cross-strait mobility. Due to the overwhelming geographic, demographic, and economic asymmetry between the two sides, these are ongoing concerns for both the political establishment and people of Taiwan (Chou & Yang, 2015; Lu, 2017). The Taiwanese government's discriminatory policies against Chinese students are evidence that the condition of support by authorities has been only partially met. The "three limitations and six prohibitions" policy (see Table 1) epitomizes the lack of full support by authorities in Taiwan with its limitations on universities, enrolment, and majors and prohibitions related to recruitment, funding, qualifications, and employment. In addition to this, Chinese students must depart within one month of graduation and were not allowed to be included in the national healthcare system until late 2017. These discriminatory policies have been controversial and create a situation in which Chinese students may feel that they are treated unfairly, especially when compared to non-Chinese international students that are granted more rights and opportunities while living in Taiwan (Chou & Yang, 2015). In both China and Taiwan, individuals from the other side are considered under the law as neither locals nor foreigners, instead operating under a unique set of policies formulated over the years to address the political context of cross-strait relations. For Chinese students in Taiwanese universities, the line between policies simply protecting Taiwanese economic, labor, and political interests and those treating mainlanders as a commodity or national security risk remains blurry. Since 2011, restrictions on Chinese degree seekers in Taiwan have continued to relax, as evidenced by the formal recognition of certain Chinese universities, increased enrolment quotas, opening of national healthcare, permission to take courses for practicum or internship purposes without any additional fees or conditions if required by their universities, and the possibility for Chinese students to extend their stays after graduation. Nevertheless, the condition of support by authorities remains only partially fulfilled, as legal restrictions related to enrolment, studies,

funding, residency, and employment continue to be an obstacle to optimal contact and a subject of debate.

Conclusion

History has shown cultural and educational exchanges between rival societies have the potential to reduced tensions and promote mutual understanding and trust between participants and their societies at large (Richmond, 2003). Some studies have expressed doubt about the benefits of greater engagement between China and Taiwan and questioned whether cultural and educational exchanges could improve relations or eventually bring the two sides closer (Dietrich, Ingruber & Echavarria, 2011; Rosato, 2003). This chapter has sought to answer these questions by examining the experiences of Chinese students in Taiwanese universities and relevant policy issues, taking the four conditions of Allport's contact hypothesis as its theoretical framework. Even when not fully met, progress toward satisfying the four conditions of optimal contact can still lead to desirable outcomes for both societies (Pettigrew 2011).

In the cross-strait context, cultural and educational exchanges have seen significant progress. After decades of prohibition, cross-strait exchanges began to emerge in the 1990s following the lifting of martial law in Taiwan in 1987. Yet it was not until recently that the frequency and duration of exchanges began to accelerate with the opening of Taiwanese universities to Chinese students. This chapter has demonstrated that cross-strait cultural and educational exchanges, particularly in the case of Chinese students in Taiwanese universities, have partially satisfied each of contact theory's four conditions of equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support by authorities. Today, there is still substantial room for improvement, but evidence suggests that the political context and relevant policies are moving in the right direction.

Moreover, this chapter has shown that cultural and educational exchanges between China and Taiwan have had important effects on the individuals involved. Chinese students express positive views of their experiences overall, and it is clear that both they and their Taiwanese counterparts have benefitted from the exchanges, learning more about the other society and building greater mutual understanding through people-to-people interactions. Chinese students consider Taiwan's dedication to environmental protection, hospitality, and social awareness about minority groups to be strong pull factors for studying in Taiwan (Chou & Ching, 2015). These may also serve as facilitating factors in reducing prejudices and tensions and promoting more frequent and higher-quality contact between the two sides. Chinese students' exchange experiences are also affected by factors such as duration of stay, friendship circles, and participation in major social events in Taiwan. Moreover, those involved have also suggested that the cultural and educational exchanges have affected their perspectives on cross-strait relations as well as their views on unification (Lu, 2017).

As a result of ongoing cross-strait rivalry and increasing global uncertainty about a rising China, many Taiwanese people maintain an indifferent and even apprehensive attitude toward China. The widening gap between political systems, societal norms, and cultural values as well as economic issues have led to major shifts in Taiwanese people's views of cross-strait relations, and the younger generation in particular now has increasingly favorable views of policies that contribute to Taiwan's de facto, if not de jure, self-determination and independence (Chou, 2015). Hao (2010), in particular, shows great suspicion about the outcome of mutual communication between China and Taiwan, since both are striving to maintain control of their national images and identity. Chinese students in Taiwanese universities, especially those who came as degree seekers, have had generally positive feelings about their stays in Taiwan, but there have been some with mixed feelings, especially since the escalation of cross-strait tensions in 2016. More importantly, discriminatory policies related to enrolment, studies, funding, residency, and employment for Chinese students have been a

source of tensions and will continue to be an obstacle to these cross-strait cultural and educational exchanges in the future. If optimal contact is conducive to exchanges improving relations and mutual understanding, there is more to be done, but it is evident that policies are tending towards greater openness in this regard.

Although Chinese students in Taiwanese universities have had overwhelmingly positive impacts on those involved, whether or not these cultural and educational exchanges will lead to further changes at the policy level or influence the two societies more broadly is yet to be seen. Many factors affect the development of cross-strait relations as well as the accessibility, frequency, duration, and impact of cross-strait exchanges, and policy makers, researchers, exchange participants, and civil society all have a role to play in this regard. There is broad consensus that exchanges can cultivate greater mutual understanding between the people of China and Taiwan, but there are vastly differing motivations for promoting exchanges and expectations about their potential outcomes. If cultural and educational exchanges are to improve relations between China and Taiwan, recent developments suggest that progress has been made. That said, there is much more to be done in the coming years, and all relevant parties can contribute to ensuring that cross-strait cultural and educational exchanges have long-term benefits for people in both China and Taiwan.

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Academic Exchange between Taiwan and China

OsakaUniversity, Japan
Sept 23-25, 2016

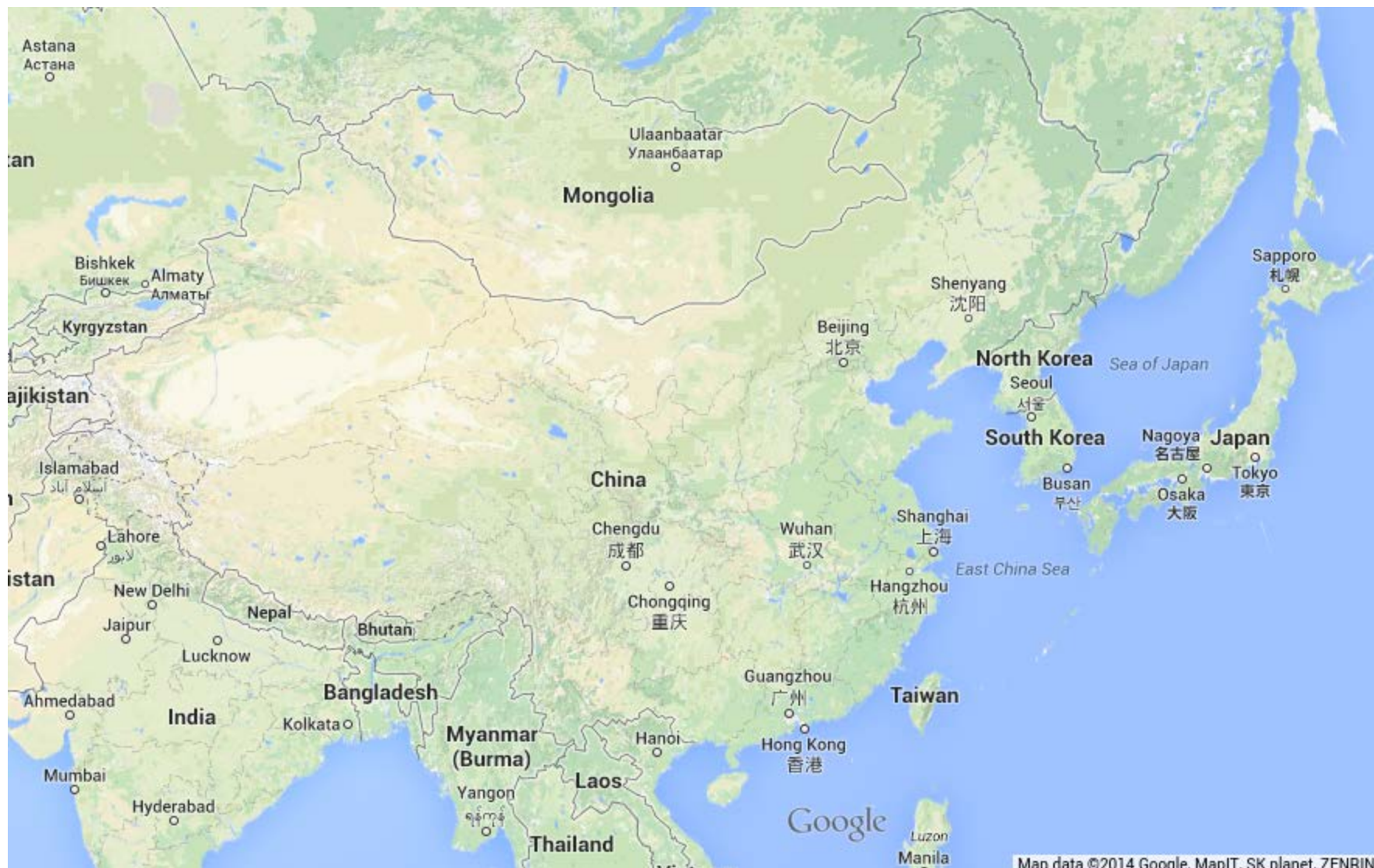
Chuing Prudence Chou (周祝瑛)

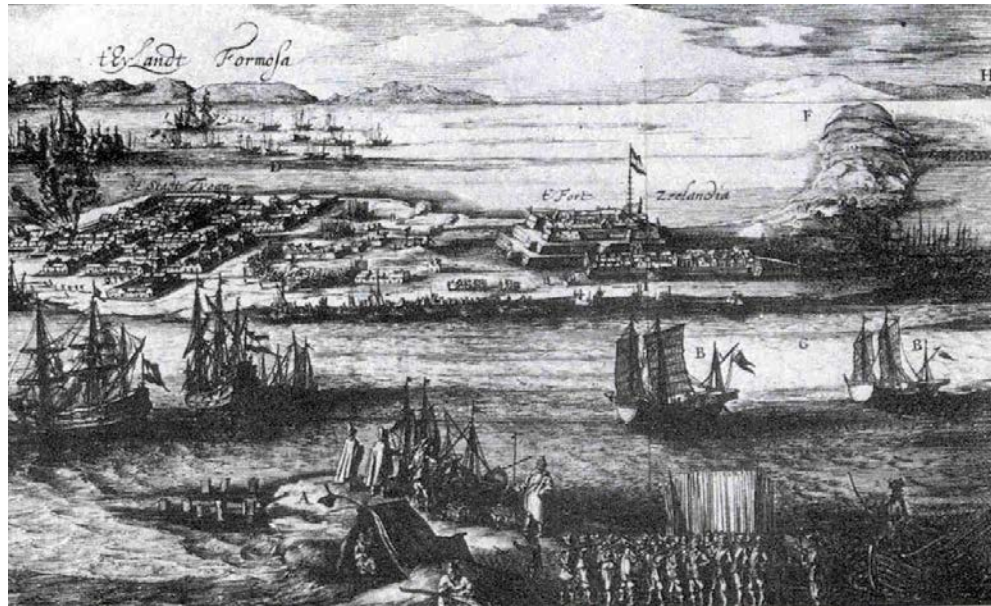
National Chengchi University (NCCU), Taiwan
Fulbright Scholar

Taiwan: Country Profile

- Population: **23.3 million (2013)**
- GDP, per capita: **\$20,930 (#40) (2013)**
- Literacy rate: **98.04% (2010)**
- Urbanization: **70% (2010)**
- Demographics:
 - **98% Han Chinese**
 - 84% “*Benshengren*” (本省人)
 - 15% “*Waishengren*” (外省人)
 - **2% Indigenous**







Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功) landing in Taiwan in 1662



Taipei South Gate in 1896 (22nd year of the Guangxu reign)



View of Datun Mountain from inside Taipei City (1930).



Taipei, 1960s

Source: taipics.com



Taipei, early 1980s

Source: taipics.com



Taipei, 2010s



Taipei MRT, 2010s

Abstract

- This paper aims to investigate the internationalization practices at National Taiwan University (NTU) as a leading example of higher education institutions in Taiwan.

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- In particular, it focuses on the scholarly relations between Taiwanese scholars and their counterparts in mainland China as well as other related countries.
- The authors attempt to initiate a dialogue about what it means for NTU scholars to be in a Taiwanese professoriate and to interact with Chinese scholars in mainland

- It further explores NTU scholars' perceived patterns of and approaches to cooperation.
- It also examines the issues and challenges of social interaction with mainland and Chinese scholars, who come from a similar but different academic culture and discourse.

- 14 interviewees at NTU were collected
- Hoped to add to the knowledge base for better understanding of the practices of Taiwanese higher education faculty in international partnerships with mainland and other overseas Chinese scholars.

Outline

- **Introduction**
- **Higher Education in Taiwan**
- **Internationalization of Taiwanese higher education**
- **Introduction of National Taiwan University**
- **Research Methodology**
- **Participants**

Research Findings

- different career development between Taiwanese, Chinese and overseas Chinese academics
- Change of academic exchange experiences between Taiwanese, Chinese and overseas Chinese academics during the last decade?
- Contact records of cross-strait exchanges:
- Contact records with overseas Chinese scholars, students.

- Ways of cooperation:
- Advantages/disadvantages when communicating with Chinese scholars/overseas Chinese scholars
- Ways of communication/circulation of one's own research publication, valid channels or blockade of the communication/exchange why?

- Ways of getting access to Chinese /overseas colleagues' research publication/information? Any differences in recent years?
- Any barriers existing in the cross-strait communication/networking/research framework, ideology, perspectives, and between yourself and overseas scholars?
- Overall impression/experiences with the cross-strait/overseas academic exchanges over the years?

Discussion

- I. The dominance of US qualifications in academia:
- II. The role of governments and economic growth
- III. Reform projects linked with funding and promotion scales
- IV. One-way cooperation
- V. The rise and fall of cross-strait cooperation

- Findings indicate that an increasingly reverse discrepancy and brain drain among Taiwanese and Chinese academic qualifications and talents has aroused some concerns among the NTU participants.
- As China's economy progresses, higher education quality improves and so do academics and universities.
- A sense of anxiety and worry about the declining academic funding and quality in Taiwan deserves further attention.

Peace-building via student exchange

very positive effect on Chinese
exchange students

- More than thirty- thousand Taiwanese students have studied in Chinese higher education since 1980s.
- More than twenty- thousand Chinese students have studied in Taiwan's higher education since mid-1990s.

Impact and Challenges

Visible and Invisible

- The overshadow of China
- Exclusion from UN, UNESCO, and many more...
in terms of educational collaboration,
exchanges and provision of educational
statistics and data
- A Fair game for all members in the global
community

Other Unresolved Issues

- O six panelists discussed the following issues :
- 1. All felt it's important to review the comments from Ruth who shared her views toward the global ranking regime and our project. Prudence shared her notes of Ruth's comments afterwards, and Jun will try to be get the note sheets from Ruth later on.
- 2. Gus did well in his presentation and was congratulated by panelists on his progress of two cases from Latin American contexts.

- 3. A practical plan was sought out for the next phase of the project, i.e., the edited book. There were three focuses: A) Springer is a good option if not Palgrave, as Jun updated about the earlier communications with Palgrave; B) The e-copy of 3-pg name lists with contacts is to be shared soon from Jun and Mayumi will do the same for the one collected in Vancouver. members

Academic Culture in Transition: Measuring up for What Cause in Taiwan?

Chuing Prudence Chou (周祝瑛)

National Chengchi University (NCCU), Taiwan

Roundtable on University and Journal Rankings

Peter Wall Foundation, University of British Columbia, Canada

May 13-17, 2017



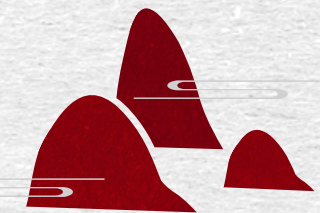


Overview

- In order to promote international competitiveness and visibility, many Asian higher education institutes (HEIs) have strived to create “world-class” universities.
- Leading universities in East Asia have often favored faculty publishing in international journal indexes such as:
 - the Science Citation Index (SCI),
 - the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI),
 - and others as major performance criteria for faculty.



- The study aims to analyse how these higher education policies have affected academic culture.
- It compares the change in faculty publication profiles between two departments of a national university in Taiwan.
- Journal publication was recorded in 1993, 2003, and 2013 to examine how faculty research performance has transformed under world-class university rankings and global competition.
- In-depth interviews were conducted among senior faculty to gain insight into ranking competition over the last two decades.





Research Findings

- The forces of globalization and world-class university rankings have affected faculty publication performance and priorities differently depending on discipline and research methodology orientation.
- Increasing gender disparity and generation gap have become evident.
- The “publish or perish” mentality or “SSCI Syndrome” has come to exist in some departments in Taiwan’s academia since 2003.

Context: Why 'World-Class'?

* Globalization



4



*Rankings as both goal and measure (World-Class Research University Project, 2003; 'Five Year, Fifty Billion' plan).

*Internationalization



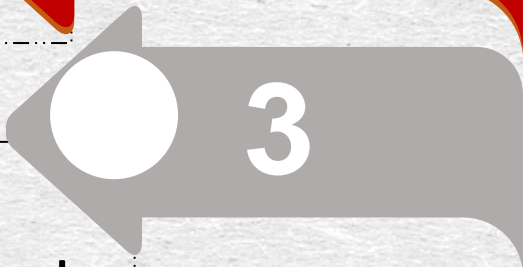
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* Research output is the key

*Government

Preference for neo-liberal, market-based solutions



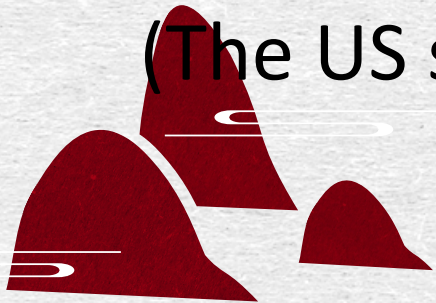
In the name of being as standardized and objective as possible to avoid academic bias accusations

- University Quality Assurance, used as benchmark for budget allocation
- Monitor the publication records among individual faculty members
 - New hiring practices
 - 6-year probation
 - Performance and evaluation systems



Short-term outcomes

- Selected universities gained in international reputation.
- Research publications rose by over 56% between 2008 and 2013 (World of Science, 2014).
- Academic impact rankings showed no improvement. (The US still dominated.)



Overall Score	Search for universities...	
70	75.4	National Taiwan University (NTU)
155	60.2	National Tsing Hua University
182	55.8	National Chiao Tung University
224	50.1	National Cheng Kung University
260	46.1	National Taiwan University of Science and Technology (Taiwan Tech)
338	39.2	National Yang Ming University
376	36.4	National Taiwan Normal University
379	36.2	National Sun Yat-sen University
397	35.1	National Central University



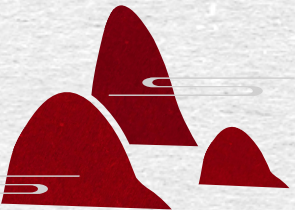
Research Findings

1. Different disciplines have different priorities for publication

- Education:
 - Faculty increasingly have quantitative backgrounds.
 - Papers on educational psychology, science education, and educational technology boost research output.
- Ethnography:
 - Interdisciplinary – difficulty in placing articles
 - Requirement for long periods of field work

2. Publication Trends by Department

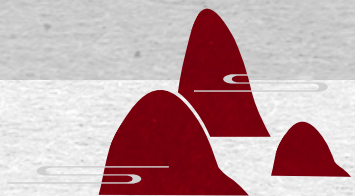
- More English papers in Dept. of Education after 2003.
- Ethnography faculty continued publishing primarily in Chinese after 2003 .
- Faculty with quantitative backgrounds published more than those with qualitative backgrounds.



Trends in publication

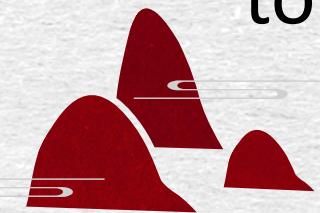
Year	Ethnography*	Education*
1993	0.78	1.48
2003	0.78	1.67
2013	1.3	4.17

*Average number of papers published per faculty member per year



3. Hiring and Promotion

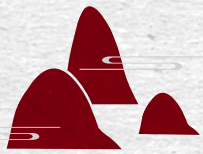
- Probation and evaluation systems rely heavily on research journal article publications.
- Promotion rates within these departments showed correlation with journal publication rates.
- Faculty hired under post-2001 terms (6-year probation) tend to prioritize journal publication.



Unexpected Result...

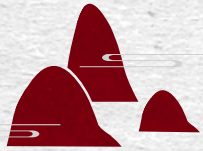
- Local relevance of research called into question
 - ‘Public intellectual’ role diminishing
- Themes selected are ‘global’ for publication reasons.
 - **‘Global audience’ is, in effect, journal editors – ‘gatekeeper effect.’**
- Publication in English less accessible for local audiences.
- English language writing ability now acts as proxy measure for academic merit in non-English-speaking academic communities.
- “Winners take all” effect appears to dominate.





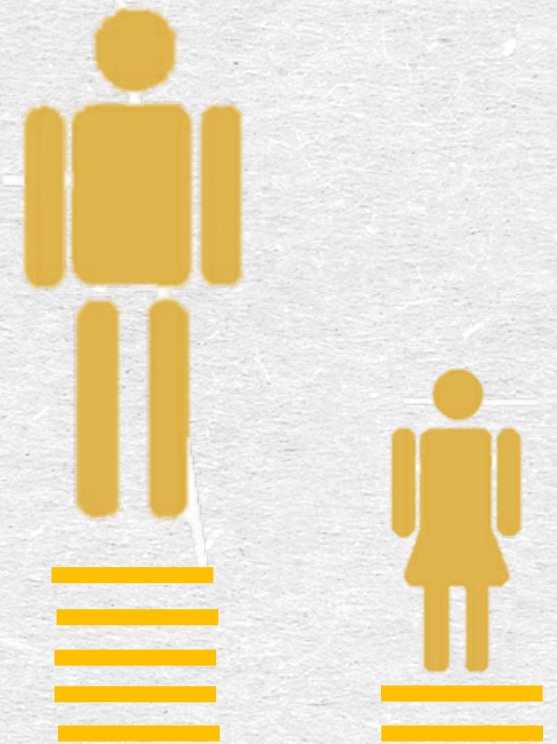
New Gender Disparity – Promotion

- The new system of rewards based on journal publication has crippled the status of female faculty in Taiwan since the 2000s.
- Junior female faculty in social sciences and the humanities encounter even more barriers to promotion and publication.
- More gender disparity in ‘elite’ universities.



New Gender Disparity – Academic positions

- 162 colleges and universities in Taiwan, only 14 headed by female presidents (2016)
- Percentage of female faculty at universities or colleges only slowly increasing (2007, 34.14%; 2014, 35.21%)
- More males than females received academic awards and honors at the institutional and national level.



- Women are concentrated in lower ranks.
- Promotion prospects limited by:
 - Social expectations for wives/mothers
 - Limited opportunity to network internationally as a result
 - Gender relations – “One of my colleagues considered refusing a promotion because she felt her husband would be angry with her for being away from the home too much.”



Conclusion

- Journal publication is the number one academic task.
- Promotion heavily depends on publication in SSCI, SCI, TSSCI.
- Teaching and 'public intellectual' roles have become secondary.
- A 'winner takes all' environment amongst colleagues has emerged.

- Education's SSCI-relevant research output comes from a small number of staff.
- Research topics are geared to appeal to journal editors, not to be locally relevant.
- Ethnography's low publication rate and mainly-Chinese medium make them less vulnerable to pressure.
- Increasing gender disparity appears in Taiwan's academia.

This presentation contains preliminary findings as part of the WUN project titled:

“Measuring Up: The Intended and Unintended Consequences of Global Competition and Metrics on Local Scholarship.”

- For further information, please refer to the Special Issue of *Higher Education Policy* (Winter 2016).



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Recent books:

Taiwan Education at the Crossroad (2012)

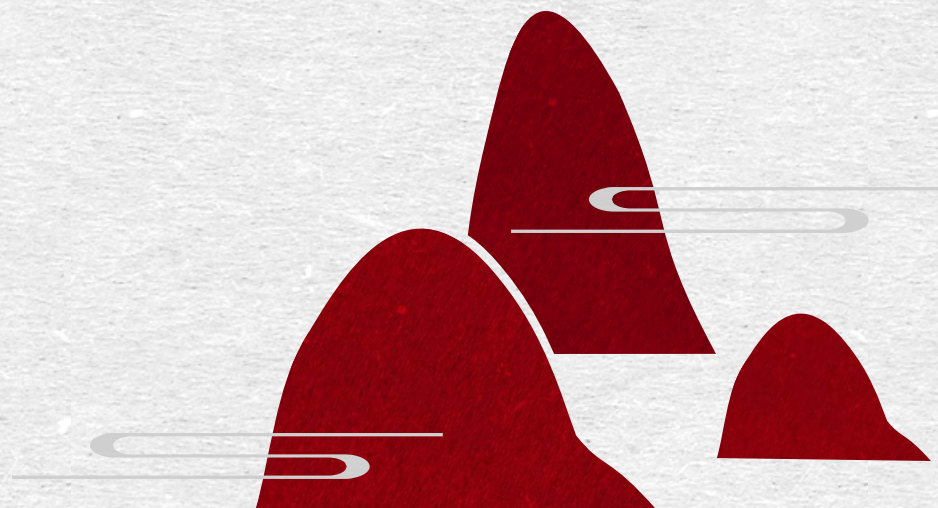
The SSCI Syndrome in Higher Education (2014)

Chinese Education Models in a Global Age (2016)



Thanks for **your** attention

感恩與感謝



5th Higher Education Research Association Conference 2017, Peking
University, Beijing, April 21-22, 2017

Academic Culture in Transition:

A Local or Global Phenomenon?

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Abstract

The trend towards neo-liberal policies which began in the 1980s has caused public finances around the world to be linked to market forces rather than state allocation. In consequence, the sharp reduction in public funding allotted to the education sector has affected both social values and educational quality. With the growing influence of globalization on higher education, many East Asian nations have enacted urgent university reforms designed to boost competitiveness of their domestic university systems. China's Projects 211 and 985; South Korea's BK21; Japan's National University Corporation Plan; and Taiwan's 'Five Year-Fifty Billion Plan' have all been initiated in response to the process of globalization and the demand for global talent in academia. Elsewhere, governments in the Arab Middle East, the Americas, Europe, East and Southeast Asia have all initiated new policies to enhance the global competitiveness and international visibility of their flagship universities and many of these focus in an unprecedented way on journal publication as the major performance criterion for faculty reward. The increasing extent to which government policies worldwide favor measurements derived from publication indexes such as SCI/SSCI has led to strengthened managerial governance over academic culture and the academic profession itself. This paper argues that a phenomenon of 'publish globally and perish locally' has emerged, especially in the humanities and social sciences which are most vulnerable to 'SSCI Syndrome', and that this trend is detrimental to academic effectiveness and diversity.

Key words: academic culture, academic publication, governance, neo-liberalism, SSCI syndrome

**This paper is an excerpt from Chou, Chuing Prudence (2016). [Trends in](#)*

[Publication in the Race for World-Class University: The Case of Taiwan. Higher Education Policy, 29\(4\), pp431-449.](#)

I. Introduction

As the influence of globalization has reached higher education, many universities have encountered increased pressure for global visibility and competitiveness which, in turn, plays a crucial role in attracting international talent, research collaboration and resources (Shin, 2013a; Baker & Wiseman, 2008; Shin & Harman, 2009). In order to reform their higher education systems, governments have introduced different strategies for benchmarking their leading universities based on research output compatible with global standards (Chou, Lin, & Chiu, 2013). Many of these new higher education policies are responses to the process of globalization and competitive demand for resources, but have ultimately changed academic culture and norms in an unprecedented way (Ball, 2012; Lorenz, 2012; Marginson, 2013). These include China's Project 211 and Project 985 (Yang & Welch, 2012; Li & Tian, 2014); Korean Brain Korea 21 (BK21) Project (1999–2012), World-Class University (WCU) Project (2008–2013), and BK21 Plus Project (2013–2019) (Suh & Park, 2014); Taiwan's Five- Year- Fifty- Billion Plan (Chou & Ching, 2012); and Japan's National University Corporation Plan, Global 30 Program, and Super Global 37 (Ishikawa, 2014). All of these government programs start with specific goals, with competitive funding mechanisms and accountability outcomes which have transformed the higher education profile and research output in key international journals serves as one of the common major criteria (Chen, et.al., 2014).

One of the most demanding global drivers in higher education today is the pursuit of world- class university status using research quality assessment indicators to measure productivity based on international publication standards. These new linkages between publication, research output, and individual promotion have changed academia into a field with a more accountable and quantitative personnel assessment system (Guthrie et,al. 2012; Ortinau 2011; KSB 2010; Woodside 2009; Kao & Pao 2009; Reed 1995). At the same time, as globalization increases contact and sharing of information, values, and issues across all borders, it also promotes competition at home and abroad. This may focus on certain set forms of publication

and shared research agendas accepted by the international academic community (Soudien, 2014; Reed, 1995). For example, the medium or language of publication and common interest or agenda shared by main-stream publishers or editors may reinforce the globalized academic mind-set as conforming to a single set of standards which leaves no room for plurality (Ching 2014; Ishikawa 2009; Chen & Qian 2004). The drive for "world class" universities also creates a convergence in research interests and a risk of homogenization by favouring English as the lingua franca of scholarship (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). An increasing number of education policies involve research assessment exercises based on "ranked" or "indexed" journals published in North America and West Europe. As a result, non-English literatures and topics outside these publications' interests may be less likely to find favor in a publishing regime that focuses on "main-stream" and "international" scholarship in English, often to limited scholarly advantage (Thelwall & Maflahi, 2015).

Additionally, higher education institutes (HEIs) increasingly tend to hire faculty with more key journal publications regardless of disciplinary requirement, specialty or experience (Guthrie et.al. 2012; Ortinau 2011). Even social sciences and humanities are forced to compromise their conventional preference for candidates with book publications and instead recruit those with more journal publications (Li & Tian 2014; Bauer and Bakkalbasi 2005). Academics from science, technology and quantitative backgrounds, who tend to publish more will be more likely to succeed in job applications and enjoy high job mobility (Wu & Bristow 2014; Liu 2014). Prolific authors employed in the non-English world who switch to English may lose their domestic relevance and local responsiveness and hence they may "publish globally and perish locally" (Wu & Bristow, 2014; Hanafi, 2011).

This study explains how the Taiwanese government has responded to the twin pressures of competitive University Rankings and higher education expansion by introducing a series of reform policies that emphasize quantitative research and a new probation and basic self-evaluation system designed to monitor faculty research output. A phenomenon of "publish globally or perish locally" has thus emerged, especially in the humanities and social sciences, which comes at the expense of local

policy issues and academic visibility to taxpayers. University teaching is now also at risk due to prioritizing research and promoting globally-visible publication, a situation also not uncommon in neighboring countries (Chen, et.al. 2014; Suh & Park, 2014). An increasing gender gap came to exist between disciplines and institutions.

This paper also shows how higher education policies have shaped faculty research performance in Ethnography and Education at a national university in Taiwan in terms of journal publication over the last two decades. Research questions include: How has faculty research output in social science fields evolved in the last two decades? To what extent were faculty publication strategies and decisions among younger and older and male and female staff shaped by the increasing pressure from university and government to publish in key journals? What are the effects of these higher education policies?

The study was conducted in accordance with the guidelines for the overall WUN project. Faculty publication of journal articles was calculated for 1993, 2003 and 2013, as specified in the project, and analyzed based on the language and place of publication; and local versus international focus as defined by the WUN project methodology.¹

II. Research Context and Framework

The paper examines how higher education policies have re-oriented research output in two departments of a national university in Taiwan. Each faculty's journal publication was recorded and calculated from 1993, 2003 to 2013, and then analyzed based on selected criteria.

University Profile

¹ "A 'national' journal was defined as published in the country where the professor worked, and 'international' journal was published elsewhere, no matter if the term 'local' or 'international' is on the journal's title (and same definition applies throughout other coding strategies adopted by this project)." - Framework/Instrument (WUN Project)

The university selected in this study was a social sciences-oriented university which has been impacted by these changes to a greater extent than comprehensive universities and which has drawn public attention from the response to these reforms of its faculty. In addition, it is home to Departments of Ethnography and Education, as specified in the program description.

In the study, faculty in the Departments of Ethnography and Education were selected as the sample in accordance with the overall project guidelines. Department of Ethnography was one of the original departments established in Taiwan during the early 1950s and focused on studying ethnic minorities in the South and West of China before combining Chinese and Taiwanese studies with ethnography of Southeast Asia and Australia. Faculty conduct interdisciplinary research combining anthropology, education, history, geography and linguistics.

Prior to 1955, Education was taught by the Civic Education Graduate Institute which later divided to form the Graduate Institute of Education and the Department of Education, respectively dedicated to teacher preparation and educational administrator's training. Affiliated pre-school, primary and high schools are all under the guidance of Education and dedicated to educational experiments and trial programs in curriculum and instruction. Faculty members are expected to engage in both teaching and research on policy- and school-related affairs at university.

III. Research Findings

Faculty research output in three time slots:

In 1993, the average faculty's publication rate was 0.78 paper per year in Ethnography Dept and 1.48 in Education Dept. In 2003, it was still 0.78 in Ethnography but 1.67 papers in Education. By 2013, the average publication was 1.3 paper in Ethnography Dept and 4.17 in Education Dept, where faculty research output in conference papers, research reports etc. had increased dramatically after 2005.

The trend in publication remained quite constant in both departments before 2003, when there were no policy incentives to publish in English or in key journals. Nevertheless, professors in Education started to publish more journal articles after 2003: for example, one senior professor, A, published 8 journal articles between 1993 and 2013, with 7 published after 2003: nearly 90% of his publication output took place between 2003 and 2013. The Five-year-fifty billion Plan may have thus played a major role in shaping journal publication in Education.

All of the publications from Education were in Chinese in 1993 and 2003, but after 2003 this started to decline from 100% to 74% and an increase in English-medium publication became visible in Education. On the other hand, faculty in Ethnography continued to publish in Chinese throughout these three time slots and the rate remained low throughout the three time slots, i.e., 1.3 papers per person in 2013. Promotion rates at all academic ranks were also extremely static over the last two decades.

Journal Origin

Only 28.3% of publication from Department of Ethnology was with Taiwanese publishers in 1993, but this number soared to 71.4% each in 2003 and 2013. In contrast, faculty in Department of Education mainly published in Taiwan before 2003, and afterwards in other regions (26% in 2013).

Disciplinary variation

Scholars from science backgrounds tend to publish a much higher rates of journal articles than those in social sciences and humanities which can be attributed to the different nature of the work and discipline-specific conventions on publication (Wanner, et.al., 1981; Chou, 2014). In this study, variation by discipline in research paper productivity is evident.

Professor B specializes in Educational statistics and assessment and has been working since 1993. He has published 127 journal articles, among which 65 out of 127 were published between 2003 and 2013, 51.2% of his total research output.

Another senior faculty, C, entered in 1992 and specialized in educational philosophy but has published only 41 journal articles up to 2013, a much lower rate than B.

Publication and promotion

Hamilton (1990) argued that the “the publish or perish syndrome” and the phenomenon of over-publication in academia was due to aggressive marketing by the publishing industry coupled with academic incentive systems which place too much emphasis on article publication, thus generating both greater research output and greater capacity for publication. The current study also echoed that the academic culture in Taiwan uses “promotion” as incentive to encourage faculty publication regardless of discipline. The proportion of faculty who remained at the same rank in Ethnography outnumbered their counterparts in Education, indicating a correlation between research output and promotion success in these two departments.

In education, at least three junior faculty started as assistant professor and gained promotion to professor within 10 years. Professor C specializes in technology classrooms and educational innovation, and has published 21 journal articles up to 2014. Professor D, who specializes in learning technology and science education, joined Education as assistant professor in 2004 and attained associate professor rank four years later, succeeding to full professorial rank in 2012. A third junior faculty who is an expert in educational psychology also entered in Education in 2004 as assistant professor and succeeded to full professorial rank in 2012 with 21 journal articles and no book publication. It seems evident that paper publication is more important than other forms of research in achieving promotion (Chou, 2014; Wang, 2014).

New Faculty Hiring Strategy

As indicated earlier, the university in this study is under pressure to promote faculty research productivity to maintain its university ranking. As a result, the Department of Education increasingly hires junior faculty from educational psychology, science

education and educational technology to boost its research output. The introduction of new faculty with these quantitative backgrounds has changed the traditional profile of the discipline at the targeted university: more than 70 percent of senior faculty hired before 1993 usually majored in educational administration, philosophy and educational systems, and undertook a variety of research and social engagements, including textbook and monograph publication for local readers, under a more *laissez faire* approach to academic endeavour. Whereas 70 percent of the younger generation hired under the post-2001 6-year probation contract are with quantitative expertise and have tried to obtain faster promotion rates through their journal publications. The only exception is Professor E who entered in 2010 and, having published no journal article since, is at risk under the current probation system.

The Department of Ethnography, has only one full professor out of 14 members, who came from a qualitative background and achieved full professorial rank prior to the implementation of the probation policy. Of the remaining 13 faculty in the department, only the 3 most recent hired are from quantitative backgrounds and most of their publications are journal articles. The remainder, who tend to publish qualitative studies, have published more books and research reports, and thus remained at Assistant or Associate Professor rank. Though Associate Professor F has claimed to publish 104 articles (many of which were not peer-reviewed), she still remains at associate rank.

The new hiring strategy has led to the newer faculty applying a different approach to academia. Those with a quantitative background and fluent English tend to receive more academic recognition through English-medium papers, but they are less well-known at home. They publish fewer books and are less likely to engage in social debates or government consultancy. It is obvious that the six-year probation policy and emphasis on paper publication greatly changed faculty hiring practices and research outputs. Nevertheless, faculty in Ethnography remain quite “passive” in responding to university policy. This un-cooperative attitude in publication and rank promotion may be connected to a more qualitative methodology and time-consuming field work, which is hard to quantify and adapt to numerical forms.

The low publication rate is also due to the highly-interdisciplinary nature of most research in the department and the consequent difficulty in finding a publication which will accept it.

Gender Distribution

Males accounted for 68.6% of faculty members in Taiwan in the 2015 academic year, whereas females accounted for 31.6%. Since 2011, the overall male-to-female ratio has remained at 7 to 3. At the targeted university, the ratio is 62:38 (as of Feb. 2017) and, over the past few years, women have accounted a higher rate than the national average.

In the education department, males account for 60% of faculty members; females, 40%. When it comes to academic publication, both male and female faculty members in the education department contribute to the publication of articles in academic journals. According to the statistics on books, academic projects and theses published by faculty members, males averaged more publications than females. However, a deeper analysis of the phenomenon has to take into account the proportion of gender differences. For example, there are more male faculty members in the education department, especially senior scholars. As for female faculty members, most of them are the new in the academic area. Therefore, it makes sense that male faculty members are able to contribute more academic publication. Additionally, in terms of career promotion, both male and female faculty members take approximately 8 years to be promoted to professor. However, there are some differences between the promotion rates of the two genders. Males account for 60% of faculty members and females, for 40%, but there are 11 males that have been promoted to professor while only 3 females have. The difference in promotion rates suggests that there is a gender inequality issue that merits discussion.

In the Ethnography department, males account for 45.5% of faculty members; females, 54.5%. In terms of academic publication, both male and female faculty members in the department contribute to the publication of articles in academic journals. As for other categories of publications, there is little difference between male and female faculty publication rates. However, compared to the education

department, the frequency and number of publications from the ethnology department are much lower. Moreover, the standard deviation of faculty publications in the ethnology department is high, meaning that some of the faculty members published many academic articles and theses while some of them did not. In terms of career promotion, few faculty members in the ethnology department had been promoted to professor, none of whom were female. Only three male faculty members had been promoted to professor, and it took 17 years on average. However, this figure can only serve as a rough reference because one of them took 26 years to become a professor while another took only 9 years. Compared to the education department, it seems that gender factors did not necessarily play a significant role in faculty publication differences in ethnology department. All the faculty published few academic publications. However, in the education department, we can see significant differences between male and female faculty members. For instance, the numbers of male and female faculty members are different, and males published more academic works than females. Nevertheless, all of these statistical results merit further discussion and analysis.

IV. Concluding Remarks

This paper found that higher education policy has impacted academic ideology and practices to a great extent in Taiwan between 1993 and 2013. It was also found that an increasing gender disparity came to exist between disciplines. It is also found that those who are on a track to rapid promotion enjoy more international recognition and academic networking via publication in key English journals. However, the younger generation has been criticized for losing contact with their local audience and tended to have less social impact in Taiwan.

Since the early 2000s, government policies have placed institutional and faculty research output under pressure to achieve 'world-class university' status and meet quality control measures stemming from higher education expansion. The university began to impose reward incentives and regulations to gear faculty research publication towards key journals. The introduction of six-years' probation for new faculty and the five-year-cycle-faculty basic performance evaluation systems in 2001

played a key role in monitoring faculty research performance and output. Consequently, faculty members, especially junior ones with a science, technology and quantitative research backgrounds obtained faster promotion through tending to publish more SSCI and TSSCI papers. But the trade-off is that those who are on the right track enjoy more international recognition and academic networking via publication in English key journals simultaneously lose contact with their local audience and tend to have less social impact in their home country. The current academic reward system in Taiwan has narrowed down the definition of academic research to paper publication by seeking to apply a particular definition of 'world-class university.' In reality, a top institution should be expected to be globally competitive, but also to embrace a humane value orientation, and maintain the core mission for teaching and research (Shin, 2013b). In Taiwan, the most easily quantifiable measure of global competitiveness – English language journal publication – has been adopted.

What is more important for education scholars than their publication output is their overall academic impact on society. This impact includes both the quantity and the quality of research output. It also includes journal papers, books and many other forms of research outcomes and social contribution. In countries without centralized funding or assessment schemes, the SSCI is not emphasised and university professors are judged in a holistic way. But in a Chinese society like Taiwan an objective system with impartial and quantifiable indicators is widely accepted, even if the system has flaws and controversies.

The introduction of the indexed journal publication policy aroused social controversies from the beginning. Among these debates, an on-line petition endorsed by more than three thousand local academics and educators was initiated in 2010, promoting an alternative reward system consisting of multiple criteria for research output (Chou, Lin & Chiu, 2013). In response, to overcome the drawbacks of the current publication- first policy and respond to academic disquiet, MOE initiated a trial program entitled "Faculty Multiple Promotion" in 2013 (<http://amaaa.nsysu.edu.tw/ezfiles/258/1258/img/1547/200341783.pdf>; http://c014.wzu.edu.tw/front/bin/ptdetail.phtml?Part=1040608_01). This program,

scheduled for nationwide implementation in 2016, attempts to offset the over-emphasis of key journal papers in faculty promotion by introducing at least three types of performance criteria on research, teaching or practical contribution to business and industry. The reform is especially welcome by faculty from institutes of technology whose practical skills and knowledge have been neglected in the current promotion system.

Though the SSCI-focussed mentality has been imbedded in all faculty reward and evaluation systems across Taiwan, social concerns and awareness over the preceding issues have been more and more evident and accepted as grounds for change. It is likely that a diverse and multi-channel alternative will come into effect in the near future. It is hoped that the “publish globally and perish locally” phenomenon will be considered along with the inevitable drive for global talents and human resources. The university, as one of Taiwan’s most vulnerable HEIs under the current paper-driven policy, should also take a lead in researching a de-construction of world-class university rankings with a focus on higher education sustainability

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104年度專題研究計畫成果彙整表

計畫主持人：周祝瑛					計畫編號：104-2410-H-004-146-MY2					
計畫名稱：兩岸大學生交流之近期發展與潛在衝擊之評估										
成果項目					量化	單位	質化 (說明：各成果項目請附佐證資料或細項說明，如期刊名稱、年份、卷期、起訖頁數、證號...等)			
國內	學術性論文	期刊論文			5	篇	周祝瑛、馬冀 (2017)。 中國大陸部分大學教育學院遭裁撤整並之研究。 課程研究(主題論文) 12 卷 1 期, 頁 1-22 (TSSCI) 周祝瑛、魯嬪文(2016)台灣重大社會事件對於陸生之潛在衝擊與評估, 台灣教育評論月刊2016, 5(12) 周祝瑛(2015)兩岸大學生交流研究。世界教育訊息 Journal of World Education, 港澳台聚焦 ,17 期, 62-68. 周祝瑛、楊雁斐(2015)國際化另一章: 第一屆畢業陸生滿意度調查初步報告。教育研究月刊, 259 期, 27-38. Chou, C. P. & Ching, G. S. (2015). Cross-Straitization of Higher Education:Voices of the Mainland Chinese Students Studying in			
		研討會論文			0					
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		專書論文			0	章				
		技術報告			0	篇				
		其他			0	篇				
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其他成果 (無法以量化表達之成果如辦理學術活動、獲得獎項、重要國際合作、研究成果國際影響力及其他協助產業技術發展之具體效益事項等，請以文字敘述填列。)							

科技部補助專題研究計畫成果自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現（簡要敘述成果是否具有政策應用參考價值及具影響公共利益之重大發現）或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估

☒ 達成目標

☐ 未達成目標（請說明，以100字為限）

☐ 實驗失敗

☐ 因故實驗中斷

☐ 其他原因

說明：

2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形（請於其他欄註明專利及技轉之證號、合約、申請及洽談等詳細資訊）

論文：☒ 已發表 ☐ 未發表之文稿 ☐ 撰寫中 ☐ 無

專利：☐ 已獲得 ☐ 申請中 ☒ 無

技轉：☐ 已技轉 ☐ 洽談中 ☒ 無

其他：（以200字為限）

周祝瑛、馬冀（2017）。中國大陸部分大學教育學院遭裁撤整並之研究。課程研究(主題論文) 12 卷 1 期，頁 1-22 (TSSCI)

周祝瑛、魯嬪文(2016)台灣重大社會事件對於陸生之潛在衝擊與評估,台灣教育評論月刊2016, 5(12)

周祝瑛(2015)兩岸大學生交流研究。世界教育訊息 Journal of World Education, 港澳台聚焦 ,17 期, 62-68.

3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性，以500字為限）

1. 來台陸生之滿意度隨停留時間之增加而有下降之趨勢，值得我方關注。

2. 台灣民眾與大學師生對於大陸現況之了解有必要加以加強。

3. 兩岸媒體對於兩岸重大事件的報導與描述應避免過度政治渲染與情緒性之內容。

4. 對於優秀陸生未來之招生與留才政策需透過長期之追蹤研究建立相關之政策風險評估機制。

4. 主要發現

本研究具有政策應用參考價值：☐否 ☒是，建議提供機關內政部, 科技部, 教育部,

(勾選「是」者，請列舉建議可提供施政參考之業務主管機關)

本研究具影響公共利益之重大發現：☐否 ☒是

說明：(以150字為限)

在台陸生人數隨停留時間增加而有下降之趨勢值得我方關注

台灣民眾與大學師生對於大陸現況之了解有必要加以加強

兩岸媒體對於兩岸重大事件報導與描述應避免過度政治渲染與情緒性內容

對優秀陸生未來招生與留才政策需透過長期追蹤研究建立相關政策風險評估機制