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Globalisation and Higher Education in Taiwan and Mainland China: State-Centred Approach

從國家研究途徑分析高等教育與全球化的關係:

台灣與中國大陸的比較 Chengch

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACA Academic cooperation agreement

AIEA International Education Administrators in the United States

ARWU Academic Ranking of World University
ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

CBIE Canada Bureau for International Education

CCP Chinese Communist Party

CEAIE China Education Association for International Exchange

CERNET Chinese Education and Research Network

CI Confucius Institute

DGBAS Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics under the

Executive Yuan

DICE Department of International and Cross-strait Education

DPP Democratic Progressive Party

EAIE European Association for International Education

ESI Essential Science Indicators

EUA European University Association

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

HE higher education

HEEACT Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan

HEI(s) Higher education institution(s)

KMT Kuomintang

LDSS Library and Documentation Support System

MEFSS Modern Equipment and Facilities Sharing System

MOC Ministry of Culture
MOE Ministry of Education

MOFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MOST Ministry of Science and Technology

MOU Memorandum of understanding

NSC National Science Council

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

QS Quacquarelli Symonds Ltd

RMB Renminbi (人民幣)

SCI Science Citation Index

SSCI Social Science Citation Index

WTO World Trade Organisation



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ABSTRACT

This study aims to understand the relations between state and higher education under the impact of globalisation. By adopting a state-centred approach, this study discovers how state capabilities may affect the internationalisation of higher education. By discovering the numbers of student mobility, academic cooperation, cross-border education and the ranking of world-class university in Taiwan and China, the study suggests that both countries have made a progress in the internationalisation of higher education in the past. Even so, in the pursuit of world-class university, Taiwan's higher education institutions do not have as much autonomy as it looks. The state machine of China, allowing for autonomy in the pursuit of internationalisation in its top universities, help facilitate its higher education institutions to achieve the goals of internationalisation. The study concludes that state capability plays a pivotal role in the internationalisation of higher education confronting globalisation.

Keywords: Higher education, state capability, state preference, internationalisation, world-class university.



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Internationalisation has been one of the most powerful and pervasive forces at work within higher education around the world during the last two decades. Undoubtedly, internationalisation is a core issue of concern to the higher education enterprise today. Many have believed that the process of globalisation has inevitably brought about the prevalence of internationalisation in higher education, including various cross-border education activities and academic cooperation. As globalisation is characterised by 'the broad economic, technological, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education and are largely inevitable in the contemporary world' (Altbach 2006, p.123), the 'convenience' brought by globalisation has facilitated higher education institutions to embed the internationalisation elements in their policy agenda.

When examining the impact of globalisation, discussions in the field of political science centre on issues concerning how state responses to globalisation, whether the state role has been changed or whether the state would diminish under the impact of globalisation. The argument for the importance of state role in the process of globalisation is receiving more attention than those believing that the state shall 'wither away' under the impact of globalisation. Most of the state governments have realised that the state alone cannot meet up the needs of the society in the 21st century and so the state decides to incorporate social forces more than before. The elements of 'decentralisation', 'mercerisation' and 'privatisation' in the development of higher education are gradually embedded by the state government under the influence of neoliberalism ideology. Moreover, the internationalisation of higher education has become an important policy and research agenda, which is regarded as a response to globalisation by the nation-state and higher education institutions. At the national level, different countries have responded differently and some countries becoming more open than others. At the local level, universities have to react to the state policy of internationalisation while some becoming more liberal and innovative under the framework of state policy.

On the other hand, in the studies of higher education, often, discussions centre on what internationalisation is, how globalisation is linked with internationalisation of higher education, and how globalisation brings changes in the practices of higher education, such as curriculum design and various newly-developed academic

cooperation. Indeed, there is a growing trend of internationalisation in higher education in East Asia. Quite a lot of project plans are carried out in East Asian countries by the state government in an attempt to enhance the quality of higher education institutions and to meet up the growing needs of state competitiveness. For instance, there is BK21 (known as Brain Korea 21 Programme for Leading Universities & Students) initiated by the Korean government in the hope to produce the next generation of world class leaders in different fields by upgrading research infrastructure in South Korea's higher education institutions. The city state of Singapore endeavours to build Singapore as a city of 'Boston of the East'. Measures such as duplicating similar academic and physical environments of Boston to Singapore have been opted and carried out. The government of Japan also proposed for building the top-30 world-class universities in 2002 (陳維昭 2007).

The existing literature attempts to explain why individual nation-state adopt strategies in carrying out project towards internationalisation (Mok 2000; 楊巧玲 2004;姜麗娟 2008). However, except for a few examples (de Wit 2002; Mok 2003, Mok and Chan 2008; Salmi 2009), the empirical research on cross-national comparative studies are lacking, especially those in developing countries. What is more, there seems to be in lack of analysis on the triangular relations among globalisation, state and higher education (institutions), especially when higher education institutions view internationalisation as a source of potential revenue other than relying on state sponsorship.

As leaders in higher education must prepare themselves to track and understand the broadest global trends in higher education, they must also pay attention to the unique needs and aspirations of their particular institutions, local communities and regional or national contexts (Rumbley, Altbach and Reisgberg 2012). The policy agenda regarding internationalisation made by the nation-state as well as the implementation of these policies by higher education institutions is thus essential to understand how state and higher education institutions support each other and altogether respond to globalisation. It is also crucial to find out who the 'real leaders' are for higher education in different nation-states. In some cases, the chancellor in the university can make quite a lot changes on the university development agenda, such as Cambridge University in the UK, while most other cases, the leaders in higher education institutions must consider the resources input before making the policy agenda of their

institutions, which apply mostly to the public universities which receive mainly the governmental subsidy. Hence, understanding the phenomena of internationalisation and globalisation in a comparative perspective would contribute to explain why some countries respond in this way and others don't.

There seems to be less empirical research on the cross-national comparative studies in the context of higher education because of the following problems. First, comparative higher education research deals with research which aims to address phenomena of higher education in more than one culture, society and nation systematically (Teichler 1996) which make the research on comparative higher education become interdisciplinary. Second, the growth of comparative research is due to knowledge economy brought by globalisation and so higher education research is a relatively small and novel field of social science (Dale 2005). Last, the research in comparative higher education is difficult because the time-span it usually takes (Teichler 2014). Furthermore, it is substantially in complexity as it is cross-cultural. As most of the comparative higher education research is in the European-based context, there is a growing need for research in other regions.

Today, internationalisation is expressed in many and varied ways so is globalisation. While research on state capacity and autonomy seem to come to a halt after 1990s, this study is, thus, attempted to use state-centred approach to examine the complex relations among globalisation, state and internationalisation of higher education. How much have the states had its own preference on the higher education internationalisation agenda setting? How much has individual university had its own preference and autonomy in the internationalisation of higher education? Are the reactions made by states and higher education institutions congruent in the process of globalisation? In this introductory chapter, what a state is and how globalisation influences on the state in the past decades will be looked at first. The much neglected causal relation between state and higher education is then examined. Last, whether internationalisation of higher education institutions contributes to the evaluation of the globalisation and the choices of the two states, state of Taiwan¹ and state of China², in this study are explained.

¹ Here it refers to the Republic of China (ROC.).
² Here it refers to the People's Republic of China (RRC).

1.1 GLOBALISATION, STATE AND HIGHER EDUCATION

1.1.1 The state in essence

The state is by far the most dominant and most stable form of societal organisation of modernity. Far back in history, human groups called themselves 'nations'. The Latin root of nation means 'birth'. In the 17th century, the definition of nation changed to mean those large, powerful political entities. What follows that is the rise of modern nation, which changed the face of the globe. The 1789 French Revolution came a new force named *nationalism*. This new force quickly spread around Europe and then unleashed the desire for people to govern themselves as independent nations (Smith 1986). In the early statist theory discussions, there was no clear cut between the term 'nation' and 'state'. Mixed-up usage of 'state', 'nation' or 'nation-state' is usually seen.

Nowadays, scholars have a clearer cut among different terms in the studies of state, and yet it remains difficult to explain exactly what is meant by the concept of the state in the long lasting debate and in practice the line between the state and the society is difficult to draw. In the development of nation-state, there is a wide range of various forms, such as the ancient Greek Polis, the Roman Empire, medieval Italian city states, and the absolutist regimes of the 17th and 18th century. All could be called states but, at the same time, they constituted quite different forms of societal organization. Moreover, different state forms were always coexisting with each other as well as with other forms of societal organization (Smith 1986). Even in contemporary social theory there is no consensus what the state exactly is or ought to be. More recent accounts range from traditional Marxism or pluralism over different Neo-Marxist approaches to 'neo-Weberian statism'. Despite this vast range of theories, none of the literature can draw an entirely convincing picture of the state, its nature and its essential features.

Even so, schools of scholars still try to make a definition about what a 'modern state' is. A modern state, according to Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987 p. 2), has the following five characters:

1. The state is a recognizably separate institution or set of instructions, so different form the rest of its society as to create identifiable public and private spheres.

- 2. The state is sovereign, or the supreme power, within its territory, and by definition the ultimate authority for all law, i.e. binding rules supported by coercive sanctions. Public law is made by state officials and backed by a formal monopoly of force.
- 3. The state's sovereignty extends to all the individuals within a given territory, and applies equally, even to those in formal positions of government or rule-making. Thus, sovereignty is distinct from the personnel who at any given time occupy state's personnel role within the state.
- 4. The modern state's personnel are mostly recruited and trained for management in a bureaucratic manner.
- 5. The state has the capacity to extract monetary revenues (taxation) to finance its activities from its subject population.

Traditionally, the blurred concept of the state had been abandoned after the tide of *behaviourism* since World War II and has been replaced by the system theory³. In the 1980s, the neo-statism came up to re-grasp the idea of 'state' as the neostatists movement emphasizing on 'bringing the state back in'.

1.1.2 Globalisation and the state

Globalisation has been defined as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (Held 1991, p. 9). Held suggests that globalisation is the product of the emergence of a global economy, expansion of transnational linkages between economic units creating new forms of collective decision making, development of intergovernmental and quasi-supranational institutions, intensifications of transnational communications, and the creation of new regional and military order. The process of globalisation, since it has started from the late 1980s, is regarded as blurring the states' boundaries, shifting solidarities within and between nation-states and also deeply affected the identities of national and interest groups (Torres 1995). Since there has been growing interdependence and interconnectedness among nation-states, together with the liberalisation of national economies, globalisation literally means competition. It's a process of competition in

³ Systems theory in political science is a highly abstract, partly holistic view of politics, influenced by cybernetics. The adaptation of system theory to political science was first conceived by David Easton in 1953.

global marketplace, knowledge innovation, technology and information building and so forth. In the 1990s, there has been debates about whether globalisation is weakening the state capacity or not, and if yes, how are states weakened and how much? It is argued that the growing impact of globalisation has weakened the role of nation state especially in managing the public domain so that the state is hollowing out. By the same token, individual states must increase its capabilities in order to accommodate the demands and challenges generated from external environments—'international community'. On the one hand, globalisation has undermined the position of nation-states in the concert of world systems; yet on the other hand, states have to elevate their capacities to face the changes of globalisation.

Realizing the state in the era of globalisation alone can never meet the pressing needs from the public in policy provision, the revitalisation process of civil society is underway in the name of global village. It is argued that the co-arrangement between the state and the society is becoming a far more popular public policy trend (Mok 2003). Therefore, there is increased demand for higher education in the belief that universities can provide the knowledge base globally, and students who graduate from universes are more likely to get the necessary training and to get 'good jobs' (Carnoy 2005).

1.1.3 Why state theory matters with higher education development?

From the above briefing, it is noted that state can be a key actor in the circle of globalisation, state and higher education development. This explains a little why state theory matters with higher education development. Traditionally, education was not in the centre of political science while political science was not, either, in the centre of education research. Clearly, there has been a neglect of the two in fact tightened relationships in the study of either political science or educational science. National opinion polls tended to show that education did not rank among the most important perception of manifold problems within institutionalised education although university and academic profession, or generally regarded as higher education, seems to be the exception. In fact, parts of educational science, as Enders puts, can be characterised as multi-disciplinary or it being a field to which researchers from various disciplinary backgrounds contribute (Enders, 2010). Nowadays, in order to

⁴ According to Carnoy, rising payoffs to higher education in a global, science based, knowledge intensive economy make university training more of a 'necessity' to get 'good' jobs.

discuss issues in higher education, it is almost impossible to neglect the factor of the state, let alone the influence of globalisation.

As globalisation can be a way to-renationlise a state's policy agenda, state uses global narratives and international reform agendas to support their own political agendas and increasingly to claim that the role of higher education must be emphasised in the enhancement of national capacities and competitiveness. It is interesting to understand how much the higher education institutions are shaped by state policies, regulations and internationalisation while at the same time some governments attempt to enhance the autonomy and self-steering capacities of universities as corporate actors (de Boer et al. 2007).

1.2 THE TRENDS OF INTERNATIONALISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Globalisation's effects on developing countries will lead to experience the bulk of higher education expansion in the coming decades and will possibly result in a realistic projection on paradigm change in higher education (Douglass et al. 2009). As a result of globalisation, the connections between higher education and the world of work are among the key issues of debate when challenges for innovation in higher education are at stake (Teichler 1999). The notion of internationalisation is what apparently comes after globalisation that acts like a 'wake-up call' for the higher institutions especially in developing countries. In education internationalisation of higher education, research had been fragmented. The primary academic focus based on American and European experiences are conflated with comparative and international studies in education (Yang R. 2002). Teichler once criticised that that most of the research (in the topic of internationalisation of higher education institutions) seems 'occasional, coincidental, sporadic or episodic' (Teichler 1996). In spite of it, the U.S., Canada, Australia or many European countries have a relative long history and tradition in the study of internationalisation of higher education than most of Asian countries. Interestingly, this growing interest among Asian countries has been dramatically vital in the past decade, especially in Taiwan and China. The results of internationalisation has implicated that different countries reflects specific difficulties and challenges existing in the implementation of higher education internationalisation with the great influences from the country's historical development of its higher education.

What description can better explain internationalisation of higher education? Knight asserts that the internationalisation of higher education is a process in rapid evolution—both as actor and as reactor to the new realities of globalisation. In fact, internationalisation is interpreted and used in different ways, different countries and by different groups, or say stakeholders (Knight 2008, p.1). Knight and de Wit, being the consultants of OECD suggest that internationalisation of education is a complex set of processes designed to integrate an international dimension into most aspects of the work of universities (Knight and de Wit 1995). They also state that a comprehensive understanding of internationalisation must involve a commitment to the development of new skills, attitudes and knowledge in students, faculty and staff (Rizvi and Lingard 2006). Accordingly, they define that 'internationalisation of higher education is the process of international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service of the institution' (Knight and de Wit 1995). Basically, the rationales for internationalisation fall into two broad overlapping rationales (extract from Rizvi and Lingard 2006, p.257):

- 1. Economic and political rationales, such as economic growth and investment in the future economy; to be competitive with the international labour market; to foster diplomacy through educational cooperation; financial incentives (e.g. contract education, recruitment of foreign students and international education advisory services can generate income); and the national demand for higher education is so great that nations stimulate study abroad;
- 2. Cultural and educational rationales, which may either be to export national, cultural and moral values, or to increase intercultural knowledge, skills and research; to expand the social learning and development of individual; to provide an international dimension to research and teaching; to strengthen the core structures and activities of higher learning institutions through international cooperation; and to improve the quality of education and research.

To note that internationalisation is different from globalisation as internationalisation involves a series of activities of international linkages, partnerships, international academic programmes, academic mobility among students and teachers. Knight provides these following questions regarding higher education institutions internationalisation (Knight 2008, p.1-2):

- 1. What is the purpose of internationalisation?
- 2. What are the benefits and risks?
- 3. What values undergird it?
- 4. Who are the main actors, stakeholders, and beneficiaries?
- 5. What are the positive consequences, the unintended results and the negative implications?
- 6. Howe are institutions responding to the competing interests in the domain of internationalisation?
- 7. What are the policy and finding implication of increased emphasis on internationalisation both at national and institutional level?
- 8. How are governments and NGOs addressing the issue and moving forward?
- 9. Is internationalisation a response to or a stimulant for globalisation?
- 10. What role does internationalisation play in the brain drain, homogenisation/hybridsation of culture, and international labour mobility?

There has been a rapid economic development of Asia since the Second World War, the growing of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and more recent China and India have in a way altered the balance of power in the global economy. The rising nation of the China has even more ambitious agenda not only recognising the importance of an educated workforce as a means to economic growth but also seeks to expand the capacity of their systems of higher education (Marginson, Kaur and Sawir 2011). At the same time, all universities involved in research and doctoral education want to become world-class Universities (Salmi 2009), which made the internationalisation of higher education institution crucial in the higher education developmental agenda in East Asia.

1.2.1 State and higher education institution

The modern university is a product of the nation state. It is generally taken for granted that education services have always been performed by the state. Universities are intuitions that have performed basic functions which results from the particular combination of cultural and ideological, social and economic, educational, and scientific roles that have been assigned to them. Even, some universities are missioned to carry out the state will in the middle 20th century (the case universities in Russia and China after the WW II) in order to bring the society back in order (Min

2004). Nowadays, modern universities have multiple functions and purposes which contribute to the generation and transmission of ideology, the selection and formation of elites, the social development and educational upgrading of societies and the production and reproduction of knowledge. Most importantly, also mentioned above, modern universities are missioned to play a key function in the training of the highly skilled labour force. What the societies need in industry, the universities helped train the highly skilled labour for those industries. The OECD addressed the transition from higher education to employment in one of its largest projects in the early 1990s (OECD 1992, 1993). The 1994 OECD 'Jobs Study' and the 1998 OECD 'Redefining Tertiary Education' saliently point out close relationship between higher education and employment (OECD 1994, 1998).

The range of functions constitutes the key tasks of higher education systems, albeit with different emphasis depending on the national context, the historical period, the specific sector and indeed the intuition concerned. Universities are heavily involved in literally every kind of social and economic activity in the increasingly dynamic societies, and it is therefore reasonable not only taking higher education as a social institution to study but a social force in a state's development (Clark 1986). The study of the relationship among the state-building, state development universities can be long traced back to the mid-20th century (Coleman 1965). What Wittrock illustrated in 1993 clearly implies that with the analysis of history, universities are the prominent role in the process of many nation-building.

[...] universities form part and parcel of the very same process which manifests itself in the emergence of an industrial economic order and the nation-state as the most typical and most important form of political organisation. (Wittrock 1993, p. 305)

In other words, the contemporary university in western countries was born of the nation state. In the 19th and 20th century, following the establishment of clear national economic interests, that university acquired their identification with science and technology. In the Eastern countries, too, one cannot easily eradicate the contribution of modern universities in the modernisation process (e.g. Japan, South Korea, Mainland China and Taiwan). The 19th to early 20th century's China was a rather disrupted era. In the era of the Republic (1912-1949), the universities had gone through a process of adaptation and indigenization (Yang R. 2002). It seems that these Chinese universities of the Republican era developed into a 'mature' intuition, and yet

it is not until the 1990s that China underwent the complete open-door reform at the command of the party-state, which constituted the modern universities of China. Taiwan's universities were under tight control of the state before the lift of Martial Law. Even after the lift of Martial Law, little efforts were being put in the reform of higher education because it seems that the party was distracted from the political struggles for more political status and power (Kao 2012). Not until 1994, when the protest of the mass appealed for the 'songbang' (鬆綁) of HE development, do the state started to 'empower' its higher education institutions.

State and higher education institutions have a causal relation, and sometimes, they can benefit each other if effective and efficient measures can be adopted. To strike a balance of power between the state and higher education institutions seems to be uneasy particularly in the East Asian region while the state-led measures are usually adopted in the state development. In this study, when the universities⁵ (or more broadly speaking, higher education institutions) are carrying out its own agenda on internationalisation, they are regarded as a social force which drives the state to become more internationalised and globally competitive through its training of the highly skilled labour. At the same time, when the universities are carrying out the state policies, they are regarded as state apparatus. To note that the relative autonomy of state apparatus from government control derives usually from their own particular history (Dale 2005), it is, hence, meaningful to look at the higher education development in the state of Taiwan and state of China who have been an authoritarian/totalitarian regime historically. It is interesting to see how more effective and efficient institute can not follow the design of the state government in the internationalisation of higher education; while less effective and efficient institute are still in the constraints of state control in many aspects.

1.2.2 Challenges in comparative higher education

The main methodological challenge for comparative educationalists is not about levels of analysis, but about 'the nature of comparative analysis per se' and 'whether to do it all' (Bray 2006, p. 43). In the comparative higher education research, it

⁵ Higher education institutions (HEIs) is a general term used for education institutions that do not have a university title. In this study, the term of HEIs refer to a broader generalisation of all the higher education institutions while 'university' is used mainly referring to those providing courses that lead to qualifications or degrees including undergraduate and postgraduate courses. HEIs is also used when talking about universities and HEIs as a group.

usually deals with 'research addressing phenomena of higher education in more than one 'culture', 'society' or 'nation' systematically or in a single one in comparative perspective' (Teichler 1996, p. 448-449) and therefore, it sometimes make the research 'huge' and mixed up with concepts in different fields. Also, a comparative study may face the challenge of conducting in a longitudinal process so as to bring good result of a long-term observation. However, the comparative approach is seen as one of the most fruitful in higher education studies and comparative research is supposed to be 'international comparative research in comparing phenomena across nations' (Teichler 2014, p. 394).

Dale (2005) suggests four levels of analysis and four approaches in making possible comparison in the set of knowledge economy and globalisation. Level 1: educational practices. Level 2: education politics, Level 3: politics of education. Level 4: Outcomes. The four approaches summarised by Dale are the relationship between problems and solutions; the scales at which and from which we may learn; the need to recognise discourses as well as practices; and the nature of the learning taking place. Dale's ideas intend to give clear and structural direction when doing higher education comparative studies as he puts as follows:

...as a result of KE [knowledge economy], two of the fundamental assumptions of comparative education, its national base, and its topical focus...if we cannot assume sufficient stability and coherence in either the topical or the locational base of our activities, how should we go about the work of constructing categories that are comparable in the ways that we have assumed heretofore that national systems and education sectors are comparable? (Dale 2005, p. 137)

This study is not only national (Taiwan and Mainland China) base but topical base (internationalisation of higher education). By examining the process and outcomes of internationalisation in higher education in the chosen countries⁶, this study aims to understand state capabilities in a comparative viewpoint. By posing figures and charts comparatively on student mobility, SSCI and SCI papers publication and the pursuit of world-class university, the study suggests that without a national identity, the pursuit of internationalist ion in higher education would not be feverish among workers in the academic field. And national identity is usually what a strong state instills to its citizens.

⁶ More explanations are made in the later sector on the choices of the two nation-states.

1.2.3 Taiwan and China in a comparative perspective

Since internationalisation is high on the agendas of national governments, international bodies and institutions of higher education (de Wit 1999), state governments in East Asia do not find internationalism new in its higher education development. Taiwan, an island-state, is part of such 'internationalised' phase particularly in the past decade. Following the revision of *University Act* in 1994, acknowledging that the state alone can never satisfy the pressing demand for higher education in the face of globalisation, the government has renounced several projects in order to make Taiwan's higher education institutions more 'competitive' and enhance the quality of higher education overall. The purpose of *Plan to Develop* First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres is to assist universities through funding allocation to compete for world-class university (MOE 2006a). In the study of An evaluation of the dynamics of the plan to develop first-class universities and top-level research centers in Taiwan, Chang et al. (2009), assert that all the universities involving in the Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres show tremendous increase in the growth rages of the Research and Development performances. However, the existing literature does not discover whether state government or the higher education institutions have the same preference on carrying out those internationalisation activates. Moreover, the modification of the laws from the government state imply that the state has decentralised its power the higher education institutions, whether those key select higher education institutions in Taiwan do have the autonomy in setting university agenda of internationalisation of higher education is not explained profoundly in the current literature, either.

The state of China, being a socialist country, cannot be immune from the impact of globalisation. The state government has implemented a series of projects in order to make accomplishment of in the internationalisation of its higher education. In the 1990s, globalisation has become the leading social mantra and it was also about the period when China started to rise after its Open Door policy implementation. It was the 'ripe' time period when one could start to see the growth and improvement in many aspects in China. More recently, the Chinese government has attempted to internationalise the country by following the models set out by 'western' organisations, such as World Trade Organisation (WTO). In the field of higher

education, China's government has attempted to maintain and improve the quality of higher education by enhancing faculty development, and increasing higher education's funds (Min 2004). Not only that, China's Ministry of Education has formulated policies plans of Project 211 (211 工程7 and Project 985 (985 工程8.) Both Projects are aimed to push China's leading universities becoming the locomotives not only to help raise the standards of the higher education system as a whole but also to make them the world-class universities. Although there is confusion or even tension for some of the Chinese higher education institutions why there were increasingly placed importance on internationalisation to them, international programmes are established in the business mantra to increase the income generation in individual university; activities in the name of internationalisation are often developed as a principal means to search out eternal financial resources. More importantly, there is the exploration of the international market with a view to sell educational products and services with 'Chinese characteristics'.

Indeed, the local socio-economic development of a region would affect how the people in the region regard and then respond to 'globalisation' (Arnove and Torres 1999). Still, existing literature does not explain clearly why under the similar influences of globalisation in East Asia, state-nations develop their own 'characters' in their higher education systems. In addition, how much the state-led forces have driven the internationalisation of higher education? How much the higher education institutions can operate autonomously following their own internationalisation agenda is still undiscovered in the region of East Asia? This study selects Taiwan and Mainland China to delve into the policy making of the state and the policy

⁷ Project 21/1 is a project of National Key Universities and colleges initiated in 1995 by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (China), with the intent of raising the research standards of high-level universities and cultivating strategies for socio-economic development. 211 Project schools take on the responsibility of training four-fifths of doctoral students, two-thirds of graduate students, half of students from abroad and one-third of undergraduates. They offer 85% of the state's key subjects, hold 96 percent of the state's key laboratories, and utilize 70% of scientific research funding. For the universities that are selected in the Project 98/5, one can refer to:http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Project_211

⁸ Project98/5 is 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 .The project involves both national and local governments allocating large amounts of funding to certain universities in order to build new research centres, improve facilities, hold international conferences, attract world-renowned faculty and visiting scholars, and help Chinese faculty attend conferences abroad. For the universities that are selected in the Project98/5, one can refer to: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Project_985

implementation of the higher education institutions in the hope to understand more of the state-led forces in the internationalisation of higher education in East Asia.

Studies in the comparison of Mainland China and Taiwan in the context of internationalisation of higher education are growing. Mok and Chan (2008) suggest that both governments in China and Taiwan have adopted more pragmatic approach to address the issue of internationalisation and the benchmarking in higher education. Deeper and critical reflections are still needed during the on-going 'work-class university' movement in Asia. Indeed, some trends and challenges brought by the impact of globalisation are quite similar in the region of Greater China. For instance, the major challenges common to Chinese societies include (Mok 2003 p.120):

- 1. the ever-increasing rate of human progress;
- 2. the rise of the knowledge economy and the changing university;
- 3. the growing significance of information technology in education delivery;
- 4. the massification of higher education and the need for quality control;
- 5. the East Asian financial crisis and the post-crisis adjustments; and
- 6. social and political changes and the need to change higher education

In order to understand how the state continues to shape its society and how the state control has changed in the evaluation of globalisation, it is worthy of analysing countries in Greater China and discover similar characteristics, perhaps, by deducting from the discoveries of individual state-nations. Therefore, understand the state policies in the internationalisation in higher education as well as the measure adopted by those higher education institutions become crucial in a qualitative analysis research. Also, interviewing some of the key actors in helping shape state policies and those participate in the process of internationalisation in the higher education reforms would provide insightful views of 'what is exactly happening in the education arena'.

Researches that particularly emphasise on higher education reform are plenty (See Law 2003; Ngok and Kwong 2003; Hayhoe and Zha 2006; Mok 2007; Chan 2011; Pimpa, 2011) Most of the literature suggest that not only Taiwan but also China are not immune from higher education reform, particularly towards opening up more opportunities in education for foreigners by conducting rules set by the framework of GATT made by WTO. However, literature does not explain the different degrees of 'door-opening' between Taiwan and China and how these differences might have been induced by political culture, structures or other political factors. To note that, the

Chinese Communist Party (CCP) still claims that China is a communist and socialist country with Chinese characteristics. Taiwan, clearly, has shifted from an authoritarian to democratic regime from the early 1990s with full political participation, and citizens' rights. Indisputably, the CCP is still the absolute power holder in the Chinese politics. Taiwan's government is more open to political participation after the lift of Martial Law in 1987. Also the society are given more decision making power in public affairs through democratic means, such as voting and open debates. Taiwan's society is more democratic, flexible, well-informed, informationalised, high-tech, competitive and marketised (Weng 1999) comparing to mainland China.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is hoped to provide an interdisciplinary as well as a comparative perspectives to understand more the states where each individual live through the examination on the outcomes of internationalisation in Asia's higher education institutions. Through an in-depth study of state policy and higher education international activities at the education area, this study has attempted to reveal the accomplishments and limitations on the contribution of theory of state. As mentioned in the previous part, most of the current literature focus on the structural changes in educational governance confronting the impact of globalisation, and yet they fail to explain why certain countries' changes have turned the system into a better shape, while some other don't and still other are more 'indifferent' to the impact of globalisation. In addition, it is hard to tell from the current studies whether the internationalisation of higher education is more driven by the state or higher education institutions themselves or it is uneasy to tell in some cases. Particularly, the current European-based studies' framework of analysis cannot explain well the cases in East Asian countries (Teichler 2014). The limitations of the study might be too less cases being examined in the region of East Asia. Also, it is not easy to make a definite argument whether it is the state's force or the society's force to help accomplish Asia's higher education institutions' internationalisation outcomes. The study, however, is hoped to reveal the importance of the state's act in higher education development, especially in the promotion of internationalisation.

Thus, the significance of the study lies in the following aspects: (1) An interdisciplinary analysis which adopts a state-centred approach to understand higher

education development in East Asia (2) To regard Asia's higher education institutions as a state apparatus and to understand to what degree that a state, such as Taiwan and Mainland China can drive its state apparatus to accomplish the state's will. To note that viewing higher education as a tool in such an analysis is not widely seen in the precedent studies and yet it does draw more attention in recent studies. ⁹(3) The discussion posits the state as a 'real' entity in opposition to civil society and it is hoped to understand the changing relations of the state to the educational arena.

Chapter two is designed for literature review. Basing on the current theories and research findings, the chapter points out the issues that are not dealt with yet or are not insightfully understood. Chapter three is the methodological considerations of the study. It lays out the framework of analysis in this study and explains the process of selections of the interviewees and the conduct of interviews. In chapter four and five, some key policies regarding the internationalisation of higher education in Taiwan and China are identified. Also, each chapter addresses some core problems relating to the internationalisation of Taiwan (in chapter four) and China (in chapter five) summarised from the interview findings. These problems and issues identified in the study are compared and analysed in chapter six, which provides a preliminary analysis of the relations between state capacity and university autonomy of Taiwan and China. The final chapter (seven) offers some concluding comments and addresses issues that need to be further explored for in future studies.

The study wishes to cast light on the more detailed situations of higher education studies in East Asia and perhaps helps to understand more of how East Asia's higher education institutions face globalisation effects, no matter what that will be in the future. The study wishes to promote further reflection and research into critical analysis of the state-centred perspective in the studies of higher education internationalisation in the face of globalisation, and perhaps acts as a locomotive to discover the truth, where the pursuit of truth is the nature of social science in the human society.

⁹More details on how an interdisciplinary background of knowledge is needed in study of higher education can refer to A, P. Jakobi, K. Martens and K.D. Wolf's edited book, *Education in Political Science*.



CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature review is a description of the literature relevant to a particular field or topic. In this chapter, literature which discusses the aspects of globalisation, state and higher education (HE) are reviewed so as to help readers understand the current trends and issues in these fields.

2.1THE ADVENT OF GLOBALISATION AND INTERNATIONALISATION

No universally accepted conceptualisation of globalisation is mapped and yet globalisation influences our everyday life as much as it does to events happening on the world scale (Giddens 1999). Globalisation is restructuring the ways in which we live profoundly and thus it is not merely a practice in the economic sphere but also in political and cultural domains (Sklair 1999). The term globalisation is used to refer to a complicated set of economic, political and cultural factors. New communication technologies that facilitate expanded world trade as well as cultural interactions are viewed the leading factors to attribute to the emergence of globalisation. Held (1991) defines globalisation as:

...the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (p.9).

Waters (1995) sees globalisation as:

...a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding (p.3).

Gray (1999) speaks of globalisation as follows:

Globalisation can mean many things. On the one hand, it is the worldwide spread of modern technologies of industrial production and communication of all kinds across frontiers – in trade, capital, production and information... Globalisation also implies that nearly all economics are networked with other economics throughout the world (p. 55).

Larsson (2001) regards globalisation as:

...the process of world shrinkage, of distances getting shorter, things moving closer. It pertains to the increasing ease with which somebody on one side of the world can interact, to mutual benefit, with somebody on the other side of the world (p.9).

Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann (2006) summarise the literature arising from the debate on globalisation and define that:

Globalisation is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities (p.5).

Moreover, both Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have tried to explain what globalisation is and to what extent it has covered. The IMF (IMF 2000) identified four basic aspects of globalisation: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people, and the dissemination of knowledge. OECD documented in its *Handbook on Economic Globalisation Indicators* that 'the term globalisation has been widely used to describe the increasing internationalisation of financial markets and of markets for goods and services. Globalisation refers above all to a dynamic and multidimensional process of economic integration whereby national resources become more and more internationally mobile while national economies become increasingly interdependent' (OECD 2005, p.11).

Globalisation has strong influences mostly to economic effects. It surely is a product of the emergence of a global economy. These economic effects can be observed from the practices of 'marketisation', 'privatisation', and 'corporatisation' in public sectors in the past decades (Mok and Welch 2003). Held et al. (1999) believes that under the reinforcement of globalisation, the authoritative actors in the global financial system poses serious questions about the nature of 'state power' and 'economic sovereignty'. The process of globalisation is blurring national boundaries, shifting solidarities within and among nation-states and in a sense, it can affect the constitution of national and interest group identities (Torres and Morrow 2000). Cerny (1997) points out that when discussing the political aspect of globalisation it means that:

...the shaping of the playing field of politics itself is increasing determined within insulated units. i.e. relatively autonomous and hierarchically organized structures called states; rather it derives from a complex congeries of multilevel game on multi-layered institutional playing fields, above and across, as well as within, state boundaries (p.253).

Globalisation seems to drive a revolutionary change in the organisation of work, the production of goods and services, relations among nations and even local culture (Pang 2006) and yet some scholars are against seeing globalisation as 'prevailing' as it can be. For instance, Held (2004) notes that globalisation generated increasing interconnectedness and yet it does not automatically generate a common set of experiences, views and values. He lists out ten countering myths about globalisation while these are the main arguments generally accepted and characterised in recent research:

- 1. Globalisation does not equal Americanisation.
- 2. There has been no simple race to the bottom in welfare and labour standards.
- 3. There has not been a simple collapse of environmental standards.
- 4. Globalisation is not associated with the end of nation-state.
- 5. Globalisation does not merely threaten national cultures.
- 6. Globalisation has not merely compounded global inequities.
- 7. Globalisation has not simply reinforced corporate power.
- 8. Developing countries as a whole are not losing out in world trade.
- 9. Economic globalisation and the current structure of international governance do not exclude the 'voice' and influence of developing countries.
- 10. Popular opposition to dominant political and economic interests is not doomed to fail because it lacks the kinds of resources that the most states and multinational companies can command.

Burbules and Torres summarise well the crucial characteristics of globalisation in the following three perspectives although they emphasise that it could be extremely risky to advance a description of the characteristics in light of those many debates (Burbules and Torres 2000, p. 14):

- In economic terms, globalisation may mean a transition from Fordist to post-Fordist forms of workplace organisation; a rise in internationalised advertising and consumption patterns; a reduction in barriers to the free flow of goods, workers and investments across national borders; and, correspondingly, new pressures on the roles of worker and consumer in society.
- 2. In political terms, globalisation may mean a certain loss of nation-state sovereignty, or at least the erosion of national autonomy, and, correspondingly, a

- weakening of the notion of the 'citizen' as a unified and unifying concept, a concept that can be characterised by precise roles, rights, obligations and status.
- 3. In cultural terms, globalisation may mean a tension between the ways in which globalisation brings forth more standardisation and cultural homogeneity while also bringing more fragmentation through the rise of locally oriented movements. A third theoretical alternative, nonetheless, identifies a more conflicted and dialectical situation, with both cultural homogeneity and cultural heterogeneity appearing simultaneously in the cultural landscape.

2.1.1Globalisation and educational change

Globalisation is transforming the political, economic and cultural lives of people whether dwelling in both developed and developing countries. It is driving a revolutionary change in the organisation of work, the production of goods and services, relations among nations and even local culture (Pang 2006). Under this kind of impact, globalisation also has profound impact on education among nation states since the bases of globalisation are knowledge intensive information and innovation (Carnoy 2002). It is believed that the effects of globalisation on education are not only far-reaching, due to the scale and nature, these effects also change the way education is governed. Educational policies and practices have been restructuring drastically due to the impact of globalisation on education. A paradigm shift in educational policies and administration is already taking place in many countries including the changes from old-fashioned value of wisdom, trust, empathy, compassion, grace and honesty to the so-called values of contracts, markets, choice, and competition in educational administration (Pang 2006). Such changes are believed due to the effects of neoliberalism to education markets and they become the central ideas in education reform for globalisation in many states. Carnoy (1999) summarises the direct and indirect effects from globalisation to education systems which brings recently major changes in education (p.15-17):

- 1. Globalisation has had an impact on the organisation of work and on the work people do. Usually this work demands a high level of skill.
- Such demands push governments to expand their higher education, and to increase the number of secondary school graduates prepared to attend postsecondary education.

- 3. Most governments are under greater pressure to increase spending on education to produce a more educated labour force.
- 4. The quality of education is increasingly being compared internationally. The TIMSS and PISA¹⁰ studies are cases in this aspect.
- 5. There have been greater emphases on mathematics and science curricula, English as a foreign language and communication skills, in school education.
- 6. Use of information technology, such as, the use of the internet and computer assisted instruction are becoming more common in classroom.

As shown above, globalisation has profound effect on education at many different levels, both macro and micro. As a result, a trend that incorporates the ideas of market into education is evident. Competition, a newly emerged value, in education is also getting more and more prominent. Bates (2002) argues that the development of the knowledge economy through the enhancement of skills and abilities has become an important agenda in many countries' educational policy. Daun (2002) also points that global competition leads to an increasing demands of higher skills in the population as a whole. Lingard (2000) argue that in order to enhance a nation's productivity and competitiveness in the global situation, decentralisation and the creation of 'market' in education have been the two major strategies employed to restructure education.

2.1.2The impact of globalisation on higher education

Due to globalisation, there has been a rapid expansion of a global higher education market, based on the discourse of global competition. It is believed that the process has been greatly fuelled by the neo-liberalism. The neoliberalists' point of view no longer regard that the provision of education as a 'public good' paid for through taxation should be justified. Instead, they believe that the factor of market should be imbedded in higher education and higher education institutes can be run like an enterprise. As Yang R. (2002) rightly puts:

Despite some positive aspects, the globalisation of higher education is ultimately based on market-driven fundamentals of globalisation. Thus, it creates more challenges than opportunities, particularly for the non-western developing

¹⁰ TIMSS stands for 'Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study'; PISA stands for the 'Programme for International Student Assessment;.

countries. The most prominent challenges include quality control, information management, its fitness for local societies and costs and benefits. When all of these aspects accompany each other, it raises the danger of a total lack of the genuine educational values, quality control and regulation (p. 61).

Therefore, governments in developing countries such as Mainland China, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, Singapore and Malaysia have started to review their education systems in order to enhance the gaols of global competence in the global market place in recent years. Different reform measures have been introduced to those governments so that the states can improve the overall education quality in the globalising economy context (Mok 2006, 2010; Olds 2007; Morshidi 2010).

Overall changes in higher education in the past decades are summarised by Altbach and Foster (2006) in their edited book of 'International handbook of higher education (Part One)' point out these changes through comparative approaches (p. 2-4):

- 1. There is a shift in governmental approaches to access. Governments play a less prominent role in formulation policies. Instead, individual institutions are free to determine their own selection and enrolment policies.
- 2. As the growth of enrolment throughout much of the world, academic systems have become complex and differentiated.
- 3. The private sector has expanded dramatically in many countries over the past several decades while public support for higher education has declined substantially because higher education is more seen as a 'private good' rather than a 'public good'.
- 4. Global links among academic institutions are becoming increasingly important, in which it encourages, in a way, the spread of an assessment and quality assurance movement in higher education.
- 5. An increasingly globalised marketplace has created enormous demand for international competencies throughout the workforce, leading to public policies meant to encourage the internationalisation of a nation's educational programmes and scientific research.
- 6. The evolution of technology has reshaped the landscape of higher education, which has made distance education possible. Distance education will very possibly play a key role in framing the worldwide evolution of higher education.

Changes in higher education are believed led by the changes in the social-economic context resulting from the globalised economy. Whether these changes are 'good' in terms of the development of higher education are discussed among scholars. For instance, Welch and Mok (2003) raise issues such as 'is globalisation beneficial to economic growth, equality and justice, or is it harmful?'; 'has globalisation led to development of division in education, and to what extent?'. Carnoy (2005) argues that globalisation increases the demand for education and for educational quality. However, paradoxically, globalisation may pose a threat to decreasing the quality of education because globalisation weakens the power of the national state or regional government which attribute to decentralisation and decentralisation would contribute to greater inequality in the quality of schooling.

2.1.2.1 Reforms and Structural Adjustment in Higher Education

As Morrow and Torres note, the most visible impact of globalisation on education, especially in developing societies, stems from the imposition of structural adjustment policies (Torres and Morrow 2000). They believe that those structural adjustment policies are directly links to globalisation to the extent that 'all strategies of development are now linked to the imperatives of creating stability for foreign capital' (Morrow and Torres 2000, p.43). Those structural adjustments in higher education are eminent in many Asian countries, such as Malaysia, Singaproe, Taiwan and Mainland China, in the past decade (see Mok 2002, 2003; Law 2003; Chang et al.2009).

A number of critical analyses also review the challenges imposed on educational governance from the impact of globalisation in recent years. As Enders (2004) states, globalisation has changed the way higher education institutions (HEIs) are governed and this is particularly true in European integration in recent years. Enders (2004) explains what 'governance' means nowadays:

[f]or one thing, governance is now often used to indicate a new mode of governing that is distinct from the hierarchical control model, a more cooperative mode where state and non-state actors participate in mixed networks. The second new meaning of the term governance is much more general, here governance means the different modes of coordinating individual actions, or basic forms of social order (p. 379).

Fukuyama defines governance as 'a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not' (Fukuyama 2013, p. 350). When it comes to the arena of (higher) education,

nonetheless, the concept of 'education governance' emerges and it is seen as 'prerogative of the modern state' (Weymann, Martens, Rusconi and Leuze 2007).

In the book of New Arenas of Education Governance: The impact of internationalisation organisations and markets on educational policy making, edited by Martens, Rusconi and Leuze, Leuze et al. defines governance 'as the process and outcome of policy making shared by various actors who interact in a non-hierarchical way'. They further explains that the changes in educational governance is the results of emerging trends in the internationalisation and marketization of education since the 1990s and such trends have influenced the way education policies are made. While the nation state has conventionally provided the most important arena of education policy making, the arenas of international organisations and the arena of markets are also gaining their importance in education policy making. These changes being 'fundamental' as argued by Leuze et al. are referred to as 'new arenas of education governance' (Leuze et al. 2007, p. 8). The book concludes by Weymann et al. proposing new forms of education governance based on European experiences. They believe that overall, the increasing internationalisation and marketisation of education changes the mode of governance in the policy fields, 'nation states increasingly loose their prerogative in education decision making now sharing the power of education governance with and market actors' (Weymann et al. 2007, p. 237).

2.1.2.2 The Changing Role of Higher Education

In the study of 'The Uses of the University', Clark Kerr (1995) describes three models of the university. The traditional one was a community of masters and students whose purpose was to educate a 'universal liberal man'. Traditional universities in this model, generally rather small in size, were more or less autonomous and could control their 'own fate'. The second model is the modern university, which emerged as early from the 1930 when intuitions become more specialised, with departments and faculties devoted to specific fields of study. This kind of 'change' has enabled scholars to pursue more specialised education and research. Some of the countries, e.g. the United States has had a third model emerged, the 'multiversity', which functions as everything from a research centre to a vocational training institution. Such changes make teaching less central than it was in the older models.

Moreover, the changing conditions to which higher education is being exposed and the efforts to reorganise the connections between higher education and the world of work are best illustrated by Husén (1994). According to Husén (1994), the 'western university', which served as a model throughout the world has the following characters:

- 1. It made more or less sharp distinction between theory and practice;
- 2. It has put a premium on autonomy and aloofness to the extent of complete irrelevance;
- 3. It has been both socially and intellectually an elite instruction;
- 4. It has tried to be an 'ivory tower', as an institution whose main purpose is to 'seek the truth'.

What Husén means is that traditional university adapted the role of preparing students for traditional professions is no longer the only 'mission'.

Discussion on the changing role of higher education can be traced back to the 1990s while globalisation impact has spread and enhances the challenges for higher education. As Teichler states that 'higher education must be well-informed of expectations from the outside world in order to adopt the necessary proactive role and thus respond to the need to prepare students for indeterminate future job tasks, new employment patterns and contributions to innovation in societies' (Teichler 1999, p. 285). The changing role of higher education in response to the need mentioned above is discussed by Teichler (1999, p.303-308) by four aspects. (1) Changing selfperception; (2) Cooperation between higher education and the world of work; (3) Learning and socialization beyond classroom instruction and initial course programmes; (4) Connections with the world of work and academic responsibility. He further points out that in the process of globalisation and internationalisation, higher education must accommodate the fact that students have become even more diverse than before and therefore higher education has to take into consideration the role higher education can play for sectors of employment which was not taken into much consideration in the past.

Moreover, because of the expansion of globalised markets and globalisation of skills, knowledge intensive economy 'make university training more of a 'necessity' to get 'good' jobs' (Carnoy 2005, p. 4). What results this has brought to is the competition for access to higher education becomes more severe and at the same time there has been pressure for universities to accommodate more students which is

severely testing the governments' financial plan on public spending (Carnoy 2005). Trends of increasing higher education institutions are most prominent in Asia, including nation-states such as China, South Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam and Malaysia. In other regions of the world, Africa is emerging as a player in international higher education. African higher education is clearly on the rise. In Latin America, higher education is emerging as a key player in the global economy and society. There have been rapid expansions in higher education sector. However, the private sector is emerging as a strong regional approach. The Middle East is another important new regional player in international higher education. Countries like Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan used to play a crucial role as international player. In recent years, Dubai, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia are positioning themselves as regional hubs and even endeavour to strive for world-class status (Deardorff, de Wit, and Heyl 2012).

Clearly, higher education institutions throughout the world have started to re-think what their roles in diversified aspects and this has brought dramatic changes higher education governance (Enders 2004). More importantly, there has been reforms educational restricting in higher education both at the national levels and institutional levels. Although it is difficult to make generalisations about how the process of globalisation have shaped the patterns, trends and models in educational development, in the Asia Pacific region certain features are drawn by Cheng and Townsend as exerted below (Cheng and Townsend 2000, p. 319):

- 1. The reestablishing of new aims and a national vision for education.
- 2. The expansion and restructuring of education.
- 3. The search for effective schools and quality education.
- 4. The assurance of education standards and a quality education.
- 5. The use of market forces and the balance between education equality and encouraging of competition to promote excellence.
- 6. The privatisation and diversification of education.
- 7. The shift to decentralisation and school-based management.
- 8. The emphasis on the use of development planning and strategic management; parental and community involvement in school education; the use of information technology in learning and teaching; the changes in examination and evaluation practices.

- 9. The search to enhance teacher quality.
- 10. The need for continuous professional development for teachers and principals.

The popularity and prominence of information technology has changed the nature of knowledge and is currently restructuring higher education, research and learning (Mok and Welch 2003). Higher education institutions perceive to see the need to provide more 'diversified' courses in order to make students more competitive worldwide. Whether higher education institutions can offer a larger context of simulative learning context becomes the key issue in discussions.

2.1.3 Internationalisation in higher education

Several elements of internationalisation were originally covered by international education and international education is mostly and frequently used in place of internationalisation of higher education (de Wit 2002). The growing border-crossing activities, which are resulted from the effects of internationalisation, between national systems of higher education are 'losing ground' to globalisation.

2.1.3.1 Meanings of International Education

Husén describes international education as 'a cross-disciplinary study of international and intercultural problems in education'. He further explains that 'international education refers both to the objectives and content of certain educational pursuits and to the internationalisation of such activities' (Husén 1994, p. 2972). Anweiler describes that international education is 'many different theoretical studies or practical activities, which are held together by the term of 'internationism''' while comparative education is 'comparing and contrasting different national systems of education' (Anweiler 1977, p. 109, 113). De Wit elaborates that Husén and Anweiler's discussions on what international education is bring into the debate two related elements that are relevant for the study of internationalisation of higher education, namely 'the historical factor' and 'the term internationalisation' which emphasises on the process not something static (de Wit 2002). There has been a prevailing use of the term international education by the organisations such as AIEA¹¹

¹¹ AIEA stands for International Education Administrators in the United States.

in the United States, the CBIE¹² in Canada and EAIE¹³ in Europe. In the 1960s, it could be that there was a close link between technical assistance, development education and internationalisation. However, de Wit points out that the term international education creates 'confusion when used as an equivalent to the internationalisation of higher education' because it disregards the crucial aspects of history and process in the internationalisation of higher education (de Wit, p. 110-111). Even so, as de Wit believes, one must recognise the general acceptance of the term international education 'as covering' and it 'even being an abbreviation for the term internationalisation of higher education' (de Wit, p. 110).

Harari suggests that 'international education must encompass not only the curriculum, international exchanges of scholars and students, cooperative programmes with the community, training and a wide array of administrative services, but also distinct commitment, attitudes, global awareness, an orientation and dimension which transcends the entire institution and shapes its ethos (Harari 1989, p. 2). Mestenhauser questions the possibility to have a single definition to describe international education and therefore he proposes a contingency concept of international education creating a college of eight different pictures: namely, 'target groups', 'the levels of education', 'the defining disciplines', 'theories about the nature of knowledge, 'structure and goals', 'meta-knowing perspectives', 'the dramatically changing nature of changing international relations', 'the geography of international education', and last but not least, 'the nature of change' (Mestenhauser 1998, p.70-71). De Wit (2002) makes the final concluding remarks as follows:

International dimension is used as a generic term to cover all aspects of higher education that have an international aspect or dimension, regardless of whether they are programmatically or strategically organised. The term international education refers to a more developed form of international dimension, a programme or organisation. Internationalisation is an extension of international education and refers to a more strategic process approach (p. 119).

Sometimes, the term globalisation and internationalisation of higher education are used interchangeably and yet in this study, particularly, the definition between the two terms must be clarified. Several scholars have their thoughts on why globalisation cannot be used interchangeably with internationalisation. For instance, Knight (1997)

¹² CBIE stands for Canada Bureau for International Education.

¹³ EAIE stands for European Association for International Education.

has given her opinions upon the different definitions between globalisation and internationalisation. Her view is as follows:

Globalisation is the flow of technology, economy, knowledge, people values, ideas...across borders. Globalisation affects each country in a different way due to a nation's individual history, traditions, culture and priorities...internationalisation of higher education is one of the ways a country responds to the impact of globalisation yet, at the same time respects the individuality of the nation...globalisation can be thought of as the catalyst while internationalisation is the response, albeit a response in a proactive way (p. 6).

Scott links internationalisation with a world order dominated by nation states, where the emphasis is on strategic relationships. He believes that the contemporary university is the creature of the nation-state: 'paradoxically perhaps, before it became an international institution the university had first to become a national institution—just as internationalisation presupposes the existence of nation states' (Scott 1998, p. 123). He also gives three main reasons why globalisation cannot be simply regarded as a higher form of internationalisation (1998, p. 37):

- 1. Internationalisation presupposes the existence of established nation states, where globalisation is either agnostic about, or positively hostile to, nation states.
- 2. Internationalisation is most strongly expressed through the 'high' worlds of diplomacy and culture; globalisation in the 'low' worlds of mass consumerism and global capitalism.
- 3. Internationalisation, because of its dependence on the existing (and unequal) pattern of nation states, tends to reproduce—even legitimise—hierarchy and hegemony; globalisation, in contrast, because it is not tied to the past, because it is a restless, even subversive, force can address new agendas.

2.1.3.2 Definitions of Internationalisation

It is very challenging to develop a single definition for internationalisation which can broadly accepted especially when this concept is to be applied to multi-nations and multi-cultural context under the influence of globalisation. One fundamental problem in the studies of higher education's internationalisation is that when dealing with the internationalisation of higher education, there is the diversity of related terms. Sometimes it is used to refer to a concrete element of a broad field of

internationalisation and yet sometimes it is more referring to the overall situation of a higher education institution or higher education development. It is generally acknowledged that the United States has a longer tradition of research on the internationalisation of higher education. They use the term of international education rather than internationalisation of higher education. It is those Non-Americans authors, mainly from Europe, Canada, and Australia who tend to use more a process approach and their use of the term internationalisation of higher education is a reflection of the emphasis on such process (de Wit 2002).

In the late 1980s, according to Knight (2008), internationalisation was commonly defined at the institutional level and in terms of a set of activities. The definition by Arum and Van de Water is a good example to present. For instance, they define internationalisation as 'the multiple activities, programmes and services that fall within international studies, international educational exchange and technical cooperation' (Arum and Van de Water 1992, p. 202). Later on, Van der Wende proposed a broader definition of internationalisation, which is broader than an institutional-based approach as Arum and Van de Water proposed, that 'any systematic effort aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets' (Van der Wend 1997, p. 18-19). This view of her is believed to explain more on the national policies side of internationalisation in higher education.

Schoorman (1999) defines internationalisation as 'an ongoing, countering-hegemonic educational process that occurs in an international context of knowledge and practice where societies are viewed as subsystems of a larger, inclusive world. The process of internationalisation at an educational institution entails a comprehensive, multifaceted programme of action that is integrated into all aspect of education' (p.21).

Knight in her earlier works provides a working definition of what internationalisation is. According to Knight, internationalisation of higher education is 'the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution' (Knight 1999, p. 16). Later on, she emphasises that internationalisation can mean very differently in different ways, different countries and by different stakeholders. She clarifies that internationalisation should be looked at both at the institutional and national level. She defines that 'internationalisation at the national/sector/institutional levels is the process of

integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels (Knight 2008, p.21). She continues to state that the 'process of internationalisation' should be described in terms of 'promoting cooperation and solidarity among nations, improving the quality and relevance of higher education, or contributing to the advancement of research for international issues' (p. 21).

Teichler believes that internationalisation has received substantial attention in public debate during the 1990s and he expects that basing on those debates, internationalisation might lose its priority status in the public debate. While he proposed that internationalisation should be best defined as 'the totality of substantial changes in the context and inner life of higher education relative to an increasing frequency of border-crossing activities amidst a persistence of national systems, even though some signs of 'denationalisation' might be observed', he suggests that terms such as 'knowledge society', 'global village', 'global social cohesion', 'global learning' and 'global understanding' should not be neglected in the future discussions on internationalisation in the context of higher education (Teichler 2004, p.23). He also opines that higher education could raise their views above the operational issues and substantively address the 'international' or 'global' mandates.

Internationalisation has been one of the most powerful and pervasive forces at work within HE around the world during the last two decades. For the purposes of this study, *globalisation* is characterised by 'the broad economic, technological and scientific trends that directly affect HE and are largely inevitable in the contemporary world' (Altbach 2006, p.123). *Internationalisation*, meanwhile, is defined that 'internationalisation at the national/sector/institutional levels is the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels' (Knight 2008, p.21). Today, internationalisation is considered central to the academic enterprises, and yet the concept of internationalisation is still shifting.

2.1.3.3 Approaches to Internationalisation

The above various definitions for international education and internationalisation of higher education give the ground to different approaches to the role of the international dimension in higher education. De Wit (2002) summarises the four

approaches that are seen in literature and practice of internationalisation of higher education as below (p. 116):

Activity approach: This approach describes internationalisation in terms of categories or types of activities. It focuses on the content of the activities and not necessarily include any of the organisational issues need to initiate, develop and sustain the activities. Terms that are in relational to curriculum as an activity approach are international studies, intercultural education, cross-cultural education, education for international understanding, peace education, global education, development education, international studies, transnational studies and global studies.

Rationale approach: This approach defines internationalisation in terms of its purposes or intended outcomes. Terms that are frequently used in relation to this approach are peace education, education for international understanding, development education, and technical assistance.

Competency Approach: It looks at internationalisation in terms of developing new skills, attitudes and knowledge in students, faculty, and staff. It focuses on the human dimension, not on academic activities or organisational issues.

Process Approach: It frames internationalisation as a process that integrates an international dimension or perspective into the major functions of the institution. Terms such as infuse, integrate, permeate and incorporate are used to characterise of this approach.

2.1.3.4 Rationales for Internationalisation of Higher Education

Knight (2008) suggests that there are rationales driving the internationalisation of higher education. The rationales can be separated into national level and institutional level. Table 2.1 provides a comparison of different rationales that are driving the internationalisation at national as well as institutional level.

Table 2. 1 Actors and Their Roles in the Internationalisation of Higher Education

Rationales	Existing Rationales	Of Emerging Importance
Social-Cultural	National cultural identity	National level
	Intercultural understanding	Human resources development
	Citizenship development	Strategic alliances
	Social and Community	Income generation/commercial trade
	development	Nation building/institution building

	Foreign Policy	Social/cultural development and
Political	National security	mutual understanding
	Technical assistance	Ü
	Peace and mutual understanding	
	National identity	Institutional level
	Regional identity	International branding and profile
Economic	Economic growth and	Quality enhancement/ international
	competitiveness	standards
	Labour market	Income generation
	Financial incentives	Student and staff development
Academic	Extension of academic horizon	Strategic alliances
	Institution building	Knowledge production
	Profiles and status	
	Enhancement of quality	
	International academic	
	standards	
	International dimension to	
	research and teaching	
~		

Source: Jane Knight 2008, p. 25.

According to Knight, the national level rationales are as follows (Knight, p.26-27):

1. Human resources development: brain power

Here, it refers to the demographic shifts, the knowledge economy, the mobility of the labour forces and increased trade which are driving nations to place more importance on developing and recruiting high qualified people/brain power through international education initiatives.

2. Strategic alliances

It looks at the strategic alliances whether they exist in academic, economic, political or social/cultural context. This is especially true at the regional level where countries intend to achieve higher and stronger economic and political integration with neighbours through increasing international education activities on a regional basis.

3. Income generation and commercial trade

New franchise arrangements, foreign or satellite campuses, online delivery and the increased recruitment of fee-paying students are the examples of the commercial approach to internationalisation.

4. Nation building/institution building

Some countries are interested in exporting education to generate income revenue while others are more interested in importing education programmes/ institutions for nation/capacity building purposes.

5. Social/cultural development and mutual understanding

These are especially relating to the promotion of intercultural understanding and national cultural identity although in some countries the importance of these rationales is not as important as economic and political rationales.

2.1.3.5 Features of Internationalisation in Current Higher Education

As discussed above, the international dimension is a key factor shaping and challenging the higher education sector in countries all over the world (Knight 2008). There are some landmarks of the aforementioned changing horizon (Knight, p. 3):

- 1. The development of new international networks and consortia
- 2. The growing numbers of students, professors, and researchers participating in academic mobility schemes
- 3. The increase in the number of course, programmes, and qualifications that focus on comparative and international themes
- 4. More emphasis on developing international/intercultural and global competencies
- 5. Stronger interest in international themes and collaborative research
- 6. A growing number of cross border delivery of academic programmes
- 7. An increase in campus-based extracurricular activities with an international or multicultural component
- 8. The impetus given to recruiting foreign students
- 9. The rise in the number of joint or double degrees
- 10. The expansion in partnerships, franchises, offshore satellite campuses
- 11. The establishment of new national, regional, and international organisations focused on international education

12. New regional and national-level government policies and programmes supporting academic mobility and other internationalisation initiatives.

Theories of convergence in the context of higher education also suggest that there has been an evolution taken place in recent higher education development. Tovar & Cardeñosa (2003) list out these features, which evolve in the process of globalisation, as follows:

- 1. Demand for enrolment in higher education is increasing.
- 2. New technologies have led to an increment in jobs that require high level qualifications.
- 3. Competition, although is not a new concept, acquires more importance due to the possibility of internalisation. An institution must now compete with another institution for its pool of local students.
- 4. Technologies are changing the curriculum of the courses thus as academic research interests, reshaping the pedagogical methods, making possible the e-learning.

Expressed in many varied ways, Rumbley, Altbach and Reisberg give an examination of several aspects of the phenomenon of the internationalisation in higher education. These 'elements' for framework analysis of the studies of internationalisation can also be seen as the features in internationalisation in higher education (Rumbley, Altbach and Reisberg 2012, p. 6):

- 1. The increasing numbers of internationally mobile students and scholars, moving to and from ever more diverse locations.
- 2. The rapid growth in cross-broader educational provision.
- 3. The push to achieve world-class status.
- 4. The interest in producing globally competent graduates capable of understanding the functioning in a complex and interconnected world.
- 5. The increasing prevalence of the English language for teaching and research.
- 6. The significant emphasis on cooperative networking among higher education institutions and national higher education systems.
- 7. The overt efforts by individual institutions and national higher education systems to compete internationally.

8. The dramatic increase in the commercialisation of international education, particularly in terms of the growing opportunities available to for-profit enterprises.

Although they have argued that there is by no means an exhaustive list of manifestations of internationalisation, they have given a quite 'comprehensive picture' of the changes of internationalisation in higher education and these elements 'should serve to highlight the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon and its effects at multiple levels and across many aspects of the higher education enterprise, from mission and management, to teaching and learning, enrolment and staffing and more' (Rumbley, Altbach and Reisberg, p. 6).

2.2 STATE AND HIGHER EDUCATION

2.2.1 Theories of the states

Historically, the study of politics has incorporated an understanding of the state. The mainstream theories of the state have basically four perspectives: (1) Pluralist capitalist perspective; (2) Institutional perspective; (3) Corporatist perspective and (4) Bureaucratic authoritarian perspective. There are also alternative theories of the state. They are (1) Pluralist socialist perspective; (2) Instrumentalist perspective; (3) Structuralist perspective; and (4) Feminist perspective (Chilcote 1994). ¹⁴ The following discussion reviews mainly the emergence of 'bringing the state back in' in the 1980s, and examine neo-statism points of view, which can trace its roots back to neo-marxism in the first part. Also, internal and external factors that pose challenges to current states function will be discussed in the second part.

The state has received relatively little attention in contemporary political science (Fukuyama 2013). A state is not equal to a government, bureaucracy, a coercive apparatus, or any political institution. The states can be universally represented as the official incorporation of political power. The state can be conceptualised or defined on a variety of levels which emphasises either universal characteristics or ideological specific roles. Jessop describes states as 'distinct ensemble of institutions and organisation whose socially accepted function is to define and enforce collectively binding decisions on the members of a society in the name of their common interests

¹⁴ More detailed discussions can refer to Chilcote's book *Theories of comparative politics: The search for a paradigm reconsidered*, chapter 5.

or general will' (Jessop 1990, p. 341). Benjamin and Duvall argue that there are several conceptualisations appearing in the literature (quoted from Krasner 1984, p.224):

- 1. The state as government, 'by which is meant the collective set of personnel who occupy positions of decisional authority in the polity'
- 2. The state as 'public bureaucracy or administration apparatus as a coherent totality' and as 'an institutionalised legal order'
- 3. The state as ruling class
- 4. The state as normative order

Karagiannis and Madjd-Sadjadi defined the role of a state as 'a designer, defender, and reformer of many formal and informal institutions in the context of national purposes, industrial development and structural change' (Karagiannis and Madjd-Sadjadi 2007, p. 7). In other words, the states can be regarded as an entrepreneur, which provides the vision for the future and builds the necessary institutions to carry out the state's goals; moreover, the state is also the 'manager of conflicts' whenever it occurs in the process of structural change. Karagiannis and Madjd-Sadjadi categorized the state's principle activities as follows (p.3):

- 1. Regulating behaviour (law and coercion);
- 2. Managing and deploying resources (administration)
- 3. Rationalising or legitimising actions (ideology); and
- 4. Defining goals and means of attainment (policy).

The study of 'state' has always been a central theme in the field of political science since the 18th century. The state theory branches are usually divided into two grand aspects: liberalism and Marxism. The liberal state argues that (Torres 1995):

It is above the fray of interests and societal conflicts; represents a neutral terrain ready to be occupied by different political parties (or alliances) according to shifting voting patterns; acts independently from particular groups or interests; legislates, preserves and enforces the law without prejudice or particularistic goals; and above all, represents the public interest (p. 269).

Marxists theorists argue that the notion of state reflects the condensation of power and force in society. Therefore, the power of the state is exercised through a specialised apparatus and implies actions of force and coercion of civil society. In other words, the liberalism (including neo-liberalism) adopts 'societal-centred' approach while Marxism (including neo-Marxism) adopts 'state-centred' approach.

Marx and Engels distinguished between state and society in order to clarify the interrelationship of political and economic life. Moreover, they established a relationship between the state and the class structure of society by defining politics in terms of the power of the state (Chilcote 1994). However, in the currents studies, no 'clear cut' can be made to understand whether it is the state's power or the society's influence to attribute to a phenomenon. As Althusser argues, there is no 'fine line' between the state and the society (Althusser 1972). Adding on to that, Poulantzas (1980) explained that state is the condensation of social power, but at the same time, the state has power and relative autonomy from social classes and interests or power groups. Nonetheless, in most current capitalist states, the state itself has a very important role as a capitalist relation, increasing the capacities for accumulation and legitimation of the capitalism system (Carnoy 1984; Torres 1985).

When the new vigour was needed in the 1970s in the discussion about theories of the state, as a result of debates concerning the Marxist political theory of the state and the work of Antonio Gramsci, the mainstream of political science in the 1980s focus on the discussions of the autonomy of the democratic state (see Easton 1981; Nordlinger 1981; Carnoy and Levin 1985).

2.2.2 The states in East Asia

The process of globalisation is seen as blurring national boundaries. Not only that, it also shifts solidarities within and between nation-states, and deeply affecting the identities of national and interest groups (Smelser 1993). These phenomena can be observed in East Asian countries. Welch points out that national borders are blurring as trans-national delivery of higher education, both actual and virtual, increasing in scope and scale, in South East Asian countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines and Vietnam (Welch 2011).

Before its democratisation, Taiwan was under the authoritarian rule of Kuomintang (KMT), which was the ruling party in Mainland China from 1928-1949. Under the Martial Law, most political freedoms were severely restricted and forbidden by the KMT. Taiwan's democratisation starts to take form from the 1990s under the rule of KMT by President Lee Teng-hui. Decentralisation, institutionalisation and abolition of Article 100 of the Criminal Law, Taiwan started to step into the stage as a

democratic nation-state (Kao 2014). In year 2000, there was the change of ruling power from KMT to Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) which was regarded as the milestone of Taiwan's complete democratisation. Both KMT and DPP wish to complete Taiwan's political governance in its democratic political status.

The 19th to early 20thcentury's was a very disrupted era for China as it has gone through wars (a major battlefield of World War II) and two times of political ruling changes, first from Qing Dynasty to KMT, and then from KMT to Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In the process of modernisation, the peasants provided the dynamite that finally exploded the old order (Moore 1966), which helped strengthen the power of CCP to be in rule after KMT. Moreover, modern Chinese nationalism began to thrive in the last years of Qing Dynasty. While China grows as an international power which has been paralleled by increasing calls for traditional values to combat the rapidly growing Western ideas, it also develops various forms of nationalistic discourse which helps form a new cultural dominance (Clausen 1998). It took China a century going from the state of 'end of isolation' (1840-1860) to the 'open door' stage (1980-1990) (Yang, R. 2002), and yet although with strong influence from the Western ideas in nation building, Confucianism, being an ancient ethics, is never eradicated as an ultimate value. 15 For instance, Ch'en (1979) argues that despite the pressure to learn science and technology from Western nations, Chinese people still wish to find a rationale to preserve their traditional cultural formula and this would mean to derive Western cultural from China. One party rule, strong nationalism and Confucianism are the characters of the modern Chinese state.

2.2.3 State capabilities

In the 1980s, literature in political science shed light on two central issues concerning state: the extent of state autonomy and the degree of congruity between the state and its environment (Krasner 1984; Kao 1995). The study of state capacity and autonomy, or say all in all 'state capabilities' have always been used as the approaches by the neo-statists. What the neo-statists have aimed to reach is to provide a 'fully-relational approach', calling for more theoretical attention to regard states as

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¹⁵ During the Cultural Revolution, there were dramatic actions taken to be against 'Confucius' and his Confucian value, However, after the Cultural Revolution, the eradication of Confucian value never happened again. On the contrary, there seems to be a 'bringing back in Confucian value' from early this century. For instance, Chinese universities, under the instruction of CCP, strive to build 'Confucius Institute' overseas.

potentially autonomous actors, and also for analytic attention to the ways in which the actions and institutional structures of states indirectly shape politics (Skocpol 2008, p. 111). As Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol explained in the 1985 preface to *Bringing the State Back In*, they noted a surge of interest in the state as an actor. The book has two theory implications in the theory of states. First, it urged scholars to conceptualise states not just as arenas of contending social forces. Second, they urged scholars to closely examine the question of state capacity to take autonomous actions – understood as actions not simply reflecting social demands (Skocpol 2008). Following their framework of analysis on states, Migdal (1988) discovered and explained the phenomena in state development in the third world countries and raised a fruitful discussion on political leadership in the weak society countries.

Even with such efforts, state capacity and autonomy have not been in the mainstream discussion after the 1990s. Reasons being is that with all the discussions made by the scholars, still, both the concepts of 'state autonomy' and 'state capacity' are 'vague' in analysis and it derives a lot of contention among scholars to define what 'state capacity/autonomy' mean, how to measure them, and what approaches are appropriate in the studies of the state (Kao 1995, p.64). ¹⁶ According to Kao (2011) ¹⁷, state capacity means socially identical and supportive degree of the policies that is made by the state when the state is making its political decisions. In other words, he furthers, if the people in the society, in the condition of fully informed, accept and abide by mostly the decisions made by the state, then it shows that the state 'is capable of knowing its society', then the state has strong capacity. If the state can pursue its preference without the disruption from social constraints and the state can take authoritative actions, then the state is autonomous (Nordlinger, 1981). ¹⁸

It is noted that 'state autonomy' might just be a comparative concept instead of a definite one. As Skocpol rightly puts, 'any given state—whether a national state, a regional or local government, or even an international governing arrangement—might well have different capacities for coping with different kinds of problems or

 $^{^{16}}$ See 高永光(1995)。論政治學中國家研究的新趨勢,台北: 永然文化出版公司。

¹⁷ The original text is written in Mandarin Chinese by Kao as follows: 所謂國家能力,指的是國家在推行政治決定時,是否有能力得到社會的認同與支持。Refer to: 高永光(2011),國家結構, in the book of *中華民國發展史:政治與法制*, page 28.

¹⁸ Nordlinger identifies three types of state autonomy. For more details, one can refer to his book: On the autonomy of the democratic state, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

challenges, and the capacities might wax or wane'. She therefore suggests that when examining the question of state capacity to take autonomous actions, scholars should focus on 'sets of officials who might (or might not) be able to act coherently, pursuing lines of policy making' (Skocpol 2008, p. 110).

As illustrated above, the proliferation of theories containing state capacity as an 'independent variable' has produced divergence in how the concept can be employed. Little systematic evaluation of the ways in which state capacity is conceptualised is focused until now in the literature (Hanson and Sigman 2013).

2.2.4 Measurement of state capabilities

In the existing literature, many World Bank Institute's Worldwide Governance Indicators purport suggests the following aspects when measuring state capacity: government effectiveness, regulatory quality, political stability and absence of voice, and control of corruption (Fukuyama 2013). In the study of *Measuring State Capacity: Theoretical and Empirical Implications for the Study of Civil Conflict*, Hendrix (2010) points out some key conceptual and measurement issues raised by measures of state capacity in the studies of civil conflict. His main points lie in the three theoretical definitions of state capacity, namely military power; bureaucratic/administrative capacity, and the quality and coherence of political intuitions. Hendrix also demonstrates 15 different and also widely recognised operationalizations of state capacity to the following three dimensions: rational legality, rentier-autocraticness, and neopatrimoniality. He highlights the 'sometimes-tenuous' theoretical logic and the difficulty adjudicating between competing casual mechanisms in the 19 operationalizations of state capacity presented in his article.

From this, it is clear that to identify the object of measurement is not quite so straightforward especially when it comes to a concept that is not 'well-conceptualised' (Fukuyama 2013). Savoia and Sen, in the attempt to understand the concept of what state capacity means in literature, aggregate the following categories and authors who put emphasis on the explanation of their ideas. The map of state capacities according to the functions that the state performs are listed below (extracted from Savoia and Sen 2012, p. 4):

- Bureaucratic and administrative capacity. Whatever it is to maintain a state in fostering development. The state needs a bureaucratic apparatus to design and implement policies. This dimension is central to all areas of research on state and

development. Traditionally, state capacity indicators would focus on the competence and ability of bureaucracy (e.g., Evans and Rauch 1999, Rauch and Evans 2000), and generally include the ability of spending the tax proceeds efficiently on public goods.

- Legal capacity: (a) the capability of enforcing contracts and property rights (i.e., a judicial system for settling disputes, rule of law); and (b) security (i.e., protection of national borders, rule of law). The consensus is that, at the very least, the state has to provide such public goods, as they are ill-suited to private provision (Besley and Persson 2009 and 2011; Lin and Nugent 1995; Collier 2009).
- Infrastructural capacity. This refers to the territorial reach of the state, the extent to which control can be exercised over the territory, i.e., the geographical area within which policies can be enforced (see Soifer 2008).
- Fiscal capacity is the state's ability to raise revenues from taxes (Besley and Persson 2009 and 2011).
- Military capacity. This refers to external security and has mainly concerned civil conflict scholars, who argue that an increase in police and military forces can repress insurgent groups (Hendrix 2010).

Fukuyama (2013) points out the poor state of empirical measures of the quality of states. According to him, much of the problem is conceptual as there is very little agreement on what constitutes high-quality government. He suggests four approaches to evaluating the quality of governance (1) procedural measures; (2) capacity measures; (3) output measures; and (4) measures of bureaucratic autonomy. Although he himself rejects output measures, he argues that by using a two-dimensional framework of analysis researchers can explains well why low-income countries are advised to reduce bureaucratic autonomy while high-income ones are advised to increase it.

Indeed, there have been articles which emphasise role of the state in higher education development (see Mok, 2012; Mok and Wang, 2011; Yeo, 2009). The emphasis lies more on what the state should play its role in higher education development, and yet they do not discover the complex relations between the state and HEIs in different nations, nor does the literature point out how state capacity and state autonomy may affect higher education insituttions' capacity and autonomous operation, which in the end call for the changes of relations between the state and society.

2.2.5 Globalisation, state and higher education

Although institutions make up the core of the state, their relationship with the state and society may be uncertain at large, which depends on the social formation and the nation-state's historical experiences (Chilcote 2000). Nowadays, there are external factors as well as internal ones to affect a state's development. External factors, such as the phenomenon of globalisation have enforced the states to reform and make changes in its policy so as to respond to the impact. Internal factors, such as social unrest, economic crises also push the states to 'change the way it used to run' in order to face the fast-changing societies. In the studies of globalisation, there are generally three broad schools of thoughts on globalisation regarding what kind of impact that globalisation has brought upon the states around the world. Held et al. (1999) summarise as follows:

- 1. The hyperglobalists define contemporary globalisation as a new era in which people everywhere are subjected to the disciplines of the global marketplace. Emphasizing economic forces, this view argues that globalisation is bringing about 'decentralisation' of economies through the establishment of transnational networks of production, trade and finance. In this 'borderless' economy, national governments are 'regulated to little more than transmission belts for global capital or, ultimately, simple intermediate institutions sandwiched between increasingly powerful local, regional and global mechanisms of governance'. (p. 3)
- 2. The sceptics, by contrast, maintain that contemporary levels of economic interdependence are not historically unprecedented. The 19th century era of the classical Gold Standard, they note, was also a period of economic integration. The sceptics consider the hyperglobalists thesis to be fundamentally flawed and politically naïve since it underestimates the enduring power of national governments to regulate international economic activity. The sceptics recognise the economic power of regionalisation in the world economy, but assert that by comparison with the age of world empires the international economy has become considerably less global in its geographical embrace.
- 3. The transformationalists, like the hyperglobalists, consider globalisation to be a central driving force behind the rapid social, political and economic changes that are reshaping societies. However, they are less certain of the direction in

which trends are leading and about the kind of world order which it might prefigure. For transformationalists, the existence of a single global system is not taken as evidence of global convergence or of the arrival of a single world society. Rather, they argue, 'globalisation is associated with new patterns of global stratification in which some states, societies, and communities are becoming increasingly enmeshed in the global order while others are becoming increasingly marginalised' (p. 7-8). The new patterns require reformulation of vocabulary from North/South and First/Third World, recognising that new hierarchies cut across and penetrate all societies and regions of the world.

In section 2.1, discussions on the advent of globalisation have been made. Here, reviews of literature will focus on how globalisation affects states and state policies.

2.2.5.1 Neoliberalism v.s. Neo-Marxism

Neoliberalism has spread rapidly from a theory of economic behaviour to framework for governing all aspects of society (Peters 2001). Unlike Marxists who trace their root of ideas from Karl Marx, neoliberalism has its philosophical roots in the libertarian ideas of thinkers such as F. A. Hayek, M. Friedman and K. Popper. Either neoliberals or neo-liberalism emphasise the least intervening of the states, and therefore, neoliberals are guided by a vision of the weak state (Apple 2000).

Neoliberal forms of governance include deregulation, competitiveness and privatisation and marketisation. Unlike classical liberalism with a central philosophy of the freedom from the individual from state interference, neoliberalism, according to Naidoo, envisions a 'positive role for the state in facilitating the workings of a market and in developing institutions and individuals that are responsive to market forces' (Naidoo 2010). For neoliberals, economic rationality is one form of rationality more powerful than any other. In other words, they believe that what is private is necessarily good and what is public is necessarily bad (Apple 2000). Under the influences of neoliberalism, the state develops into the 'competitive state' which sees its primary objective as one of fostering a competitive national economy by promoting returns from market forces in international settings. What the neoliberals truly believe is that 'there is a greater functionality between the state and the market with the state establishing conditions for the quasi-market but also actively mobilising market mechanisms to attain political goals' (Naidoo 2010, p.70). While challenges

occur that contributed to a crisis in the field of, for instance, higher education, in many low-income countries, a neoliberal framework has usually been taken by the states to solve those crises usually highly related to globalisation.

Clearly, with the advent of neoliberalism emerging from the 1980s, globalisation is placing pressures upon nation states. The states are called upon to regulate the activities of corporate capital in the national interests at the same time it is 'forced' to act as an inducement to transnational and global finance capital. As Sbragia argue, the role of the government/nation state has changed fundamentally from a 'provider of welfare benefits' to a builder of 'markets', where by the state start to build markets and shape them in different way in order to regulates them (Sbragia 2000). Some neoliberal scholars argue that the new role of the state, liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade, precisely implies that state has changed its policies of protecting national business firms and started actively promoting globalisation policies by opening up the national economy (Stiglitz 2002). However, global finance capital would diminish and constraints freedom of the nation-state, especially in developing states, makes the states unable to play any major interventionist role by making substantial uses of diverse economic and financial pressure tactics. The thinking and dominance of neoliberalism in the help of globalisation has made those developing states difficult to step out of the neo-liberal regime in order to pursue an alternative agenda (Sugunakararaju 2008). Such view is what the Marxists has disagreed with the neoliberalism's perspective.

Marxists perceive globalisation as an implication of imperialism. According to Patras and Veltmeyar, globalisation is 'a class project of the emerging class of transnational capitalists seeking to promote their economic interests' (Patras and Veltmeyar 2001, p.8). Clearly, Marxists scholars perceive a fundamental contradiction between the adoption of neoliberal policies and the preservation of democratic institutions. They have emphasized the existence of nation-state in the globalised era and argue that the structure of the nation-state remains the same but its nature as well as character transformed substantially as nation state has played an active role in structuring political economic arrangements and institutions that help the globalisation

process (Sugunakararaju 2008). Therefore, the Marxists are usually guided by a vision of the strong state.¹⁹

2.2.5.2 State and Higher Education Policies

Inevitably, higher education policies which are formulated by states are driven by neoliberal forces. With the impact of globalisation, more strategies which in accordance with the implications of neoliberalism are adopted by the states and higher education institutions, among which are the emergence of 'marketisation', 'privatisation' and 'decentralisation' in higher education reforms (Massey 1997; Mok 1996, 2001, 2002; Tai 2000; Whitty 1997). There is a major shift of national politics from maximising welfare to promoting entrepreneurial culture, innovation, and profitability in both private and public sectors. Such paradigm shift is manifested by individualist, competitive and entrepreneurial approaches central to public management (Mok 2003). All of these approached are believed to be largely driven by globalisation.

There has been a growing significance of engaging in state-centred comparative educational research today (Kazamias 2009). This means that when discussing education in a comparative perspective, the state should be looked at as a real actor because (Carnoy 2006):

...most education in most countries is provided by the state. Second, even when education is partly private and partly 'public', it is the state that defines the meaning of public and private education. In most countries private school teachers are paid by the state. Third, because the state is the supplier and definer of education, the way changes take place in educational systems is largely defined by the political leadership of the nation's citizenry to the state and the way that the state has organized the educational system politically (p. 555).

All in all, the relationship between state and higher education should be examined and include the variable of globalisation in such examination.

2.3 COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON POLITICS AND EDUCATION

A 'revolution' in comparative research was initiated in the 1960s mainly grounded in the positivist tradition. Be it by using qualitative or quantitative approach, the amount of comparative research on higher education has been growing steadily in the

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¹⁹ The Marxists perspectives on globalisation can also be seen in the neo-Marxists, neo-constructivism and neo-conservatism discussions.

past 2 decades (Kosmützky and Krücken 2014). Literature on methodological debates in comparative research in politics and (higher) education as well as challenges lying in current comparative research are both presented and discussed in this section.

2.3.1 Comparative politics

The approaches to the study of (comparative) politics were summarised by Apter and Andrain (1968): (1) Normative approach: in comparative politics, it usually implies the evolution of constitutional democracy; (2) Structural approach: under this, it can be divided yet into another 5 emphases made by Apter and Andrain: a. legal and formal institutions (usually administrative ones); b. neo-institutional structures (e.g. a civil service or political parties); c. groups (e.g. formal ones such as political parties and informal ones such as trade unions); d. structures and functions that constitute a system of related parts; e. structures in the form of groups and classes. (3) Behavioural approach: in which the unit of analysis is the individual and the small groups. According to Chilcote, 'the mainstream of comparative politics has the tendency to utilise the structural or structural-functional approach although recently there has been a tendency to pursue narrow, micro orientations through the behavioural approach' (Chilcote 1994, p.372).

Traditionally, there are four theories in the studies of comparative politics: (1) Systems theories; (2) Culture theories; (3) Development theories; (4) Class theories. ²⁰

1. Systems theories

The system theory is the interdisciplinary study of systems in general. It uses 'systems' as a macro analytical unit. David Easton (1953), as one of the key theorists, was the first pioneer who linked the system theory with political studies. Systems theories emphasises on 'inputs and outputs', 'demands and supports' and 'feedback'. G. A. Almond (1956) who also contributed to the studies of systems theory by integrating it with structural functionalism to discuss the politics of developing areas, publishing in 1965 in the journal of Journal of Politics.

2. Culture theories

²⁰ There are detailed discussions in R. H. Chilcote's classical book 'Theories of Comparative Politics: The search for a Paradigm' regarding the comparative politics theories.

Culture theories derive from cultural anthropologies. It emphasises on socialisation, small group analysis and psychological studies of personality. In political studies, it discovers the beliefs, symbols and values in political actions. The most eminent works of study are G. A. Almond and S. Verba's *Civic culture: Political attitude and democracy in five nations* (Almond and Verba 1963); L. Pye's *Politics, Personality and Nation Building: Burman's Search for Identity* (Pye 1962); J. S. Coleman's *Education and Political Development* (Coleman 1965).

3. Development theories

The emergence of development theories starts from the need to analyse the developing nation-states. It usually can be categorised into 5 types:

- a. Use traditional political democracy approach to analyse the problems in developing countries. There is work such as *The Stage of Political Development*, written by A. F. K. Organski (1965).
- b. Discuss on nationalism, in particular emphases on the perspective of national building. E.g. K. W. Deutsch and R. L. Merritt's *Nationalism and social Communication* (1970).
- c. Discuss on modernisation. E.g. *Modernisation and the Structure of Societies*, written by M. J. Levy (1966).
- d. Discuss on the changing process. E.g. *Political Order and Changing Societies*, written by S. P. Huntington (1965b).
- e. A criticism on the above over-elaborated ethnocentricism. E.g. A. G. Frank's *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America*.

4. Class theories

Class theories particularly look at the elites studies in the third world nation-states, largely induced by the failure of institutions directly implanted from the 'western world' to Asia, Latin America and Africa. This has triggered the studies of 'strongman' in political leadership in the 1960s. E.g. J. S. Migdal's (1988) *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State*. Class theories are greatly influenced by K. Marx and F. Engel.

2.3.2 Comparative education

Comparative education start to emerge in academic studies also in the 1960s. Epstein writes that 'comparative education grew out of, and was inspired by international education' (Epstein 1994, p. 918-919). International education started to become important after Ward War II, in particular in the 1960s and 1970s. Comparative education and international education are often confused because comparative education, according to Epstein, is 'a field of study that applies historical, philosophical, and social theories and methods to international problems in education', while 'international education is a primarily an academic and interdisciplinary pursuit' (Epstein 1994, p. 918).

The field of comparative education has focused on the theoretical bases of social sciences and there have been shifts in dominant paradigms shifts within social sciences. This includes the rise of positivism in the 1960s and 1970s and popularity of post-modernism in the 1980s and 1990s (Epstein 1994; Paulston 2000) and yet comparative education scholars have tended to use a fairly limited set of tools from social sciences (Bray 2006).

The main methodological challenge for comparative educationalists is not about levels of analysis, according to Bray, but about 'the nature of comparative analysis per se' and 'whether to do it all' (Bray 2006, p. 43). Traditionally, there are quantitative and qualitative comparative methods. Quantitative comparison does research statistically which establish probabilistic relationships between independent and dependent variables and has the advantage that can simultaneously test correlations amongst a large number of variables (Bray 2006, p. 45). Qualitative comparison looks at real cases, seeking to show the mechanism of cause and effects in their actual context, which include a wide range of instances of the phenomenon in question (Bray 2006, p. 45).

2.3.3 Comparative higher education research

Teichler being one of the earliest scholars who published a seminal work in 1996 explains what the notion of comparative higher education research means. Comparative higher education research deals with 'research addressing phenomena of higher education in more than one 'culture', "society' or 'nation' systematically or in a single one in comparative perspective' (Teichler 1996, p. 448-449). Apparently,

the comparative approach is seen as one of the most fruitful in higher education studies as Teichler later points out that 'comparative research establishes a borderline between a familiar cultural and social space and other non-familiar cultural and social spaces; thereby, most frequently a nation is viewed as the familiar space, and comparative research is 'international comparative research' in comparing phenomena across nations' (Teichler 2014, p. 394). The approach allows researchers to broaden their observation base and most importantly to draw reliable understanding of the phenomena observed (Reale 2014).

Although the field of higher education research is a relatively small and novel field of social science, the field has grown while the new generations of scholars are better prepared than their predecessors in understanding conceptual and empirical work of knowledge (Bleiklie 2014). The trend in comparing cases in higher education among nations is observable due to the steadily growth amount of researches in the past decades (Kosmützky and Krücken 2014).

Dale (2005) believes that the trend in the growth of comparative research is due to knowledge economy. Dale provides four levels that are intended to make possible comparison in the set of knowledge economy and globalisation. Level 1: educational practices. Level 2: education politics, Level 3: politics of education. Level 4: Outcomes. He furthers to summarise four approaches that are made possible to do the above four levels of comparison. The four headings are: the relationship between problems and solutions; the scales at which and from which we may learn; the need to recognise discourses as well as practices; and the nature of the learning taking place (Dale, p. 142-143).

2.3.4 Challenges in comparative research

The essential challenges for comparative researches, according to Sartori (1970), are that 'what do we compare' and 'how much we do compare'? Sartori points out that 'one can say that comparison is aimed discovering fundamental similarities, which are hidden by secondary dimensions (making similar things look alike), but this operation too might be tricky' (1970, p. 1035). In other words, the dilemma lies in how one compares the selected two identical cases if one have no clues to compare them and while one select two items with nothing in common; how one makes the room for comparability (Reale 2014). Reale believes that a comparative research

currently should meet several basic requirements related to its robustness (2014, p. 412-413):

- 1. The research design should focus on concepts and classifications (not on mere descriptions).
- 2. The investigation should be based, at least in principle, on testing causal hypotheses by means of various possible explanations.
- 3. Cases can be selected on the basis of their great similarities or great differences, or because they are a representative sample.
- 4. It is best to deal with more observations but fewer variables, through the formulation of more targeted hypotheses.

Green comments that the major challenges posed for comparative education today is that first, 'to make the field genuinely comparative' and secondly, 'to bring it back from its relative isolation into the mainstream of comparative social science where it rightly belongs' (Green 2006, p. 47-48). However, he also proposes that the current social science debate around globalisation should be able to help make the second challenge attractive. Enders also addresses the complexity of doing research regarding internationalisation and globalisation in higher education. For this, he points out that 'we will need to use multiple methods of applying our theoretical and empirical tools to a verity of research settings defined at various levels of analysis' (Enders 2004, p. 379).

Teichler (2014) in his most recently published article on the journal of *Higher Education* addresses the 'quite above-average challenging problems' in comparative higher education research. First, as he illustrates, 'higher education research is among the fields characterised by a joint thematic area to which a substantial range of disciplines contributes'. Secondly, 'higher education is among the very small fields of research' (Teichler 2014, p. 405). He also points out that the research in comparative higher education which include context of multi-nations as well as scholars from many different countries would usually take in time span of two to three or exceptionally four years. He concludes that the research in comparative higher education is 'hard' because these studies (1) vary substantially in complexity according to the countries addressed; (2) these duties differ strikingly in the composition of researchers; (3) these studies might address readers from other countries than those under scrutiny and those of the authors (Teichler 2014, p. 401).

Teichler's points of view, as he also addresses in his paper, are his personal experiences in doing comparative education over the years and most of these are for the European-based research context. In parts of the world, except for North America, comparative higher education research seems just to be at the burgeoning stage.

To summarise the above literature, challenges in doing comparative higher education studies seem to be the methodologies of comparative research still. Higher education studies, as argued by Geodegebuure and van Vught, are subject to the methodological requirements inherent in the disciplines, such as history, sociology economics, politics, etc. in order to further understand the phenomenon and this is equally true to the case of comparative higher education (Geodegebuure and van Vaught 1996). As Held correctly points out what comparative education can contribute to is that the 'analysis of the extent to which globalisation is associated with new patterns of stratification in which some states, societies and communities are increasingly enmeshed in the global order while others are increasingly marginalised (Held et al. 1999, p. 7-8). In other words, works in comparative research can contribute to broader, multidisciplinary analysis that specifically concerned with education (Bray 2006).

2.4 PRESENT STUDIES ON INTERNATIONALISATION IN TAIWAN AND CHINA

2.4.1 Internationalisation of Taiwan's higher education

In the study of Taiwan's HE internationalisation, Mok (2002) examines the changes in the role of state in terms of provision, financing, and regulation in HE, suggesting that there has been a new governance model evolving in Taiwan.

Yang (2004) discussed the connotation of what internationalisation is and presents the current challenges that Taiwan's HEIs face under the globalisation effects. She summarises that internationalisation has become the essential task for HEIs; it is important to compare Taiwan's and other countries' measures, strategies in dealing with HIEs' internationalisation in the current era.

Chou (2008) critically discusses the impact of neo-liberalism on Taiwan's HE. She believes that globalisation has transformed public universities from a public entity into private commodities and consequently increased the number of private HEIs. Chou concludes that many universities provide education with more of an eye toward

profit than quality. The implications for educational quality and equity of opportunities tend to be less emphasized in the era of market-driven environments.

Chang et al. (2009) discussed the effects of globalisation in Taiwan's HEIs particularly after the implementation of two important plans set forward by the MOE (Ministry of Education) in Taiwan. The study focuses on Taiwan's experience with the two projects and suggests that there has been tremendous increase in the growth rates of R&D performances the internationalisation progress.

Several masters degree theses and PhD dissertations examine the degree of Taiwan's internationalisation in HE from various aspects (see Lin²¹ 2002; Chang²² 2002; Tsai²³ 2004; Shu²⁴ 2005; Shu²⁵ 2006; Tang²⁶ 2006; Huang²⁷ 2007; Chen²⁸ 2009; Tsai²⁹ 2012). Among which, Ching³⁰ (2009) has made the most comprehensive research on the degree of Taiwan's HEIs' internationalisation. He concludes that internationalisation in Taiwan is still in its early stages and therefore HEIs are mostly concentrated in the development within local arenas; plans for expansion of foreign branches are still in the minimal although clearly, HEIs internationalisation has been acknowledged to be part of the institutions' goals to fulfil as one of the primary functions.

²¹林淑宛,(2002)。全球化對高等教育革新影響之研究(未出版碩士論文)。國立臺灣師範大學,台北市。

²²張珍瑋,(2002)。全球化時代中我國高等教育發展模式之研究(未出版碩士論文)。國立 臺灣師範大學,台北市。

²³蔡大立(2004)。臺灣地區高等教育國際化現況之研究(未出版碩士論文)。淡江大學,台 北市。

²⁴徐珮淑,(2005)。全球治理與兩岸 WTO 教育服務業的承諾—兼論我國對大陸高等教育學歷 認證之研究(未出版碩士論文)。中國文化大學,台北市。

²⁵許媛翔,(2006)。從全球化觀點探討台灣高等教育國際化之可行性(未出版碩士論文)。 國立中山大學,高雄市。

²⁶唐嘉彥,(2006)。中國建設世界一流大學政策之研究一以北京大學為例(未出版碩士論文)。淡江大學,臺北市。

²⁷黃家凱,(2007)。科技大學國際化策略與實施成效分析(未出版碩士論文)。淡江大學, 台北市。

²⁸陳錦麗(2009)。臺灣高等教育國際化衡量指標建構與國際化策略之研究(未出版博士論文)。國立中山大學,高雄市。

²⁹蔡品蓁,(2012)。臺灣與中國高等教育國際化策略之比較研究—以學生國際化為例(未出版碩士論文)。國立臺北教育大學,台北市。

³⁰莊俊儒,(2009)。台灣高等教育國際化之衡量(未出版博士論文)。國立政治大學,台北市。

2.4.2 Internationalisation of China's higher education

It is apparent that China and its higher education systems can no longer be immune from international forces. Internationalisation combines three main elements: international content in the curriculum; the international movement of scholars and students; and international cooperation programmes, which can be observed particularly after the realisation of Project 211 and Project 985. Both projects, as Hayhoe and Zha put, combined effects of the deep-rooted strength of Chinese cultural traditions and the open door policy (Hayhoe and Zha 2006). They explain further that China in fact offers a unique model of successful East-West academic integration to allow the universities, which are set to be made as world-class ones, to gain the recourses needed to pursue world-wide standing and they may well bring new vitality and new cultural recourses into the world community. In other words, Hayhoe and Zha believe that the success of Chinese HE development in the past decade attribute to higher education reform with 'Chinese characteristics'. Although they do not state clearly how the reform was taken place behind the scene, they do mention that 'in the years to come, Chinese HE will remain a driven social institution, with the degree of autonomy it enjoys (vis-à-vis Chinese state) depending on the extent of political reform' (Hayhoe and Zha 2006, p.688).

Lo Y. W. (2009) provides the possible framework for encouraging the presence of local dimensions in an internationalised and globally competitive system by using Taiwan's higher education system as a case. Lo reviews different opinions on the position and importance of local dimensions in the world of globalised higher education. Based on these perspectives, he advocates promoting the concept of state-development in Taiwan's as well as in other higher education systems for preserving or even strengthening the local dimensions of individual academic systems operating in the international knowledge network.

Yang R. (2002) critically examines the degree of internationalisation of China in his book *Third delight: the internationalisation of higher education in China*. He concludes seven important strategic priorities in China's achievement of internationalisation goals. ³¹He expects that the study can promote further awareness of China's socio-economic conditions as a platform for internationalisation.

³¹For the details of the seven strategies, one can refer to Yang, Rui's book, from page 183 to 188.

Ka Ho Mok has long been observing the East Asia's HE development. In his numerous publications, I have selected several articles that are mostly related to the theme of this study. In both his articles of *Riding over socialism and global capitalism:* changing education governance and social policy paradigms in post-Mao China' (2005a), and Globalisation and educational restructuring: universities merging and changing governance in China (2005b), Mok stated that even though there seems to be the phenomenon of 'diminishing role of the state' in the forces of globalisation, China does not seem to 'diminish' itself in such a flow. He argued that 'globalisation may not necessary bring about the end of the state' (Mok 2005a, p. 82). On the contrary, the findings in his studies explicated that China's party state had achieved its policy goals more effectively by searching additional recourses and involving non-state actors in running the public sector. The state, as a strong one, 'tactically makes use of the market and other non-state actors/sectors as policy instrument to reduce the burden of the state in education financing and provision, the adoption of such policy may well strengthen state capacity' (Mok 2005b, p. 237).

2.4.3 The comparative perspective on China and Taiwan's higher education development

Research on the comparative perspective of China and Taiwan's higher education is quite limited among several scholars in Taiwan in the 1990s. Chou³² (1999) did a comparative study on China's and Taiwan's higher education system. It is quite a preliminary study of work in higher education studies comparing Taiwan and China after the lift of Martial Law.

Law (1995) uses the traditional Chinese culture and monarchy context to discuss the cross-strait higher education reform and development in his article of *The role of the state in higher education reform: Mainland China and Taiwan*. In the article of *Fortress sate, cultural Continuities and economic change: higher education in mainland China and Taiwan*, he furthered labelling the two nation-states as 'fortress state' between 1949-1995 and managed to explain how these two states were affected by both domestic and international factors (Law, 1996). Knowing that the theories of development and education, namely theories of educational convergence, modernisation and dependency and world systems analysis are not sufficient in

³²周祝瑛(1999)。大陸高等教育問題研究—兼論台灣相關課題,臺北市:師大書苑。

explaining the continuous struggling for a balance between the preservation of cultural and national identity between 1949-1995, Law proposed a theory to explain the tension between the cultural and economic tasks of higher education in mainland China and Taiwan. He concluded that higher education systems of Mainland China and Taiwan are not arenas for cultural and economic imperialism by industrialised countries. Unlike Western countries, the states of Mainland China and Taiwan have deemed the socio-political task of HE to be as important as economic considerations over the last four decades. It is worthy of further exploring whether such socio-political task of HE is continuously carried on after year 1995 to-date.

In the more recent work, Mok (2003) examines the higher education reforms and restructuring in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China, with particular reference to the issues related to globalisation of decentralisation and marketisation in higher education. He concludes that globalisation practices in higher education should not be analysed in terms of a one-dimensional movement from 'the state' to 'the market'. Instead, in the study of such comparison work, one must 'contextually analyse the interaction between a range of factors that are critical in shaping the local context and the impetus for changes driven by global trends' (Mok 2003, p.126-127).

Mok and Chan (2008) critically examine major policies and strategies employed by governments in Mainland China and Taiwan in benchmarking both the states' HEIs with world-class universities. Changes taking place in the university governance in these two states clearly suggest significant transformations in the regulatory regime whereby broader regulatory objectives are directed to promote economic competitiveness and global ranking. The research suggests that new modes of higher educational governance are emerging in China and Taiwan, characterised by evolving features of 'regulatory regionalism'.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In this section, concepts that are related this study are displayed and explained. The main purpose of this chapter is to facilitate the readers to understand the research design and analysis of framework in this study.

3.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1.1 State and university

3.1.1.1 Internationalisation in Higher Education

In the past decades, international activities in higher education dramatically increase. These activities not only can be seen as the influences in the process of globalisation, but also can be regarded as the 'results' of certain higher education policies in many countries in East Asia. Particularly in Taiwan and Mainland China, a huge amount of fund has been allocated by the Ministry of Education (MOE) in order to enhance 'the degree of internationalisation' for the country. The below tables (Table 3.1, 3.2) list out the projects which are formed as higher education (HE) policies in both Taiwan and China respectively. From the name of these projects, it is already clear that either in Taiwan or in China, policies are formulated in attempt to achieve the goal to 'internationalise' HE institutions (HEIs).

Table 3. 1 Taiwan Government's Projects on Higher Education Internationalisation

Name of Projects	Year	Amount
Programme for Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities		
《大學學術卓越發展計畫》		
1 st Round	1998-2004	NT\$2.1
		billion
2 nd Round	2000-2006	NT\$4.3
		billion
Plan to Enhance University Global Competitiveness	2002	NT\$383
《提昇大學國際競爭力計畫》		million
Five Years 50 Billion Project Phase 1:	2006-2007	NT\$50

Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research

billion

Centres 33, Phase 134 《第一期五年五百億計畫之發展國際一流大學

及頂尖研究中心計畫:第一梯次》

Five Years 50 Billion Project Phase 1:

2008-2010

Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres,

Phase 2 《第一期五年五百億計畫之發展國際一流大學及頂尖研究中

心計畫:第二梯次》

Phase 2: Five Years 50 Billion Project Phase 2, also renamed as	2011-2015	NT\$10
Plan to March Towards Top Universities ³⁵		billion
《第二期五年五百億計畫, also renamed as 邁向頂尖大學計畫》		
Internationalise the Taiwan Studies Programme	2011-	NT\$11
《教育部補助大專校院推動臺灣研究國際合作計畫》	to date	million ³⁶

Source: Adapted from (MOE, Taiwan, ³⁷ Lee 2012, p. 8.)

Table 3. 2 Mainland China Government Project on Higher Education Internationalisation

Name of Projects	Year
Project 211	1996-2000
Project 985 Phase 1 Action Plan of Education Promotion for 21 st Century《面向 21 世紀教育振興行動計劃》	1998-2004
Project 985 Phase 2 2003-2007 Boosting Education Action Plan《2003—2007 年教育振興行動計劃》	2004-2007
98/5 Project Phase 3 An Opinion (From the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Finance) on the issue of speeding up to be world top university and building high quality universities. 《教育部、財政部關於加快推進世界一流大學和高水準大學建設的意見》	2010-2020

Source: MOE, China: Introduction to 98/5 Project.³⁸

³³ The project is also known as 'Development for University Research Excellence', see Salmi 2009; Marginson 2011.

³⁴ 17 Universities in Taiwan are granted the fund by MOE of Republic of China to implement the

project. ³⁵ 12 Universities in Taiwan are granted the fund by MOE of Republic of China to implement the

The number of funds granted from the MOE for this Project in separate years is NT\$4,438,106 (2011); NT\$ 2,693,025 (2012), NT\$ 4,060,000 (2013). The total fund (3 years) granted is NT\$ 11.191.131.

³⁷ Official website of 'Plan to March Towards Top Universities', MOE of Taiwan, 2014a http://140.113.40.88/edutop/index_3.php

The emergence of internationalisation in HE can be observed by the increase numbers of the activities include students or faculty mobility (the movement of students, faculty, researchers and non-academic staff); cross-border education ('sister' institutions of existing universities, branch or satellite campuses of parent institutions, collaborative arrangements). Also, internationalisation in HE can be observed by the trend of world class university aspiration, education for global engagement, the implement of the importance of English in curriculum and notable cooperative networking around the world (Rumbley, Altbach and Reisberg 2012).

3.1.1.2 State Capacity/Autonomy

As was discussed in literature review that 'the state' is clearly different from 'the government' itself. Indeed, the complexity of modern state cannot be reduced to the notion of 'the government' only and the examination of state capabilities of the state can possibly be exercised through state apparatuses. Althusser explains that state apparatus not only mean the specialised apparatus whose existence and necessity in relation to the requirements of legal practices (i.e. the police, the courts, the prisons) but also those who indirectly intervenes as a supplementary repressive force (i.e. the army), the head of state, the government and bureaucratic administration (Althusser 1972).

In this study, the state capabilities refer to the degree of state capacity to take autonomous actions in response to globalisation through higher education (HE) internationalisation. When the state has higher capacity, it can carry out state policy preference and ultimately to fulfil the state will and such a state can be categorised as having high autonomy in actions (Nordlinger 1981; Krasner 1984; Skocpol 1985; Migdal 1988). It will be a danger to assume states in all times and places have had similar potential or abilities to achieve the state's goal/to fulfil a state will because even in the similar culture zone, states develop in diverse angles (Migdal 1988). ³⁹Under such a proposition, there is a need to examine state capabilities in the same culture zone while reviewing/evaluating/planning for internationalisation of HE. In this study, internationalisation of HE in Taiwan and Mainland China are the 'cases' that are looked at in the examination of state capabilities.

2

³⁸ The brief introduction of 98/5 project is retrieved from the website of MOE, China: http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s6183/201112/128828.html

³⁹Concrete evidence has been shown in the book of *Strong Societies and Weak States: state-society relations and state capabilities in the Third World*, written by J. S. Migdal, 1988.

Additionally, the state apparatuses that are mostly examined are MOEs, other related government administration sectors and HEIs administration in both Taiwan and mainland China. Even though the criteria to examine state capabilities examination in this study seem to be limited only to HE's internationalisation policymaking, policy-implementation, it is repeatedly stated in most literature that the study of internationalisation of HE should include political, economic and social factors/actors and therefore the examination and analysis in this study are multifaceted.

3.1.1.3 University Ability/Autonomy

The concept of university autonomy is sometimes used in this study. University autonomy can be looked at in various perspectives. For instance, in the report provided by European University Association (EUA) suggests that university ability includes organisational autonomy, financial autonomy, staffing autonomy and academic autonomy (Estermann and Nokkala 2009). ⁴⁰ University autonomy sometimes referred in this study is analysed as a dependent variable in the examination of state effects to HE development in internationalisation. University autonomy is displayed and implied by how HEIs take actions to be internationalised whether in a stronger or weaker state.

3.1.1.4 Internationalisation Actors

Since this study is in attempt to analyse internationalisation of HE by adopting state-centre approach, the study focuses mainly on the national-level rationales and these rationales are adopted as the multi-criteria indicators in analysis when examining the 'origins', 'outcomes' as well as 'implementation processes' of internationalisation both in Taiwan and mainland China.

In order to make clearer illustrations on the level of actors, the type of actors and the role of actors in HE's internationalisation process, Knight provides the following table to show the diverse actors and complex relations that are involved in the current internationalisation trend among countries.

⁴⁰ The report of 'University Autonomy in Europe I' is written by T. Estermann and T. Nokkala funded by EUA.

Table 3. 3 Actors and Their Roles in the Internationalisation of Higher Education

Levels of Actors	Types of Actors	Role of Actors
National	Government departments or	Policymaking
Bilateral	agencies	Regulating
Sub-regional	Non (or semi-) governmental	Advocacy
Regional	organisations	Funding
Interregional	Professional associations or	Programming
International	special interest group	Networking
	Foundations	Research
	Public/Private educational	Information Exchange
	institutions and providers	

Source: Knight 2012, p. 32.

The above table shows that actors in HE internationalisation represent a diversity of groups, not only educational institutions and providers themselves, but also government departments, agencies, non-governmental sectors as well as private and public foundations (Knight 2012). In other words, if one wishes to examine the degree of internationalisation, the policy formation and implementation of internationalisation, one should not neglect both actors in the governmental sectors as well as those non-governmental or professional associations. This table provided by Knight helps forming the interviewee groups at different levels in this study (See Appendix II).

3.1.2 Research questions

relationship between There identified causal globalisation and internationalisation. Globalisation refers primarily to the processes of increasing interdependence, and ultimately convergence of economies and to the liberalisation of trade and markets. In the development of HE in most East Asian countries, for example, the pursuit of opening English-taught programmes so as to attract more 'international students' to be enrolled to the universities or the pursuit of enhancing the numbers of exchange students are almost seen 'everywhere' (Rumbley, Altbach and Reisberg 2012). The process of globalisation, in this regard, is associated with a restructuring or renovation of a nation-state, e.g. through the deregulation of legal and financial controls, the opening of markets, the promotions of 'speak-good-English' programmes. Literally, the power of a nation state changes in the process of

globalisation, sometimes fundamentally. Some states even find that they have very limited control over policies that regulate HE systems (Enders 2004). When development in Asian-Pacific higher education systems are intimately connected with western model, notably provide by France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States (Huang 2007a), it is not hard to imagine that the systems changes in these countries are connected with necessary state structural changes as shown below.



Figure 3. 1 Globalisation and State Restructuring

Source: Drawn by the author.

The above picture shows that most of the states in East Asia are particularly 'shattered' when facing the impact of globalisation, especially globalisation is more conceived as an ideology of 'Westernisation' in most Asian countries. Even so, some nation-states are not willing to purely adopt the Westernisation ideology in their systems. It can be assumed that if a country's national identity is strong, the less the people living in the country would accept ideology from 'outside'. The study that Phau and Chan (2003) conduced suggests that Thailand has the strongest national identity while South Korea ranks behind it. Taiwan has weak national identity while Singapore is the weakest among the four. R. Yang (2002) suggests that the central focus of Chinese government policy of internationalisation of higher education is to counterbalance Western cultural influence on Chinese society, and to promote the future development of traditional Chinese culture because the mentality of Sinocentrism has not changed much over the years. As many of the growing nationstates are in Asia, e.g. China, India, it is possible that globalisation would not bring about similar effects in these countries as what is happening around the world. This proposition can be drawn as below:

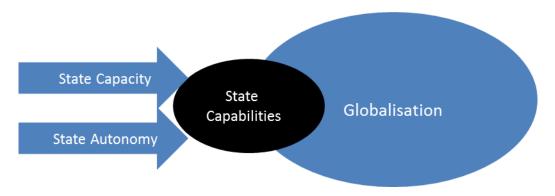


Figure 3. 2 State Capabilities and Globalisation

Source: Drawn by the author.

The core issue of the study is to understand how state (and the capabilities that one state shows) can be an intervening variable when responding to the challenges confronting internationalisation driven by globalisation. As literature aforementioned suggests that development of higher education in the region of Asia is immensely influenced by the state government's policies, the capacity of a state as well as the operation of those state polices become more crucial when studying the HE development in these countries.

Based on the afore-discussed concepts and current literature, my research questions are below:

- 1. In response to globalisation, what is Taiwan's/China's state preference towards internationalisation of HE policies making in the past decade?
- 2. In response to globalisation, how do Taiwan's/China's higher education institutions (HEIs) prioritise their internationalisation agenda in their preference?
- 3. What are the strategies adopting by the state of Taiwan/China in the policy making of internationalisation of HE?
- 4. How do state capabilities affect the society's (higher education institutes—HEIs— in this study) preference on the issue of higher education internationalisation in Taiwan and China?
- 5. On a comparative perspective, how do capabilities of the states can solve the problems brought by globalisation in the context of HE internationalisation in Taiwan and China respectively?

3.1.3 Research framework and research propositions

Summarising from the two propositions shown in section 3.1.2, the framework of analysis in this study is developed henceforth. How states can, on the one hand, benefit from globalisation through internationalisation in HE, while, on the other hand, manage to control its HE internationalisation agendas counterbalancing the globalisation impact? Can states be regarded as the key initiator who creates the mechanism of reaction responding to globalisation at a macro-level? How much can a state and a HEI benefit such newly-developed mechanism and truly operate autonomously?

The first relation displays that the emergence of HEIs' internationalisation policies are affected by globalisation. Globalisation is seen as the 'independent variable' that has driven the internationalisation activities in HEIs.

Globalisation → Internationalisation in HEIs

In addition, the formation of HEIs' internationalisation cannot exclude the effects of nation states. In fact, it is the nation-state whice makes HEIs possible to carry out HE international activities among different HEIs. Nation state is seen as the 'intervening variable' that has facilitated the internationalisation activities in HEIs.

Globalisation → Nation State → Internationalisation in HEIs

By looking at the degree of internationalisation and the different outcomes of internationalisation of HEIs in Taiwan and China, the attention is inevitably put on how state capabilities can bring about different internationalisation policies and how a nation state can possible lead HEIs' to be more internationalised. In order to verify this assumption, the analysis framework is then expanded into the following figure. In the figure below, internationalisation policy is the dependent variable while the rest are independent variable (globalisation) and intervening variables (state capabilities, HEIs).

Globalisation
State Capabilities
Higher Education Institutions
Internationalisation policies

The framework of analysis of this study is mapped in the following.

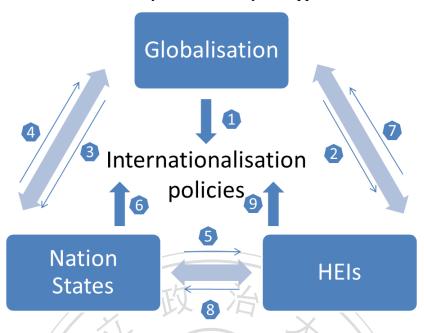


Figure 3. 3 Framework of Analysis

In the light of the given definition and explanations of the concepts related to this study, I provide 9 propositions drawn from the above framework of analysis listed as follows:

- 1. Globalisation reinforces internationalisation of HE.
- 2. Globalisation facilitates HEIs to carry out international education activities.
- 3. Globalisation blurs state borders so as to push states to make structural reforms.
- 4. Nation states make internationalisation policy for HE in confronting globalisation.
- 5. Nation states enforce HEIs to implement internationalisation policies.
- 6. Nation states make internationalisation policies in order to enhance its competitiveness in the global era.
- 7. HEIs utilise globalisation to implement internationalisation policies.
- 8. HEIs urge nation states to make internationalisation policies in response to globalisation.
- 9. HEIs implement their own internationalisation policy agenda in order to enhance its competitiveness in the global era.

As qualitative comparison looks at real cases, seeking to show the mechanism of cause and effects in their actual context, a qualitative comparison must include a wide range of instances of the phenomenon in question (Bray 2006). The analysis of this study is carried out vertically and horizontally. Vertically, documents, tables and figures that are drawn in this study are used to reveal the trends of internationalisation of HE in recent years. Statements and first hand data particularly shown in this study are then to provide horizontal views to point out the similarities and differences of state/university preference in Taiwan and mainland China comparatively. Furthermore, in chapter 6, first hand as well as second hand data are displayed in the following 4 aspects: (1) education reform; (2) education practices; (3) international academic achievement; (4) state preference. When discussing the impact of globalisation to HEIs, aspects (1)-(3) are the usual analysis elements in literature as discussed in chapter 2; aspect 4 is an add-on perspective in this study particularly in an attempt to discuss how the capabilities of a state can influence HE development in a country. 9 propositions provided above are mainly discussed in chapter 7. It is not only to summarise the findings but also to verify the research hypotheses in this study.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODS

3.2.1 Research approach

The approaches which are adopted in this study are mainly to overcome the obstacles occurred in current literature as well as to review how different nation-states respond to globalisation by adopting internationalisation strategies in HE.

This study centres on the selected public and private HEIs in Taiwan and China to examine the states' capabilities (understood as state autonomy and state capacity). To meet up with the goals, state-centred approach, institutional approach and documentary analysis are adopted in this study. Currently, there are 160 HEI in Taiwan, among which 60 are public universities and 100 are private ones. ⁴¹ There are 1763 public universities (regular HEIs) and 706 private universities (non-government HEIs, or also known as *Minban* universities) in China. ⁴² Both Taiwan and mainland

⁴¹ The numbers of university is dated up to year 2012. Refer to MOE official website (2014b) from http://ulist.moe.gov.tw/Home/UniversityList (Access on 2014.9.26)

⁴² The numbers of university is dated up to 2013.9.04. Among the 1763 HEIs, 113 are under central Ministries and Agencies, while 1623 are under local authority. Data access on 2014.9.26, from China's MOE official website (2014b):

http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s7567/201309/156892.html

China share similarities in language and culture. The current ruling party in Taiwan is KMT which was the ruling party in mainland China from 1927-1937; CCP (Chinese Communist Party) is the current and the only ruling party in China which was founded in 1921. There are clear differences in polity as well as social development in the selected two countries and yet the approaches that are used in this study examine mainly on the state policies, facts, and the interview outcomes.

As discussed in literature, state-centred approach is to understand the relationship between the state and the society from a state-centric perspective. Basically, statecentred approach emphasises more on the importance of the state while societycentred approach looks more into governance. The main argument for state-centred approach lies in that state and governments remain critical players and policies continue to be made and implemented hierarchically by the state. Although the society-centred approach emphasises on societal forces and those non-governmental organisations in state governance, whether the sovereignty state is losing its grip and is being replaced by new ideas about pluricentric government is in heated debates. State-centred approach is to look at how states are attempting to expand their governing capacities not only by strengthening central state institutions but by forging new governance partnerships with a range of social actors (Bell and Hindmoor 2009). In addition, China⁴³ has had a long history in carrying out state-centred monarchical systems while Taiwan⁴⁴ was also a rather state-centred authoritarian regime from 1945 to 1987. How the changes, if any, occur when the two states attempt to be more globally competitive and how much they have achieved such attempt through enforcing HEIs to be internationalised are the main theme in this study. Hence, it is fundamental to examine whether the two nation states, Taiwan and China, are responding to globalisation by different strategies adoption in policies and how the state receive benefits from making its HEI more internationalised so as to be more globally competitive.

Adopting documentary analysis is to examine the HE policies and laws that are related to this study in Taiwan and China. Also, documents, reports, news, talks, meeting minutes, lectures and PhD dissertations, masters theses that are related to the

⁴³ In China, from the Chin dynasty, the first emperor, Chin She Huang had attempted to strengthen his ruling power. So does many of the following rulers in other dynasties, e.g. Han Wu Di in the Han Dynasty, and Tang Tai Zong in Tang Dynasty.

⁴⁴ From 1895-1945, Taiwan became the colony of Japan after the First Sino-Japanese War. From 1945, Chiang Kai-shek of KMT retreated to Taiwan and carried out authoritarian rule until his death in 1975.

theme are explored so as to understand the two countries' HE internationalisation in the perspective of how the two state machines manage their HEIs. The purposes of analysing documents are conceptualising, using and assessing available documents. The paucity of sources available until now means that this compendium will be invaluable to social researchers (Bell 2010). The advantages of documentary analysis is when a longitudinal study is undertaken, such as this study, the staff member are usually no longer belonging to the organisations being investigated and thus the documentary analysis can be used more as supplement information obtained from interviews.

Since HE nowadays is undergoing substantial changes in the face of globalisation, it is the prime time to examine the two countries' HE internationalisation policies and institutional restructuring by institutional approach. As institutionalism deals with 'the rules, procedures and formal organisations of government' (Bell and Hindmoor 2009), HEIs can be regarded as formal organisations of government (or an extension of a governmental organisation). The review of HE rules, policies making, implementation and procedures is completed in a qualitative way. In order to retrieve important sources of data collection, interview fulfils the purpose of this study because an indepth interview can uncover valuable insights, and enable one to discover the 'real story' from the people in the know. It is, thus, one of the appropriate ways to conduct this study by using the qualitative method of interview when understanding the formation and implementation of internationalisation policies in this study.

3.2.2 Data collection method

While understanding that the debates on using a mixed method divide, this study is mainly qualitative and via deductive approach. A deductive approach, which is emphasised in post-positivism, aims to test a theory or a hypothesis against data. Since the aim of the research is to see a state as a key actor in the internationalisation of HE facing globalisation, there are several ways to achieve such a goal. Nordlinger (1981) provides a framework of analysis on how one can examine the relationship between state and society and how a state autonomy can be achieved via its capacity. Nordlinger used documentary analysis to create its own analysis model and developed three types of 'state autonomy' and the implications of the 'state-centred model'. Migdal (1988) also discovered the state-society relations and state capabilities in the Third World by documentary analysis method. By using documentary analysis, both

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researches have provided in-depth analysis on the issue of state capabilities. In this research, documents that are related to Taiwan and Mainland China especially on the issue of higher education internationalisation are collected and analysed in juxtapose with the interviewing data being collected in this research.

The interviewing method is particularly important source of data collection in mainland China because 'internationalisation' in China is more emotional than that in the West for cultural reason (Yang, R. 2002). In Taiwan, such method is often adopted when examining the process of internationalisation, its effects and outcome in HEIs (Ching 2009). 45

Prior to the actual interview, a pilot study was conducted in order to reach the goal of getting a sketchy understanding both Taiwan's and China's internationalisation of higher education. Before each interview, after the explanation of the purpose of this study and the provision of the list of questions for the talk, I requested the permission to use a reordering device for the purpose of data analysis only. The researcher has kept the interviews data confidential and has informed the interviewee that their talks during the interviews are under protection of confidentiality. Moreover, all the data are used as first-hand data and to be of academic research purpose only.

During the conduct of interviews, the researcher has tried to probe the interviewees to 'speak more'. Since the interviews were mainly conducted by semi-structured, the interviewees are probed to speak as much as they wished. All the interviews were in principle free flowing and exploratory and there was by no means the limit of discussion. Even though each interview was not conducted entirely in the same order and the length of interview was also flexible, each interview had lasted 30 minutes at least. All the interviews are conducted in between February to October of 2014 by the researcher. Some are carried out in Taiwan while some are in China.

Altogether, there were 13 interviewees, 1 law maker, 4 civil servants, 6 educationists and 2 experts in higher education. 10 out of thirteen granted me to record, 3 declined. Of those who declined, I asked permission to take notes. The interview questions and the list of interview conducting date/location can be found in Appendix I and II. The collected data are displayed in chapter 4-6 as 'quotes' from a certain interviewee. The purpose of this is to juxtapose the retrieved data with figures and charts to provide an insight of a particular issue related to HE development and

⁴⁵莊俊儒,(2009)。台灣高等教育國際化之衡量(未出版博士論文)。國立政治大學,台北市。

state capabilities. The tables and figures in this study are provided either excerpting from other researches or retrieving directly from the official documents/reports/ websites in particular display to suit to purpose of this study.



CHAPTER 4: STATE POLICIES AND STRATEGIES TOWARDS INTERNATIONALISATION IN TAIWAN

This chapter is in an attempt to (1) display Taiwan state's preference on internationalisation by polices formation and fund allocation to select HEIs; (2) to look at how Taiwan's HEIs respond to the state's request. It also examines the state's capabilities when facing global competitiveness especially after Taiwan joins WTO.

4.1 STATE POLICIES ON INTERNATIONALISATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

4.1.1 The historical context

Taiwan's higher education institutions (HEIs) are known for under strict control of the state before Taiwan's democratisation. It is generally agreed that before the lift of Martial Law (before 1987), Taiwan was under authoritarian rule by the KMT under the two 'Chiangs' ⁴⁶ (Kao 2014). Education reform doesn't ring a bell to the government in the beginning of the democratisation in the early 1990s. It is believed that President Lee Teng-hui was occupied by the political struggles in the process of Taiwan's democratisation and therefore there had been a 'bottom-up' voice from the society to make reforms in all levels regarding Taiwan's higher education (HE) from the mid-1990s.

Back in the 1980s, there was a world-wide generational inability of education to cope with the fast changing environment and the emerging social problems (Yang 2000). Taiwan like many other countries in the world gradually embarked on an educational programme reform after the lift of Martial Law. The fundamental changes in Taiwan's HE sector also started the process of 'denationalisation, decentralisation, and autonomisation' from the 1990s (Mok 2003). These changes include the revision of *University Law* that Taiwanese government changes its role from a total provision to the empowerment the universities (especially those state-run national ones) to act as an independent legal body. These changes have transformed the way universities are financed, regulated and managed in a great deal which indirectly enables the HEIs to take the strategy of being more internationalised in the 2000s.

In 2000, Taiwan faced the first regime change. The ruling party changes from KMT to DPP, for which is known for identifying more of the local Taiwanese culture

⁴⁶ Two Chiangs refer to President Chiang Kai-shek and President Chiang Ching-kuo.

than traditional Chinese culture. In the context of higher education, DPP government created several projects to help the HEIs to be globally competitive. For instance, projects of *Plan to Build Outstanding Universities* (2000-2004) and *Plan to Enhance University Global Competitiveness* (2002-2004) are the ones that the MOE started to use block-funding tools to help the HEIs in Taiwan to be more globally competitive. According to the available documents and research reports provided by the government, the total grant of each project is NT\$3 billion⁴⁷ and NT\$383 million⁴⁸ respectively. From 2006, the MOE has initiated the first phase of *Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres* and the second phase of this project has started from 2011 to-date. ⁴⁹

It is worthy to note that there has been a huge increase of universities of Taiwan from the 1990s to-date. For instance, the number of national universities increases from 13 in 1991 to 47 universities in 2013; the number of private universities increases from 8 in 1991 to 75 universities in 2013 (MOE 2014). The total number of universities increases from 123 in 1991 to 161 in 2013, 50 among which, the number of 'university' itself has increased from 21 to 122 (480% growth). This shows that MOE has made efforts to take the strategies of deregulation and marketisation in HE, which is influenced by the ideology of neo-liberalism. Such changes in higher education are easily seen in other Asian countries, too (Mok 2001, 2003; Sato 2007; Welch 2011).

4.1.2 Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres

In 2000, before the *Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres*⁵¹ was initiated, MOE has started several projects in order to help HEIs in Taiwan to be more internationally connected. The two projects named '*Plan*

⁴⁷ Refer to Plan to National Science Technology Development (2009-2012) 'Appendix 8', by former National Science Council (NSC), now known as Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST). 科技部(2009-2012)國家科學技術發展計畫。

⁴⁸ So, 2007, 'Project of Promoting HEIS' internationalisation', Policy Suggestion Report, page 41.蘇彩 足(2007)。「推動大專院校國際化計畫」政策建議結案報告,台北市:行政院研究發展委員 會。

⁴⁹ MOE (2011) Plan to March towards Top Universities, retrieved from http://140.113.40.88/edutop/modules/catalog_1/edutop_about/upload/20111130192552.pdf

⁵⁰ This number include the number of university (大學), independent college(獨立院校) and technology schools.(專科學校)

⁵¹ The Chinese full name of the project is:《發展國際一流大學及頂尖研究中心計畫》

to Build Outstanding Universities' 52 and 'Plan to Enhance University Global Competitiveness', 53 draw the attentions of HEIs. The available data has shown that these two projects are aimed to make the HEIs in Taiwan purse the goal of becoming the top leading universities in the world. The first project was initiated in 2000 and the second was from 2002 both under the rule of DPP. The state carried out its will by making the MOE acting as a state agent by funding the HEIs and MOE is in charge of coordinating among governmental sectors to map out Taiwan's higher education development. Also, with the trend of educational decentralisation, marketisation and privatisation (Mok 2003), the HEIs are controlled less by the MOE and empowered more after a series of modifications of the laws in the late 1990s. These 'changes', or some scholars argued as 'reforms', have made 'internationalisation' as one of the major mottos in policy making as in response to globalisation (Yang 2000).

4.1.2.1 Phase One: Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres

As illustrated above, in order to make HEIs in Taiwan become the world's leading institutions, the MOE, being a governmental sector, created several projects in the past decade to assist the HEIs to reach such goals. The project has drawn great attention because of the 'size of fund' that is granted and allocated into the HEIs of Taiwan. When it comes to examine how education becomes a state apparatus, it is usually through the means of understanding educational policy and practices in a particular country. As Dale puts, any governmental sectors have its limits, and therefore it is essential to identify the limits of governmental and other aspects of state apparatus (Dale 1982). MOE in Taiwan uses 'top-down' means to granting funding and evaluate afterwards to make sure that the HEIs in Taiwan not only comprehend the necessity and importance of being internationalised but also would carry out the policies accordingly. It seems that the government sectors are the locomotives still on the train of internationalisation and the acting body is clearly the HEIs. Although it is argued that those projects only affect a comparative small number of HEIs in Taiwan comparing to the total numbers of HEIs, the amount of funding that is allocated to the key select HEIs should be closely examined to understand its functions in HEIs' internationalisation.

⁵² The Chinese full name of the project is: 《大學學術卓越發展計畫》

⁵³ The Chinese full name of the project is:《提昇大學國際競爭力計畫》

Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres was put forth under this kind of background. The Project is also known as '5 Years NT\$50 Billion Project' (五年五百億計畫) as it aims to allocate NT\$50 billion to the select universities in order to help them become more internationalised. The project started in year 2006, with the goals as follows made by the Higher Education Macroscopic Planning Committee (Chang et al., 2011). The first phase (2005-2009) of the project is expected to reach the following goals (Chang et al., 2011 p.39):

- 1. In ten years, at least one university will become one of the world's top one hundred universities. In fifteen to twenty years, that university will become one of the world's top fifty universities, with several research centres in that university having the potential of becoming some of the world's Top-level research centres.
- 2. At least ten outstanding fields, departments, or research centres will become Asia's First-class areas within five years. In ten years, these will have the potential of becoming among the top fifty in their respective fields.
- 3. The R&D quality of universities will be raised, as will their influence on and visibility in international academic circles.
- 4. Distinguished foreign teaching and research individuals will be recruited to train students in cutting-edge industries.
- 5. Substantive exchange and cooperation will be established among transnational academic organizations.

The total budget of this phase of project is listed below:

Table 4. 1: Year-by-year Budgets for Sub-plans of the 1st Phase Plan

Academic Years	2005	2005	2007	2008	2009	Total
Plan to First-class	35~60	35~60	35~60	35~60	35~60	175~300
Universities(amount)						
Top-level Research Centres	40~65	40~65	40~65	40~65	40~65	200~325
(amount)						
Total amount	100	100	100	100	100	500

Source: MOE of Taiwan, 2006a. (Unit: NT\$ Billion)

4.2.2.2 Outcomes

After the first phase of the Project, there have been changes in the all aspects in teaching, research, internationalisation and industry-academy cooperation in those

funded universities in the aspects. According to the MOE document, from year 2005-2009, there has been an increase of NT\$4.4billiion in the industry-academy cooperation; 41% increase of international students; 51% increase of international academic papers (MOE 2011). Even so, there are shortcomings in the promotion of internationalisation particularly those upper level internationalised tasks. For instance, there is still not enough recruitment for foreign members of staff (including professors, students, members of staff) in the universities; research fields and recourses are still waited to be integrated and merged. It is also criticised for is too frequent project results evaluation which makes those funded universities put more emphasis on the short-term research items. There are twelve recipients of universities which gain the monetary funding in Phase One project. The list of university is as follows:

Table 4. 2: List of Granted Universities in the 1st Phase Project

	Granted year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
University	y*				10.00 N	
1.	NTU (Q)	30	30	30	30	30
2.	NCKU	17	17	17	17	17
3.	NTHU	10	10	12	12	12
4.	NCTU	8	8	9	9	10
5.	NCU	6	6	7	7	7
6.	NSYSU 🕠	6	6	6	6	6
7.	NYMU	5	5	5	S 5	5
8.	NCHU	7 4	4	4.5	4.5	4.5
9.	NTUST	3	3	2	2	2.2
10.	NCCU	2.05	enachi	2	2	2
11.	CGU**	3	3	2	2	2
12.	YZU**	2.32	3	-	-	-

Source: Lee, 2012, p. 9. (Unit: NT\$ 10 Million)

- 1. NTU: National Taiwan University 國立臺灣大學
- 2. NCKU: National Cheng Kung University 國立成功大學
- 3. NTHU: National Tsing Hua University 國立清華大學
- 4. NCTU: National Chiao Tung University 國立交通大學
- 5. NCU: National Central University 國立中央大學
- 6. NSYSU: National Sun Yat-sen University 國立中山大學
- 7. NYMU: National Yang Ming University 國立陽明大學
- 8. NCHU: National Chung Hsing University 國立中興大學
- 9. NTUST: National Taiwan University of Science and Technology 國立臺灣科技大學
- 10. NCCU: National Chengchi University 國立政治大學
- 11. CGU: Chang Gung University 長庚大學

^{*}The full name of the university is as follows:

12. YZU: Yuan Ze university 元智大學

4.2.2.3 Phase Two: Plan to March towards Top Universities

Regardless the above shortcomings, in the report of ⁵⁴5 Years 50 Billion Budget Implementation and Achievement Assessment carried out by the Ombudsmen of Yong Giong Ger, Xiu Ru Ma and Yi Gong Ma from Control Yuan, it suggests that the government should continue granting such funds to facilitate the HEIs to be more internationalised although some issues must be clarified and improved in the second phase of the project (Control Yuan 2010). The assessment and investigation report has listed out 12 main issues that request the MOE to improve in the second phase project policy making. For instance, the Ombudsmen question that the first phase project's goals are not clear enough for the HEIs to pursue. There is in lack of recruitment of foreign scholars to teach in Taiwan's HEIs. Also, the project results in the M-shaped structure of salary. The project hardly helps recruit those overseas Taiwanese scholars to return to Taiwan to server, nor does the added value of this project can decrease the numbers of Taiwanese scholars applying for posts in foreign universities.

Therefore, the second phase of the project is produced with the modified goals (show below) in the hope to continue facilitating and improving HEIs in Taiwan to be internationally connected. The newly-established goals are in the following:

- 1. To speed up the process of internationalisation of those select top universities and prepare students to be more knowledgeable about international issues in a globalised world.
- 2. To improve quality of research products developed by HEIs and to enhance the visibility and power of influence of HEIs in Taiwan worldwide.
- 3. To recruit and breed talents actively and to strengthen human resources development nationally.
- 4. To intensify industry-academic cooperation, to facilitate uplifting industrial development and to increase Taiwan's global competitiveness.
- 5. To respond to the needs of the society and of industry, and to breed talented professions.

^{**} These two universities are the private universities.

⁵⁴ The Chinese full name of the Investigation Project is: 5 年 500 億元之預算執行情形及績效探討監察院專案調查, modified and published on 2010. 3.18.

The expected outcomes of the Second Phase Project are:

- 1. It is expected that at least 10 research centres become the top leading centres in the world. 'Top leading research centres' refers to the centre's numbers of publication are on top ten lists in the field of work worldwide.
- 2. It is expected to recruit more full-time professors, research fellows by the increase of 5% per year.
- 3. It is expected that there is an increase of 100% growth of the exchange students in the granted HEIs.
- 4. Full-time scholars are expected to be titled as academician or important associations' research fellows in Taiwan by an increase of 40 per year.
- 5. Numbers of citation in HiCi increase by 10% per year.
- 6. The numbers of scholars and students going broad for short-term research projects, exchange or dual degree programmes increase by 20% per year.
- 7. The numbers of English taught programmes increase by 20% per year.
- 8. Non-government funded industry-academic cooperation increase by 10% per year.
- 9. Research potent and new types of products increase by 400 pieces per year.
- 10. The royalties of the intellectual property rights increase by 20% per year.

4.2.2.4 Outcomes

The total budget of the second phase of the project is listed below:

Table 4. 3: Year-by-year Budgets for Sub-plans of the 2nd Phase Plan

Academic Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
Plan to First-class	35~60	35~60	35~60	35~60	35~60	175~300
Universities(amount)						
Top-level Research Centres	40~65	40~65	40~65	40~65	40~65	200~325
(amount)						
Total amount	100	100	100	100	100	500

Source: MOE of Taiwan, 2006a. (Unit: NT\$ Billion)

Moreover, the total funds that are granted by the second phase of the project are shown below, according to the MOE official website of *Plan to March towards Top Universities*.

Table 4. 4: List of Granted Universities in the 2nd Phase Project

	Granted year	2011-2015
University*/	Projects	
1.	NTU	31
2.	NCKU	16
3.	NCHU	3
4.	NSYSU	4+0.5***
5.	NTHU	12
6.	NCTU	10
7.	NCU	7
8.	NYMU	5
9.	NTUST	2
10.	NCCU	2
11.	NTNU	2
12.	CGU**	2
13.	Fund for the coordination among the funded	1.3
	universities	LIE V
14.	Fund for strengthen the development of social	0.5
	sciences in the funded universities]]
15.	Test Project for Top Universities Academic	1.7
	Cooperation (on International -based)****	-
	Total	100

Source: MOE of Taiwan, 2011 (Unit: NT\$ Billion)

- 1. NTU: National Taiwan University 國立臺灣大學
- 2. NCKU: National Cheng Kung University 國立成功大學
- 3. NCHU: National Chung Hsing University 國立中興大學
- 4. NSYSU: National Sun Yat-sen University 國立中山大學
- 5. NTHU: National Tsing Hua University 國立清華大學
- 6. NCTU: National Chiao Tung University 國立交通大學
- 7. NCU: National Central University 國立中央大學
- 8. NYMU: National Yang Ming University 國立陽明大學
- 9. NTUST: National Taiwan University of Science and Technology 國立臺灣科技大學
- 10. NCCU: National Chengchi University 國立政治大學
- 11. NTNU: National Taiwan Normal University 國立臺灣師範大學
- 12. CGU: Chang Gung University 長庚大學

^{*}The full name of the university is as follows:

^{**} Chang Gung University is the only private university of the second phase project.

^{***} The 0.5 billion is particularly funded for the integration of Ocean Science development

^{****} The full Chinese name of the project is 中華民國頂尖大學與國外頂尖大學學術合作交流試辦計畫.

4.1.3 Plan to Simulate International Taiwan studies Cooperation

There are other projects initiated by MOE which aim to speed up the internationalisation among Taiwan's HEIs, e.g. the *Project to Promote International Taiwan Studies and Cooperation* (教育部補助大專校院推動臺灣研究國際合作計畫). According to MOE, the Project aims to promote Taiwan studies abroad by the cooperation among HEIs worldwide (MOE 2006b). The subsidy that the MOE provides includes the following items:

- 1. Establishing 'Taiwan Scholar' project in overseas universities.
- 2. Sending professors abroad to lecture on Taiwan studies courses.
- 3. Building cooperative courses relating to Taiwan studies.
- 4. Establishing Taiwan studies scholarship for scholars abroad to come to Taiwan for further research.
- 5. Establishing short-term visiting scholar programmes, studies, academic cooperation relating to Taiwan studies.
- 6. Establishing research projects, teaching programmes relating to Taiwan studies.
- 7. Establishing Taiwan studies databank by the cooperation between Taiwan's and overseas' research centres or universities.
- 8. Other related projects that are granted by the MOE.

According to the outcomes of this project aggregated by the MOE, there are a total of five universities applying for this project and gained NT\$4,438,106 subsidy in the academic year of 2011; there are a total of four universities applying for the project and gained NT\$2,693,025 subsidy in the academic year of 2012; there are a total of 7 universities applying for the project and gained NT\$4,060,000 subsidy in the academic year of 2013 (MOE 2014c).

This project seems to echo with what the Taiwan Academy(台灣書院) is aimed at in the past years by Ministry of Culture (MOC). The Taiwan Academy starts off from 2011 in the celebration of the 100 anniversary of Republic of China (ROC). Taiwan Academy Resource Centres are established to disseminate information and organize seminars, workshops, and other activities that promote philosophy, literature, and arts. Culturally, the Taiwan Academy's goal is to bring Chinese culture that features Taiwan's unique characteristic to the world (Taiwan Academy 2014). Academically,

the Academy is wished also to promote Taiwan studies and to invite more scholars and students who are interested in Taiwan's development by providing scholarships to foreign scholars/students coming to Taiwan to do research or learn the Chinese language.

It is known that organisations like World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation (OECD) demand the nation-states to liberalise their state regulations with regard to opening domestic higher education to foreign institutions (Altbach 2003a). Taiwan, after promising to open up educational services abiding by the regulations of WTO, amended the related laws which used to restrict foreign investors to establish schools in Taiwan in the past years (Chang, Wu and Yeh 2006). Taiwan has initiated a series of projects not only opening up higher education markets to overseas students, professors and working staff, but also concentrating on facilitating Taiwan's HEIs to become more globally competitive. This kind of 'top-down measures' can be regarded as a means that Taiwan state responds to globalisation. Through HEIs' internationalisation, the state wishes to be more globally competitive, at least it appears so by reviewing the policy goals of the aforementioned projects.

4.2 STRATEGIES OF INTERNATIONALISATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

4.2.1 Student and faculty mobility

Student and scholar mobility usually refer to the movement of students, faculty, researchers and even non-academic staff (Rumbley, Altbach and Reisberg 2012). It is one of the most obvious and important aspects of internationalisation today. Definition of international students vary across countries and regions and 'types' of mobility can be seen in quite different levels, too, in the setting of higher education. For instance, some students who go abroad for degree-based courses and some are for non-degree based courses. The figure below shows an increased numbers of student who come into Taiwan for degree and non-degree based courses. Parts of these students are funded by the Taiwan Scholarship provided by Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA); some students are self-funded. In either type, there has been an increase in numbers particularly from year 2010.

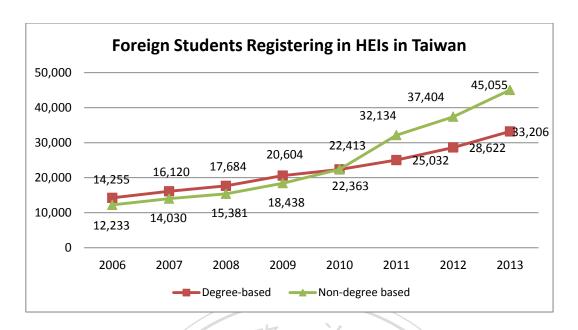


Figure 4. 1: Trend of Foreign Students Registering in HEIs in Taiwan (2006-2013)

Source: MOE of Taiwan, 2014d.

The following tables shows a various inputs of the 'foreign students' registering in Taiwan. For the case of Taiwan, its degree based students include foreign students who hold a passport from another country and overseas Chinese students. Non-degree based students include students who are on the exchange-based and those who join short-term training programmes. These students are benefited mainly from the agreement being signed among HEIs in Taiwan and abroad.

Table 4. 5: Foreign Students Registering in HEIs in Taiwan (2006-2013)

Academic years	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Degree-based	14,255	16,120	17,684	20,604	22,363	25,032	28,622	33,206
Degree-based foreign students	3,935	5,259	6,258	7,764	8,801	10,059	11,554	12,597
Overseas Chinese students (including Hong Kong and Macao)	10,320	10,861	11,426	12,840	13,562	14,045	15,204	17,055
Degree-based Chinese students (from Mainland China)	-	-	-	-	-	928	1,864	3,554
Non-degree based	12,233	14,030	15,381	18,438	22,413	32,134	37,404	45,055
Foreign Exchange students	1,121	1,441	1,732	2,069	2,259	3,301	3,871	3,871
Short-term programme foreign students	1,245	1,146	1,258	1,307	1,604	2,265	3,163	3,163
University Mandarin Class students	9,135	10,177	10,651	11,612	12,555	14,480	13,898	15,510
Short-term programme Chinese students	448	823	1,321	2,888	5,316	11,227	15,590	21,233

Overseas Youngsters Technical Training	284	443	419	562	679	861	882	1,278
Programme students								
Foreign Students in								
Total	26,488	30,150	33,065	39,042	44,776	57,166	66,026	78,261

Source: MOE of Taiwan, 2014d.

It is worthy to note that student mobility also include those who go abroad for further studies. This is, however, more depending on individual's willingness and therefore is beyond the scope of this study. No available data is found regarding the numbers of recent faculty mobility in HEIs in Taiwan. And yet based on my personal working experiences in a university, it is still a comparative small group in Taiwan that has little impact on HE's internationalisation.

4.2.2 Cross-border education

Cross-border education refers to the movement of people, programmes, providers, policies, knowledge, ideas, projects and services across national boundaries. More importantly, cross-border education can be part of development cooperation projects, academic partnerships or commercial trade (Knight 2012). According to the data provided by Department of International and Cross-strait Education (DICE), a branch under MOE, the academic exchanges between Taiwan and foreign countries have increased almost 2 times from year 2007 to 2013 (see below table) (DICE, MOE 2013). Academic exchanges include the numbers of general academic agreement and sisters institutions agreement signing.

Table 4. 6: Summary of Academic Exchanges Taiwan v.s. Foreign Countries (2007-2013)

Year	No. of Agreement signing	No. of HEIs in	No. of HEIs	Sisters
		Taiwan	abroad	Institutions
2007	869	145	603	536
2008	979	137	681	702
2009	976	137	637	714
2010	1017	132	678	670
2011	1407	136	889	1000
2012	1253	122	816	847
2013	1677	141	1052	1252

Source: Department of International and Cross-strait Education, MOE, Taiwan, 2013.

The top ten countries which have signed agreements with the HEIs in Taiwan are listed below also provided by DICE, MOE (DICE 2013). Among all the HEIs, HEIs

in the United States have the most numbers of agreements with Taiwan's HEIs while Japan, Vietnam, South Korea and Thailand are in the followings.

Table 4. 7: Number of Agreement Signing (by Country)

Country	No. of Agreement signing	No. of HEIs in Taiwan signing agreement	No. of HEIs in the country signing agreement
United States	2181	153	718
Japan	1355	126	401
Vietnam	903	97	236
South Korea	747	103	207
Thailand	529	94	105
United Kingdom	400	106	119
Malaysia	392	95	94
France	369	56	180
Australia	360	103	82
Germany	283	60	141

Source: Department of International and Cross-strait Education, MOE, Taiwan, 2013.

Up to the academic year of 2004, there are in total 2223 HEIs or departments signing MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) or ACA (Academic Cooperation Agreement) with foreign HEIs. The content of those MOU or ACA contend either of the following items: (1) Signing ACA (2) Signing MOU (3) Exchange scholars/students/academic researches (4) Becoming Sisters Institutions (5) Short-term Programme (6) Dual-Degree Agreement. Up to the academic year of 2005, there is only one HEI, which is National Taiwan University, signing over 100 agreements with foreign HEIs. There are 10 HEIs in Taiwan signing 50-100 agreements with foreign HEIs. Over 126 HEIs in Taiwan have signed 1-50 agreements with foreign HEIs. All in all, the numbers of agreement signing and countries which have signed academic cooperation agreement with Taiwan's HEIs have increased in the past years (see figure 4.2 below).



Figure 4. 2 Academic Cooperation (2009-2013)

Source: Adapted from (Department of International and Cross-strait Education, MOE, Taiwan, 2013).

4.2.3 Pursuit of World-class University

The pursuit of World Class University is one of the most prominent achievements among Taiwan's HEIs in recent years. According to the QS World University Rankings, several of the Taiwan's HEIs have made progress in the ranking in the past years. ⁵⁵ It is noted that most of these universities also received the grant from *Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres* and thus the progress in ranking in recent years can be viewed as the outcome of the internationalisation of these universities.

According to the QS World University Ranking, their evaluation includes the following criteria: (1) Academic peer review, 40%; (2) Recruiter review, 10%; (3) Faculty student ratio, 20%; (4) Citations per faculty, 20% and (5) International orientation, 10%. Table 4.8 shows that these three universities have made progress in the ranking in the past years (from 2008-2013) according to the QS World University ranking. National Taiwan University has become one of the top 100 universities in the world from 2009.

⁵⁵ There are several companies or universities in the world that do university rankings. The most prominent ones are Quacquarelli Symonds (known for QS World University Rankings), Thomson Reuters (known for Times Higher Education World University Rankings), and Shanghai Jiao Tong University (known for Academic Rankings of World Universities).

Table 4. 8 QS World University Ranking (Taiwan)

University	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
National Taiwan University	124	95	94	87	80	82
National Tsinghua University	281	223	196	213	192	199
National Cheng Kung University	354	281	283	285	271	247

Source: QS Top Universities, 2014.

Table 4.9 shows that National Chiao Tung University, National Yang Ming University, and Taipei Medical University are the three outstanding universities in Asia. National Chiao Tung University has made great improvement in ranking in the past years.

Table 4. 9 QS Asian University Rankings (Taiwan)

University	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
National	74	71	52	49	30	29
Chiao Tung						
University						
National	47	41	40	50	45	49
Yang Ming					-	
University						
Taipei	N/A	N/A	89	64	50	46
Medical						
University						

Source: QS Top Universities, 2014.

Another indicator that can be regarded as how universities respond to the state's request on the internationalisation policy is the publication in SCI (Science Citation Index) journals. SCI stands for Science Citation index and SSCI (Social Science Citation Index) stands for Social Science Citation index. The impact factor of an academic journal is a measure reflecting the average number of citations to recent articles published in the journal. Table 4.10 shows that Taiwan is on the 10th place for the SCI impact ranking in the world.

Table 4. 10 SCI Impact 2008-2014.

COUNTRY	CITATIONS (A)	SOURCES (B)	SCI IMPACT
	2008-20	(= A / B)	
United States	13,042,824	1,741,409	7.49
The Netherlands	1,303,207	158,079	8.24
United Kingdoms	3,571,492	477,931	7.47

Sweden	778,463	102,106	7.62
Finland	368,126	51,008	7.22
Canada	1,922,422	281,271	6.83
Germany	3,284,116	454,029	7.23
Israel	397,935	60,714	6.55
France	2,173,008	324,712	6.69
Taiwan	524,234	124,489	4.21

Source: MOE, 2014d.

Figure 4.3 and 4.4 show the publication numbers on SCI and SSCI journals in recent years. In the field of social science, it reached a climax in 2012; while in the field of natural science, it reached a climax in 2011.

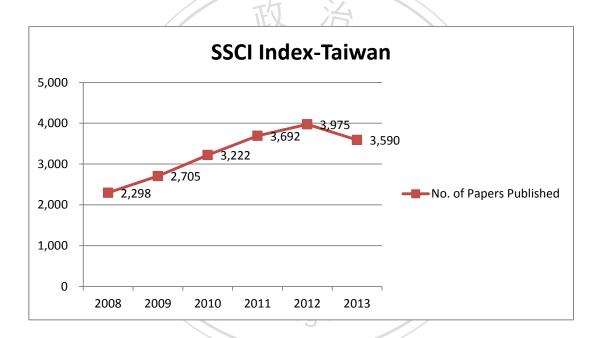


Figure 4. 3 Number of Papers Published in SSCI Journals (Taiwan)

Source: Adapted from (Department of International and Cross-strait Education, MOE, Taiwan, 2013).

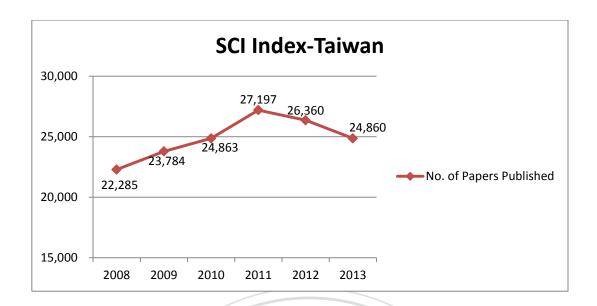


Figure 4. 4 Number of Papers Published in SCI Journals (Taiwan)

Other facts that can be shown as the outcome of internationalisation of Taiwan's HEIs in recent years 'at home' are newly created programmes which specifically aim to attract foreign students to apply. According to organisation of Study in Taiwan, also funded by MOE of Taiwan, there are in total of 121 Masters/Doctoral/general English taught programmes open for students particularly from abroad and to the local students, too. ⁵⁶ Moreover, these English taught programmes are accredited and evaluated by Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEEACT), an organisation set up by MOE and the local universities. The job of HEEACT is to ensure that the quality of these programmes is assured throughout the years.

There is also continuous educational cooperative networking in higher education. In 2006, there were 1020 foreign guests visiting Taiwan's HEIs. In 2013, there remain 1067 foreign guests paying a visit at Taiwan's HEIs (MOE 2014d). These figures can represent the continuous networking that Taiwan has been building over the past years. These networks are either built up via HEIs or individually. The guests who have visited Taiwan are usually invited as guest scholars to attend international conference. Some of them are believed to be visiting scholar either based on the short or long term periods. The meaning of these networking and international cooperation is to draw in members with the best resources to share. International cooperation is due to the rising sense that most cutting edge research can be most effectively achieved when

⁵⁶ The number is dated up to year 2014 by referring to the official website of Study in Taiwan: http://www.studyintaiwan.org/event/sit85/index.html

leveraging the expertise of strong international teams (Rumbley, Altbach and Reisberg 2012). Indeed, these kinds of cooperation are mostly seen in the hosting of international conferences and cross-border academic research cooperation, which Taiwan's HEIs have been deeply involved with the help of Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST).

4.3 THE IMPLICATIONS

In response to globalisation, clearly, Taiwan's state agents, for instance, MOE, MOFA and MOST use the strategy of block-funding⁵⁷ in an attempt to raise Taiwan's degree of internationalisation overall. Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres and Project to Promote International Taiwan Studies and initiated by MOE which aim to Cooperation are promote Taiwan's internationalisation 'at home' and 'abroad'. In the meantime, in order to attract more foreign and overseas students to study in Taiwan, MOFA provides Taiwan Scholarship in liaison with MOE to facilitate Taiwan's HEIs to have more intakes of international students. MOST has been playing the role of signing academic cooperative agreements with foreign HEIs or research centres. It is to pave ways for HEIs, departments, research centres, even Academic Sinica to be able to connect with foreign institutions under the framework of agreement provided by MOST and foreign institutes. In addition, MOST provides a certain amounts of fund every year for HEIs to host international conferences in Taiwan and individual scholar and student who wish to attend international conference abroad to apply for travel funds at MOST.

In response to globalisation, Taiwan's HEIs, being 'offered' block-funding ⁵⁸, endeavour to 'internationalise', which can be verified by the aspects of the increase of student mobility (inward and outward), the increase of academic cooperation, the increase of SCI and SSCI papers and so some of the institutions have improved its world ranking over the past years. From the figures and charts shown above, it seems that HEIs are 'compliant' to the policies of internationalisation being made by the MOE mostly and yet it doesn't mean that these institutions do not have their own

⁵⁷ Block funding also known as block grant, is a large sum of money granted by the national government to a regional government with only general provisions as to the way it is to be spent.

⁵⁸ On the surface, MOE opens up the opportunities to all HEIs in Taiwan to apply for the specific funds. In reality, MOE might have some fixed ideas about whom it would grant the funding. For instance, although there is no evidence being discovered, the granting of fund is believed to be done through the course of negotiations with those applied HEIs. It is through the reliable recourses being discovered in this study that at times, MOE would instruct a particular HEI directly to implement a certain task based on the good relations between the HEI and MOE (Interview EDS01).

preference on the agenda of higher education development. As one of the interviewees narrates:

'I think HEI in Taiwan still has autonomy in some aspects of internationalisation. For instance, MOE was very strict on the "definitions" of foreign students in the beginning of the project. After many times of communications, they [MOE] now also accept the broader sense of international students, which includes overseas Chinese students and exchange students. Also, in the beginning, the MOE has emphasised a lot on the quantitative outcomes of internationalisation. Now I think HEI itself can set up its own internationalisation goals to reach, which are more likely to be achieved in practice' (Interview EDD01).

It seems very logical that Taiwan's HEIs' preference on the agenda of internationalisations seem to be compatible with the state's preference. However, the HEIs would not have been able to do 'too much' if without the help of the state, especially funding-wise. As one of the interviewee argues,

'Taiwan's HEIs cannot complete the tasks of internationalisation without the fund given by MOE. Their [MOE] ideas on the internationalisation clearly focus only on the outcomes that are observable easily and therefore, with the strict restrictions on the personnel and accountancy within the university, I think Taiwan's internationalisation in HEIs has arrived at its peak and will go downwards drastically after the fund is withdrawn back to the MOE' (Interview EDD02).

If university autonomy, as illustrated by Estermann and Nokkala (2009), includes organisational autonomy, financial autonomy, staffing autonomy and academic autonomy, in the aspect of internationalisation, Taiwan's HEIs do not hold too much financial autonomy especially when developing higher education internationalisation. This can be proved by the various state agents who have involved in helping HEIs to be internationalised as aforementioned. It is worthy to note that most of the outstanding HEIs in Taiwan are public-funded, which means that they receive a great deal of recourses from the government each year. Therefore, it can be argued that when examining the formation of Taiwan's HEIs' internationalisation, most of the HEIs in Taiwan are still in control of the state in the aspect of funding and recourses.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ There are exceptional cases still. For instance, Fu Jen Catholic University and Ming Chuan University are famous for its international links in academic fields. These universities are basically private ones although they receive some public-funding still from the MOE each year.

4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the past decade, the state of Taiwan has adopted the strategy of block-funding by creating several projects for Taiwan's HEIs to apply for. Plan to Develop Firstclass Universities and Top-level Research Centres are the examples of the strategy adoption. The Phase one and Phase two of the Project have allocated in total of NT\$1000 billion to promote Taiwan's internationalisation in higher education development. There has been increased student mobility at home and abroad. There are not only increased numbers of student going abroad for exchange experiences but there are also growing numbers of overseas students coming to Taiwan to study. There have been increased numbers of paper published in SCI and SSCI journals although the numbers seem to reach its peak in the year of 2011 and 2012 respectively. National Taiwan University has remained the top 100 university in the world since 2009 in the QS top university ranking. Other universities have also made tremendous progress in the QS Asia university ranking, Taipei Medical University for instance. Moreover, there are increased numbers of agreement signing between Taiwan's HEIs and foreign ones. Furthermore, there now exists 121 Masters/Doctoral/General programmes which are taught in English with an aim to attract those English speaking students to study in Taiwan.

With the endeavoured wish, the state of Taiwan shows its will in internationalising its HEIs. By allocating a great deal of funds, the state uses its state agents to facilitate the course of internationalisation. It can be understood that when facing the impact of globalisation and following framework of GATT trade agreement, Taiwan has strived to be linked with the global community. Efforts of improving language ability among its populace can be seen throughout the years with increased of budget used in the English taught programmes/courses. The state of Taiwan is resourceful enough in facilitating the promotion of internationalisation in HE and this cannot be easily done by many other countries in the world. In chapter 6, discussions focusing on how the state of Taiwan can lead its HEIs marching towards internationalisation continuously, basing on the facts provided in this chapter, other than resources allocation.

CHAPTER 5: STATE POLICIES AND STRATEGIES TOWARDS INTERNATIONALISATION IN CHINA

This chapter is in an attempt to display the state of China's preference on internationalisation by polices formation and fund allocation to select HEIs as well as to look at how China's HEIs respond to the state's request. The chapter also presents a unique model of higher education governance developed by the China government.

5.1 STATE POLICIES ON INTERNATIONALISATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION 5.1.1 Historical perspective

The Chinese higher education (HE) system has evolved along with Chinese civilisations. It is generally accepted that the modern Chinese universities developed from the European model (Min 2004). The evaluation of modern Chinese HE came through three major channels: Chinese reformers' efforts, study abroad programmes for Chinese scholars and students, and the establishment of Western missionary universities and colleges in China (Heyhoe and Zha 2006). China's HE system is under the state control historically. In the 20th and 21st centuries, particularly, it is not possible to disregard China's state influences in its HE development. The strong leading character of the Chinese government in HE development can be observed especially in the later periods after 1949 (Heyhoe and Zha 2006, p.668-373):

The Late Qing Period (1860-1911): The Japanese Influences

In this period, China's HE development had strong influences from Japan. It was marked that the Hundred Day Reform (1989) was a first step toward radical reform which facilitated the establishment of the earliest modern universities in China.

The Republican Period (1911-1927): The European and American Influences

In this period, China's HE development had strong influences from the U.S. and Europe. The first Minister of Education designed HE legislation which reflected an European model. Educational legislation of 1922 and 1924, in the following, opened the way for increasing American influences on China's emerging HE systems.

The Nationalist Period (1927-1949): The Emergency of a Chinese University Model

There was an increase of the numbers of HEIs as a result of legislation in 1922 and 1924. This period is generally characterised by considerable maturity and independence of educational thought which resulted in achieving a balance between Chinese identity and the ability for China's HEIs to link up to the world community.

It can be seen as the first step that China marched towards the international community.

The Socialist Period (1949-1978): The Soviet Influences

This is a rather chaotic period in mainland China with social unrest such as Great Leap Forward (1958), the Cultural Revolution (1966). Owning to the ideological change in the mainland China, China took the rationale of building up its HE by learning from the Soviet Union. Efforts to run open-door institutions and link academic knowledge with social transformation failed although it was against China's original goals. The development and transformation of China's HE was not obvious in this period.

The Reform Period (1978-Present): The Open Door Policy

Not until the open door policy which was made by the Party leader Deng Xiaoping did the openness and links with international community in HE appear again. The 1978 science and education conference was an important milestone for China's HE development. Throughout the 1980s, China had endeavoured to rebuild the society order and the re-emerging identity. Chinese universities in the 1980s played a crucial role in helping China to re-connect with the international milieu after a decade of isolation particularly during the Cultural Revolution.

From the 1980s up to the 21st century, Chinese HE has been characterised by a series of reforms. The economic transition, the fast-growing market economy, as well as the rapid development of science and technology due to the open-door policy have resulted in the increase of individual income and increased demands for higher education. Many scholars have illustrated on the Chinese HE's structural reforms and believed that the Chinese government has responded to globalisation impact by restructuring the HE system after China becomes a member of WTO (Ngok and Kwong_2003; Mok 2005a; Heyhoe and Zha 2006). The reforms are also embedded in the ambition that the Chinese government wishes its HEIs to become the leading research institutes in the world.

Today, the Chinese HE system is one of the largest in the world, with more than 3,000 universities and colleges—including 2,442 regular full-time universities and colleges, and 1,020 private universities, colleges and adult higher education institutions (HEIs) (MOE China 2014). The system already encompassed 13 million students and over 1.45 million staff members in 2004 (Min 2004, p.53). To date, there

are more than 6.88 million undergraduate students solely and more than two million faculty members solely in HEIs (MOE China 2014). The growth and expansion of Chinese HE cannot be disregarded as it grows along with Chinese economy and society. Currently, China is the world's second largest economy with its nominal GDP reached \$9.182 trillion in 2013 while its population makes up around 19.3% of the world's population⁶⁰. Economically, China is gradually taking the lead in the world from the 2000s and therefore, it is a righteous choice for the Chinese government that that other than making economic development, the government also wishes to intensify efforts for its human resources. Min (2004) points out that the Chinese government has endeavoured to upgrade the quality of the leading national universities to world-class status and wishing these national universities to serve as locomotives to help raise the standards of the HE system as a whole. Under this thinking, Project 211 and Project 985 have emerged from the mid-1990s.

5.1.2 Project 211 and Project 985

As described above, the Chinese government implemented a number of projects, such as 'Project 211', 'Project 985', to enhance its HE quality and to enable its HEIs to engage in the global educational community. Long before the formation of these policies, the Chinese government had attempted to decentralise the central government power by sharing its finance funding with its local governments. When the policies of Project 211 and Project 985 were implemented, not only the local government were required to share the finance loading but also select HEIs were requested to allocate a certain amount of funding to implement these projects. For instance, it was reported that both the central and local government had allocated RMB 18 billion in total to implement the Project 211 in the period of 9th Five-Year Plan. ⁶¹ The funding that is allocated to Project 985 is even larger as it covers more HEIs than Project 211. Both projects are in the plan of China's 12th Five-Year Plan which was announced in 2010 when Project 211 aims to intensify the grounding of the key disciplinary areas; while Project 985 aims to establish advantageous platforms

⁶⁰Refer to World population statistics, http://www.worldpopulationstatistics.com/population-of-china-2014/.

 $^{^{61}}$ Refer to the news report of '中國政府十五期間將向 211 工程撥款 60 億 ',2009, September 17, retrieve from http://www.chinanews.com/2002-09-17/26/223355.html.

for the disciplinary areas in the world.⁶² It is thus worthwhile to understand what goals Project 211 and Project 985 have set up for China's HEIs to become more internationalised and globally competitive.

Project 211 is primarily aimed at strengthening 100 HEIs and key disciplinary areas as a national priority. Project 211 consists of the three major components (Mok and Chan 2008, p. 476):

- 1. Improving the overall institutional capacity by expanding the number of scholars and teaching with those who have high academic attainments and prestige, as well as enhancing the infrastructure and facilities indispensable for teaching and research.
- 2. Developing key disciplines which are considered to be necessary to social and economic development, scientific and technological advancement, and national defence.
- 3. Strengthening the networking of and collaboration between higher education institutions through the development of the Chinese Education and Research Network (CERNET), the Library and Documentation Support System (LDSS) and the Modern Equipment and Facilities Sharing System (MEFSS).

Similar to Project 211, Project 985 was launched and implemented when the State Council approved MOE's *Action Plan of Education Promotion for 21st Century* in 1999. This plan, focusing mainly on Peking University and Tsinghua University and several other selected universities, is aimed to build world-class and internationally well-known high quality of research institutions (Yang, Y. 2002). The elements that are encompassed in Project 985 are as follows: Improving innovation in universities, improving teaching team's quality, strengthening the platform for research and research grounding, improving HEIs' supportive systems, and strengthening international exchange and cooperation. In the proposal of Project 985 announced by the MOE, the Chinese government has made clear points on the reforms that Project 985 wishes to achieve the following goals:

1. To uplift the quality of human recourses training, including updating concepts, modules and evaluative systems of human resources development.

⁶² These two initiatives are directly extracted from the 12th Five-Year Plan of National Education development (國家教育事業發展第十二個五年規劃).

- 2. To build up bonus system at work, carrying out classification of staff management and creating high quality of teaching teams and supervisory management.
- 3. To improve management skills as well as resources allocation, to complete governance structure and evaluative systems in order to reach the goal of achieving high quality research works.
- 4. To enhance the autonomy of top universities in the aspect of quality assurance. To achieve the goal of building world-class universities by fostering university culture with 'Chinese characteristics' in order to make HEIs to become the world-class universities.

In the first phase of the Project, the central government invested RMB 131.05 hundred million, while local ones allocated RMB 96.65 hundred million. In the second phase of the Project, the central government invested RMB158.05 hundred million, while local ones allocated RMB 67.78 hundred million. In the third phase of the Project, the central government invested RMB 264.9 hundred million, while local ones allocated RMB 186.33 hundred million. The table below shows some examples of how central government and local government divided their funding in the 3rd phase of Project 985 in 2010. 64

Table 5. 1 Central and Local Government Funding Allocation in Project 985 (3rd Phase)

		· ·	XX	- ·//	
Division of	Peking	Tsinghua	Nanjing	Fudan	Zhejiang
government	University	University	University	University	University
Central Government	40	40	14	13	13.1
Local Government	-		14	13	13.1
(Provincial/city			JiangSu	Shanghai	Zhejiang
government)			Provincial	City	Provincial
			government	government	government

Source: MOE of China, 2014a. (Unit: RMB Hundred Million)

Finance-wise, overall there has been constant input from the Chinese government to guarantee the standardised development of education, in which the priority has been given to HE internationalisation. China's current higher education expenditure

http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/985%E5%B7%A5%E7%A8%8B

⁶³ Project 985 Fund Allocation, access at http://weibo.com/1260897165/zbQs6u2BN on 12th Oct, 2014.

⁶⁴ Refer to Introduction of Project 985 on Wikipedia at

accounts for 93% of total expenditure and this is close to the average of 90.9% of total expenditure provided by OECD (OECD 2011). ⁶⁵

5.1.3 National Outline for Medium and Long-term Educational Reform and Development

In 2010, the Chinese Government launched the *National Outline for Medium and Long-term Educational Reform and Development* for education, personnel training and science and technology, which forms the national policy framework for the strategies of innovating China through science, education, and human resource development. In the Chapter 16 of the *National Outline for Medium and Long-term Educational Reform and Development*, the Chinese government has stressed on promoting educational exchanges and cooperation. In order to facilitate China's HEIs to be more internationalised, it is essential to train talented students imbued with global vision, well-versed in international rules, and capable of participating in international affairs and competition. Moreover, the Outline has pointed out to encourage Chinese-foreign cooperative education, to support joint research and to promote academic mobility (Outline of China's National Plan of Medium and Long-term Education Reform and development 2010-2020).

In the formation and implementation of these projects, the Chinese government has shown its strong state capabilities by top-down funding allocation and clear policy instruction. Funding allocation and policy instruction seem to be the tools being used by the Chinese government to facilitate its HEIs to be more internationalised and globally competitive.

5.2 STRATEGIES OF INTERNATIONALISATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

5.2.1 Student mobility and cross-border education

For China's HEIs, it is in their 'disciplines' to promote student and faculty mobility. According to MOE of China, it is clear that there is increased number of international students coming into China. Apparently, there have been more foreign students

⁶⁵ Also to note that the overall current expenditure at the tertiary level of education (higher education) in other countries in the world ranges from 79.4% of total education expenditure in Spain, to 83.5% in Korea, to more than 95% in Denmark (95.5%), Finland (95.8%), Sweden (96.3%), Belgium (96.7%) and Argentina (98.8%), also referring to OECD, Education at a glance 2011.

registering in China's HEIs in the past decade. These students spread in 660 Chinese institutions, among which 9% are scholarship holders while 91% are self-funded. It is also dated that 40.61% of these foreign students participated in academic degree programmes; the top sending countries are South Korea, U.S, Japan, Thailand, Russia, Vietnam and India. ⁶⁶

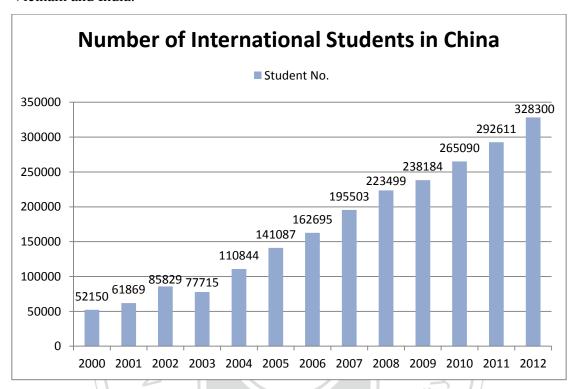


Figure 5. 1 Number of International Students in China

Source: Adapted from (MOE, China, 2014c).

Also, from the total figure below, it shows that in the perspective of inhabiting international students, China's HE is still at the minimum level comparing to other developed countries.

⁶⁶ It is utterly difficult to retrieve the exact figure of Chines foreign students and the types of their study programmes as the Chinese government does not usually open these recourses to public. Therefore, I have used Dr. Shao Wei's presentation slides presented in Brussel on behalf of China Education Association for International Exchange (CEAIE).

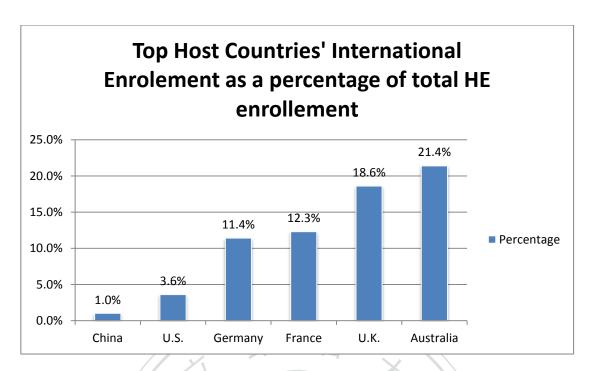


Figure 5. 2 Top host Countries' International Enrolment as a Percentage of Total HE Enrolment in 2011

Source: Adapted from (Institute of International Education, Open doors Data, 2014).

China's cross-border education can be observed from the newly established cooperation universities. Up to year 2012, there have been 4 Chinese-foreign cooperation universities and 1841 Chinese-foreign cooperation institutions or programmes setting up in China (Shao 2013). The University of Nottingham Ningbo China and the New York University in Shanghai are the example of these cooperation universities. In the case of international research cooperation, Zhongshan University in Guangzhou has been actively raising its international research profile. The college of Government and Public Affairs has collaborated with overseas institutions in coorganising international conference and symposia to promote its areas of research excellence (Mok and Yang). It is dated that 13 research fields in Zhongshan University are ranked top 1% by the Essential Science Indicators (ESI) (MOE China 2014c).

In R. Yang's (2002) studies, Guangzhou University, South China Normal University and South China University of Technology all basing in Guangzhou have triumphed in creating international programmes, attracting international students as well as establishing international cooperation although there exists internal differentiation on what internationalisation is for a HEI and how it can pursue to achieve a goal of being internationalised.

5.2.2 Pursuit of World-class University

During the implementation of the Project 211 and Project 985, increased funding was allocated to the selected universities so that these universities can upgrade and strengthen specific disciplines and academic programmes and so to become world-class universities. It is not hard to imagine, in fact, that most of the world-class universities around the world are also leading research institutions and for this reason, the research function has been reemphasised in Chinese universities (Min 2004). Although with strong regional disparity, universities which participate in the Project 211 and Project 285 have endeavoured to pursue internationalisation to become world leading universities. The table below includes China's top 3 universities ranked by QS World University Ranking. As the table shows, all the top universities in China have made progress in the world university ranking from 2008-2012. In 2013, Peking University dropped to number 46 in the ranking comparing to number 44 in the previous year. Tsinghua University falls from number 47 to number 48 in 2012 and it remains in the same ranking in 2012 and 2013.

Table 5. 2 QS World University Ranking (China)

University	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Peking University	50	52	47	46	44	46
Tsinghua University	56	9	54	47	48	48
Fudan University	113	103	105	91	90	88

Source: QS Top Universities, 2014.

Other than Peking and Tsinghua University, there are other universities which have endeavoured to pursue its world ranking status. The senior management of Zhejiang University (ranking in the Top Three in China's university league) has tried to adopt strategies to better position the University in the global ranking exercise by joining the Worldwide University Network to promote international research collaboration (Mok and Chan 2008). University of Science and Technology of China, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Zhejiang University, Nanjing University and Beijing Normal University are all ranked top 50 universities according to QS Asian University Rankings while 3

Hong Kong (HK) universities ⁶⁷ are ranked top 10 in the same year (QS Top University Ranking). The leading forces of HK universities in internationalisation to China's HEIs were highly emphasised by Yang who argued that HK offers China 'a unique model of successful East-West academic integration' (Yang 2002, p.162).

Another important world university ranking system, which was created by Shanghai Jiao Tong University—the Academic Ranking of World University (also known as ARWU)—is an example showing that some university in China intends to join the global academic community by taking the initiative to rank universities throughout the world (ARWU 2014) by creating its own indicators and ranking system. As is written on the official website of ARWU: ⁶⁸

'Starting from 2003, ARWU has been presenting the world Top 500 universities annually based on transparent methodology and reliable data. It has been recognised as the precursor of global university rankings and the most trustworthy one'.

Other than ranking world universities, the ARWU also offers Ranking of Top Universities in Greater China including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau for students, teachers, and academic researchers to use the ranking as a reference to more than 3000 HEIs' in China.

Similar to many other HEIs in the world, the SCI impact factor is a way to show how universities react to the state's request on the internationalisation policy and how these results can be evaluated. The SCI and SSCI index provide clear quantitative data for academic researchers and HEIs to understand how much the impact are for those published papers. The number of SCI and SSCI papers published by scholars basing in China is open to the public on SCI and SSCI index websites. Figure 5.3 and 5.4 present the publication numbers on SCI and SSCI journals in recent years. From these figures, one can tell that the number of papers published in SCI and SSCI index grew from year 2008-2013.

⁶⁷According to QS Asian University Rankings in 2013, the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology was ranked No.1, University of Hong Kong was No. 2 and The Chinese University of Hong Kong was ranked No. 7.

⁶⁸ Refer to the official website of ARWU at http://www.shanghairanking.com/

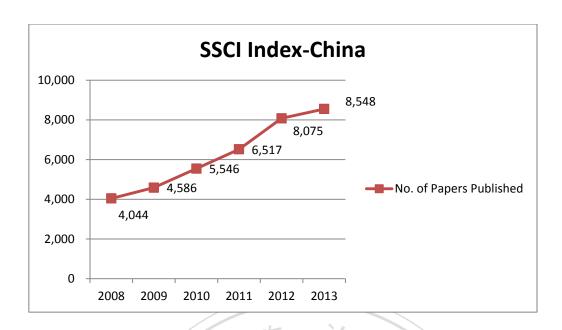


Figure 5. 3 Number of Papers Published in SSCI Journals (China)

Source: Social Sciences Citation Index (2013).

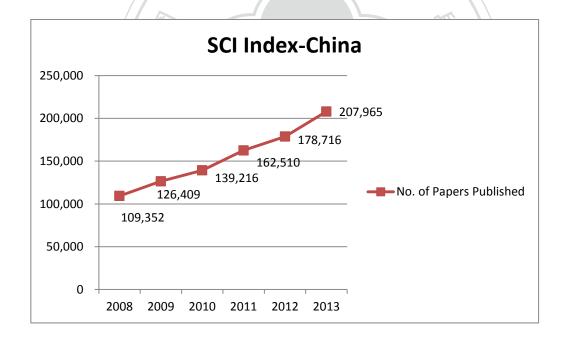


Figure 5. 4 Number of Papers Published in SCI Journals (Taiwan)

Source: Science Citation Index Expanded (2014).

5.2.3 Education for global engagement and promoting Chinese language internationally

There have been changes in HE in the latter part of 1990s that HEIs were encouraged to import foreign education programmes. This means that HEIs are instructed to adopt textbooks used in the leading universities in the United States,

such as Harvard and Stanford in the fields of science, engineering medicine, law, trade, management and some humanities (Huang 2007b). In 2001, the MOE issued an official document to request leading universities in China to have incorporated 5%-10% curricula being taught in English in the areas of biology, information science, material sciences, international trade and law (Huang 2007b). Therefore, an increase number of programmes regarding foreign language/cross-cultural studies are seen nowadays in the leading universities in China at undergraduate level and some postgraduate levels.

In the aspect of engaging education globally, it was dated that the number of joint programmes provided by Chinese higher education institutions in collaboration with foreign partners had reached 745 in by 2004. Additionally, 169 joint programmes were qualified to award degrees from foreign or Hong Kong universities (MOE 2005). For instance, Fudan University of China and Singapore National University have agreed to establish branch campuses at each other's university site, to co-operate in recruiting students, and to mutually recognise some of their curricula, credits, diplomas and degrees. Transnational programmes exported by Chinese universities are no longer confined to studies in the Chinese language, but now also include some professional programmes such as international trade, management, science and engineering (Huang 2003).

Another feature of the Chinese HEIs in promoting internationalisation is the establishment of Confucius Institute (CI) with foreign HEIs. Beginning in 2004, CI had been established as a non-profit education organization outside of China. In 2007, CI was officially institutionalised under the Council of Confucius Institute Headquarters. The Council of CI Headquarters is under the supervision of 'The Office of Chinese Language Council International', also known as 'Hanban' (漢辦). CI is regarded as a globalised Chinese language and culture centre by China's MOE serving similar function of British Council, Japan Foundation, or Alliance Français. It is a unique model that the HEIs in China use CI as a bridge to link with foreign HEIs by language and culture exchange. Up to the end of 2013, there have been 440 CIs being established in countries120 countries and China's HEIs have sent out thousands of teachers to teach Chinese language and culture abroad. ⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Refer to the official website of Hanban, http://www.hanban.edu.cn/confuciousinstitutes/node_10961.htm

5.3 THE IMPLICATIONS

From the above findings, one can draw some implications on the state's preference towards HE's internationalisation in China. First, in promoting the internationalisation of HEIs in China, the Chinese government has taken concrete measures to reach this goal. The measures are embedded in the two important policies, Project 211 and Project 985, which provide extra funding for HEIs in China to promote academic excellence and internationalisation. The initiation of Project 211 can be traced back to 1995 with an aim of improving the quality of some select key disciplines and universities. There have been 92 HEIs which were approved by the government to join Project 211 by 1999 (Yang, Y. 2002). By 2009, 109 HEIs have been dated to join Project 211(Introduction of Project 211, MOE). 70 Following Project 211, Project 985 was formulated in the 2000s with an aim of particularly building some top universities in China to be world-class universities and the project now has gone into to the 3rd Phase stage with 32 HEIs participating (Introduction of Project 985, MOE). 71 The government not only wishes to improve the quality of some key disciplines, it also 'requires' the HEIs to be globally competitive. To accomplish this, the state decided to choose even less HEIs in Project 985 (comparing to Project 211) to 'invest'. It is clear that such a policy arrangement was made under fruitful discussions among state leaders in a grand prospective (宏觀) (Yang, Y. 2002) and the policy is not halted even though there have been changes in the party leadership during the policy implementation years. Project 211 and Project 985 indicate that the state is only choosing a certain amount of universities to promote internationalisation/academic excellence and the support from the government to these chosen HEIs are full-fledged. Yang argues a strong state preference that China has shown (Yang, Y. 2002):

Such policy goals made in Project 211 and Project 985 are first formulated and implemented by the state. The universities, in order to develop well, initiate various projects to follow suit. It then formulated a model of combination [between the states and the HEIs] to reach the internal needs in China (p. 291).

Second, the state carried out a series of modification of laws related to HE development in the aim of facilitating those HEIs to become world-class universities

 $^{^{70}}$ 'Introduction of Project 211', retrieved at

http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/211%E5%B7%A5%E7%A8%8B

⁷¹ MOE, 'Introduction of Project 985', retrieved at

http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s6183/201112/128828.html

and further improving the quality of HE in China. The modification includes Education Law, Compulsory Education Law, Technical and Vocational Education Law, Teacher's Law, Higher Education Law, and Academic Degree Regulations (Li 2007). Internationalisation and nationalisation are also linked together by the government that become the twin forces in the current reform in Chinese HE. As Heyhoe and Zha puts, 'the process of selecting diverse elements and integrating them within China's own emerging practices is an expression, yet again clearly demonstrated by the state of China in policies, of the search of national identity and national strength' (Heyhoe and Zha 2006, p. 685). As interviewee EDD06 describes:

'You can easily find the national identity in China's universities. For instance, we are usually called to assemble in the hall by the university president or people from the managerial level who tell us how we should reach the goals to internationalise our university, but in a very Chinese way' (Interview EDD06).

The state's wishes of building world-class universities with 'Chinese characteristics' can be observed and proved from the establishment of Confucius Institute, which becomes a unique institute to link China with other parts of the world by Chinese language and culture.

It seems that the preference of China's HEIs to be internationalised is not too different from the state. There has been a total increase of international students' intake in the HEIs since the carry-out of the two projects. Also, there has been a growth of papers published in SCI and SSCI index journals. More concrete international research cooperation as well as world-class research centres are propagated by the MOE of China and reported by foreign research institute, such as Thomas Reuters' Essential Science Indicator. The success of China's universities being ranked in the top 100 world ranking (世界百大學校) are beneficiary greatly from the specific allocated funding and the Projects because despite the HEIs are given more power on university policy making, the system of HE is still in the control of the state. For instance, according to Tang's findings, some scholars from Peking University argue that the Chinese government has not empowered as much as they wish to their universities. The funding brought by Project 211 and Project 985 has too many limitations on the items that can be used and this has made Peking University hard to take their own steps (Tang 2006). Interviews in this study also present similar findings:

'We can now decide our own curriculum by following the principles made by our local government. The government nowadays is quite open to the courses that we provide but they still control the quota of student intake every year which limit the development of our university because we rely heavily on the students' tuition fees' (Interview EDD05).

Basically, the HEIs in China need to follow the 'grand' policy instruction from the Chinese government on the issue of 'internationalisation' although some findings suggest that it is feasible to reach the goal in a more flexible way:

'After meeting with the government's heads, our president or people from the managerial levels would come back and tell us another university has made some prominent achievement, telling all the teachers and staff in my school to do what others have done so that we can compete with them in the future. Because the heads of my university is a "returned overseas Chinese PhD" [海歸派], so they usually do have the idea of how to internationalise in different approaches and as far as I know other universities might not do the same thing as mine' (Interview EDD06).

'The MOE of China does allow for the flexibility in university running. Although the policy is made by the central government, each university still has some flexibility to do what they want to do through the negotiation with the government officials' (Interview EDD03).

5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the above analysis, it is clear that the Chinese government posits strategically the plan of its higher education development at the national and international level. The promotion of internationalisation and building world-class university is by all means emerged with the effects of the deep-rooted strength of Chinese traditions and this is the way that the state responded to globalisation. With the formation of Project 211 and Project 985, the Chinese government used funding allocation and the selection of 'elite' universities in China to reach the goals of internationalisation that are set in both Projects. As Huang argues (2007b):

The goal of establishing world-renowned universities indicates that the internationalisation of higher education in China is no longer confined to personal mobility and joint programmes in co-operation with foreign partners. Rather, it

shows that China is trying to build up its own centres of excellence and to participate in global competition (p. 55).

The Chinese government adopts clear strategies in making its HEIs to become world-class universities and yet at the same time, China does not wish to abandon its cultural traditions and its national identity. As the Party leader Deng Xiaoping said, 'education should face to the modernisation, to the world, and to the future'. ⁷² When setting the goals of building world-class university, the government in China makes it clear that it is the goal of those universities which participate in the Project 985 to become world-class university with 'Chinese characteristics'.

The central government is directing its internationalisation of HE and yet it cleverly use local government and HEIs to share the central government's financial loading. Unavoidably, China is under the effects of neoliberalism by adopting marketisation and decentralisation strategies, but these adoptions are rather in the instrumental consideration (Ngok and Kwong 2003). The analysis above shows that China is playing the role of locomotive in 'driving the train of HE development', and therefore, in a way those HEIs are following suit. Some HEIs, especially those top ones, are appealing for more autonomy in the use of funds and daily operation of education practices and yet in China, it depends more on whether the Chinese government decides to forge governance partnerships with its HEIs. The Chinese government uses regulative and financial policy tools to push the select universities to achieve those policy goals and at the same time universities forge the government to accept their ways of achieving those goals in a more flexible way.

To conclude, it seems that central government in China and those HEIs which are funded have similar preference in internationalisation of HE. The government, either central or local, still quite possesses the power of policy making and decision making in the grand view. Negotiations exist, nonetheless, in the complex connections between HEIs and government officials altogether making the internationalisation in HE more feasible, which in a way is already bearing the Chinese characteristics in practice.

⁷² On the National Day of China in 1983, Leader Deng wrote an inscription for the School of Ginshan's twentieth anniversary as follows: 教育要面向現代化,面向世界,面向未來.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

In the previous chapters, policies that are formulated by the state of Taiwan and the state of China have been described and analysed. Apparently, both top-down state measures as well as bottom-up universities responses are adopted in the case of Taiwan and China in responding to the impact of globalisation. This chapter identifies four major aspects in comparing the two state's promotion of internationalisation in HEIs: education reforms, namely: educational practices, international academic achievements and state preference. These aspects are examined in a comparative perspective in an attempt to shape the states' and universities' preference on the internationalisation of HE.

6.1 EDUCATION REFORMS

6.1.1 The case of Taiwan

As has been illustrated in the previous chapters, globalisation and the evolution of knowledge-based economy have caused dramatic changes in the character and functions of HE in the greater China area. It is characterised that there are similar reform strategies and measures, such as quality assurance, performance evaluation, financial audit, corporate management and market competition, being adopted to improve the performance of the higher education sector (Mok 2003). Despite the fact that strategies are similar, differences in state capacity still in some way vary how these strategies are carried out and how effective and efficient these strategies do to a state. In the case of Taiwan, it is clear that the call for HE reforms and quality assurance has to do with its social-political environment. Particularly after the democratisation of the island-state, the influences from the society increase while the influenced from the state decreased. The 1994 Education Protest and later on turning into an education system reform is a good example how Taiwan's government has decentralised its power (Yang 2000) and allow for more political participation from its populace. To note that the focus of reform efforts in the 1990s has been changing from raising national educational standards to strengthening international competitiveness in most of the developed countries. Henceforth, Taiwan has embarked on a series of education reform by numerous programmes/Proposals, such as General Consultation Report for Education reform (教育改革總諮議報告書), Twelve Education Reform Mandate (教育改革行動方案).

After year 2000, the university academics are eager to establish links with the external world while at the same time the state is very keen on making itself 'more international' (Mok 2003). As Mok suggests, 'the emphasis on the importance of international benchmarking and the significance of internationalisation can be understood as strategies to make Taiwan less isolated within the international community' (Mok 2003, p.125). The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) became the ruling party in 2000. DPP is renowned for linking the Taiwan society with the globe, and by this, the President Chen Shui-bian pointed out that 'globalisation does not equal to Chinisation' (全球化絕對不等於中國化) and the government should increase the fund for HE not only by block funding but also on an annual base. ⁷³Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres was embarked exactly under the rule of DPP. As described in chapter 4, the state has initiated two phrases of the block funding to selected HIE in Taiwan and the two phases' project lasts for ten years long. Apparently, those selected HEIs in Taiwan have improved their degree of internationalisation in many aspects that are discussed in chapter 4. However, some of the interviews found in this study seem to provide some aspects that are not so congruent with the internationalisation achievement in chapter 4.

In the case of *Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres*, the state (leader) has shown its (his) ambition on how to allocate the fund to HEI allocation and yet in the process of finalising those 'institution's list' is under severe criticism because the process is not 'transparent' enough and individual university applicant had no 'criteria' to follow when applying. Thus, it is unknown why some HEIs are included in the Plan while others don't. ⁷⁴ If the government sectors have truly moved from power centralisation to decentralisation, then the process of selecting HEIs for fund allocation should be 'more standardised' and 'less opaque', which will be more in accordance with the model of education governance.

^{73「}陳水扁:大學普及化不能淪為高中化」2004-8-18 :臺灣立報 http://www.lihpao.com/?action-viewnews-itemid-84336

This is at least the case of the first phase of the Plan. Moreover, there are critics implying that the process of selecting the institutions to allocate the funds is an entire 'black-box operation'. Refer to: 5年 500億郭為藩提 5問 (Prof. Guo Wei Fang: 5 Questions to 5 years 50 billion project), United Daily, C 4, retrieved from http://www.pac.nctu.edu.tw/Report/report_more.php?id=13324

In the Project Investigation on Budget Implantation and Assessment of Performance of Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres⁷⁵, the Ombudsmen had wished to rectify MOE of Taiwan for the following issues: a) imbalanced numbers of committee member in research fields especially between natural and social sciences⁷⁶; b) unclarified standards of budget spending on items. 77 The first Rectification above implies that committee may not entirely represent all the academia groups when the state is formulating a policy. The second Rectification above implies that different government sectors (mainly between the MOE and DGBAS⁷⁸) have different 'interpretations' on budget spending standards on certain items. In other words, government sectors may have had different 'preferences' on issues and yet it was not dealt with in the beginning of the first Phase of the Plan.

If education reform, no matter in what level, can represent the will of a state, the Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres being a part of HE reform under the influences of globalisation is a reform without a clear direction, being loosely directed by the state. Interview findings in this study support such an argument as below:

'If we see the "Five Year Fifty Billion Project" as a policy reform, I would say that it is initiated by the forces "outside" of the government sector. The MOE was informed to have NT\$50 billion budget to develop a developmental project in accordance with the new party's state policy. So the MOE developed the Five Year Fifty Billion Project under this background. I believe the real thinking behind this project is how to utilise the frozen budget instead of the government having the ideas first on what the state needs for higher education. Bureaucratic system is conservative, so they are the one who carries out reforms not the one to initiate them' (Interview EP02).

Another interviewee also opines that the Five Year Fifty Billion Project as being a part of the higher education reform could only show that the state is in a more chaos situation than before.

'I would say the internationalisation of higher education in our country is not only a top-down means but also a result-oriented design made by the MOE. However,

⁷⁷ It is the Eighth Rectification in the Investigation Report.

 $^{^{75}}$ The full Chinese name is 『發展國際一流大學及頂尖研究中心計畫』 5 年 500 億元之預算執行情 形及績效探討」專案調查, made by Control Yuan, 2010.

⁷⁶ It is the Third Rectification in the Investigation Report.

⁷⁸ Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics under the Executive Yuan

the Plan was formulated on a very rough base that it was without expert group discussions before its initiation...in general, the educational policies[reform] in Taiwan are usually being made without detailed discussions among different groups' (Interview EDD2).

The above findings imply that the society of Taiwan has been influenced by globalisation and yet the society also confronts with its local political challenge. The international education reforms seemingly being carried out by the government sector was top-down financially, but at the same time greatly influenced by either experts in the education council committee and other social forces. This is in congruent with many other studies that globalisation must be measured against local values and context (Arnove and Torres 1999; Yang⁷⁹ 2002).

6.1.2The case of China

In the political system of China, the Party state has always been the initiator for policies. The Party leaders' talk is an important aspect to examine Mainland China's policy formation. Take Project 985 for example, it started basically from a talk made by the Party Leader Jiang Zemin (江澤民) on the 100 Anniversary of Peking University on the 4th of May in 1998. Jiang made it clear that 'in order to embark on modernisation; our country needs to have a certain amount of top universities'. ⁸⁰ What follows is a series of projects and proposals which emphasise on HE's internationalisation in China. In the projects/plans of Action Plan of Education Promotion for 21st Century (面向 21 世紀教育振興行動計劃), 2003-2007 Boosting Education Action Plan (2003—2007 年教育振興行動計劃) and the latest National Outline for Medium and Long-term Educational Reform and Development 2010-2020(國家中長期教育改革和發展規劃綱要 2010—2020 年), all of these projects have repeated the importance of Project 211 and Project 985, which have been the policy instrument of China's HEIs' internationalisation described in Chapter 5.

From the 1950s through the early 1980s, HEIs in China receive their fund exclusively from a central government appropriation according to a unitary state budgetary plan. The amount of funds for each was determined by an 'incremental approach', which was based on what the institutions had received in the previous year

⁷⁹ See Rui Yang's book: The third delight: The internationalisation of higher education in China (2002).

(Hayhoe and Zha 2006). Institutions have no freedom to decide how to spend their budget (Min and Chen 1994). Since the economic reforms in the 1980s, local authorities have been allowed to retain much of their income and decide their own spending plans, which include deciding local HEIs' developmental plan (Wang⁸¹ 2007). Project 211 expressed exactly the state's intention to identify and give special financial support to the 100 best universities by the 21st century with the cooperation between central and local governments. What is worthy to note is that the selection of these institutions was done by the government, in accordance with its planning priorities and with the expectation that they would perform as leading institutions within the overall system (Hayhoe and Zha 2006). The Project 985 is another resolution carried out by the state of China that the number of institutions being selected in the Project is even smaller. The state centralises its investment to it the carefully selected 39 universities. As is reported that in the latest phase of Project 985, the central government allocated RMB 26.49 billion while all the joined local governments agree to invested RMB 18.633 billion, which in total amount for more than RMB 45 billion. 82 This implies that both Project 211 and Project 985 are a part of China's higher education reform with an aim of improving the quality of HEIs and to tip-top the very best universities in China.

Higher education reforms in China in recent years also include 'empowering more' and to 'listening more'. The rigidity of centralized model faced several severe challenges in the 1990s. A new wave of governmental restructuring aimed to develop power to localities started to emerge. The *Outline for Educational reform and Development in China*⁸³ (1993) proposed that HEIs be managed at two levels-national and provincial-but with the main responsibility being at the provincial level (Zhou 2001). On the Council Meeting of the Council meeting on the Work Report of *National Outline for Medium and Long-term Educational Reform and Development* 2010-2020 in 2011, Minister of MOE, Yuan Gui Ren (袁貴仁) noted that it is the

⁸¹See 王瑞琦(2007),百年來中國現代高等教育:國家、學術、市場之三角演變,國立政治大學中國大陸研究中心出版。

⁸²在創建世界一流大學進程中實現共贏:新一輪"985工程"高校部省重點共建綜述」《中國教育》報 2012-12-29.

http://www.moe.gov.cn/public files/business/html files/moe/s7044/201212/146303.html

⁸³The Chinese name is:中國教育改革和發展綱要

government's job to improve its management towards its HEIs, and he states that China needs to 'complete democratic mechanism'. Yuan (2011) said: ⁸⁴

The government must change its function by completing the democratic mechanism. It must elaborate the function of National Education Council, Higher Education Examination Committee as well as Higher Education Fund Allocation Council. It must 'listen' to the public opinions and include the expert's advises, making risk evaluation as well as legalised deliberation.

From the above discussions, it seems that the state of China puts the idea of HE internationalisation in its reform agenda. From the discussions shown in this study, the reform takes place in a massive scope. On the one hand, the state has responded to neoliberalism brought by globalisation; on the other hand, the state still maintains its steering direction with clear policy instructions.

6.2 EDUCATION PRACTICES

6.2.1 The case of Taiwan

With regards to the education practices, it can be reviewed by two aspects. One is the actually policy making and educational management from the central government, e.g. MOE. The other is to look at how the HEIs in Taiwan carry out the internationalisation implementation at the education reality front. Other than *Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres*, the Executive Yuan and MOE also establish several inter-sectorial Councils, such as *Council of General Education, Council of Higher Education Macro Planning, and Programme for Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities on University Merging* to help improve Taiwan's HEIs' global competitiveness. The MOE allows for Taiwan's HEIs to have the flexibility in key university developmental plan and urges those select HEIs to establish its performance targets future evaluation. 85

In responding to the state's education policies, those selected HEIs have made the following changes to pursue internationalisation. For instance, there has been a growth of international student intake throughout the years and also an increase of

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⁸⁴袁貴仁,《國務院關於實施《國家中長期教育改革和發展規劃綱要(2010—2020年)》工作情況的報告,2011,12.28.

⁸⁵ In responding to Control Yuan's Rectification Report, the MOE elaborates that in the second phase of *Plan to March Towards Top Universities*, the MOE has clarified the definition of 'what it is to be top world research centres' and it would urge those selected universities to build its performance targets.

English-taught programmes and courses. There has been special allowance for local students/scholars to participate in overseas short-term programmes funded by Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST)⁸⁶, carried out by the universities. National Yang Ming University and National Tsing Hua University have collaborated to establish 'Biotechnology Medical Centre'. Yuan Ze University created several English taught Masters programmes and recruit prestigious internationally-known scholar to be its Chair Professor or Guest Scholar. Soochow University aims to attract more international students to enhance the international cultural exchange among students. Chinese Culture University wishes to promote its long lasting studies on Sinology.

With regards to the relationships between the HEIs and the governmental sectors, evidence show repeatedly that Taiwan's central government intends to decentralise its authority and empower HEIs. As one of the interviewee states:

'I think our university has less influences from the MOE. Instead, I think the MOE sometimes plead for to do some particular internationalisation work because we are a prestigious worldwide university with so many colleges. So it is not hard for us to do it' (Interview EDS02).

Although the above finding suggests that the MOE has become less authoritarian than before, some of the findings in this study imply differently.

'MOE is very demanding, still, in many aspects. For instance, the MOE persuade us to host foreign guests sent by the MOE, making us believe that these guests will help with university credit and future academic cooperation in the future. However, I think some of the guests are not really interested in our university and our university do not have the appropriate people to host these foreign guests. My job is to deal with the administration job, however, we need people from the research front to be really in connection with those foreign scholars. Yet in my experiences, I think the MOE sometimes just wanted to finish their job and got credits for its own and not really in consideration of what our university needs' (Interview EDS01).

Interviewee EDD01 having 6 years experiences as the Head of International Office also suggests similar statement:

⁸⁶) Previously, it is known as National Science Council (NSC).

'In my experiences of dealing with the MOE, I think that they still give us the feeling that they are the 'boss'. For instance, sometimes they would just give us an official order demanding us to follow the instructions given by them with no negotiations in the first place. To note that these orders are usually given without discussing with people who really work at the front line first...of course, in the end, they had to negotiate with us because some of the 'jobs' were just impossible to do, but I had the feeling that they still do it again and again without floor discussions give out their orders' whatsoever before they (Interview EDD01). Assertion made by Interviewee EDD02 also support EDD01's statement as follows: 'In the beginning of the Plan, the MOE demanded us to take the international students whom they selected for us, which made us with no choice! Later on, the intake of international students became more standardised and we can choose the international students that we really want...I think the whole internationalisation thing in Taiwan will be like a firework show. After the block funding is fininished, our progress will only improve little or even fall back' (Interview EDD02).

What is more interesting is that in actual educational practice arena, some of the HEIs are 'feeling lost' by being given more autonomy and flexibility. As one of the interviewees who works at MOE points out from an insider's point of view:

'The MOE has become a platform. We offer a forum for university to openly discuss and operate. We now offer only the major policy direction, and we let the universities run following their own development steps. But interestingly, some of the universities (especially private ones) would ring us and ask the MOE to give them clearer instructions for them to follow suit' (Interview CS02).

In the practices of higher education in Taiwan, the state of Taiwan is apparently on the spectrum of moving from being authoritarian to being more power-decentralised. For instance, the MOE intends to allow the public universities to be self-governed (大學自治), and in fact, many of the administrative post are now taken by professors in the universities. This does imply that the state's is loosening the rules on university control. However, the state government is still in control the Department of Audition and Department of Personnel in public universities, which hinder the HEIs (especially the public ones) from truly self-governing. In the practice of internationalisation policies, at the HEI's front, universities in Taiwan has academic freedom (including curriculum design, research topics selection), and yet the management of university

finance and personnel is still in control of the central government under the Executive Yuan. To draw conclusion of the practices of internationalisation of Taiwan's HIEs, two points can be shared herewith: a) the education practices vary among different HEIs. b) the HEIs are given a certain scope of academic freedom and yet it is still bound by the state when it comes to finance and personnel in practice.

6.2.2 The case of China

It always is a difficult part to understand China's HE practices because a) it is composed of 23 provinces and each of them has different characteristics in carrying out HE policy plan; b) some of the research area are not easy to have access to and the environment around may not be very open to academic researches. In R. Yang' (2002) study, he investigated on internationalisation of the three prestigious universities' in Guangzhou city and concludes that although the three universities share similar ideas, values on the issue of internationalisation of HE, the mind-set of people working in the university on what internationalisation is and how internationalisation should be placed in the university context still brings about different outcomes in actual practices of internationalisation. Yang summaries that 'the Chinese experience shows that approaches and strategies differ according to particular settings and circumstances, as well as profiles of individual institutions' (Yang 2002, p.175).

The interviews carried out in this study also yield similar results as Yang's study. In addition, the interviews shed light on understanding whether China's higher education practices can reflect on the state's capacity and autonomy in responding to globalisation and bring about the state's particular ideas on internationalisation. As discussed in chapter 5, the Chinese, mainly the state, see the current emphasis on internationalisation as a strategy to develop China's higher education. One of the interviewees, who is a foreign labourer in China's university states that he can strongly feel the strategies of internationalisation in his university:

'I was recruited to work in this university about 4 years ago. By then, they recruit 20 of us—the 'returned overseas Chinese PhD' (海歸派)—in one time with a goal that we must publish articles on the prestigious international journals. Since our President is also a returnee, he has clear ideas on what internationalisation is and how to do it and I can tell you that this varies among different universities even this international city, Shanghai' (Interview EDD06).

This disparity is also supported by interviewee EP01 who says:

'If you want to know the higher education policy direction in China, you can refer to the recently announced *Outline for Medium and Long-term Educational Reform and Development 2010-2020*. We follow to what the Party state decides on the education priorities but it doesn't mean that we don't have any flexibility to carry things out following our own approaches' (Interview EP01).

There has been evidence showing that universities in China put efforts in becoming world-class universities are a strong response to national priorities. Using the cases of Tsinghua and Peking universities, Li and Chen (2011) indicate that these two worldknown universities highlight the importance of internationalising their curriculum; make efforts in recruiting overseas scholar fellowships and outstanding scholars; they also build international networks and joint-degree programmes and keep improving in World University Ranking.⁸⁷ The efforts made by these two distinguished universities can also be regarded as the policy implementation of Project 985, which clearly instructs Tsinghua University and Peking University to be 'world-class' universities (Introduction of Project 985, MOE). Song and Liao⁸⁸ (2004) opine that the reason why Tsinghua University and Peking University can be the only two selected key universities to become China's target university to become world-class universities is because of their undisputable academic and political status. On the one hand, both Tsinghua University and Peking University have had enough repute world-wide and such arrangement from the state does not seem impossible for them to follow suit. On the other hand, both universities cannot have their own preference on internationalisation without the financial support from the government and in a way it makes them more dependent on the government with the increase of central government budget year by year. 89

Moreover, scholars from mainland China have argued mainly that the internationalisation of Chinese universities not only extends over a broad range of multidisciplinary activities and programmes, but such broad range of activities also include similarities and disparities combining to contribute to the peculiarity of

⁸⁷ The Top University Ranking made by QS is extracted in this study in Appendix III, also on p.123.

⁸⁸ 宋維強、廖媛紅(2004)。大學競爭的政治分析:以「985 工程」為例,高等教育研究, 25(6),頁 25-30。

⁸⁹ Both in the Phase One and Phase Two of Project 985, Tsinghua University and Peking University receive RMB 1.8 billion block-funding respectively from the central government. In the Phase Three of Project 985, in block-funding increased to RBM 4 billion respectively.

China's practice, a unique pattern of China's response to globalisation (R. Yang 2002, Li and Chen 2011). The Chinese institutions' approach to be international embeds similar models as many other world known HEIs. Chinese HEIs are aware the importance of the provision of universal activities because internationalisation is an interactive response to globalisation. Not only that, as Li and Chen put, 'the internationalisation of Chinese universities has a very strong image-building element and is associated with the building of world-class university' (Li and Chen 2011, p. 253), which can be supported by China's attempt of increase its soft-power by the establishment of Confucius Institute worldwide (Starr 2009).

In the aspect of education practice, it is suggested that China's state power has not decreased in the process of globalisation. The state makes long-term internationalisation policies and demands its HEIs to implement these policies at the institution level. The detailed practice of internationalisation among universities differ from one to another; however, these practices all indicate that the universities have had the preference to follow the state's policy instruction and these practices are a part of Chinese image-building—an image more with the Chinese characteristics and less with Western ideology.

6.3 INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

In order to map out the international academic achievement, one must seek for the answer of what a world-class university truly means. The few scholars, who attempt to define it, have identified some features by deductively researching on those top universities in the world. Those researches suggest that highly qualified faculty, diverse student groups, excellence in research, quality teaching, consistent and substantial public financial support, academic freedom and institutional autonomy, a university's contribution to society, as well as well-equipped facilities for teaching, research and administration are the elements to be a world-class university (Altbach, 2003b, Alden and Lin, 2004; Salmi 2009).

In the report of 'Higher Education in Asia: Expanding Out, Expanding Up' (2014) made by UNESCO, it provides prospective studies on the comparison of Asia's HEI's research productivity. Particularly, one of the chapters discuss about the university research productivity across Asia, which I draw out some of the tables shedding lights on Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland China below. Table 6.1 shows the number of universities by research performance in broad subject (2008-2011). A university is

counted if it has achieved that performance category in at least one broad subject area. Quantity-wise, China outnumbered Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Table 6. 1 Number of Universities by Research Performance in Broad Subject Areas, 2008-2011

Country of territory	Excellent	Above average	Below Average
China	11	65	190
Hong Kong (China)	4	6	7
Taiwan	4	29	35

Source: Adapted from (UNESCO 2014, p.72).

Table 6.2 presents the number of universities by range of research-active areas, 2008-2011. It shows that in terms of comprehensiveness of research areas of its universities, China dominates with 13 wide-range universities (active in at least 100 niche areas), 22 medium-range universities, and 155 narrow-range universities (UNESCO 2014).

Table 6. 2 Number of Universities by Range of Research-active Areas, 2008-2011

Country of territory	Wide	Medium	Narrow	Total
China	13	22	155	190
Hong Kong(China)	2	3	2	7
Taiwan	2	7	25	34

Source: Adapted from (UNESCO 2014, p.73).

Table 6.3 presents the distribution of universities by research performance in niche areas, 2008-2011. It is a way to understand the number of universities in individual country (are) with niche subject areas ranked with world class performance. According to the description of the Report, the percentage of fields in each performance category represents the total share of fields for which the universities analysed in that country have achieved that level of performance (UNESCO 2014). As shown in the first column, China, Singapore, and Hong Kong (Special Administrative Region of China) have the largest number of niche subject areas with world class performance. Taiwan (10) is behind Japan (16), S. Korea (14), but ahead of Malaysia (6), India (1) and Thailand (0).

Table 6. 3 Distribution of Universities by Research Performance in Niche Areas, 2008-2011

Country of territory	World-Class	World-class	Excellent	Above	Below
	number			Average	Average
China	53	0.9	7.3	22.8	69
Singapore	37	17.3	29.4	42.5	10.7
Hong Kong(China)	22	4.6	16.7	53.9	24.8
Japan	16	0.5	3.5	27.6	68.4
South Korea	14	0.7	8	29.7	61.6
Taiwan	10	0.8	11.6	41.4	46.1
Malaysia	6	2.6	0.9	11.7	84.8
India	1	0.1	4.4	21.2	74.3
Thailand	0	0	4.5	23.8	71.7

Source: Adapted from (UNESCO 2014, p.74).

Table 6.4 presents the number of universities with the highest publication growth rate by broad subject area and country or territory, 2008-2011. It shows the number of universities that have the highest publication growth rates and in-region collaboration in select countries. China still dominates, quantity-wise, with its universities appearing 114 times in the list of Asian universities with the highest publication growth rates in 15 broad subject areas (UNESCO 2014).

Table 6. 4 Number of Universities with the Highest Publication Growth Rate by Broad Subject Area and Country or Territory, 2008-2011

Broad Subject Area	China	Hong Kong (China)	Taiwan
Agricultural and Biological	8	-	3
Sciences			
Biochemistry, Genetics and	aeno	CIII -	-
Molecular Biology			
Chemistry	8	-	3
Computer Science	9	-	-
Earth and Planetary Science	9	-	-
Economics and Business	10	-	1
Sciences			
Engineering	9	-	-
Environmental Sciences	8	-	1
Health Professions and	-	-	4
Nursing			
Materials Sciences	8	-	1
Mathematics	7	-	-
Medicine	7	-	-

Multidisciplinary	4	1	-
Other Life and Health	12	-	-
Sciences			
Physics and Astronomy	6	-	-
All Areas	114	1	13

Source: Adapted from (UNESCO 2014, p.77).

A comparison of the number of SSCI and SCI journal articles published is presented in table 6.5 and 6.6. Each of them shows the growth rate of paper published number of the year comparing to the previous year. These tables show that the numbers of published papers in SCI and SSCI journals have gradually increased from 2008-2011. From 2011-2013, numbers of publication increased less in China while the numbers showed a negatively growth on both SCI and SSCI journals from 2011to 2013 in Taiwan.

Table 6. 5 Number of Papers Published in SSCI Journals, 2008-2013

Country/Paper	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
published numbers			7		
Growth Rate		T5		1	
China	13.49%	9.2%	14.33%	9.07%	14.06%
Taiwan	15.05%	16.05%	12.73%	7.12%	-10.72%

Source: Made by the author.

Table 6. 6 Number of Papers Published in SSC Journals, 2008-2013

Country/Paper	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
published numbers	4704		110,		
Growth Rate		engch	\ \ //		
China	11.82%	17.31%	14.09%	19.29%	5.53%
Taiwan	6.3%	4.34%	8.58%	-3.18%	-6.03%

Source: Made by the author.

Table 6.7 presents a select university ranking result, both in Taiwan and China, by the QS⁹⁰ World University Rankings. Presented in the ranking, China's top three universities ranking are ahead of Taiwan's top three universities.

Table 6. 7 QS World University Rankings (Taiwan vs. China)

University	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014/15
	QS Rank						
National	124	95	94	87	80	82	76
Taiwan							

90 QS stands for Quacquarelli Symonds Ltd.

University							
National	281	223	196	213	192	199	167
Tsinghua							
University							
(Taiwan)							
National	354	281	283	285	271	247	232
Cheng Kung							
University							
(Taiwan)							
Peking	50	52	47	46	44	46	57
University							
(China)							
Tsinghua	56	49	54	47	48	48	47
University							
(China)							
Fudan	113	103	105	91	90	88	71
University							
(China)							

Source: Adapted from (QS World University Ranking 2014)

The above tables present a comparative perspective the international academic achievement. To note that, the HEIs, whether in Taiwan or China, make observable progress (as presented above or noted in chapter 4 and 5). In the context of globalisation, realising the ever-increased competition around the world, both states use the strategy of 'block-funding' to facilitate its HEIs to pursue internationalisation of HE. From the perspective of internationalisation of HE, universities in Taiwan and China take similar strategies to link to the global community. From the tables presented in this chapter, some of the broad subject areas of research in certain particular universities are quite prominent in the world and this by all means is the efforts of these HEIs. However, when facing the world, the two states still have slightly different ideas on 'how to facilitate its own HEIs'. As interviewee EDD03 says:

'In mainland China, the internationalisation activities are usually supported and sponsored completely by the university with a strategic plan. In Taiwan, the internationalisation is usually through the individual scholar's connection... Mainland China has a clear direction on HE's internationalisation strategically, Taiwan is in lack of this at the moment' (Interview EDD03).

Not only wishing to join the global community, the state of China has been aware of the importance of promoting its 'soft power' worldwide. Confucius Institute (CI), firstly built in Seoul 2004, has now had a more than 440 branches around the world. CIs, mostly established between a China's HEI and a foreign HEI with an aim of promoting Chinese language learning and Chinese culture, is a unique non-governmental organisation that China wishes to use it to show its ambition of peaceful

rise (和平崛起). CIs can grow tremendously fast is indeed because of the 'Chinese language fever'. At the same time, the rising China wants to let the world know that it will not only join the global community, but the global community should also understand more about the Greater China community, too.

The state of Taiwan has similar ideas, too. *Project to Promote International Taiwan Studies and Cooperation* (starting from 2012), for instance, is a recently promoted plan by the MOE. ⁹¹ The MOE of Taiwan has come up the Plan for Funding HEIs in doing international Taiwan studies cooperation. Taiwan's academic community has had long history in Sinology and it recently extends its research scope from Sinology to Taiwan studies in general. The Taiwan studies aim to promote researches on Taiwan's economic, political, and social development by linking Taiwan's local scholars with foreign research fellows and scholars. Although the MOE has attempted to promote Taiwan studies as well as the Chinese language learning abroad, interviews discovered in this study suggest that due to the limited resources given by the MOE, the HEIs are not so keen on establishing a 'language learning hob' abroad as MOE has wished. It implies that when it comes to internationalisation, most of the HEIs are quite incapable if there is no resource allocated from the central government. So far, there are only three Taiwan Academy⁹² established in the United States. The numbers are rather few comparing to China's CI.

6.4 STATE PREFERENCE

In order to achieve the goals of internationalisation, the state of Taiwan and state of China both made policy/projects. Reason being (as noted above and in other chapters) is that in the globalised context, states are forced, in a way, to face the challenges brought by globalisation. In the area of East Asia, not only the states in Taiwan and China, but also those in South Korea, Japan, and Singapore have all initiated policy plans to facilitate HEIs confronting the increasing challenges in the 21st century.

⁹¹ Refer to MOE, '教育部補助大專校院推動臺灣研究國際合作計畫' http://www.edu.tw/EduFunding/detail.aspx?Node=1828&EFID=30107&WID=6635a4e8-f0de-4957-aa3e-c3b15c6e6ead

⁹² In October 2011, the MOC of Taiwan established 3 Taiwan Academy in New York, Huston and Los Angeles respectively.

6.4.1 The case of Taiwan

The Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres carried out by the Taiwan government is an evidence of top-down policy project emphasising on pursing world-class universities and research centres. During the carry-out of the projects, HEIs have endeavoured to promote international cooperative activities including enhancing foreign students' registration rate, increasing international cross-border academic researches, signing sisters university contracts, building satellite campuses or twinning programmes. The improvement of the level of internationalisation grows with the block-funding plans, other research grants by the local governments, other national foundations (e.g. Taiwan Foundation of Democracy), or other academic research body funded by the government (e.g. Academia Sinica, MOST). The state's preference on HE's internationalisation is clear; however, it is almost impossible for the HEIs to extends its international linkages to such a scope without the resources given by the state government. Although the state government of Taiwan has taken the strategy to marketise Taiwan's HEIs, only a few of the outstanding public-funded universities in Taiwan, such as National Taiwan University can be of no impact from the low fertility rate which has emerged in recent years.

Moreover, in the flow of globalisation, the MOE of Taiwan decentralises its power from controlling to managing HEIs. Whether the drive of decentralisation is a voice from the state or society, Taiwan's HEIs start to run on their own steps in curriculum design and administrative management. The state changes itself from chairing HEIs' development agenda to let the HEIs decide on setting the internationalisation goals within individual institution. Nonetheless, university autonomy is not completely freed by the states. For instance, the System of Evaluation on Higher Education Institute is a mechanism that binds individual university from being highly autonomous (Chou 2012⁹³). Liu (2013) stresses that the evaluative system and the competition of resources among HEIs have become a policy instrument that makes HEIs in Taiwan becoming more isomorphic. Interviewee LM01 also shares similar viewpoint:

⁹³周祝瑛(2012)。破除五化重修大學法:大學評鑑與政府補助脫鉤連署聲明。取自教改論壇網址:https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1tD-

 $cPF7 aye9_1 oFt9 EiQ9_Y Onns AYPVSN6 UhPhj_HZo/viewform? formkey=dEFGU2pKRUQtRnlOZlEwQ2lqUlcwaEE6 MQ\&hl=en_US\#gid=0$

'At the moment, our evaluative system is very much denounced. The MOE uses the same criteria for each university, which has made the teachers care only about "the points". Because only with enough points can these teachers be promoted. These teachers are then listless in teaching, in conducting services in the university. It makes all universities in Taiwan look the same. The universities in Taiwan in fact cannot develop their own policy agenda, but they follow suit the evaluative norms. Internationalisation, in my opinion, is even more marginalised at the end of the day' (Interview LM01).

Summarising from the interviews in this study, the increased number of colleges and universities in recent years has shared originally-not-so-big-pie of resources from the central government. Although the state government has intended to allow for more privatisation in the development of HE, it does not seem to be very successful in practice because of the low fertility rate. Moreover, the state policy swings from one to another swiftly with the changing political ruling party, that the continuity of state policy is facing challenges often.

In a democratic state, the state body is usually composed of groups of civil servant. To note that the system of screening civil servants in Taiwan is in the responsible of Examination Yuan, which holds numerous of national exams each year to select distinguished people to compose of the body of government sectors. Weber's 'ideal type of bureaucracy' (Weber 1978) emphasises on the importance of these groups of well-trained civil servant in the management of a state. In the initiation of the *Plan to* Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres, civil servants in the government drafted the proposal plan, had it passed by the Legislative Yuan which controls the budget planning in the state. Ultimately, those select HEIs carry out the Plan. This cycle shows that the internationalisation of HE in Taiwan is the product of the state, and the society, if seeing the Legislative Yuan as a body of people's representation, and HEIs as a social force. Civil servants whether working in the governmental sectors or ublic universities are the executive body of internationalisation administration. Interviewee CS01 believes that the most difficult part of internationalisation in Taiwan is the training of civil servants. Interviewee EDD03 also shares similar points of view:

'The problems of our state policy lie in the executives and the effectiveness of these policies. I think no one would disagree that Taiwan's universities need to be more international. But the problems usually occur in the policy implementation body. Bureaucracy, who is the main executive body, in our state becomes very important in this sense because they really can do a lot' (Interview EDD03).

In the study of the relationship between globalisation and state role, Mok concludes in the case study of Taiwan that 'counter to the hyper-globalists' argument that the growing globalisation trends will eventually weaken the capacity and lessen the autonomy of individual nation-states the discussion here suggests that a nation-state like Taiwan can enjoy considerable autonomy and flexibility to shape its own education reform agendas' (Mok 2002, p.155). Still, the discoveries in this study do not indicate such an optimistic standpoint. As narrated above, the policy agendas in the universities are shaped by the state government. Although the government sectors had intended to empower HEIs, it ends up that the empowerment is only half-way, HEIs in Taiwan do not have high autonomy on university agenda making in the pursuit of world-class university.

6.4.2The case of China

In discovering China's state preference in responding to globalisation, the state takes the measure of promoting internationalisation of HE. First, the central government has decreased the importance attached to education as a political and ideological instrument (Ngok and Kwong 2003). The depoliticisation of education became a precondition for decentralisation and marketisation. The duel trends of decentralisation and marketisation have considerably affected education policy and structure. Direct state control and management have been changed; instead, regulative and financial tools have become the ones to manage HEIs. In the case of Project 211 and Project 985, the central government not only allocate a huge amount of funds to improve the level of internationalisation among its top universities. Also, it has allowed its HEIs to make reforms within the university as long as it is in the pursuit of goals set up by the MOE.

A case to support the above argument is Peking University's personnel reform in 2003. Peking University launched a personnel reform in 2003 to change the long-lasting personnel structural problems within the institution (Tang 2006). This is, according to the spokesman of the President of Peking University, a reform leading to

the road of world-class university for Peking University. ⁹⁴ Former President of National Taiwan University, Wei-Zhao Chen ⁹⁵ (2007) shares his viewpoint on this kind of institutional reform:

Some of the key select universities in China, such as Peking University and Tsinghua University, are allowed to make reform in its institution's systems with a high level of flexibility, which surprises me (p.100).

Although the above case is not strong enough to understand the preference of China's top universities, such as Peking University and Tsinghua University, it does suggest that under China's changing management to its HEIs, the level of governance and autonomy are increased in particular HEIs when it comes to the pursuit of world-class university.

It is also noted that the empowerment from central government to local governments and yet it doesn't mean that the government won't 'take it back' in the future. As interviewee EDD04 states:

'I see it as a struggle between the "up" and the "down" forces. If the bottom force (society) becomes stronger, I think the top force (central government) has to recede. But I think China's civil society is not mature enough, for instance, comparing to the U.S. to lead the state at the moment (Interview EDD04).'

This may suggest that China's state power remains solid although it has increased the level of governance to its HEIs. More empirical studies must be carried out before a conclusion can be made on this point.

Last, in the pursuit of world-class university, the state of China has not abandoned its national identity. Instead, as discussed in chapter 5, China continuously emphasises on building world-class universities with Chinese characteristics. In Rui Yang studies, he discovers the causal relationship between national identity and internationalisation. Yang (2002) argues that:

The key element in the term internationalisation is the notion of between or among nations and cultural identities. A country's unique history, indigenous culture(s), resources, priorities, etc. shape its response to and relationships with other countries. Thus, national identity and culture is key to internationalisation (p.179).

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⁹⁴ In Tang's (2006, p. 130) study, according to the Spokesman of Peking University (PU) Wei-Ying Chang (張維辺), the first reason for PU to do so is to make PU a world-class university. Without world-class faculty, it is hard to make PU to be the real top university.

⁹⁵ 陳維昭(2007),台灣高等教育的困境與因應,臺北市:臺大出版中心。

Although Yang raises concerns whether the mentality of Sinocentrism among the Chinese people will not do any good to China's promotion of internationalisation in the future, the embedded Chinese national identity in the context of HE imply a congruent preference between the state of China and its HEIs while the national identity issue is not being taken seriously enough in the case of Taiwan.

6.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

As discussed in chapter 2, globalisation and internationalisation are two different concepts. Confronting the challenges of globalisation, nation states adopt internationalisation approach in higher education development. Discussions in this chapter imply that both the state of Taiwan and the state of China are aware of the importance of the internationalisation in higher education in the hope of training more qualified students, scholars so as to meet up with the global needs. Despite the controversial debates over the definitions of 'world-class university', both the governments in China and Taiwan have adopted a more pragmatic approach to address the issue of internationalisation (Mok and Chan 2008). The implementation of internationalisation projects in Taiwan and China's higher education are both quite determined by the factor of state's preference and state capibilities.

Both the state of Taiwan and China show clear deliberation on their higher education's reform towards creating a more international-friendly environment in HEIs to conduct internationalisation of higher education. Taiwan focuses more on the pursuit of world-class university as a whole while China differentiates its HEIs into three different levels in the pursuit of 'top', 'excellent' and 'nationwide famous' universities. HEIs in Taiwan have more autonomy in curriculum design and international cooperation but some regulative systems have limited the HEIs to further internationalised. Some top universities in China are arguably given more autonomy in the pursuit of internationalisation and yet the Chinese government still has much stronger control over its HEIs overall as observed in its policy instrument.

In the examination of the strategy adoption of internationalisation as a whole, the state of Taiwan is criticised to be in lack of a comprehensive plan in internationalisation of HE, or at least such a plan is not well conceived among the faculty body of HEIs. China, being a rising-state, takes the strategy of internationalising its HEIs by its administrative order and the state allows for top university to make reforms as long as it is marching towards the goals of

internationalisation. At the same time, China strongly uses its increasing soft-power around the world to enhance its national identity among its populace. Marginson once noted, 'nations must develop their own national capacity in higher education to modify Americanisation and maximize their strategic options within the worldwide university networks' (Marginson 2006, p.907). Enhancing national capacity, then, becomes the key to the success of competing in the global higher education market in the long term.



CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This study aims to discover the complex relations among state, the impact of globalisation, and HEIs' responses. This final chapter wishes make a conclusive remark and sheds light on some theoretical reflections in state and higher education development. Based on the analysis in the previous chapters, this chapter summarises the findings in the comparative as well as international context. Limitations of the study are also made for the use of future studies.

7.1 GLOBALISATION AND EAST ASIAN STATES

As discovered in the previous chapter, globalisation emerges in the late 1980s changing the ways that knowledge is needed in the knowledge economy era. Challenges that globalisation has posed towards nation-states are immense that most of the developing countries can not immune from responding it actively. As this study is set in the context of East Asian (EA) countries, literature suggests that globalisation impact on EA countries is more challenging than Western countries because globalisation concept derives from the Western ideology and mimicking a system (whether state structure systems or HE system) from the west in 'modernisation' has become a trend in these countries. Historically, Taiwan has a closer linkage with Japan and the United States because of its colonial background and post-World War II development. Taiwan's HE system is established under the lead of the authoritarian government of KMT after the 1950s. It was not until the 1990s, that the voice of a reform came along the lift of Martial Law in 1987.

China has had a rather chaotic history in the 20th century. It started from the fall of Qing Dynasty in 1911 and then stepped into the stage of becoming a battlefield of War World II and a civil war between the ideology of capitalism and communism. China's HE development was also under a strong lead of party leaders particularly after the CCP taking over the land. In the earlier stage, China had imported the HE system mainly from Russia. Realising the needs for a reform, China had started to decentralise its central power to local governments and allowed for more autonomy to its HEIs gradually after the adoption of Open Door Policy.

Surely, with the help of improvement of technology and the advancement of transportation brought by globalisation, nation-states' borders become blur. Not only that, migration population has increased. Nation states are in a way forced to face the

challenges brought by globalisation. Therefore, different perspectives are provided by the hyperglobalists, the sceptics, and the transformationalists on whether the 'state' will continue to survive or diminish. The impact (positive and negative) brought by globalisation has called for higher competition among nation-states and so nation states are keen on surviving caused by this external factor. Since most of the EA countries strive to develop better economically and socially, states, such as Singapore, S. Korea, China and Taiwan adopted the strategies of investing in human resources for economic needs and to meet the social demand of a more educated populace. The phenomenon of massification of higher education can all be observed in most EA countries.

Last, globalisation not only brings about the structural changes of the nation states, it also continuously affects a state's preference and autonomy on its policy agenda setting. Apparently, even a state like China which has been a communist society cannot be exempt from responding to globalisation and make structural changes shown in its reforms. In the case of higher education policy, both Taiwan and China formulate policy projects of promoting internationalisation. It is believed that the leading position that a state takes in the formation of HE policies in internationalisation, is a way the state responds actively to those impacts. The findings in this study suggest that globalisation continues to affect both Taiwan's and China's HE policy making in the context of higher education in the beginning of 21st century.

7.2 GLOBALISATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

The swift changes of technology along with globalisation, especially the emergence of internet has changed how the knowledge is access nowadays. It is said that globalisation has increased the commercialisation of knowledge (Postiglione 2002). The selling of knowledge product, partnerships with corporations, education companies, increases in tuition fees and the proliferation of private universities are the common changes seen nowadays. The findings in this study shows that in the internationalisation of HE, student/faculty mobility, cross-border education and the pursuit of world-class university can be argued as the responses to globalisation from the HEIs on the one hand. On the other hand, the increasing cross-border educational activities also intensify and speed up the process of globalisation, which help create more globalised educational activities possible.

In the case of Taiwan, an increased number of international students, academic cooperation (including signing contracts for sister campus, building satellite campuses) and published SSCI and SCI journal articles can be observed in the implementation of internationalisation by the HEI in the past years. Moreover, many other international activities aiming to promote HE internationalisation are also dated by the MOE of Taiwan. This suggests that the academia faculty working in the key HEIs in Taiwan realise the importance of internationalisation in HE practices.

In the case of China, there is also an increased number of international students, academic cooperation (including signing contracts for sister campus, building satellite campuses) and published SSCI and SCI journal articles being observed in the implementation of internationalisation by the HEI. The internationalisation of China's HEIs activities also includes multinational joint study programmes, joint research projects, multidisciplinary programmes focusing specifically on other countries, world regions, languages and the web of international relations and global issues (Yang, R. 2002). The internationalisation of Chinese universities extends over a broad range just as Taiwan and other countries in EA (Huang 2007).

7.3 THE STATE AND HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION

As discussed in chapter 4 and chapter 5, the impact that globalisation has had on HE development can be observed in the international activities carried out by the HEIs in nation states. Both the state of Taiwan and the state of China used the regulative and financial instrument to manage its HEIs, particularly after central government's decentralisation actions. While the idea of decentralisation is to empower and to enhance the degree of governance of the HEIs, both states have allowed for more market forces in the society to share the financial burden from the governments. In the context of internationalisation of HE, Taiwan's government sectors used block-funding to support HEIs to promote internationalisation while China's MOE demands not only the local governments but also the HEIs to share the financial loading in the similar activities.

Finding-wise, the state of Taiwan allocated more than NT\$100 billion to the select 12-15 key universities; the state of China allocated RMB 264.9 hundred million solely in the third phase of the Project 985. Fund allocation is surely a policy instrument

from the central government to regulate the HEIs to follow the policy agenda in the promotion of internationalisation.

Although both states have claimed to allow for more university autonomy (大學自治), the findings in this study suggest that the practices of promotion of internationalisation in the HE arena is still greatly affected by the preference of the state government. First of all, the HE internationalisation policy agenda within the HEIs cannot be set without the resources given by the government and this is particularly true in the case of Taiwan. Second, under the framework of higher education evaluation, the HEIs must 'respond to' the evaluation system. Most of the universities choose to highlight the outcomes of internationalisation within them so as to compete for more funds allocation in the coming years. It is thus very hard for any HEIs to follow their own pace to carry out their will of promoting internationalisation. However, some reform cases (e.g. the personnel reform in Peking University in 2003) in China's top university indicates a possibility of HE governance model in operation in China's select key universities and this is not observed in the case of Taiwan.

Although most of the HEIs would agree to become more internationalised by taking in more foreign students, increasing more academic cooperations, some of the HEIs also criticise the necessity of 'making each HEIs to be top-university'. Therefore, the goal of *Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres* in Taiwan is set to establish at least one top-100 university or world-wide distinguished research centre although the state government does not state 'which university' can be mostly likely to accomplish this mission. The government sector takes the strategy of 'fair competition' following the market rules and allows for all the select universities/research centres to compete for the best title. Similar to Taiwan, the MOE in China also differentiate different levels of policy goals for its HEIs to pursue. Unlike Taiwan, the MOE of China appoints Peking University and Tsinghua University to be the key university in the pursuit of world-class university in Project 985 and allows for more flexibility in operation as long as it is in the pursuit of world-class university titles.

7.4 GLOBALISATION, INTERNATIONALISATION AND THE STATE: FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

7.4.1 Higher education being a state apparatus

In the discussions of Marxists works, class struggle has always been a core concept in their argumentation approaches. According to Marxists, state activity is not neutral, but 'it is a result of the state apparatus being taken over by and used as the instrument of the ruling class' (Dale 1982). In the studies of higher education, adopting the statecentred-approach is a way to concentrate more on the effectiveness of education systems, education practices especially when examining the complex causal relations among the state, globalisation and HEIs. In other words, it is to look at how the state machine works in decision making, and problems solving in confronting factors coming from 'outside' of the state machine, such as the impact of globalisation. In this study, the state-centred and institutional approaches explain how the promotion of internationalisation of HE is carried out in the state of Taiwan and state of China. The huge range of international education activities taking place in these two states is surely a product of globalisation. More importantly, these activities not only link closely to the needs from the local individual university, but it also reveals the 'late developer mentality' influenced by pragmatic instrumentalism (Mok and Yang 2008). The promotion of internationalisation of HE, specifically, embeds an element of national identity in China who wishes not only to link its HEIs to link with the global community but also to play a leading role by creating world-class universities with "enach" 'Chinese characteristics'.

It is generally taken for granted that education services have always been performed by the state. By and large, the modern state took responsibility for the provision of education at each of the three levels: outcome (in terms of skills of graduate), regulation (in terms of laws, professional status, acknowledgement of organisation and curricula) and operation (in the field of public education at least) (Jakobi, Martens and Wolf 2010). However, in response to the advent of knowledge society, pressure on the labour markets and other kinds of global competitiveness triggered by the globalisation process, the state realises that HE is increasingly shaped by internationalisation today. The massification of higher education is a strategy adopted by states in EA, for instance, to increase the quality of human recourses

within the nation-states. Moreover, international and national top university rankings have drawn the attention of nation-states and attribute to the benchmarks for education systems. However, different from the Western, European mainly, experiences that the new instruments of quality assurance, such as evaluation and accreditation processes, are not necessary elude state controls and weaken state influence. Instead, in the case of internationalisation of HE in Taiwan, most of the HEIs still find it bound by the criteria set in evaluation by the government although MOE have claimed to have given more autonomy in operation to HEIs throughout the years.

In the development of HE, the experiences discovered in this study show that the state of Taiwan and China have realised that HEIs are gradually shaped by internationalisation. Although both states take the strategy of pragmatic approach, different state capacity and preference may have influenced HEIs goals achieving, process of policy decision making and ways of problems solving occurring in the state structural and institutional reforms.

7.4.2 A review on state capabilities

As the essential challenges for comparative researches are that 'what do we compare' and 'how much we do compare', it is important to make the room for comparability in research design and case selection (Reale 2014). The two cases in this study have similarities in culture and language; politically, Taiwan has completed and transformed into a democratic polity while Mainland China is still under Party-state rule, which in a way affect state policies formation, making as well as implementation. The value of works in comparative research, such as this study, is then to contribute to broader, multidisciplinary analysis that discovers the neglected causal relationships among state agents in the statehood.

The state-centred approach is the newly-developed type of approach in the understanding of state development provided by the neo-Marxists who prefer to call themselves neo-statists. The state-centred studies beginning from the early 1980s started to explore concepts such as political leadership (Migdal 1988), state capacity/autonomy (Nordlinger, 1981, Krasner 1984, Evans, Rueschemeyer and Skocpol 1985) to understand how state capabilities may affect, or even dominate a nation-state's development. The state centred approach provides a framework of

analysis different from the long-lasting society-centred approach that pluralism favours in the 1960s to 1970s. By adopting the state-centred approach in the context of internationalisation of higher education in Taiwan and Mainland China, this study summarises the findings in the following:

Policy formation

Both of the state governments initiate project plans to promote internationalisation in their HEIs, for instance *Plan to Develop First-class Universities and Top-level Research Centres* in Taiwan; Project 211 and Project 985 in China.

• Education reforms and practices in higher education

State restructuring can be observed in the state's responses to globalisation although the initiation in Taiwan is more through the bottom-up (society) means while it is still quite top-down (state) in China. The main structural HE systems reforms in Taiwan began in the 1994 Protest in the appeal of empowerment as a symbol of decentralisation from the central government to local government and HEIs. In the internationalisation of HE, although blockfunding is provided to the HEIs in the hope that HEIs can carry out their own internationalisation plan, the structural relations between MOE and HEIs remains relatively unchanged in Taiwan. China's HE reforms came along with the Open Door Policy. The central government utilise Project 211 and Project 985 to allocate funding to key select HEIs in order to enhance the overall quality of HEIs. The structural reforms within the state as well as inside of some top universities can be observed. A model of higher education governance with Chinese characteristics may emerge in the coming years although more observations need to be made before making any concluding remarks.

• International academic achievement

HEIs in both states make prominent academic achievement along with the project funding given by the states. According to the UNESCO 2014 Report, China owns the most numbers of *Top-universities and excellence in broad subject areas* in Asia; Taiwan exceeds China on average of *Total performance of research in niche areas*.

State preference

State preference is observed by the fact that both the state of Taiwan and state of China wish to promote internationalisation in its HEIs so as to enhance the state's global competitiveness in the long term. The internationalisation of HE is generally accepted by the actors in the HEIs in Taiwan. Nonetheless, the state is relatively weak in strategically planning in the practices of internationalisation although it repeatedly highlights the importance of internationalisation in the development of higher education. The internationalisation of HE in China is a policy prioritised by government state clearly. By emphasising the national identity in its HEIs even in the pursuit of world-class university, the state of China remains its control in managing HE affairs and strives to create HEIs not just by following the Western ideology of globalisation.

In the development of state, broadly speaking, the state of Taiwan is stepping into the stage of democratisation while the state of China resorts to the peaceful means (和平赋起). Stronger state capabilities can be observed in the HE development in the case of China when the state also grows economically stronger in the globalised era. It is crucial to understand further whether the changes of state structures would allow more room for non-state social actors to be more involved, and whether the society can become a type of power in shaping state will in the long term in China. Concluding from the findings in this study, it can be expected that HEIs will become a driving force to a state and society in the globalised era although such assumption still depends greatly on whether the preferences between the state and the society can be made congruently among those key stakeholders.

Last but not least, learning from the experiences of Europe's Bologna Declaration, it is likely that Asian countries would expect ASEAN to develop quality assurance systems at programmes and institutional levels to promote mutual recognition and networking in the near future (ASEAN University network, 2010). While China is the key actor in ASEAN, it may have more stands, comparing to Taiwan, in bringing along important issues high on the policy agenda in HE. It is foreseeable that HE in China will increasingly function as a promoter of both social and individual development domestically and state of China will continue utilising its HE to build an international dimension to its knowledge base by using an international template to

view domestic development in a fresh light. The HE development in China will likely be linked continuously with the global community while HEIs in Taiwan may be skating on thin ice struggling in a more and more challenging internationalised world.

7.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The outcome of this study provides a deeper understanding of the interdisciplinary nature of internationalisation particularly in higher education. The study delves into the multiple comparisons of state capacity, state autonomy, university capacity and university autonomy. Adopting the state-centred approach, the study provides a critical analysis for the practitioner in the field as well as state policy makers and stakeholders concerning the development of higher education. This study has critically examined policies and strategies adopted by the governments in China mainland and Taiwan in response to the growing pressures to internationalisation and international benchmark for universities across different parts of the globe. Despite the controversial debates over the definitions of 'world-class university', both the governments in China and Taiwan have adopted a more pragmatic approach to address the issue.

The continuous neglect of state capabilities in the study of comparative higher education would possibly hamper our understanding about the future prospect of international higher education in EA. As Deardorff, De Wit and Heyl argue that the role of national governments has been a driving force in propelling international higher education forward in many of the cases in the region of Africa, Asia, Latin American and the Middle East (Deardorff, De Wit and Heyl 2012). It means that a growth in research and scholarship on international issues form non-Western perspectives may explain better what international higher education really means to these non-Western countries. A state-centred approach in the study of higher education is exactly such a trial in the studies of comparative higher education development in EA. After all, China has been a great influence in EA's development historically; Confucianism has always been taken as a social and cultural norm even today in many Asian countries. A comparative study on a state which is influenced more by the mentality of Sinocentrism and on a state which is influenced rather by the mixture of Western and Eastern ideology shall reflect to future critical analysis of internationalisation of HE, particularly in various political, social and cultural contexts.



APPENDIX

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Participants based in Taiwan:

Questions to experts/professors/staff working in the higher education institutions:

- 1. How did Taiwan's government (MOE) initiate the internationalisation projects in HEIs?
- 2. Which managerial level (either in your institution or from the central government), do you know, has given you (or your department) instructions throughout the process of internationalisation in your institution?
- 3. Does the government give direct and clear instruction telling HEIs how to be more internationalised?
- 4. How much autonomy do you think the HIEs have during the process of internationalisation?
- 5. What do you think of HEIs' internationalisation outcomes in Taiwan? Do you think it is quite a success comparing to other Asian countries, such as China, Japan, and South Korea?

Questions to legislators/civil servants:

- 1. Who has involved in the law making/policy making process? Has anyone approached you during the law/policy making process?
- 2. Are you aware of the government's (e.g. MOE) ideas towards HEIs' internationalisation? Do you agree? Why?
- 3. How have you involved in the process of HEI internationalisation?

Participants based in China:

Questions to experts/professors/staff working in the higher education institutions:

- 1. How did China's government (MOE) initiate the internationalisation projects in HEIs?
- 2. Which managerial level (either in your institution or from the central government), do you know, has given you (or your department) instructions throughout the process of internationalisation in your institution?
- 3. Does the government give direct and clear instruction telling HEIs how to be

- more internationalised?
- 4. How much autonomy do you think the HIEs have during the process of internationalisation?
- 5. What do you think of HEIs' internationalisation outcomes in China? Do you think it is quite a success comparing to other Asian countries, such as China, Japan, and South Korea?
- 6. Do you find any gap between the government's and your school's internationalisation policies?



APPENDIX II: INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED IN TAIWAN AND MAINLAND CHINA

Conduct of Interviews:

Interview LM01. 3.00 PM-3.30 PM, 24 April, 2014, Taipei city, Female.

Interview EDS01. 8.00 PM-9.00 PM, 11 April, 2014, Taipei city, Female.

Interview EDS02. 12.00PM-1.30 PM, 17 April 2014, Taipei city, Female.

Interview CS01. 2.00 PM-3.00 PM, 6 May, 2014, Taipei city, Female.

Interview CS02. 12.00 PM-1.30 PM, 18 February, 2014, Taipei city, Female.

Interview EDD01. 9.00 AM-10.10 AM, 8 April, 2014, Taipei city, Male.

Interview EDD02. 3.00 PM-4.00 PM. 19 March, 2014, Taipei city, Male.

Interview EDD03. 12.10 PM-1.10 PM, 3 June, 2014, New Taipei city, Female.

Interview EDD04. 3.00 PM-5.15 PM, 30 October, 2014, Xiamen, Male.

Interview EDD05. 11.00 AM-12.00 PM, 29 October, 2014, Xiamen, Male

Interview EDD06. 11.30 AM-1.00AM, 25 June, 2014, Shanghai, Male.

Interview EP01. 9.00 AM-10.00am, 30, October, 2014, Xiamen, Male.

Zo Chengchi University

Interview EP02. 3.00 PM-4.00 PM, 18 April, 2014, Taipei city, Male

Background of Interviewees:

Group	Title of the Post	Background of the interviewee	Sex/Basing area
Law Maker	Legislator (Former)	LM01 (HE policies maker, former member of Council of Education and Culture)	F*/TW*
Civil Servant	Secretary of International Student Office	EDS01 (4 years experiences involving in HE int. academic affairs, serving in two top universities in TW)	F/TW
	Secretary of International Student Office	EDS02 (5 years experiences involving in HE int. academic affairs, serving in a top university in TW)	F/TW
	Chief (former) of the Department of International and Cross-strait Education of MOE	CS01 (4 years experiences serving for the abroad branch of MOE of TW)	F/TW
	Officer of Department of Higher Education, MOE	CS02 (6 years experiences serving at the department of HE, MOE of TW)	F/TW
Educationist	Head of International Office/ Professor	EDD01 (6 years experiences serving as the Head of Int. office in top university in TW)	M*/TW
	Head of Department of Education/ Professor	EDD02 (Former Dean of College of Edu, HE practitioner and expertise)	M/TW

	Head of Department of Education / Professor	EDD03	F/TW
		(Former Dean of College of Edu., current Head of	
		Dept., HE expertise)	
	Head Academic Affairs of Social Sciences/Professor	EDD04	M/CH*
		(4 years experiences serving as the Head of	
		Academic Affairs, HE specialist)	
	Education Practitioner	EDD05	M/CH
		(Communist Party Appointing Vice-Chancellor of a	
		top private University in China)	
	Assistant Professor	EDD06	M/CH
		(4 years teaching experiences to int. and local	
		students in top university in China)	
Experts	Education Specialists	EP01	M/CH
		(Vice-Chancellor of a top Private University in	
		China, HE specialist)	
		EP02	M/TW
		(Former Ombudsman, HE specialist)	

^{*} Abbreviation: F=Female, M=Male. TW=Taiwan, CH=China



APPENDIX III: TOP UNIVERSITY RANKING

QS World University Rankings (selected university):

School Name	2008 QS Rank	2009 QS Rank	2010 QS Rank	2011 QS Rank	2012 QS Rank	2013 QS Rank	2014/15 QS Rank
National Taiwan	124	95	94	87	80	82	76
University National	281	223	196	213	192	199	167
Tsinghua University (Taiwan)							
National Cheng	354	281	283	285	271	247	232
Kung University (Taiwan)	//		政	治			
Peking University (China)	50	52	47	46	44	46	57
Tsinghua University (China)	56	49	54	47	48	48	47
Fudan University (China)	113	103	105	91	90	88	71

There are several companies or universities in the world that do university rankings. The most prominent ones are Quacquarelli Symonds (known for QS World University Rankings), Thomson Reuters (known for Times Higher Education World University Rankings), and Shanghai Jiao Tong University (known for Academic Rankings of World Universities).



APPENDIX IV: LIST OF UNIVERSITIES/PROJECTS

Chinese/English Names of Universities in Taiwan and China

Country	University Name in Chir	nese University Name in English
Taiwan	國立中山大學	National Sun Yat-sen University
	國立中央大學	National Central University
	國立中興大學	National Chung Hsing University
	國立交通大學	National Chiao Tung University
	國立成功大學	National Cheng Kung University
	國立政治大學	National Chengchi University
	國立陽明大學	National Yang Ming University
	國立清華大學	National Tsing Hua University
	國立臺灣大學	National Taiwan University
	國立臺灣科技大學	National Taiwan University of
		Science and Technology
/	國立臺灣師範大學	National Taiwan Normal University
//	中國文化大學	Chinese Culture University
	元智大學	Yuan Ze university
	東吳大學	Soochow University
\\	長庚大學	Chang Gung University
\\	淡江大學	Tamkang University
\	輔仁大學	Fu Jen Catholic University
	銘傳大學	Ming Chuan University
	臺北醫學大學	Taipei Medical University
China	中山大學	Zhongshan University
	北京大學	Peking University
	北京師範大學	Beijing Normal University
	南京大學	Nanjing University
	浙江大學	Zhejiang University
	清華大學	Tsinghua University
	復旦大學	Fudan University
	華南理工大學	South China university of
		Technology
	華南師範大學	South China Normal University

廣州大學	Guangzhou University
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Chinese/English Names of Projects in Taiwan and China

Country	Project Name in Chinese	Project Name in English
Taiwan	大學學術卓越發展計畫	Plan to Build Outstanding
		Universities
	中華民國頂尖大學與國外頂	Test Project for Top Universities
	尖大學學術合作交流試辦計	Academic Cooperation (on
	畫	International -based
	教育改革行動方案	Twelve Education Reform Mandate
	教育改革總諮議報告書	General Consultation Report for
	政治	Education reform
/	教育部補助大專校院推動臺	Project to Promote International
	灣研究國際合作計畫	Taiwan Studies and Cooperation
	提升大學國際競爭力計畫	Plan to Enhance University Global
		Competitiveness
	發展國際一流大學及頂尖研	Plan to Develop First-class
	究中心計畫	Universities and Top-level Research
\\	z 7 / / /	Centres
\\	邁向頂尖大學計畫	Plan to March towards Top
	0	Universities
China	211 工程	Project 211
	985 工程 Changchi	Project 985
	2003—2007 年教育振興行動	2003-2007 Boosting Education
	計劃	Action Plan
	「九五」計畫	9 th Five-Year Plan
	「十二五」規劃綱要	12 th Five-Year Plan
	中國教育改革和發展綱要	Outline for Educational reform and
		Development in China
	面向 21 世紀教育振興行動	Action Plan of Education
	計畫	Promotion for 21st Century
	國家中長期教育改革和發展	National Outline for Medium and
	規劃綱要 (2010-2020)	Long-term Educational Reform and
		Development (2010-2020)

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