Higher Education in Asia: Quality, Excellence and Governance

Ka Ho Mok *Editor*

Managing International Connectivity, Diversity of Learning and Changing Labour Markets

East Asian Perspectives

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With a strong conviction to promote international research cooperation and internationalization of higher education, the editor of the present volume and his team have actively engaged in organizing different kinds of international research events to critically examine how and what major strategies that governments and educational institutions in East Asia have adopted to transform their education systems to enhance their global competitiveness. This volume is developed from selected papers presented at the 2013 Annual Conference of The Hong Kong Educational Research Association with a theme of "Managing International Connectivity and Diversity: Experiences of Asian World Cities", the 10th East Asia Social Policy (EASP) Conference organized successfully at Beijing Normal University in July 2013, as well as another international conference related to the theme of "Managing Global Cities: Enhancing Hub Status and Implications for Education and Development", which was successfully held at the Hong Kong Institute of Education in February 2014. These papers address different aspects of human capital management, particularly how different East Asian economies have reformed their higher education systems to achieve excellence and maintain global competitiveness. Researchers and scholars who presented at these conferences debated on issues related to the growing challenges of urbanization in East Asia, especially the effects of the massification and privatization of higher education in the region.

The editor would like to thank the Hong Kong Educational Research Association (HKERA) of the East Asia Social Policy Research Network (EASP) for creating a great international platform for researchers and academics coming from different parts of the world to engage in debates and discussions related to managing international connectivity, social mobility, graduate employment and diversity of learning. The editor also extends his appreciation to One Asia Foundation, Research Grants Council and Trade and Industry Department, The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) for

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Chapter 1
Promoting International Connectivity and Seeking Global Competitiveness: Issues and Challenges

Ka Ho Mok

1.1 Introduction

Aiming to promote international research cooperation and internationalization of higher education, the author and his team have actively engaged in organizing different types of international research events to critically examine the major strategies that governments and educational institutions in East Asia have adopted to transform their education systems, and ultimately enhance their global competitiveness. This volume is developed from select papers presented at three conferences. These conferences include the 2013 Annual Conference of the Hong Kong Educational Research Association, with the theme 'Managing International Connectivity and Diversity: Experiences of Asian World Cities'; the 10th East Asia Social Policy (EASP) Conference at Beijing Normal University in July 2013; and a Hong Kong Institute of Education conference with the theme 'Managing Global Cities: Enhancing Hub Status and Implications for Education and Development', in February 2014. These papers address different aspects of human capital management, particularly how different East Asian economies have reformed their higher education systems to achieve excellence and maintain global competitiveness. Researchers and scholars who presented at these conferences debated on issues related to the growing challenges of urbanization in East Asia, particularly the effects of the massification and privatization of higher education in the region. The principal objective of this introductory chapter is to highlight the major issues and challenges confronting Asian countries when their higher education systems have gone through a few transformative processes, namely massification, privatization and marketization, as well as internationalization and transnationalization. All these

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transformations have significant impacts on higher education management and governance, student learning, and managing rapid changes in terms of labour market needs and graduate employment.

1.2 Structure of the Book

This book primarily aims to examine how education systems have been transformed in Asia to enhance their global competitiveness. In particular, it investigates the strategies that governments in East Asia have adopted to enhance their regional and global status by engaging in regional education hub projects, increasing investment in research and development, as well as pulling additional resources to secure higher positions in global university leagues. This volume comprises four major parts. Part One provides an overview of the most recent trends and major challenges confronting educational development in East Asia. Part Two focuses on how Asian world cities have sought to enhance their global competitiveness through launching regional education hub projects or engaging in promotion of international connectivity. Part Three critically examines how the trends of internationalization and transnationalization of higher education have affected student learning, particularly examining issues related to managing diversity in student learning in the trans-bordering world. Part Four discusses the major challenges facing Asian societies in terms of the massification of higher education and graduate employment.

1.2.1 Success in Higher Education in Asia: Issues and Challenges

The development of higher education in most countries in Asia is a remarkable success story. Higher education across the region enjoys a high level of government support. Government leaders understand that higher education is an important ingredient in the economic and social development of their country. They also recognize that the globalization of markets, the interdependency of international financial systems, the expanded role of technology and high-speed communications have created an enormous need for highly skilled technical, professional and managerial leaders. In addition, government leaders acknowledge that primary and secondary school graduates are unable to manage modern economies (Shaw et al. 2011). Enrolment has grown and participation in higher education has diversified. New universities have been created, and universities are experimenting with new forms of instructional delivery. Figure 1.1 illustrates the steadily increasing trend of student enrolment in higher education across the Asia–Pacific region. Nonetheless, the rapid expansion of higher education, particularly the significant increase in higher education enrolment, has inevitably challenged the conventional governance

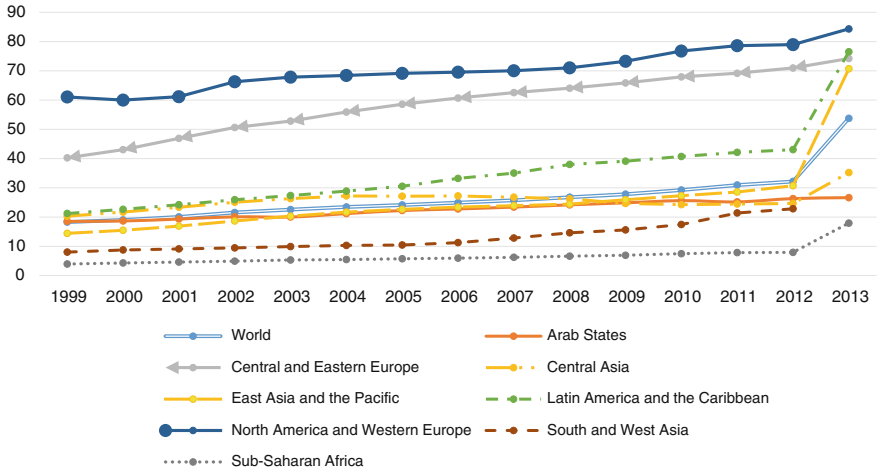

Fig. 1.1 Expansion of higher education in the Asia–Pacific region (indicated by gross enrollment rate) (until 2013). *Source* UNESCO Database, available at http://data.uis.unesco.org

and management of higher education, graduate employment and competitiveness of individual institutions in the highly competitive global market. This volume examines recent transformations in Asian higher education systems against this wider context and discusses the effects and social consequences of these changes.

State sources of funding and support will never meet the pressing demands from students and parents in Asia for high-quality education. Therefore, Asian governments have adopted policies to encourage the private sector to be involved in developing an education market and public universities to engage with the industry and business for more and stronger cooperation. States intend to increase synergy between the university and enterprise for promoting innovation, knowledge transfer and different types of entrepreneurial activities (Mok 2013a, 2015a; Chan and Mok 2015). Figure 1.2 shows the increase in costs being borne by students because of insufficient state funding but increasing privatization and marketization of higher education no matter whether it is for profit or not (Hauptman 2011; Kinser and Levy 2011). Mok (2013a) conducted a comparative study related to university–enterprise cooperation in selected East Asian economies, such as Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong. The results demonstrated a growing regional trend in Asia to foster stronger and closer relationships between the university sector and industry and business. The development of these relationships has diversified economic activities that provided a strong impetus to the development of new economic pillars in South Korea and Singapore, with innovation and creativity being integrated and promoted as new industries. In addition, these relationships have affected the manner in which universities are managed and performance is measured (Mok 2012). Mok (2015a; see also 2013b), Mok and Nelson (2013) conducted surveys and field interviews to examine how academics assess and evaluate the call for a deeper university–enterprise cooperation in East Asia. Mok revealed diverse views and

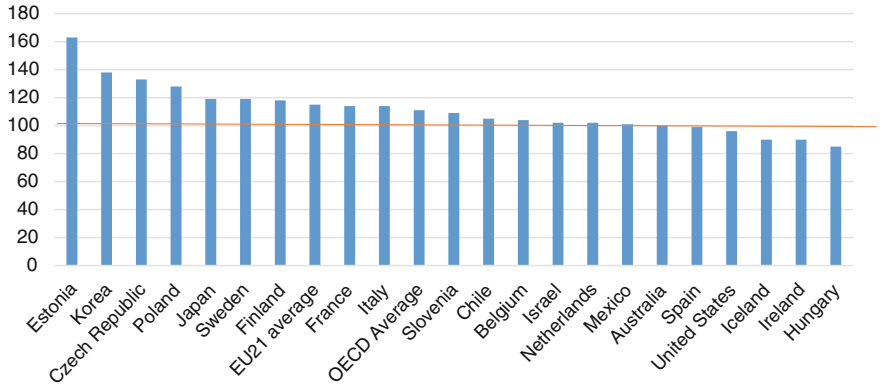

Fig. 1.2 Increasing costs per student for higher education (2012). *Source* OECD (2015), Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators, Table B1.5b, available at http://www.oecd.org/edu/education-at-a-glance-19991487.htm. *Note* 1) Index of change 2005=100; 2) For Chile, Ireland and Portugal, this Figure uses the data of 2013 instead of 2012 while the index of change referring to 2006 instead of 2005; 3) For Japan and United States, some levels of education are included with others (the details are offered in Table B1.1a on Page 219 of Education at a Glance)

opinions of faculty members from different academic disciplines. Engineering and business groups showed more support, whereas their colleagues in humanities and social sciences have criticized higher education being run as commercial companies, thus jeopardizing education ideals.[1] The call for a closer relationship among university, industry and business has undoubtedly made academics more critical towards the imposed forms of privatization, marketization and commercialization of higher education (Turner and Yolcu 2014). We have seen success in the development of higher education in Asia, but we have also observed certain issues and challenges. This volume has identified a few major policy and governance issues faced by higher education in Asia, particularly when Asian governments have intended to increase higher education enrolments by massifying their systems.

In Chap. 1 ('Widely Recognized Problems, Controversial Solutions: Issues and Strategies for Higher Education Development in Asia'), David Chapman and Jouko Sarvi provide an overview of recent developments and trends of higher education in East and Southeast Asia. Despite the fact that Chapman and Sarvi generally confirm the success story of higher education developments in the region, they also point out the widely recognized problems and controversial solutions adopted by governments in East and Southeast Asia. The massive growth of higher education has drawn Chapman and Sarvi to become cautious by asking the governments in East and Southeast Asia to be more careful in planning, specifically paying particular attention to issues such as quality, efficiency and equity of post-secondary education in East and

[1]Parts of the materials adopted in this chapter are based upon the author's article published in *Higher Education Policy*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March 2015, with revisions and adaptation to the present chapter. The author is grateful to Professor Jeroen Huisman, editor of the *Higher Education Policy*.

Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, Chapman and Sarvi also raise issues related to finance and costs, research and learning and institutional governance when governments in this particular region intend to further expand higher education enrolment.

In Chap. 2 ('Internationalization and Transnationalization of Higher Education: A Review in of the Asia Pacific Region'), Mok and Han provide a regional review of internationalization and transnationalization of higher education in Asia–Pacific, with particular reference to examine how three selected countries Australia, South Korea and China have transformed their higher education systems through various forms of internationalization strategies. Recognizing the rise of transnational higher education in mainland China, Mok and Han highlight the policy background, discussing the recent development trend and challenges for university governance in China when Sino-foreign education cooperation in launching joint campuses in China is becoming popular. The regional review on internationalization and transnationalization of higher education in Asia–Pacific has provided comparative perspectives in analysing higher education development in the region.

In Chap. 3 ('Qualification Recognition of Joint Degrees in Europe and Asia in the Era of Massification'), Hou Yung-chi critically examines the issues related to the qualification recognition of joint degrees in Europe and Asia in the massification era. In the European experience, different higher education institutions and governments have agreed to recognize each other's qualifications, with credit transfer systems to promote student mobility. However, Hou has observed difficulties in Asian universities and governments intending to further enhance the internationalization of higher education through the recognition of qualifications. Chapter 3 discusses the fundamental issues related to quality assurance and qualification recognition among Asian universities, particularly when they attempt to further promote student mobility. Catching up the tide of internationalization of higher education, universities in mainland China and Hong Kong have seriously attempted to internationalize the student learning experience.

1.2.2 Enhancing International Connectivity and the Quest for Global Leadership

Over the past decade, we have witnessed the rise of transnational higher education and a call to internationalize higher education in Asia. In an increasingly borderless world, Asian countries have attempted to become regional educational hubs by establishing university cities and inviting overseas universities to implement offshore programs or establish offshore campuses (Chapman et al. 2010; Mok and Yu 2014). Perceiving education as a trade and an industry, Asian economies have embarked on their hub projects in India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, South Korea and other economies in the Middle East (Shields and Edwards 2010; Knight 2014). The emerging regional education hubs in Asia have inevitably transformed international student mobility patterns and induced intense competition between students among these hubs in the region (Rivza and Teichler 2007; Mok and Ong 2012). The internationalization of

higher education and increasing student mobility are not new social phenomena. Knight (1997) describes the internationalization of higher education as a process where an international/intercultural aspect being integrated into the teaching, research and service functions of higher education. Similarly, Van der Wende (2007) refers to the internationalization process of higher education as 'a strategic response to the demands and challenges of social, economic and labour market globalization', whereas Kerr (1994) simply pertains to such a process as the global flow of people, information, knowledge, technology, programs, education services and financial capital.

To enhance their students' global competitiveness, governments around the world, particularly in Asia, are increasingly emphasizing the internationalization of student learning to foster the necessary global knowledge, skills and languages for their graduates to perform professionally and socially in international, multicultural environments (Stiasny and Gore 2012; Mok and Yu 2014). The patterns of international student mobility in the 1970s and 1980s were characterized by study destinations in Europe, the UK and North America. However, since the late 1980s, and in particular after the 1996–1997 Asian financial crisis, more students have begun studying in the Asia–Pacific region. We have analysed changes in international student mobility patterns in the light of Phillip Altbach's conceptual framework (Altbach 1989) and have witnessed a fundamental shift in which students moving from the periphery (developing economies) to the core (developed economies) for overseas learning experiences have instead begun to travel from the periphery to the semi-periphery (emerging economies). Figure 1.3 illustrates the

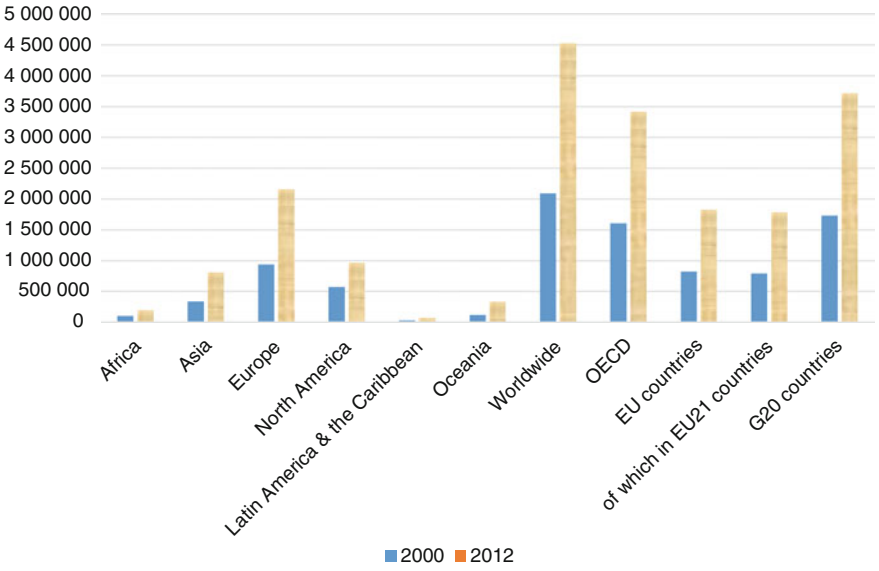

Fig. 1.3 Increase in mobile students by regions of destination (2000 and 2012). *Source* OECD (2014), Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators, Table C4.6, available at http://www.oecd.org/edu/EAG2014-IndicatorC4(eng).pdf

growing trend of student mobility across different parts of the globe, suggesting an increasing number of students coming from developed economies studying in the less developed economies.

When measuring how universities have performed in the recent past, we have witnessed the growing popularity of different types of global university leagues. To enhance their national competitiveness in the global environment, a growing number of national governments have made serious attempts to assert their global leadership by promoting higher education research and innovation, launching regional education hub projects and instrumentally adopting measures to raise their global ranking status. The contribution of Alice Chow and Becky Loo (Chap. 4, 'Higher Education Activities in World Cities: A Spatial Study of Global Leadership and Connectivity') to this volume analyses how global cities perform in terms of the universities they host and bring a geographical perspective in assessing global city performance through higher education. Chow and Loo argue that the global geography of higher education is a black box, despite the abundant studies on the internationalization of education. They also acknowledge the limitations of the existing literature on the geographies of higher education under globalization, which primarily focuses on the interactions at the regional scale and the inter-country level. Arguably, little is known about the disaggregate distribution of higher education activities in cities and the manner in which cities are connected in terms of academic linkages. After identifying the research gap, Chow and Loo attempt to reveal the spatial distribution of world cities with more higher education activities, showing international standings and global connections. A four-indicator system of Globalizing Education Index, comprising the Place Power and Network Power of cities, is adopted to measure the internationalization and connectivity of places. The spatial distribution of cities performing well in four areas (i.e. university prestige standings, influential world scholars, international academic events and global research networking) suggests that the decentralization of higher education activities is restricted to certain aspects. However, some may expect that the movement and information flows of the knowledge economy are supposedly more unrestricted under globalization.

After analysing the data, Chow and Loo argue that the geographical distribution of world cities with high Globalizing Education Index remains concentrated in North America, which is characterized by the strong historical and cultural backgrounds of world academia. However, this distribution is slightly spread to East Asia due to its strength in organizing international events. This finding has added insight into the existing literature, indicating a decreasing central-periphery landscape of scholarly activities in the global education system. Noticing this slight move from concentrating in North America to East Asia is in line with Phillip Altbach's conceptual framework (1989), which argued a shift in which students who were moving from the periphery (developing economies) to the core (developed economies) for overseas learning experiences have instead begun to travel from the periphery to the semi-periphery (emerging economies). The slight shift identified by Chow and Loo is also consistent with the growing stature of Asian universities in different global university leagues as reported in the last few years

Table 1.1 Rise of Asian universities in world university rankings

Global University Leagues	Year 2004	Year 2010	Year 2014
QS World University Rankings (previously known as THES-QS World University Rankings during 2004–2009)	14	15	17
The Times Higher Education World University Ranking	–	10	12

Sources QS World University Rankings; the Times Higher Education World Reputation Rankings

(see Table 1.1). Similarly, the British Council observes the start of two-way travel. A growing number of students from developed economies in the West have pursued their education in less developed economies, whereas students from Asia diversify their destinations for overseas study. Meanwhile, expand the perspective on the internationalization of higher education and consider how mobility and migration pave the way for innovative universities throughout the Asia–Pacific region. Chapter 4 supplements the existing geographical studies on higher education and suggests further research directions that address the influence of geography and connectivity in facilitating academic activities with a global reach.

Given that the knowledge economy and the global commercial economy resemble each other, the comparison of the performances of cities in selected East Asian economies introduces the need to critically examine how Asian governments have attempted to enhance their global city status through higher education. In Chap. 5 ('Global City Tokyo and the Lives of University Academics in Japan'), Akiyoshi Yonezawa, Kaoru Sato and Ginko Kawano reveal the mobility patterns of academics in Tokyo, Japan. Based on survey results, the authors argue that Tokyo, as the capital of Japan, is a centre of the intellectual network owing to its education and training function. Although Yonezawa and his team did not analyse the Tokyo case in the light of Jane Knight's regional education hub framework, the analysis and findings on how higher education has transformed in terms of mobility patterns, academic life style and social life have indicated that Tokyo has now become the major higher education hub in Japan. With the growing number of talent and experts attracted to work or commune through Tokyo for different types of research and academic purposes, Yonezawa and his team believe that Tokyo is properly positioned as the higher education hub in both Japan and the region against the context of the quest for global higher education hub status.

Analysing the Tokyo case in the light of Knight's framework of education hub, we consider that Tokyo fits in the 'innovation and knowledge hub' and 'talent hub', as opposed to the 'student hub' as discussed by Yonezawa and his team. Chapter 5 is particularly interesting in its differentiation of Tokyo's higher education community from those in other East Asian cities. In contrast to their East Asian counterparts who have relied heavily on North American and European universities in their graduate school-level academic training, Tokyo academics are more 'home-groomed' with local university training and degrees. Such a difference is noted as 'self-contained' academic mobility to form a domestic academic network, as Kim and Locke (2010) suggested. Yonezawa and his team demonstrate how a

country would begin to consolidate its own strengths, particularly when its higher education is becoming more mature. Such consolidation is highly related to what the higher education sector in Japan has achieved, given that it is the first country in East Asia to undergo the rapid expansion of higher education in response to the challenges of the knowledge-based economy. The observations and analysis reported Chap. 5 further provide insights into support the rise of Asian universities in the global context as observed by different researchers in higher education, particularly when universities in Asia–Pacific have more seriously considered research and innovation by increasing investment in such enterprises (Hawkins and Mok 2015; see also Mok 2013a; Neubauer 2012; Altbach and Umakoshi 2004; Altbach and Balan 2007).

1.2.3 Seeking a Regional Education Hub Status for Global Competitiveness

In Chap. 6 ('The Higher Education Industry in Hong Kong and Singapore: Reflections on a Decade of Expansion'), William Yat Wai Lo examines the significance of the education hub in the future development of the higher education industry in Hong Kong and Singapore against the contexts of globalization and highly competitive policy in East Asia. This chapter begins by briefly examining the globalization agenda in higher education, highlighting the contexts and developments of higher education industry in Hong Kong and Singapore. As an international city in Asia, Hong Kong has seriously attempted to transform its higher education in the last decade to become a regional education hub. However, compared with its counterparts in Singapore and Malaysia, the Hong Kong government is less strategic and systematic in terms of policy measures in realizing strategic goals. Therefore, Hong Kong has lagged in its attempt to become a regional education hub (Mok and Bodycott 2014). William Lo's 2015 article in *Higher Education Policy* vividly highlights the tensions between Hong Kong and mainland China, particularly the special status of the higher education sector of Hong Kong in China under the 'one country, two systems' constitutional framework, and discusses whether the hub project can indeed be realized. Similarly, examining the Hong Kong quest for hub status in the light of the analytical framework of Knight and Lee (2014) for education hubs, the Hong Kong government has failed to develop a clear hub concept. By contrast, the government has attempted to utilize education services in general and the regional hub status in particular to diversify the economic pillars of Hong Kong by transforming education into a new industry. Notwithstanding the call and attempts in asserting the education hub status of Hong Kong, the government led by Chief Executive Leung Chun Ying has gradually downplayed the notion of a regional education hub since 2012 because the administration has selected another focus, that is, the provision of sufficient social housing.

Against this context, both the call for a regional education hub and the ambition to turn education into a new industry driving new economic growth have been dampened. Unsurprisingly, after reviewing the education hub project of Hong Kong, Mok and Bodycott commented as follows:

> It has almost been a decade since the government has declared the aspiration of developing Hong Kong into an education hub, and yet the blueprint to do so has not been forthcoming. The goals and concrete strategies of the hub project have not yet been made clear and explicit. For The question of what kind of education hub is best for Hong Kong, the government has no answer yet. With many favourable conditions already in place, what is missing in Hong Kong's quest for the regional education hub status is the lack of political will. The government confines itself to the role of a facilitator only, as is evident in the launching of new funding and loan schemes, but it is reluctant to take up a more strategic leading role in steering and directing the development of the education hub project. (2014, p. 97)

Lo provides a good example of the difficulty to translate optimistic policy goals into policy implementation. Education management issues, as well as political and political economy perspectives, should be considered when assessing the success and failure of a new education policy during implementation. In Chap. 6, Lo critically examines the effects of the hub strategies in Hong Kong and Singapore. The recent reactions of the Singaporean anxiety towards the rapid expansion of private higher education in general and the growing number of overseas talent and students being recruited to the city-state in particular were clearly reflected in the 2011 general election. In this election, the ruling People's Action Party won only approximately 60 % of the vote, whereas the mass demonstration of Singaporeans against the government's immigration policy to allow the import of talent and students from overseas has prompted caution in the Singapore government to scale down the global schoolhouse project. After comparing the regional hub projects in Hong Kong and Singapore, Lo points out the importance of local politics interplaying with other factors induced by regionalization and globalization. The political circumstances discussed in Chap. 6 suggest that although higher education has been instrumentalized as an engine of economic development in the context of the knowledge economy, its connections with the public sentiment and local politics draw the limits of governments of individual societies in developing markets in higher education. Marginson (2014) has accurately stated that government actions are inevitably restricted by local political constraints when implementing neoliberal discourse and practices because 'governments cannot abstain on public goods' and they also need to 'use higher education policy to build their own political capital' (p. 366).

Lo offers a critical reflection on the regional education hub projects implemented in Hong Kong and Singapore from a comparative perspective. Meanwhile, in Chap. 7 ('Singapore as a Global Schoolhouse: A Critical Review'), Tan Eng Thye Jason critically evaluates the global schoolhouse project initiated and launched in the city-state since the early 2000s. According to Tan, the Ministry of Trade and Industry in Singapore announced ambitious plans in 2002 for Singapore to become an education hub. The idea was for Singapore to become a 'global schoolhouse'

and was driven primarily by economic concerns. Such vision would allow Singapore to entice foreign universities to establish branch campuses in Singapore; at the same time, it would position Singapore as an education destination, with a target of 150,000 international full-time students by 2015. In addition, the idea of a 'global schoolhouse' was fuelled by long-standing government concerns over the lack of indigenous professional talent to maintain national economic competitiveness. Tan begins Chap. 7 by outlining the 'global schoolhouse' vision and situating it within the sociopolitical context of Singapore. This vision was consistent with the governing party's view of education as a key instrument of economic growth and its dream of turning Singapore into the 'Boston of the East'. This vision also followed from the government's decades-old policy of encouraging foreign student enrolment in universities and top secondary schools, which was once again justified primarily on economic grounds. Furthermore, the government had been concerned about the effect of declining population growth on economic sustainability and competitiveness.

Regardless of the nobleness of the vision and mission of the 'global schoolhouse' project, it must face up to political reality. Lo highlighted such a reality in Chap. 6, showing that public sentiment and local politics are significant in shaping policy success or failure. By contrast, Tan pointed out in Chap. 7 the complications and setbacks in the midst of the policy implementation of the 'global schoolhouse' vision. These complications and setbacks included the closure of campuses and programmes by foreign universities. A significant domestic backlash against untrammelled immigration occurred, and perceptions of social and economic inequalities engendered by this immigration emerged. Chapter 7 is an instructive case study of an ambitious government keen to promote the idea of an education hub, but which saw its plans thwarted by various sociopolitical complications. Revisiting the nature of the Singapore education hub in the light of the framework proposed by Knight (2014), the Singapore government appears to now focus more on transforming the city-state into a 'talent hub' and a 'knowledge/innovation hub'. This strategy addresses the practical and political reality confronting the present regime, as opposed to promoting the 'student hub' for the economic reasons outlined above. The Singapore case is instructive in indicating the practical limits to what can be achieved, even when a firm interventionist will is in place to pursue ambitious goals. It further reinforces Marginson's argument, in which governments have no choice but to capitalize higher education policy for political consumption to legitimatize their ruling authorities.

1.2.4 Internationalizing and Transnationalizing Higher Education: Managing Diversity in Student Learning

With strong conviction to enrich the student learning experience, coupled with the intention to enhance the global competitiveness of graduates, higher education has

also experienced the transnationalization process. Based on the definition offered by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2001, transnational higher education pertains to 'all types of higher education study where learners are located in a country different from the one where awarding institutions is based' (UNESCO/Council of Europe 2002). Meanwhile, other scholars refer to such a learning experience as 'borderless education', with various forms of learning activities occurring interchangeably, such as cross-border education, offshore education and borderless education. Transnationalizing higher education has become increasingly popular in Asia, particularly when we witness a growing number of overseas universities originally based in the UK, Europe, USA and Australia have offered their programmes or established offshore campuses in East and Southeast Asia. Taking China as an example, Fig. 1.4 illustrates the rapid expansion of transnational higher education programmes in the mainland since 1991, whereas Sino-foreign cooperation in terms of university campuses offering alternative learning experiences has rapidly developed in the last decade (Mok and Han 2015). The growing popularity of transnational higher education, together with growing student mobility across different parts of the globe, is not without any problem.

In Chap. 8 ('Getting Connected with the Global World: The Promotion of Internationalization in University Campuses in Hong Kong and China'), Wang Li and Han Xiao review the rationale and practices of internationalization of higher education in these two Chinese societies. Li and Xiao compare and contrast the differences and similarities between mainland and Hong Kong universities in terms of the development and adoption of internationalization strategies. They provide useful insights into the practices and experiences of internationalizing higher education in these two different societies, as well as discuss the policy implications for both governments when further pushing the agenda of internationalization in the future.

In Chap. 9 ('Comparison of Student Experiences in the Era of Massification: Analysis of Student Data from Japan, Korea and the United States'), Reiko Yamada compares student experiences in the era of massification of higher education, with

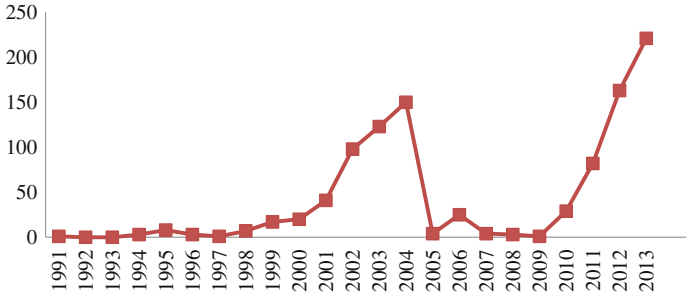

Fig. 1.4 Increase in newly approved TNHE in China (1991–2013) (*Source* http://www.crs.jsj.edu.cn/index.php/default/index/sort/1006 and reports from 1991 to 2013, calculated by the author). *Note* the TNHE includes TNHE programs, second-tier colleges and institutions

critical review and analysis of survey data from Japan, Korea and the USA. The findings suggest that an institutional climate such as emotional and academic support from the faculty moderates the relationship between student engagement and learning outcomes across countries. Yamada argues that students who spend a well-balanced amount of time learning, working on and off campus and socializing tend to achieve more learning outcomes. With such findings, higher education institutions should develop the appropriate strategies and measures for creating a learning environment that is conducive to nurturing their students to adopt international perspectives and become culturally sensitive and socially engaged in facing the ever-changing world. Meanwhile, a close student–faculty relationship suggests better learning for students. Thus, higher education institutions should review the student–teacher ratio in providing better student learning.

The increasingly transbordering world has boosted student mobility and the movement of peoples across national borders to seek jobs and homes. As a global city, Hong Kong has received a growing diversity of people across its borders, particularly those from mainland China. In Chap. 10 ('Perceived Discrimination and Integration among New Arrivals from Mainland China: Implications for Higher Education Development for Hong Kong'), Isabella Ng, Kee Lee Chou and Winky Wong critically examine the education experiences of new arrivals from mainland China to Hong Kong. Ng and her team have discovered that perceived discrimination is significantly associated with quality of life, even after a year spent in Hong Kong. This finding was based on a random sample of 380 Chinese immigrants from a one-year longitudinal secondary dataset, together with bivariate and multivariate multiple regressions to examine the associations of quality of life with perceived discrimination, sense of control, optimism, perceived social support, pre-migration planning, collective efficacy and perceived neighbourhood disorder. Meanwhile, collective efficacy, perceived social support and preparation for immigration are found to be important factors that contribute to quality of life among new arrivals from mainland China to Hong Kong. Analysing these findings, the researchers believe that early interventions are necessary to reduce discrimination among new immigrants in Hong Kong. By exploring the relationship between perceived discrimination and integration, studies have revealed that discrimination or perceived discrimination significantly affects the immigrant's prospect of successful immigration. Furthermore, although education serves as a medium for integration, it also functions as an indicator to gauge the immigrants' extent of integration into the host country. Recent figures released by the Hong Kong Census and Statistics department did not portray a favourable picture of immigrants' education achievement in the Hong Kong higher education scene. In this context, policy-makers should seek appropriate measures to better integrate these new arrivals into the society. Instead of viewing new arrivals as a social burden, the Hong Kong government should create a more conducive environment to integrate them as new resources in helping the future development of Hong Kong society, particularly considering the future reliance of the Hong Kong population on these mainland immigrants.

Does an increasingly borderless world mean that we can truly enjoy transbordering experiences, such as opening up the national labour market to people from other countries? Recent international research has clearly suggested the growing anxiety (particularly protectionism) emerging domestically, the accumulation of which has induced a strong public sentiment against the further opening up of the labour market. Our preceding discussion related to the global schoolhouse project in Singapore, together with Hou's chapter on the barriers in recognizing transnational higher education qualifications, has suggested the immense difficulties in promoting the ideal of the 'borderless world'. In Chap. 13 ('Teaching the Dragon? The Diffusion of the European Union's Social and Employment Policies to China'), Minna van Gerven and Yang Weihuo analyse the extent to which we can trace the ideational spread of the EU employment and social policies outside the European borders to China. This chapter critically examines the issues related to policy learning and policy transfer of how to adopt the social and employment policies from Europe to inform policy-making and practice in China, particularly investigating how the European solution of flexicurity would be diffused to China.

1.2.5 Challenges for the Massification of Higher Education and Labour Market

As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, higher education systems in East and Southeast Asia have experienced significant expansion in the last few decades. Calderon (2012) reported that enrolment in higher education in Asia has increased by more than 50 % in the last decade and by a higher percentage in various specific countries of Asia. However, the rapid expansion of higher education in the last decade is not without problems. This rapid expansion has spurred issues on the academic standards and quality of universities in mainland China, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan (Mok 2013a). Well aware of the importance of increasing opportunities for higher education to prepare its citizens for the knowledge-based economy, the Taiwan government allowed its higher education sector to upgrade a number of colleges focusing on technology. Such expansion has inevitably induced more supply than demand primarily because Taiwan is one of the countries with the lowest birth rate in the world. The significant demographic change and massification of higher education in Taiwan have instigated heated debates on the manner in which quality in higher education can be ensured, as well as how the labour market can provide sufficient employment opportunities for university graduates (Mok et al. 2013).

In Chap. 11 ('Massification of Higher Education and Labour Market: The Case of Taiwan'), Sheng-Ju Chan critically reviews how the higher education system has massified in Taiwan since the 1990s. Chan reports that Taiwanese higher education has evolved from an elite system to a universal one in the past two decades because of such imperatives. The rapid expansion of higher education is also characterized

by salient features, such as the pursuit of higher degrees, an enlarged private sector and diminishing numbers of junior college institutions or students. The author explores whether these macro-changes at the national level have challenged the labour market. His findings reveal that increased participation has eased the pressure of access to higher education in Taiwan. However, intensified competition for employment has incurred additional monetary cost and uncertain wage prospects at the individual level because of the growing number of graduates. Moreover, disadvantaged students might suffer the most in terms of financial investment in and rate of return to higher education because of this massification.

The problem faced by young university graduates is the most socially and politically significant issue related to the massification of higher education in Taiwan. Young university graduates must often decide whether to take up relatively low-pay and low-skill jobs available in the labour market. However, most of these graduates prefer to be employed in professions with a high social or professional status. Such jobs are not sufficiently created when the global and regional market economy became insufficiently dynamic after the 2008 global financial crisis. Comparing their present salary with those of their cohorts 10 years ago, numerous young graduates complain about the stagnation of salaries in Taiwan. Therefore, most of these university graduates openly declare their anxiety. Their feelings of being under-valued in the labour market are vividly shown with their unpromising future in the job market. Ku (2014) indicated that the dissatisfaction of students with the economic future has accumulated into anti-establishment attitudes and in an anti-government movement in Taiwan. During the Sunflower Social Movement in March 2014, several university students staged their dissatisfaction with the bill, passed by the ruling party, for fostering more economic cooperation between Taiwan and mainland China. Ku (2014) provided a social and political analysis for the movement and argued that Taiwan has democracy without governance. Ku further explained why policy implementation against the aforementioned particular social, political and economic contexts has failed in Taiwan.

Similar to Taiwan, mainland China has massified its higher education system. Following the Education Blueprint 2020 (also known as Outline for Medium- and Long-term Education Development), the Chinese government is keen to increase higher education enrolment from the present 24–40 % of the relevant age cohorts of high school graduates. In line with this policy, higher education institutions in China have experienced a significant increase in student population. The growth in higher education enrolment begun when former Party Leader Jiang Zimen called for producing world-class universities in China in the early 1990s. Subsequently, the higher education sector in China has experienced a significant increase in the number of university students in both the mainland and outside the country by sending students overseas. Privatizing and marketing higher education along the neoliberal approach, the higher education sector has expanded significantly in the last few decades; however, the sector has experienced negative social and economic consequences when run as a business (Carnoy et al. 2013). Wang and Mok (2014) critically reviewed how higher education in China has been massified through

neoliberal ideas and practices. They reported that the efficiency gained by running higher education through market-driven strategies has inevitably compromised education quality and equality. Similarly, Zha and Lin (2014) offered an interesting analysis on how China has massified higher education by policy execution, whereas Wolverton (2014) outlined how China and the USA have made serious attempts to produce more dynamic creators by increasing the number of higher learning opportunities. With these research findings, the importance of boosting higher education opportunities for younger generations cannot be doubted. However, we should be aware that the massive expansion of higher education unquestionably creates pressure on the employment of graduates.

Wing Kit Chan (2015) argued that the number of Chinese citizens unsure of their prospects after graduation has reached an unprecedented level of two million since the summer of 2013. This group of graduates is not entitled to claim any benefits from social insurance schemes based on formal employment. In addition, if these graduates are away from home, they do not have any access to the other supplementary benefits of the social protection system based on household registration status, which is financed and provided by the local governments of host cities. The Chinese government has introduced a range of policy measures in the past years with an emphasis on 'flexible employment', which is an umbrella term for several types of atypical jobs. Nonetheless, we have observed the growing anxiety commonly shared by university graduates in mainland China because more than seven million university graduates are produced annually. The employment rates among graduates released by government agencies or research institutes are also derived in a manner that even part-time jobs are considered.

In view of the aforementioned findings, the role of education in upward social mobility is therefore questioned. Education may contribute to increased earnings and possibility for the upper social class in a less globalized and elite higher education system. However, the status quo has changed, particularly against ever-intensifying globalization and massification of higher education. Specifically, a degree does not assure employment, high earnings and upward social mobility. The promotion of social mobility through university credentials has become challenging in both developed and emerging economies. Haveman and Smeeding (2006) reported the growing income-related gap both in access to and in success in higher education in the USA. In top-tier colleges and universities, almost three quarters of the entering class belong to the highest socio-economic quartile. The pool of qualified youth is significantly larger than that admitted and enrolled. In Chap. 12 ('Massification of Higher Education: Challenges for Admissions and Graduate Employment in China'), Ka Ho Mok and Jin Jiang demonstrate how the massification of higher education has affected university admissions and graduate employment in China. Facing increased competition to enter highly ranked universities, university admissions in mainland China are under significant challenges, particularly when family backgrounds and personal networks play an important role, thus intensifying education inequality. Graduate employment prospects and upward social mobility are also closely linked with the universities from which

students graduate. Undoubtedly, university students in mainland China now confront keen positional competition, particularly when such education may not guarantee good career prospects but heavily depends on the university that students attend (Dale 2015).

Similar developments are evident in other parts of Asia, particularly when higher education expansion is not matched with the changing labour market needs. According to Lauder (2014), a similar story is unfolding in East Asia with approximately 3 million economically inactive graduates in South Korea who continue to struggle for job placement. In Japan, 38 % of graduates in 2009 were unemployed eight months after graduation, a figure that has not improved. In India, one in three young graduates is unemployed. Meanwhile, in China, despite the difficulty in acquiring accurate data, in 2013 only 38 % of graduates were issued contracts, with contracts being an indicator of quality jobs. A worse situation occurs when the supply of high-skilled and well-educated young labour force is higher than demand offered by those developing economies that have worked extremely hard to enhance their populations to become globally competitive through higher education (Mok 2015b). The unintended consequence accompanies the growing pressure to increase job opportunities with high-skilled labour with lower economic returns simply because of the over-supply of talent under the context of the Global Auction, as argued by Brown and his associates (2011).

In a recent issue of *The Economist*, the editor raised a critical issue by publishing an article entitled 'The World is going to University: *More and more money is being spent on higher education. Too little is known about whether it is worth it*' (*The Economist*, 28 March 2015). This article emphasizes a very important issue confronting policy-makers and higher education practitioners: the skills and knowledge sets that we must provide for students who most probably face an uncertain future and an unclear global labour market. Considering that many people continue to believe that higher education qualifications would result in better career prospects, we will certainly confront the situation in which 'the value of a degree from a selective institution depends on its scarcity, good universities have little incentive to produce more graduates. And, in the absence of a clear measure of educational output, price becomes a proxy for quality. By charging more, good universities gain both revenue and prestige' (*The Economist*, 28 March 2015, p. 3). Overall, the findings indicate that the expansion of higher education has induced important effects on graduates in the labour market and on social mobility. On the one hand, the expansion of higher education does not necessarily spur upward social mobility. On the other hand, it has changed the role of higher education in the lives of the graduates in both the social and economic aspects. The cruel reality confronting university graduates is intensified position competition. Thus, these graduates have no choice but to face the 'opportunity trap' pointing to increasing social congestion for decent jobs as people scramble for highly rated schools, colleges and jobs (Brown et al. 2011, p. 135).

1.3 Discussion: Implications for Education Equality and Influence on Academic Standards

The preceding discussions and analyses show that the massive expansion of higher education has not promoted equality in education but further intensified education inequality in Asia, particularly in China. This finding resonates with the study of Neubauer and Hawkins (2014), who argued the following:

> The majority of the enrollment growth in coming years will be in two countries, China and India, both of which have massive populations, but both of which also are characterized by very significant patterns of income and social inequality, a characteristic both within urban populations but especially existing between urban and rural populations. (p. 3)

Similarly, Mok's critical review (2015c) on how privatization has affected families showed that those with children and having a lower socio-economic status in Hong Kong have suffered the most from the privatization of education. Based on Hong Kong census data, Chow (2013) reported that young adults from middle- or upper-class families enjoy far more higher education opportunities (nearly three-fold) than those from relatively low-income groups.

The number of children in a household has a positive relationship with poverty risk. The burden of childcare may constrain the ability of household members to exploit employment opportunities. Thus, the process of designing measures that target low-income households with children must be considered in formulating new poverty-relief initiatives (Mok 2015c). Such students are insufficiently prepared for higher education. Findings have suggested that the increased diversity of students in higher education also boosts the propensity of dropping out. An additional projected effect is students attending low quality and sometimes exploitative higher education institutions, which are created to 'serve' these underprepared populations and whose continued existence is often rationalized by their ability to maintain 'head counts' regardless of educational quality (Bettinger and Long 2009). In this case, not all university graduates can secure good jobs. If such graduates desire better work, they must first obtain a higher education degree.

Putting these developments into perspective, the massification and privatization of higher education have induced highly complicated graduate employment and social mobility problems currently confronted by the youth. Therefore, student movements in Europe and Asia, in which anxieties and angers are expressed against the ruling regimes, are unsurprisingly widespread. All of the issues discussed above have inevitably affected the academic profession. The rapid expansion of higher education in Asia implies that teaching and research are conducted by staff members who are less qualified, overworked with heavy teaching load, have to teach large classes, are paid low salaries and are given little opportunity to provide personal attention to students. Neubauer and Hawkins (2014) observed that 'in many of these contemporary massified higher education systems in the Asia–Pacific region, faculty at 'lesser regarded' institutions are often forced to hold positions at multiple institutions, a situation that leads to a downward cascade of professional

preparation, timeliness of knowledge, as well as energy to teach effectively' (Neubauer and Hawkins 2014, p. 4). This situation may be viewed to approximate a 'beggaring' of this fraction of the academic profession.

Academics commonly experience intensified pressures when performance is not only related to research and teaching, but also when knowledge transfer and income generation from their engagements with industry and business are emphasized (Mok 2013a; Chan and Mok 2015). In conclusion, the chapters in this book highlighted the most significant challenges that universities face in Asia, as well as those experienced by academics during rapid transformations in higher education. Asia should be commended for its efforts to improve standards in higher education, but we should not drive reforms to effect changes without placing equally important emphasis on universities achieving excellence holistically (Mok and Nelson 2013). Restoring the humanistic perspective in university governance and transformation is urgently needed. Academics and administrators in Asian higher education systems should shift their attention towards the quest for excellence not only for efficiency and economic gains, but also for the enhancement of human well-being.

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Part I
Recent Trends and Development

Chapter 2
Widely Recognized Problems, Controversial Solutions: Issues and Strategies for Higher Education Development in East and Southeast Asia

David Chapman and Jouko Sarvi

Abstract Higher education across much of Asia is a remarkable success story. Enrollments have grown, participation in higher education has diversified, new universities have been created, and universities are experimenting with new forms of instructional delivery. At the same time, success has brought new problems as rapid expansion of access to higher education has placed new and interwoven pressures on facilities, personnel, and budgets. Efforts to address any one problem need to be undertaken with attention to the larger constellation of issues. This chapter provides an overview of these emerging and interrelated pressures. It discusses the role higher education plays in national development and provides an overview of the factors that have shaped the current situation of higher education across East and Southeast Asia. Finally, it explores options available to governments and higher education systems seeking to strengthen the quality, efficiency, and equity of post-secondary education in their countries.

2.1 Introduction

The situation of higher education across much of Asia represents a remarkable success story. Higher education across the region enjoys a high level of government support. Government leaders consider higher education as an important ingredient for the economic and social development of their countries. They recognize that the globalization of markets, the interdependency of international financial systems, the

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expanded role of technology, and the high-speed communications have created a great demand for highly skilled technical, professional, and managerial leaders. They understand that modern economies cannot be managed by primary and secondary school graduates only (Shaw et al. 2011). The government support for higher education is supported by tangible evidence. The number of enrollees in higher education institutions (HEIs) has increased, the participation in higher education has diversified, new universities have been created, and universities have begun to experiment with new forms of instructional delivery.

However, this success story has also introduced new problems. The rapid expansion of access to higher education has placed new and interwoven pressures on facilities, personnel, and budgets. The efforts for addressing these problems must be undertaken with attention to the larger constellation of issues. This article presents an overview of these emerging and interrelated pressures by drawing on the key findings of a two-year study on higher education issues across East and Southeast Asia, which was sponsored by the Asian Development Bank (ADB 2011a). The paper is divided into three parts. First, the role of higher education in national development is discussed. Second, an overview of the factors that have shaped the current situation of higher education across East and Southeast Asia is presented, and the available options for governments and HEIs to strengthen their systems are explored. Third, the recommended actions of ADB for how governments and international organizations can collaborate to strengthen higher education in the region are summarized.

Any analysis of higher education issues across East and Southeast Asia must be treated with great caution. These regions include countries with the largest (i.e., People's Republic of China [PRC]) and the smallest (i.e., Laos and Mongolia) populations in the world, some of the richest (i.e., Japan, Singapore, and South Korea) and the poorest (i.e., Cambodia and Laos) countries, the country with the fastest growing higher education system (i.e., PRC), and two countries that are currently downsizing (i.e., Korea and Japan). These countries vary in terms of the circumstances in their higher education systems and in the capacity of their governments to respond to such challenges.

ADB posits that higher education contributes to national development in three principal ways. First, HEIs prepare the primary and secondary teachers who shape the dimensions and the quality of the overall education system of a country. Well-prepared teachers are more capable of providing basic education that helps build a strong workforce and prepares future generations of university students. Second, colleges and universities train high-level technical and administrative personnel who are needed in governments, businesses, and industries. The success of these personnel requires high levels of administrative sophistication, technical proficiency, analytic capacity, and capability to work effectively in environments that are characterized by extensive automation, high-speed communication, and complex information flows.

Third, HEIs operate as centers of research and as incubators of innovation that can help fuel national economic development. Universities fulfill such roles by conducting research and by training knowledge economy workers (LaRocque

2007). The ability of HEIs to accomplish these ends depends, to a considerable extent, on how the systems are designed, financed, and managed, how the instructional staff members are equipped to meet the changing demands that are being placed upon them, and how governments place planned and realistic demands on universities.

2.2 Analytic Framework

The ADB study, on which this paper was based, employed a mixed methods approach to analyze the challenges faced by HEIs across the region. Data were drawn from a comprehensive set of literature, a series of five regional workshops, and an international conference that was attended by leaders from the government, HEIs, and international organizations from across the region. These workshops were designed to collect data through surveys, focus groups, and large group discussions to formulate and test preliminary findings and recommendations. A total of 48 representatives from 19 countries participated in four workshops. The final conference was attended by 77 participants. The authors framed the study using the five-part framework of Pigozzi and Cieutat (1988). This framework was subsequently used by international organizations to assess the needs of education systems (Chapman and Hutcheson 1992; InterAmerican Development Bank 1996; World Bank 2002; USAID 1988). HEIs and systems were analyzed in terms of internal efficiency, external efficiency, cost and financing, administration and governance, and access and equity using this framework (discussed below).

2.3 Overview of the Pressures that Shape Higher Education

The current situation of HEIs across East and Southeast Asia has emerged over the last 20 years from a convergence of demographic trends, public preferences, policy decisions, and external economic circumstances. As more school-age children go to school, complete secondary school, and wish to pursue higher education, students and families begin to demand for greater access to higher levels of education. Despite the increasing number of enrollees, the government budget for higher education remains at the same level. Many universities lack financial resources to maintain quality education while adsorbing a larger and increasingly more diverse student body. The rapid expansion of universities also puts pressure on faculty recruitment and personnel systems, administrative and governance processes, quality assurance procedures, and financial formulas. Governments also pressure universities by expecting them to play a more prominent role in conducting research that contributes to national economic development and international prestige

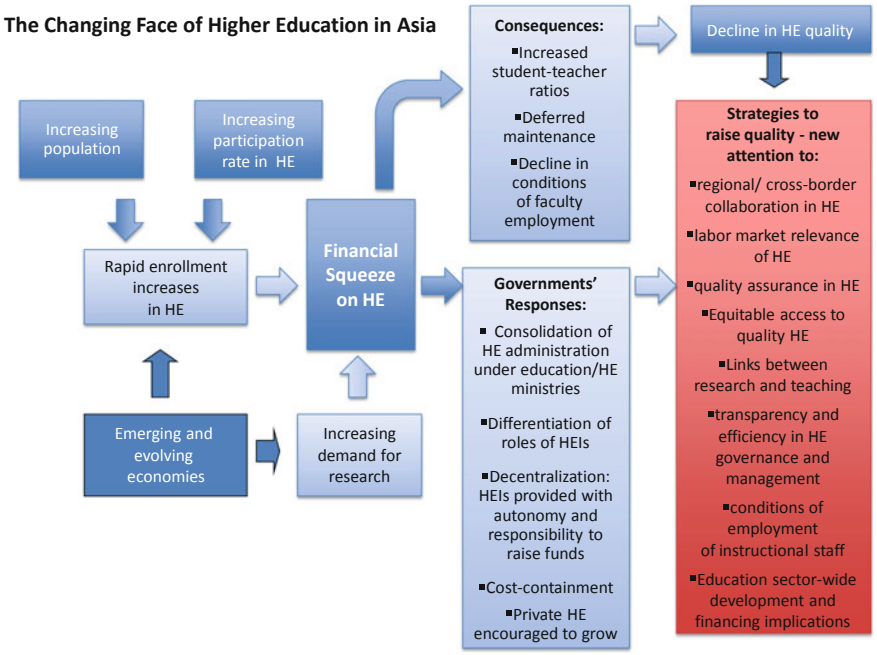

Fig. 2.1 The flow of pressures on higher education across Asia. *Source* Asian Development Bank 2011

(Chapman and Chien 2013). However, the procedures that proved efficient in the past were proven inadequate in guiding this pace of growth.

Despite the differences in the situations of countries, the issues that plague HEIs in these regions are remarkably similar. These countries significantly differ in terms of how their governments and higher education systems respond to such pressures. In response to these pressures, governments generally employ a combination of strategies that are intended to lower (or at least maintain) public expenditures for higher education, improve system and institutional management, and drive colleges and universities into securing their own funding. Figure 2.1 summarizes the pressures that have driven governments and higher education systems to the dilemmas and choices that they are currently facing. This figure also provides a roadmap of the arguments that are outlined below.

2.3.1 Internal Efficiency

Higher education systems or institutions are internally efficient to the extent that they optimally allocate and use available resources to improve quality and enhance

the quantity of education that they provide. ADB (2011a) has identified four key issues on internal efficiency, which are discussed below.

2.3.1.1 Differentiated Systems

A key element of internal efficiency is that colleges and universities operate with a clear focus and purpose. One way governments aim to achieve internal efficiency is to establish a differentiated system. Based on extant literature and the experiences of countries, governments across East and Southeast Asia have generally pursued a differentiated model in which some universities are treated as special, the responsibility for public higher education is pushed to the lower levels of the system (i.e., the provinces), and the responsibility (and cost) for outsourcing has been relegated to the private sector. These systems typically include one or more research-oriented, top-tier universities, a large set of second-tier universities that tend to be teaching-oriented institutions yet also focus on applied, locally relevant research, and a wider set of post-secondary institutions that offer a wider range of vocational, technical, and academic programs. These "third-tier" institutions play an important role in absorbing the demand for university access, but tend to be of lower quality and secure little, if any, government funding. Many private universities are classified as third-tier institutions. In a differentiated approach, each institution presumably focuses on a mission that is appropriate for its resources and context. By clearly defining their mission, HEIs can focus their resources toward the achievement of their goals at a high quality.

Although the benefits of institutional differentiation are widely recognized, two factors work against the sustenance of strong, differentiated national systems. First, "mission creep" erodes system differentiation and focus. Second-tier universities adopt terminologies and programs that position themselves to be viewed as top-tier universities, whereas third-tier schools aim to be seen as regional teaching universities. Mission creep undermines the focus of an institution toward its mission and subsequently diminishes the overall power of a national system of higher education in the process. Second, governments tend to direct their allocation of major resources to research-oriented universities at the expense of teaching-oriented universities (Chapman and Chien 2013). In other words, research universities are fed, whereas teaching institutions are starved. The allocation of national resources to HEIs must be carefully balanced across a differentiated system if the national goal is set toward the preparation of well-educated citizens who are ready to undertake employment in an internationally competitive economy.

2.3.1.2 Improving the Recruitment of Instructional Staff Members

Many universities are unable to recruit fully qualified instructional staff members at a sufficiently fast pace to keep up with the burgeoning enrollments, and many HEIs

are experiencing a shortage of qualified instructors.[1] Universities have responded to such issue in three ways, namely by hiring their own graduates, by seeking faculty members from overseas, and by employing part-time academic staff members who may also work in other institutions. Each of these approaches has its own advantages and liabilities. Universities foster "in-breeding" by hiring their own graduates, which limits the infusion of new ideas and creativity that often results from hiring of instructors who received their education in other institutions. Junior academics who are instructed by senior staff members, especially those who live in countries that deeply engrain deference to seniors into their culture, are hesitant in introducing alternative perspectives or pursuing new avenues of work (Lai and Lo 2007). Hiring workers from overseas is expensive. Part-time instructors often have conflicting demands on their time and attention, which may hinder them from contributing to the development of a university. These issues may be solved by improving the compensation and conditions of employment to a level at which universities can compete effectively with the employment opportunities that are being offered by the private sector to well-trained university graduates. Similarly, universities must undertake actions to upgrade their personnel with inadequate professional and scholarly preparation.

2.3.1.3 Improving the Incentives for Instructional Staff Members

Many factors must work together to improve instructional quality. However, individual instructors are the gatekeepers of the events that occur in a classroom. Instructional staff members across Southeast Asia greatly vary in terms of their academic qualifications and often have limited or no access to professional development opportunities, particularly in second- and third-tier universities. Moreover, the majority of academic staff members in this region have modest credentials (Altbach 2003). Many of these instructors are young, insufficiently prepared as teachers, and have limited hands-on practical work experience.

HEIs in Asia begin to provide professional development opportunities for their academic staff members, but such opportunities are not yet fully developed (ADB 2012a). Some of these universities require their new faculty members to take an initial induction course to orient them about their teaching responsibilities. Some universities have begun to establish campus-based teaching and learning centers that are operated by professionals who are knowledgeable about the professional development of faculty members. However, these opportunities are not yet available to address the needs of academic staff members across the region. Enhancing professional development only becomes a solution when the lack of professional development is identified as the underlying problem. In some cases, the performance of academic staff members is not only constrained by their limited

[1]The terms "universities" and "higher education institutions" (HEIs) are synonymous and are used interchangeably in this paper.

capabilities, but also by the failure of their workplace to reward them for their performance. This limitation is often attributed to the lack of or the ineffective allocation of extrinsic (i.e., salaries and other material benefits) and intrinsic (i.e., respect, satisfaction, and security) incentives.

The remuneration for full-time academic work in many Asian countries is very low by international standards, inadequate by local standards, and insufficient for sustaining a middle-class lifestyle (Altbach 2003). With the exception of few top-tier universities, the salaries of academic staff members are typically low compared with those offered to private sector employees (Chapman 2009). Although instructors often receive other financial considerations, such as housing supplements, medical support, and car loans, these incentives are insufficient to offset their low base salaries (Lee 2003). The inadequate compensation undermines the teaching quality of these instructors (Welch 2007, 2011; ADB 2012b). Academic staff members must be informed about performance incentives or rewards to encourage them to engage fully in tasks that best support the missions and goals of their institutions. Improving the faculty incentive systems, evaluation procedures, and employment conditions are among the most important actions that governments and HEIs can take to improve the quality of education.

2.3.1.4 Strengthening University-Based Research

The pressure on faculty members to engage in research is widely felt throughout Asia (Chapman and Chien 2013). Governments demand for research to promote their innovation, technical development, and productivity, which in turn will provide a return on their investment in higher education. They also seek for the international prestige that is associated with world-class research. The extent that university-based research contributes to the economic development of low- and middle-income countries is currently being debated (Schaaper 2013; World Bank 2009; LaRocque 2007; Chapman 2008; Welch 2010a, b, 2011). The extent that university-based research leads to national economic development depends on several factors that are external to the university, such as tax policies, regulatory framework, availability of capital, and strength of protection for intellectual property. Nonetheless, promoting university research is prioritized by many countries in the region.

Research excellence is expensive and requires specialized talent and facilities. Few universities have become internationally recognized centers of research excellence, but these institutions have to achieve formidable gains to achieve the level of international recognition. Many HEIs in Asia lack the necessary financial, structural, and human resources to achieve cutting-edge excellence in traditional academic research. The ADB study argues that the success of governments and universities in encouraging university-based research is being hindered by five obstacles. First, the meaning and quality of research vary across these institutions. Some academic settings define "research" as reading, perusing the Internet, synthesizing books or articles into a summary paper, or studying for a master's degree (ADB Workshop 2010).

Second, the systems for ensuring rigorous research are not well developed. Peer review for grants is not a large part of the culture (Levin 2010). When governments allocate money for research, decisions are sometimes made based on seniority rather than on merit. Similarly, several institutions sponsor the publication of internal journals to provide avenues for their staff members to publish their research. However, these institutions often pay little attention to the quality of the articles that are being published in these journals relative to international standards. Third, many Southeast Asian countries suffer from a shortage of qualified researchers because of the modest number of science and technology graduates across the region (Chapman 2008; Salmi 2009). Fourth, most universities lack a vibrant and strong research culture. Many academic staff members demonstrate little intrinsic interest or motivation to conduct research because many of these instructors have not participated in doctoral education, which is the typical period for students to socialize themselves to a research orientation (Austin and McDaniels 2006; Austin 2010). Finally, research in some countries is impeded by the lack of adequate research infrastructure (i.e., research facilities, laboratories, and libraries) in universities (Chealy 2006) and by the absence or weakness of university–industry relationships that can support research collaborations (Lee et al. 2009; Doner et al. 2013).

2.3.2 External Efficiency

External efficiency concerns the alignment and relevance of the education that students receive to their subsequent work or study options. Two aspects of external efficiency are of particular relevance to higher education leaders, namely (a) the extent to which the knowledge and skills of secondary school graduates who seek further education are aligned with the entrance requirements of HEIs, and (b) the extent to which the knowledge and skills of higher education graduates are aligned with the demands of the workplace.

One type of misalignment occurs when the secondary school curricula of a country are not aligned with the entrance requirements of its colleges and universities or fail to prepare students for the rigors of higher learning. This phenomenon is reflected in the complaints of university instructors about the insufficient preparation of the incoming students for the demands of university work. Some universities have to provide transition programs to incoming students to help them develop the knowledge and skills they will need to achieve academic success in the university. Misalignments can be attributed to the variations in secondary school conditions, teacher qualifications, student abilities, and student misperceptions about the requirements for university admission (ADB 2012c).

The crux of the problem often lies in the inadequate and, in some cases, decreasing readiness of students for higher education, which in turn is attributed to the low-quality instruction at the secondary level. In other cases, students lack adequate college advisement at the secondary level because their secondary school

teachers and counselors are uninformed about the post-secondary options (i.e., vocational, technical, or university) available for their graduates and may not understand what HEIs expect from their graduates. Moreover, admission to higher education in Asia has been traditionally based on tests, which typically comprise a combination of secondary school exit examinations, matriculation examinations, and other entrance examinations.

However, this tradition is beginning to change. The entrance examination system for higher education in Vietnam underwent a major change in the mid-1990s, during which universities no longer required their applicants to take entrance examinations. Thai universities have improved the transparency and fairness of their admissions by basing their admission decisions on the secondary school performance of their applicants. The Indonesian government has instituted a State University National Entrance Examination that students can take upon passing their public school examination. PRC has introduced reforms in its college entrance examination system and has gradually decentralized the admission process in its universities. Top universities have also been granted a greater degree of autonomy in student selection (ADB 2012c).

Another type of misalignment occurs when the knowledge and skills of university graduates are not aligned with the workplace needs of employers. The rising unemployment rates and the increasing dissatisfaction of employers with their newly hired graduates indicate a low external efficiency. A paradox of higher education across Southeast Asia is that despite producing a record number of graduates, employers complain about the shortage of qualified workers and the unemployment rate among fresh graduates continues to increase (ADB 2012c). Employers worry that the knowledge and skills of graduates are inconsistently aligned with the demands of the labor market.

Higher education gives an individual a distinct advantage in securing employment. The unemployment rate among graduates is lower than that among non-graduates across Southeast Asia (Sakellariou 2010). Nonetheless, the unemployment rate among university graduates continues to increase (ADB 2012c). This trend considerably varies across different countries. Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand have the lowest unemployment rates, whereas the Philippines and Indonesia have the highest unemployment rates among their university graduates (ADB 2012c).

The increasing unemployment rate among university graduates is fueled by three factors. First, the relative advantage of having a university degree decreases as more students complete higher education. The increasing number of graduates also intensifies the competition for available jobs. Second, the curricula and instructional practices of universities are not always adjusted based on the changing demands of employers as countries move toward market-oriented economies. As businesses and industries face a stronger competition in the marketplace, employers increasingly prefer hiring those graduates who possess the latest technical and soft skills that are necessary for the workplace. These skills include analytic thinking, collaboration, individual initiative, computer skills, and fluency in international languages. Third, the demands of employers continue to change as labor markets become regional and global in nature. The forces of globalization have increased the number of regional

labor markets in which the graduates of each country compete with those of other countries for available jobs.

This phenomenon is evident in Thailand, in which colleges and universities produce about 250,000 graduates every year. A World Bank (2011) study noted that 80 % of Thai firms encountered difficulties in filling their job vacancies because fresh graduates lacked basic and technical skills. Similarly, only 10 % of Chinese engineering graduates possess the skills required by international companies (Farrell et al. 2005). The unemployment rate among PRC graduates increased to 13 % in 2008. The 10 % unemployment rate among top-tier university graduates and the 16 % unemployment rate among vocational or technical college graduates both exceed the official national unemployment rate of 4 %.

Some countries witness an increasing enrollment in private HEIs, which has contributed to low external efficiency. Faced with tight finances, private universities have emphasized lower-cost programs, such as business and education, at the expense of higher-cost programs, such as science, technology, and engineering. In this regard, students are being inadvertently pushed into lower-cost and less science-based options as they are being forced to take private education. This situation limits the subsequent education options of these students. However, in some instances, employers prefer to hire graduates of private HEIs because they believe that the skills of these graduates are well aligned with the demands of the labor market.

2.3.3 Cost and Financing

Cost refers to the resources needed to deliver higher education, whereas *financing* refers to the source of such resources. Most governments in the region have recently shouldered all or almost all of the higher education costs for students. The growth in enrollments over the last decade has greatly pressured these governments to shoulder such costs. In response to this growth, some governments and universities in the region have tried to reduce their operating costs by increasing the student–teacher ratio, decreasing the real value of instructional salaries, deferring maintenance, recruiting less qualified (and less expensive) instructors, and reducing their funds for libraries and laboratories. Thus, the quality of instruction in these universities has suffered (ADB 2012b).

Many public universities have introduced several income-generating programs to offset the poor quality of instruction. Some of these programs reserve a portion of student places for applicants who do not qualify for government scholarships yet are willing to pay private tuition. This phenomenon essentially creates a privatized track within an otherwise public university. In other cases, universities impose special fees on students who are enrolling for in-demand study programs. By adopting such practice, some public universities in Indonesia have quadrupled their income from student fees within several years. The cost of taking an engineering degree at a top-tier public university in Indonesia is twice more expensive than

taking such degree at a major private university (Welch, 2006). In Vietnam, public HEIs or their inclusive units usually earn 40–45 % of their budgets from their collection of various fees (ADB 2012b). Public universities in Thailand have responded to the declining support of their government by raising their income from other sources by 450 % (ADB 2011b).

To slow down the growth in enrollment, the public sector has actively promoted the private provision of higher education and has subtly driven students into these tuition-based options. Although private institutions absorb the increasing demand for higher education (Levy 2010), they shift the responsibility of handling costs from governments to students and families. Most private universities across the region serve the mass higher education market and tend to be relatively nonselective in their admissions (Altbach 2005; Dumong 2007). Private higher education has become the fastest growing segment of post-secondary education in most Eastern and Southeastern Asian regions (Altbach 2009a, b). Figure 2.2 illustrates the substantial variation in the provision of public and private higher education in selected Asian states over the last decade. Private students currently comprise 10.4 % of the total enrollees in Vietnam. In Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines, private universities accept the majority (sometimes up to 80 %) of enrollees (Dumong 2007). Indonesia has 83 public and 3019 private HEIs (Nizam 2009). With 86 public and over 400 private HEIs, public universities in Malaysia account for less than 20 % of the total number of universities in the country. Private

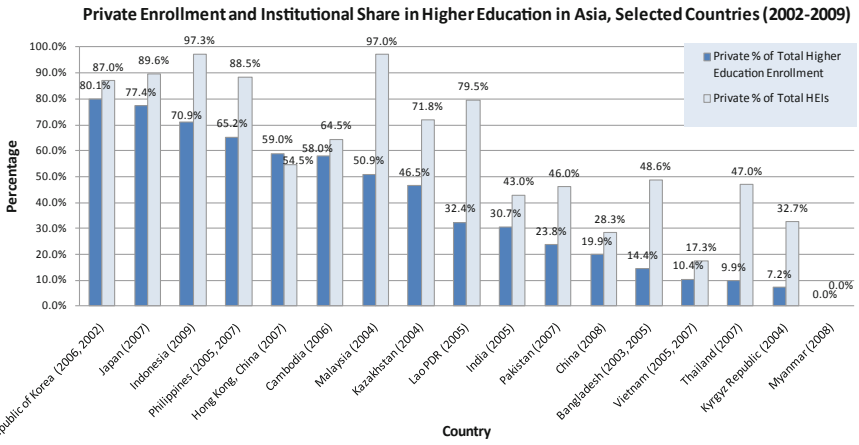

Fig. 2.2 Private enrollment and institutional share in higher education in Asia, selected countries, 2002–2009. *Sources* For all countries except Myanmar, Indonesia and Vietnam's numbers of institutions, see PROPHE International Databases, available [online] at http://www.albany.edu/dept/eaps/prophe/data/international.html; for Myanmar, see University Governance in Myanmar, the 16th SEAMEO RIHED Governing Board Meeting, available [online] at http://www.rihed.seameo.org/ugseminar/PG_Myanm.pdf; for Indonesia, see Nizam (2009), data on total HE enrollment include only private and public HE enrollments, excluding data from other types of HEIs under other ministries; for Vietnam's number of institutions, see Nguyen (2008). It is noted that the years reported here are the most available from the sources

higher education is widely regarded as the engine of access, whereas public higher education is regarded in many middle-income countries as the engine of the government for steering the country toward excellence and development.

Distance education is another widely advocated strategy for lowering the unit cost of instruction and for instructing students who are residing in faraway locations (Baggaley and Belawati 2009; Peters 2004). The region houses seven of the 11 largest open universities in the world that are currently instructing 6,000,000 active students (Baggaley and Belawati 2009; Latchem and Jung 2010). The number of universities that are offering on- and off-campus courses is continuously increasing (Dhanarajan 2006; ADB 2012c). Distance education is further discussed in "Access and Equity" section of this paper.

2.3.4 Administration and Governance

Administration and governance concern the capacity to manage the higher education system and individual institutions. The ADB study has identified three prominent issues in administration and governance, namely institutional autonomy, personnel management, and quality assurance.

2.3.4.1 Institutional Autonomy

Granting autonomy to HEIs has become necessary because the structure of higher education in most countries has become highly diversified and complex. Nonetheless, the desire of university administrators to exercise their own authority and judgment and the willingness of the government to relinquish their control over these institutions sometimes induce tension between these two groups, especially when each group has a different definition of "autonomy." Although most governments claim that they have prepared a coherent infrastructure to support the implementation of new policies that will grant more autonomy to universities, the term "autonomy" has been defined differently across countries.

Several countries in East and Southeast Asia vary in terms of their governance mechanisms for their higher education systems (ADB 2012d). As an experiment, Indonesia is converting the staff members of its selected universities from tenured civil servants to contract-based university employees and exempting from the uniform civil service regulations. The universities in Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia are classified as state-owned legal entities (SOLE), which limits or prohibits the central government from managing these institutions. These institutions are managed by a Board of Trustees or Regents. While adhering to some national regulations on budgeting and personnel, these Boards have the responsibility and authority to generate and allocate funds for their governed institutions. Among the three abovementioned countries, the universities in Thailand appear to be the most flexible and the least government-controlled institutions. The university

council is the highest level of academic authority in most Thai universities. Some of these councils are very strong and serve as the main engine for change in their universities and in the higher education sector as a whole. HEIs in the Philippines have less flexibility because they rely on the government for about 70 % of their funding. However, Philippine universities have strong Boards of Regents that operate as the key governing agents of their institutions. By contrast, the institutions in Cambodia, Lao PDR, Vietnam, and Mongolia are all strictly controlled by the state. Such strict government control remains the spine of the higher education systems of these countries. Recent reforms have introduced more yet limited flexibility to these universities.

The HEIs in Cambodia, Vietnam, and Mongolia still rely on their parent ministries for their management and funding, but those in Lao PDR have merged 10 of its colleges and universities into one major national university, transferred the oversight of this new university to the Ministry of Education (MOE) rather than to the ministries that have previously overseen these institutions, and granted the new university a limited degree of autonomy. This approach enabled university administrators to determine student enrollment targets and fees. However, the MOE still oversees the overall governance of other public colleges and universities in Laos. The higher education system in Vietnam has also changed considerably from a Soviet-style model, in which instruction is relegated to universities and research is relegated to separate research institutes, to a highly integrated and comprehensive higher education system. HEIs in Mongolia are still under the strict control of the government. The public HEIs in this country are governed by a steering committee that is appointed by the MOE, Culture, and Science (ADB 2012d), and the central government controls the actions of the institution through this committee.

Some countries have created special categories of HEIs and gave them a higher degree of autonomy. These special categories are usually created for research universities. Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam have adopted this approach. Five research universities in Malaysia have been designated as top-tier universities and have been given administrative latitude that is not given to other colleges and universities in the country. However, universities in heavily bureaucratic countries are facing challenges in their creation of differentiated tiers in which top-tier institutions are given a special status. Moreover, the top-tier designation process has become a controversial issue for universities that are not designated as top-tier institutions. These universities tend to question the selection criteria and believe that the full autonomy status must not be made exclusive to top research universities, but be given to all universities in the country.

2.3.4.2 Personnel Management

The hiring practices and employment conditions of universities differ across countries. A particularly controversial issue across the region is whether instructional staff members are considered civil servants of the government or private

employees of the university. The trade-off is straightforward at the individual level. Government officials are guaranteed of a lifetime employment, retirement benefits, and the prestige of being a government employee, but are receiving low compensation. The low compensation level may not effectively attract top-level instructional staff members. However, direct employees of a university have higher compensation. In general, direct employment may be a very enticing option for young instructors who still have a long way to go before retiring. Nonetheless, evidence suggests that switching from the government to the university does not guarantee a better workload or employment condition.

This phenomenon also presents important consequences at the institutional level by affecting the personnel management capabilities of campus-level administrators. For example, the instructional staff members of public universities (PGIs) in Indonesia are recruited and promoted by the government. These universities have no flexibility in designing their personnel structure. The administrators of public service institutions (PSIs) have some degree of autonomy in determining personnel policies. However, the staff members of either PGI or PSI are prohibited from having dual employment or second jobs. Malaysian universities are given some flexibility in designing their personnel structure, but the academic and support staff members in the public universities of the country are considered civil servants. Therefore, lecturers are neither allowed to accept any employment from other sources nor permitted to teach, perform research, or offer their services to other academic institutions or private companies without the approval of their dean and vice chancellor.

A common pattern across Southeast Asia is that the responsibility for higher education is distributed across multiple ministries (e.g., nursing colleges under the direction of the Ministry of Health instead of the Ministry of Higher Education), which has led to the development of inconsistent policies and practices across post-secondary institutions and to turf conflicts that hinder the government from developing coherent policies and assuring instructional quality. Governments address such issues by consolidating the responsibility of HEIs to the central and/or provincial ministries of education or higher education. This consolidation pattern is well demonstrated by the events that occurred between 1953 and 2003 in PRC. In 1953, 31 of 41 (76 %) centrally controlled HEIs in China were under the direct authority of ministries other than the MOE. However, this percentage was decreased to 66 % (73 of 11 HEIs) in 2003. Universities that have been previously controlled by ministries other than the MOE now report to the central or to their provincial MOEs.

Given their tight finances, some governments have offered a greater administrative autonomy to universities as long as these institutions shoulder a larger portion of their own expenses. Major decentralization initiatives have been implemented in PRC, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mongolia, and Thailand. Although generally welcomed by institutions, decentralization often entails a cost. During times of rapid transition, not all components of a higher education system embrace reform at the same rate and not all participants agree on the shape of the new

structure (Chapman and Austin 2002; Weidman and Bat-Erdene 2002). When university administrators try to exercise their new authority, they are often challenged by their opponents who believe that the actions of the administrators overstep their mandate.

2.3.4.3 Quality Assurance

About half of the countries across Southeast Asia have national quality assurance systems that operate either under the umbrella of MOE or independently yet partly funded by the government. These countries include Cambodia (ACC), Indonesia (BAN-PT), Malaysia (MQA), the Philippines (AACCUP, PAASCU), Thailand (ONESQA), and Vietnam (Department of Education Testing and Accreditation). These quality assurance systems vary in terms of design, but several of these systems have proven to be effective in establishing quality standards and in ensuring the satisfaction of these standards. Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines have long considered quality assurance as among the main pillars of higher education development. Private universities in Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia have implemented monitoring mechanisms that duplicate accreditation processes. Laos and Cambodia have only recently established formal quality assurance agencies. Some countries in the region lag behind in terms of their quality assurance system development because of their highly centralized government control. The changes in the quality assurance systems of these countries are primarily driven by the pressure from international funding agencies. Malaysia and Indonesia have developed their respective quality assurance systems to create a reference point for national qualifications (although a whole category of unaccredited HEIs exists in these countries).

2.3.5 Access and Equity

Access concerns the proportion of the target population that is reached by the education system, whereas *equity* concerns the extent to which education opportunities are made available to all segments of the population without facing uncontrollable restrictions, such as gender, socioeconomic status, and rural–urban location. Expanded access is arguably the major accomplishment of higher education systems across Southeast Asia over the last 30 years (ADB 2012e). However, the important aspects of equity have not expanded in the process. For example, the East and Southeast Asian countries have considerably improved gender equity in higher education access. Women have outnumbered and outperformed men in about one-third of these countries (Varghese et al. 2013). However, these countries have failed to rid of wealth inequities in higher education access. Children from rich families have a higher tendency to attend HEIs as compared with children from poor families. Such wealth inequity has been clearly demonstrated in some cases. For example, 52 % of young adults from the richest

households in Vietnam have attended HEIs, whereas only 4 % of young adults from the poorest households in the country have attended these institutions (Varghese et al. 2013). In Bangladesh and Cambodia, less than 1 % of students in HEIs have come from poor families.

In some cases, the factors that have contributed to the expansion of access have negatively affected equity in higher education. The growth of private higher education has been one of the most important strategies for extending higher education access (Levy 2009, 2010; ADB 2012f). However, private HEIs are usually given the freedom to set their own tuition fees. Higher-quality colleges and universities often set high fees that students with few resources cannot afford. For example, the per capita income in poor Indonesian regions, where private institutions are usually located, is about one-tenth of the per capita income in Jakarta. Moreover, while the tuition at *public* HEIs in Indonesia ranges from about US$116 to US$1160, the tuition at *private* HEIS can reach as high as US$10,168 (ICHEFAP 2010). Such inequities lead some observers to worry that poor students can only enter poor-quality private HEIs, which are most likely categorized under the nonselective, demand-absorbing subsector where tuition fees and academic selectivity are minimal. In short, given that students are expected to pay a higher fee to receive a higher-quality education, students with modest financial backgrounds are forced to attend poor-quality private colleges or to discontinue their studies.

The use of technology-based distance education to deliver instruction is also viewed as a feasible way to expand education access at a more affordable price for the student. Asia is currently the leading region in terms of using distance education for extending education access while controlling costs in higher education. More than 70 universities across the Asian region are exclusively instructing their students through distance education (ADB 2011a). Despite the attractiveness of such strategy to policy makers, budget-conscious administrators, and learners who are looking for a more flexible learning environment, the reports on the success of distance education are mixed (ADB 2012e; Dhanarajan 1999; Calder 2000; Gandhe 1999). Studies on the effectiveness of distance education have also yielded mixed results (Moore and Thompson 1990; Tucker 2001; Lim 2002; ADB 2012e).

Four issues in the design and delivery of distance education across Asia have been particularly salient. First, distance education suffers from the ambiguity of policies and the uncertainty of budgets. With the exception of India, Malaysia, and South Korea, most East Asian governments have not yet formulated clear policies that enforce equal status or funding for distance education. Second, the number of skilled instructional designers is limited as reflected in the failure of learning materials to meet the highest levels of pedagogical standards to support self-learners. Third, the weak IT infrastructure and the limited access of learners to online technologies (i.e., penetration rate) have also limited the reach of distance education in some countries. Internet penetration rates considerably vary across countries, from below 10 % (i.e., Cambodia, Laos, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and India) to as high as 59 % (i.e., Malaysia) or over 70 % (i.e., Korea and Japan) (2008 figures) (Latchem and Jung 2010). Finally, ineffective leadership, political

interference, and corruption have challenged the implementation of distance education initiatives in some countries.

2.4 Responding to the Issues

The issues that face higher education systems and individual institutions are generally known and, to varying degrees, well understood by senior government and education officials. The manner in which these issues are interwoven is sometimes unclear. Each alternative course of action has advantages and disadvantages as well as proponents and critics. Charting a course of action is as much (or more) a process of building political consensus as formulating a technical solution. Based on the preceding analysis, five promising strategies are offered for strengthening the higher education systems in low- and middle-income countries of the region.

2.4.1 Focus on Improving Instructional Quality

The instructional quality in the HEIs of the region has declined as the involved countries have primarily directed their efforts toward expanding access to higher education over the last decade. Therefore, these countries must also prioritize the improvement of the instructional quality in their HEIs. Given that the access to higher education has been successfully expanded in many countries, now may be the best time for these countries to shift their priorities and to pursue strategies that balance further expansions with increasing investments to improve the quality and equity in their higher education systems. However, the implementation of such strategies will become controversial because the continued expansion of access to higher education is highly supported as compared to the improvement of instructional quality. Nonetheless, the value of such access will decrease when the instructional quality is low.

2.4.2 Attention to Incentives

Improving instructional quality requires collaboration among many factors, but individual instructors are ultimately the gatekeepers of the events in the classroom. Instructional quality can be directly improved by enhancing the instructional capacity of the academic staff members. The failure to reward instructors for their excellence, the lack of incentives, and the ineffective allocation of available incentives are some of the factors that constrain the performance of instructors.

Although improving the employment conditions can potentially improve the performance of instructors, the government or institutional leaders are often unaware of the types of benefits and operating procedures that present incentive value to the instructional staff members. While some incentives, such as increased compensation, tend to be expensive, other incentives may be relatively inexpensive and manageable within a tight budget. For example, a greater transparency in promotion policies may have a very positive effect on the morale of instructional staff members who are seeking for career advancement.

2.4.3 Greater Attention to Equity

Access to higher education has not always been fairly distributed. The government subsidies for supporting the higher education of economically disadvantaged students are often allocated to students from affluent backgrounds or are awarded based on criteria other than academic merit and financial need. Given that a large proportion of the higher education expenses will be shouldered by the students and their families, governments must implement highly effective strategies to ensure that the capable yet less affluent students have the financial means to enter HEIs.

2.4.4 Quality Assurance

Several countries in the region must develop stronger mechanisms for assuring the quality of their higher education systems, particularly private higher education. Although several regional organizations have sought to help governments in developing quality assurance procedures, the reviews of these efforts have been mixed. Additional quality assurance strategies must be devised. Given that the HEIs across the region lack well-developed institutional research or program evaluation units, studies on the effectiveness of institutional practices have been insufficient. Supporting data for quality assurance methods can be generated by strengthening the capacity of universities to evaluate the effectiveness of their own practices.

2.4.5 International Collaboration

The cross-national collaboration among international and regional universities may generate a useful source of ideas and expertise. However, the formation of such partnerships is often hindered by the lack of information about the quality and legitimacy of potential international and regional partner institutions because such collaborations extend beyond the well-known top-tier institutions. International and regional higher education organizations can strengthen the quality of higher

education in their respective regions by developing systems through which local universities can assess the appropriateness of their potential international university partners.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter critically reviews the changes that sweep HEIs across Asia are widespread, interwoven, and complicated. Asian universities have emerged as serious competitors in the international education arena in terms of the number of their students, the talent of their faculty members, and their research capacity. The continuous improvement of these institutions will require a careful understanding of their current issues, strategies, and political will.

Notes

1. Portions of this paper are drawn from and have previously appeared in Higher Education Across Asia: An Overview of Issues and Strategies, Manila: ADB. Used with permission.
2. The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views and policies of ADB, its Board of Governors, or the governments that they represent.

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Chapter 3
Internationalization and Transnationalization of Higher Education: A Review of the Asia Pacific Region

Ka Ho Mok and Xiao Han

3.1 Introduction

During the past three decades, globalization has appeared as the most frequently used term in nearly all the academic fields. The world becomes flat, and the connections among countries have been increasingly strengthened due to the ever-developing information technologies. In general, globalization produces its profound and widespread impact on various aspects: social, political, economic and cultural spheres, especially when globalization has challenged the conventional wisdom and existing practices that people used to think and adopt (Ball 1998; Flynn 2007; Fukuyama 2006; Giddens 1994; Mok 2000; Robertson 1995). Education, or more specifically, higher education (HE, hereafter), has also experienced the growing impact of globalization on curriculum design, student admissions and mobility, teaching and learning, research and knowledge transfer, as well as university governance. Global forces have caused changes to the nature of university in myriad ways: from public good to private good, from local products to international commodities, from cultivating elite to massing the high-quality workforce, particularly when HE systems globally have experienced massive expansion. More importantly, the rapid development of the global world aggravates the competition among countries, exacerbating the existing inequality and compels all the nations, especially those in the adverse situations to enhance their national competitiveness in the global market place (Altbach 2001; Knight 1999, 2005, 2007; Suror 2005).

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Setting out against the context of globalization, this chapter critically examines the growing trends of internationalization and transnationalization of higher education, with particular reference to discuss how governments in selected countries like Australia, South Korea and China in the wider Asia and Pacific region have made attempts to internationalize or transnationalize their higher education systems.

3.2 Globalization Impacting Higher Education Development

Tertiary education, which is taken as the most effective method to provide high-quality labor force and accelerate the development of economy, has been considered as a very important determining factor for growth and development. In order to enhance their global competitiveness, governments across different parts of the globe have made every effort to create more tertiary education opportunities for their citizens. Improving the quality of teaching and research is conceived as important drive for further enhancement of higher education. With strong conviction to prepare students to become globally competent, governments in the Asia and Pacific region have put serious efforts to 'prepare students for living and working in a more connected, interdependent, and globalized world,' while 'the research and scholarship need to contribute to national and international issues' (Knight 2004, p. 14).

Interestingly, the relationship between globalization and internationalization of HE has always been the fervent topic. Some scholars take internationalization of higher education (HE) as the response of universities or nations adopt to address the impact of globalization (Altbach 2006), while others believe the emergence of international activities in HE has happened before the coming of the globalization era and even argue that the internationalization of HE is the proactive solution to globalization (Knight and de Wit 1997). There are still some other researchers holding the opinion that the two processes have indeed reinforced each other. According to Maringe, globalization drives the HE institutions to become more internationalized and, at the same time, the highly internationalized universities could promote the process of globalization, especially in cultural communication (Maringe 2010). Notwithstanding whether globalization has contributed to the phenomenon of internationalization in education sector, or the internationalization of education has fostered the process of globalization, it is clear that the competition between nations is becoming more severe and fierce. It is against this context that the nature of HE has changed from public good to private commodity, permitting the thriving trade of HE as services. Not only being popular in local markets, the trade of HE has also expanded significantly in the global market. The nations owning well-developed HE systems such as the USA, the UK and Australia are eager to 'sell' their HE services across different parts of the world, particularly crossing the national boundaries to China, Malaysia and Singapore. Hence,

transnational higher education (TNHE) has become a prominent development trend in higher education throughout the world (Mok and Han 2016; Mok and Yu 2014).

TNHE, as defined by United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), is 'all types of HE study where the learners are located in a country different from the one where awarding institution is based' (UNESCO/Council of Europe, 2001, http://www.cepes.ro/hed/recogn/groups/transnat/code.htm). Some researchers adopt other terms such as cross-border education, offshore education or borderless education and use them interchangeably. However, as borderless education neglects the existing of boundaries, which plays a key role in regulatory work and quality assurance part (Knight 2006), this chapter refers TNHE to this kind of cooperation activities. After discussing how globalization has affected the calls for internationalization and the rise of TNHE across different parts of the globe, the following parts will first examine the regional trends of international higher education in Asia Pacific, with particular reference to examine how Australia and South Korea have made attempts to internationalize and transnationalize their HE systems, followed by examining the rise of TNHE and its implications for university governance in China mainland.

3.3 Transnationalization of Higher Education in the Asia Pacific Region

According to Harman, internationalization of HE could be illustrated as one or a combination of the items listed below:

- The international movement of students between countries;
- The international movement of academic staff and researchers;
- Internationalization of HE curricula in order to achieve better understandings about other people and cultures, and competence in foreign languages;
- International links between nation states through open learning programs and new technologies;
- Bi-lateral links between governments and HE institutions in different countries for collaboration in research, curriculum development, student and staff exchange, and other international activities;
- Multi-national collaboration such as via international organizations or through consortia such as Universities Global; and
- Export education where education services are offered on a commercial basis in other countries, with students studying either in their home country or in the country of the provider (2005, pp. 120–121).

In the last few decades, TNHE has been developing very fast in nearly every part of the world. The number of mobile students had increased from 238,000 to 4.1 million in 2010, and this number is anticipated to double in the next 10–15 years (Knight 2014), which indicates TNHE will continue to expand in scope and scale in

the near future. By 2024, it is estimated the number of global mobile students will surge to 3.85 million, up from 3.04 million in 2011 (British Council 2012). More importantly, the Asia Pacific region becomes the top sources of international students. According to a recent report entitled *Education Indicators in Focus* released by OECD, the largest international student bodies come from China, India and Korea. More significantly, the proportion of Asian students accounted for 53 % of all the mobile students worldwide in 2011 (OECD 2013). Similarly, the British Council further predicts that India and China will contribute 35 % of global growth in the number of mobile students during the forecast period (namely, from 2011 to 2024) (British Council 2012). Figure 3.1 presents the steady increase in the number of students studying abroad. Across various regions, Asia Pacific is one of the top regions having student mobility through studying abroad.

3.3.1 *Australia: A Leading International Higher Education Player*

As a response to the growing impact of globalization, internationalizing domestic HE systems has been put into top priority among national governments during the past few decades, it is particularly true in Asia Pacific. In Australia, in particular,

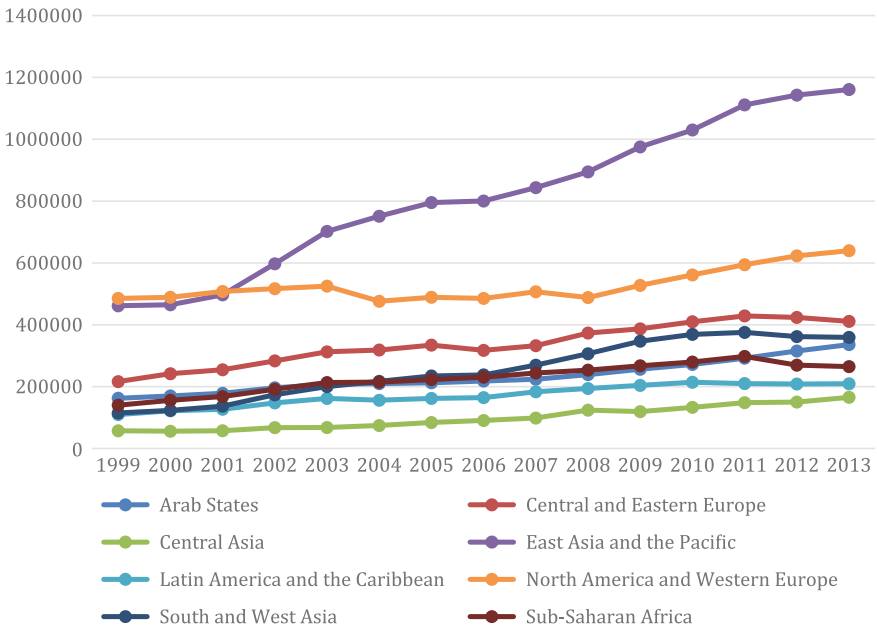

Fig. 3.1 Increasing trend of student mobility: regional comparison. *Source* UNESCO Database. Retrieved from http://data.uis.unesco.org/

through internationalizing curricula, expanding Asian languages studies, and promoting collaboration with foreign universities are some key feature of internationalization of higher education. With deliberate efforts being put together to promote internationalization, Australian HE has achieved important progress, especially featured by the increase in enrolments of fee-paying international students (Harman and Nolan 2002; as cited in Harman 2005). According to Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2011), 22 % of all postsecondary students in Australia in 2009 were international students, representing the highest proportion in all the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development countries (ABS 2011).

More importantly, Australia is the third largest exporter of HE services internationally, only after USA and the UK (Chiou 2014). The number of international students in Australia has grown significantly from 53,188 in 1996 (Marginson 2009) to 185,000 (Harman 2005) in 2002, and even increased further to 615,061 in 2015 (Department of Education and Training 2015a), representing 9.7 % increase when compared to the data in 2014.

The largest share of enrollment comes as HE sector with 43.4 % in 2015, increased by 9.1 % from that of 2014. China and India are the largest source countries with 36.2 and 12.5 % of the enrolments, respectively. International education activities arising from international students studying and living in Australia contributed $17.0 billion to the economy in 2014. This is a 7.4 % increase from the earnings recorded in financial year 2013–14 ($15.9 billion); up 13.5 % on calendar year 2013 ($15.0 billion) and up 17.3 % on calendar year 2012 ($14.5 billion). More specifically, the HE sector generated $11.7 billion in export income (68.5 % of total on-shore earnings), while vocational education and training was the second largest source of income, generating $2.7 billion in earnings (15.8 %) in 2014 (Department of Education and Training 2015b).

Australia's position as a major HE exporter worldwide is closely related to its favorable conditions such as the cheaper cost of studying/living when compared with that of the UK or the USA. With its geographical adjacency to Asia, Australia has therefore attracted the largest source region of international students from Asia Pacific (Marginson 2009). In addition, the important shifts in Australian Commonwealth Government policies since the mid-1980s, with special attention given to foreign students, also contributes most to the thriving development of international education in Australia (Harman 2005). Before Australian government's attitude toward education services shifted from aim to trade, it hosted a number of sponsored students in the nation (Duhs and Duhs 1997; Oakman 2002), while the private international students could enjoy the same tuitions fees and entry requirements as their domestic counterparts. Driven partly by the concerns toward the effectiveness of the sponsored overseas student program but more specifically from the commercial consideration in selling education service (marked by the Jackson's report 1984), the policy was almost entirely concentrated on the commercial export of HE services from 1985 to the early 1990s. The efforts of the Australian government in attracting more international students include removal of visa restrictions and quotas on the number of private international students enrolled in local universities (Shu and Hawthorne 1996), relaxing immigration policy

(Birrell and Healy 2008), reducing government funding to HE institutions to drive them to work hard on recruiting overseas students as alternative funding sources (Megarrity 2007; Marginson 2009). In short, Fig. 3.2 nicely presents the development of Australia's international education.

Recognizing international education as the 'core element of Australia's economic prosperity, social advancement and international standing' (Australian government 2015, p. 13), the Australia government becomes even more eager to further promote the level of internationalization in its HE sector. Placing more emphasis on quality assurance and students' preferences, the Department of Education and Training in Australia puts both the on-campus and offshore educational activities together under a coherent quality assurance system with a close monitoring by the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (formerly as Australian Universities Quality Agency) (Harmon 2006). In order to attract and recruit more overseas students, the Australian government has conducted an International Students Survey to understand student preferences and evaluations of their learning experiences. Based upon such surveys, the government and universities work together to create a student-friendly environment for making overseas students feel satisfied when studying in Australia. In 2015 survey, 88 % of tertiary students responded as satisfied with their overall experience in Australia, with 89 % were satisfied with the living experience and 87 % satisfied with the learning experience. These very positive figures are consistent to the previous year's findings, suggesting that Australia has maintained a sound global reputation as a quality destination for international tertiary students (Department of Education and Training 2015c, p. 4). In addition, the Australian government proposed an elaborated strategy to further enhance international education in 2015, including three pillars, six goals and a number of strategic actions as illustrated by Fig. 3.3.

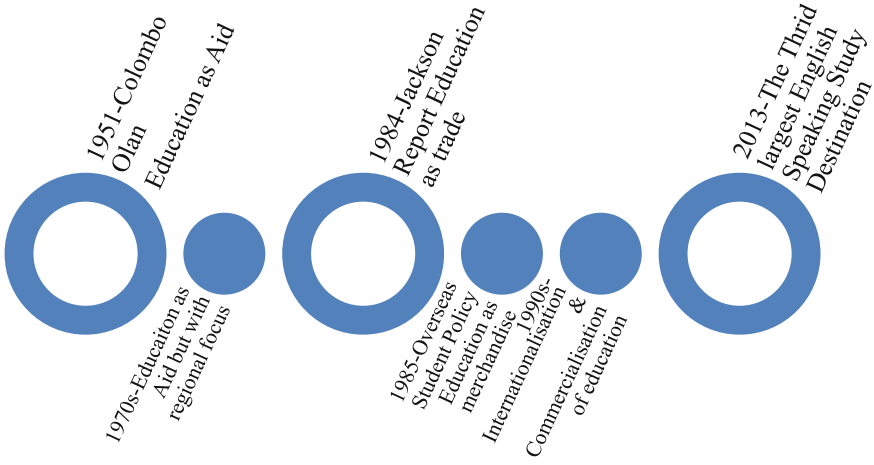

Fig. 3.2 The development of Australia's international education. *Source* Adopted from Chiou (2014, p. 36)

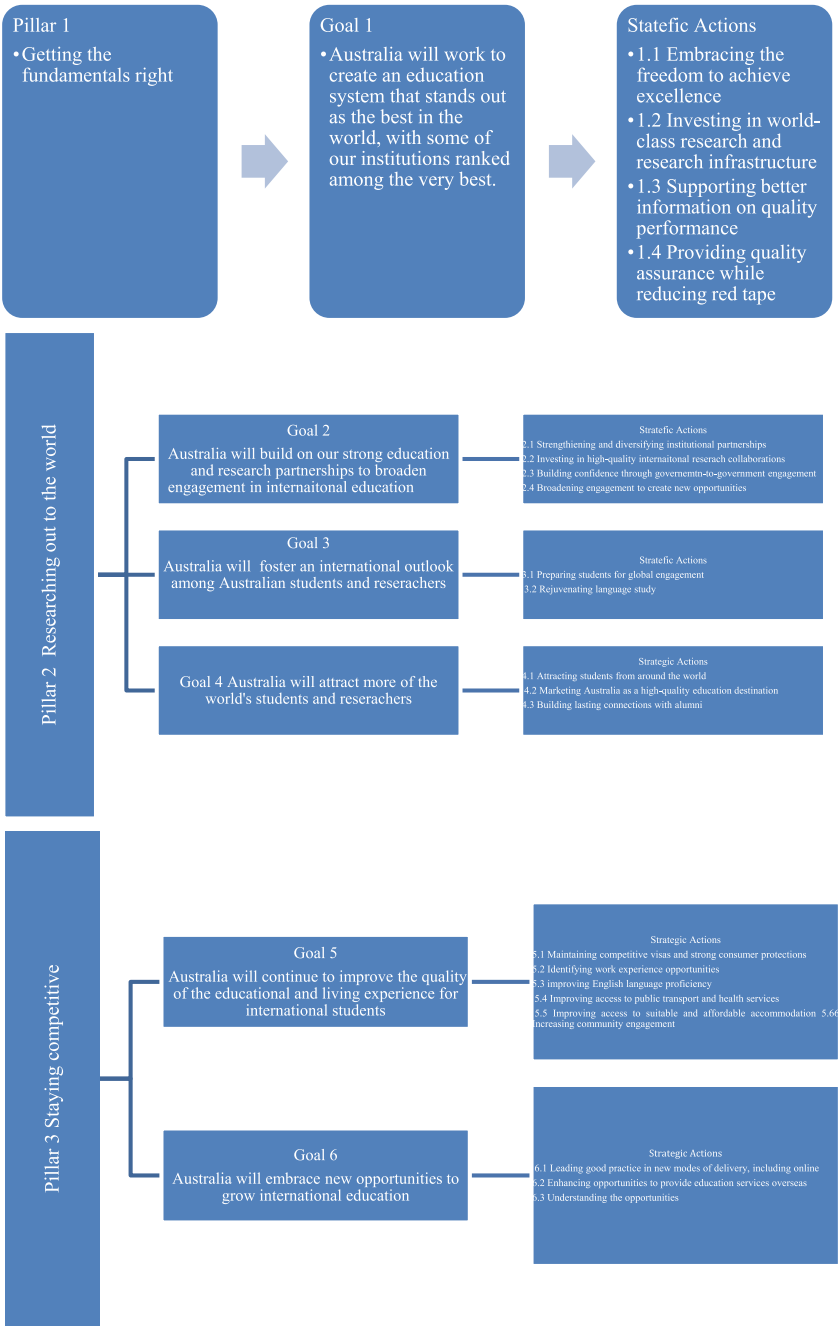

Fig. 3.3 Draft strategy overview. *Source* Draft National Strategy for International Education: For consultation, 2015, p. 13

Putting the above discussion together, it is clear that what the Australian government and universities have done for international higher education, together with their strategic vision and well-planned measures, has earned the country as one of the major player across the world in the international education market. After reviewing the recent development trends of international higher education in Australia, let us now turn to South Korea to see how this East Asian Dragon has worked on the international higher education agenda.

3.3.2 *South Korea: Aspiring to Become a Leader in Higher Education in Asia*

South Korea appears as another example to illustrate the growing regional trend of internationalizing domestic HE system in Asia Pacific. After the policies promulgated to loosen university establishment and student quota policies in the 1990s, South Korea has successfully to expand its HE system (Cho and Palmer 2013). However, the expansion has not necessarily meant becoming competitive in HE as shown by the international ranking. In 2010, there were only four universities in South Korea being ranked in the top two hundred (Times World University Ranking 2010).

In order to promote international profile and enhance global competitiveness of Korean universities, the former minister of Education, Science, and Technology (MEST) of South Korea (2010–2012), Ju-Ho Lee advised the national government to 'seriously contemplate and manage the escalating number of foreign professor s and students, increasing amount of English-medium instruction classes, rising pressure for professors to publish in leading scholarly journals in English, growing need to develop the physical infrastructure to induce foreigners and international exchange, and mounting concern over budgetary issues' (Cho and Palmer 2013, p. 293). To achieve the above policy objectives, the Korean government has issued a series of policies, including 'Bran Korea 21 (BK 21)' Project, the 'World-Class University' Program, 'Study Korea' Project and the enactment of 'a special act on the establishment and operation of foreign HEIs in Free Economic zones and Jeju Free International City', targeting to meet three main goals by 2020: (1) have 10 universities ranked in the top 200 globally; (2) one of the top 10 in the number of Thomson-Reuters ISI-indexed journal articles published worldwide, and (3) increase the number of overseas students to 200,000 by 2023 (Byun et al. 2013; Bothwell 2015).

After implementing the above policies/strategies for a while, the international ranking of Korean universities has not witnessed significant improvement (4 out of the top 200 in 2015, Times World University Rankings 2015), but, however, the number of foreign students/faculty has increased rapidly. Taking the international students enrollment as an example, the number has grown from 1983 in 1995, to 16,832 in 2004, to 84,891 in 2014 (Bothwell 2015). Not only Korea, it is evident

Table 3.1 Different schemes in promoting world-class universities

Country/region	Project
China	'985' and '211' project
Japan	'Global 30' Scheme; Competitive Funding Allocation Method (the 21st Century Centres of Excellence; the Global Centres of Excellence; the World Premier International Research Centre Initiative)
South Korea	Brain Korea 21; World-Class University Initiative and the Study Korea Project
Taiwan	Five Year—5 billion Excellence Initiative; Development Plan for World-class Universities and Research Centres for Excellence
Singapore	'World-Class Universities' Programme
Hong Kong	Comprehensive Education Reviews; Role Differentiation Exercise; Positioning Hong Kong as International Key Player in Higher Education; University Merging and Deep Collaboration; Research Assessment Exercises; Teaching and Learning Quality Process Reviews; Management Reviews and University Governance Review

Source Cheng et al. (2014), Mok (2005)

that most Asian countries/regions such as China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan tend to adopt 'selection and concentration' approach to allocate research finding to establish/promote their higher education's international profile due to the limited resources (Byun et al. 2013). Unlike Australia, which has already enjoyed high level of internationalization and thus concerns more about how to secure its leading position, these counties/regions with mass HE systems have implemented special projects to enhance research productivity and international fame of a few selected universities. The policies initiated by selected Asian countries to improve the level of internationalization in their HE systems are summarized in Table 3.1.

China, similar to Australia and South Korea, has made serious attempts to internationalize domestic HE system through transnationalizing higher education by encouraging overseas universities to work with local Chinese universities to establish joint campus for offering learning opportunities for students. The above table clearly shows that other countries/regions other than China have also adopted strategic measures to enhance their universities to become more globally competitive. It is clear that all these countries/regions have taken internationalization of education much more serious in the last few decades. Let us now discuss the recent development trends of TNHE in China.

3.4 Responses to Call for Internationalization of Higher Education: The Rise of TNHE in China

In response to the internationalization of HE as an increasingly popular and worldwide trend, the Chinese government has tried to incorporate new ideas and practices from overseas institutions, particularly encouraging the development of

TNHE to change the HE landscape in China mainland. The following discussion sets out against the context briefly outlined above to critically examine how the Chinese government develops new policies in promoting TNHE. With particular attention paid to two Sino-foreign cooperation universities as our case study, the following part critically examines the challenges and opportunities that these institutions have confronted. Based upon fieldwork and group interviews, the following will examine how students reflect their learning experiences and how university administrators from these overseas collaborative partners reflect upon university governance when running TNHE in mainland China.

3.4.1 Policy Background

The history of TNHE in mainland China can be traced back to the mid-1980s 'when *Renmin* University of China and *Fudan* University established classes in economics and law in cooperation with American institutions' (Huang 2011, p. 280). The Johns Hopkins-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies, which opened in September 1986, was another herald in TNHE history; however, these institutions did not have the authority to confer foreign or Chinese degrees (Huang 2011, p. 272) to their students. Afterward, the MBA program offered by the Tianjin College of Finance and Economics (renamed as International Center of MBA Education of Tianjin University of Finance and Economics) was 'one of the first degree-conferring joint programs in China' (Huang 2011, p. 272).

In the past two decades, the Chinese government has encouraged the development of TNHE by promoting cooperation between universities in mainland China and overseas institutions through establishing academic programs or even branch campuses in China. In the 1980s right after the initiation of the Chinese economic reform and its open-door policy, HE was regarded as a priority by the state to realize four modernizations, namely industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology, and to address the desperate need for professionals and new technologies. Students and scholars were sent by the state for overseas studies as an immediate effort to provide more people with high skills and knowledge returning home to serve after graduation. The TNHE programs implemented during this period were scattered throughout the coastal provinces such as Shandong and Jiangsu, and in big cities like Shanghai and Beijing. However, many of these foreign academic institutions within the national education system were unregulated and informal.

By the 1990s, several factors dramatically advanced TNHE development in China. The pressing needs to boost the enrollment rate for Chinese tertiary education surfaced to sustain its soaring economic growth and to meet the challenges posed by globalization. In this regard, TNHE programs could be helpful both in terms of internationalizing Chinese universities' curricula and in their quest for world-class status. In addition, concerns about 'brain drain,' which refers to the outflow of Chinese human and capital and the financial capital spent on overseas education had also prompted the government to rethink its monopolistic approach

of governance over education, which resulted in a more cautious and yet encouraging attitude toward TNHE (Wang and Liu 2010).

In July 2010, the State Council of the People's Republic of China published the National Plan for Medium- and Long-Term Education Reform and Development, which is also known as Education Blueprint 2020. One of the major goals of the Education Blueprint 2010 is to internationalize further the HE sector in the mainland by engaging in collaborations with leading universities overseas or within the region. With a strong conviction to transform the country from an economically strong nation to a country with strong human capital, the Chinese government is very keen in increasing its investment on education and welcomes collaborations with overseas HE institutions in terms of offering joint programs, venturing in high-level professional and research training programs, and engaging in international research projects to advance the country's knowledge and to draw state-of-the-art technologies (State Council 2010).

Against this wider context, TNHE in China has evolved from an informal, incidental, and rather laissez-faire activity into a systematic and regulated endeavor. In 1993, the Notice on Cooperation with Foreign Institutions and Individuals in Running Schools in China was issued, followed by the promulgation of the Provisional Stipulation on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools (CFCRS) by the then State Education Commission on January 26, 1995. The Provisional Stipulation on CFCRS was particularly significant because it symbolized the formal inclusion of CFCRS activities into the management of state bureaucracy. The stipulation clearly specified the necessity of initiating CFCRS in China, its coverage, its application procedure, the defining authority over its program appraisal and approval, managerial framework for its institutions, and the awarding mechanism of its degrees/diplomas (Mok and Chan 2012).

On December 11, 2001, TNHE experienced another momentous promotion in China, which was prompted by the country's WTO membership. China has consequently promised to open up its education sector for commercial activities in the five sub-items of primary, secondary, higher and adult education, and other educational services, encouraging TNHE under the legal framework of the international agreement. Foreign partners are now allowed to secure majority ownership of the CFCRS institutions concerned, yet they remain prohibited from establishing and running an institution solely on their own. In addition, the privilege of enjoying 'national treatment' may not be granted to them as an entitlement during this process (Mok and Chan 2012).

On March 1, 2003, the State Council, based on the aforementioned WTO commitments, finally promulgated the Regulations of the PRC on CFCRS (hereafter 2003 CFCRS Regulations) to further regulate related activities and assert the legal rights of the stakeholders involved (Wang 2005). This promulgation is undoubtedly the most significant CFCRS regulation thus far. The Ministry of Education subsequently released a set of corresponding measures in June 2004 to deal with more specific issues relating to CFCRS implementation. The 2003 CFCRS Regulations not only reveal the state's blessing in developing CFCRS, but more importantly, they do not forbid foreign institutions from profiting from such

activities. According to Wang, TNHE development in China can be broadly divided into three main phases in accordance with the shifts in national policies:

- Laissez-faire exploration, i.e., before the promulgation of the Provisional Stipulation on CFCRS in January 1995;
- Progressive standardization initiated by the state, i.e., from 1995 to the promulgation of CFCRS Regulations in March 2003;
- Progressive legalization and regulation advanced by the state, i.e., from March 2003 to the present (2005, p. 189–190).

3.4.2 Recent Development Trends

According to a recent study related to TNHE in China, about 712 programs/collaborative projects across 28 cities/provinces in the mainland existed by the end of 2002. By 1995, TNHE had increased nine times. By the end of 2007, about 31 countries/regions in different continents reached agreements with Chinese authorities to collaborate in joint programs or to offer TNHE programs in the mainland. In the latest list of approved CFCRS institutions and programs from the Ministry of Education regarding HE (including both undergraduate and postgraduate levels), among the 27 approved CFCRS institutions currently operating in China, only two, namely the University of Nottingham-Ningbo in Zhejiang Province and the Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business in Guangdong Province,[1] were not established through collaborations between foreign institutions and local public HE institutions. The University of Nottingham-Ningbo was founded by the University of Nottingham from the UK and the privately owned Zhejiang Wanli Education Group in 2004, and legally became the first CFCRS University in China. Intriguingly, the Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business was founded in 2002 in Beijing by Hong Kong's most successful tycoon and entrepreneur, Li Ka Shing. The school's 'local partner' is not even mentioned in the Graduate School's introductory statement. On its official website, the graduate school identifies itself as 'China's first private, non-profit, and independent business school.'[2]

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 show the major Sino-foreign cooperation programs, second-tier colleges, and cooperation universities established in mainland China to internationalize student learning. In early 2014, 930 Sino-foreign cooperative institutions and projects have been approved by the Ministry of Education. A total of 1049 Sino-foreign cooperative institutions and projects were approved by

[1]Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business has been headquartered in Beijing ever since its establishment in November 2002. Currently, it has campuses in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, and has decided to build a brand new main campus in a suburban area of Beijing. The specific location was chosen in June 2010.

[2]Available at http://www.cheungkong-gsb.com/AboutUs/tabid/86/Default.aspx, accessed April 28, 2015.

Table 3.2 The number of transnational cooperation activities in China (2015)

Number	Cooperation type		
	Sino-foreign cooperation programs	Sino-foreign cooperation second-tier colleges	Sino-foreign cooperation universities
	1605-2[a]	70	8

[a]The two Sino-foreign cooperation programs in Hebei were dissolved by the MOE in 2014
Source The Supervising Platform for Chinese-foreign Cooperation in Running Schools, available at http://www.crs.jsj.edu.cn/index.php/default/index/sort/1006, accessed 14 June, 2015

Table 3.3 The proportion of graduates who choose to continue study abroad in eight Sino-foreign cooperation universities

Name	Provinces/municipalities	Graduates who choose to continue education abroad
University of Nottingham Ningbo	Zhejiang province (Ningbo)	Over 65 % of graduates chose to pursue postgraduate education abroad (2008–2013) Around 80 % of graduates in 2013
Xi'an Jiaotong Liverpool University	Jiangsu province (Su Zhou)	95 % in 2010 (130 out of 136) 90 % in 2011 (452 out of 513) Over 83 % in 2012 Over 90 % in 2013
United International College (jointly founded by Beijing Normal University and Hong Kong Baptist University)	Guangdong province (Zhu Hai)	Over 50 % (2009–2013)
The Chinese University of Hong Kong (Shenzhen)	Guangdong province (Shenzhen)	NA
Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business	Beijing	NA (EMBA)
Wenzhou-Kean University (in preparation)	Zhejiang province (Wen Zhou)	NA
Shanghai New York University	Shanghai	NA
Duke Kunshan University (in preparation)	Jiangsu Province (Kun Shan)	NA

Source Data generated from field interviews conducted in 2014
Note 'NA' indicates that there have been no graduates from these Sino-foreign cooperation universities until now

provincial governments and local departments of education. These cooperative institutions and projects reached a total of 1979. According to recent statistics, the number of students enrolled at all levels in all types of Sino-foreign cooperative educational institutions was about 550,000 in 2014, which include 45,000 college students. With the rapid development of these TNHE activities, more than 1,500,000 graduated from Sino-foreign cooperative educational institutions in 2014

(Mok and Han 2015). These figures clearly show the growing importance of Sino-foreign cooperative education projects in mainland China. Given its strong conviction to further internationalize HE, the Education Blueprint 2020 explicitly states that the Chinese government welcomes overseas universities to engage with local universities in China, not only to diversify students' learning experiences, but also to enhance the research and academic capacities of local institutions through the creation of TNHE programs and branch campuses in mainland China (Mok and Han 2014; see also Table 3.2).

3.4.3 *Different Types of TNHE in China*

Under the close scrutiny of the MOE in approving the establishment of TNHE, we have found three major types of TNHE in China, including: Sino-foreign cooperation programs, Sino-foreign cooperation second-tier colleges, and Sino-foreign cooperation universities (also known as joint-venture universities) (http://www.cfce.cn/). Figure 3.4 clearly highlights three different forms of Sino-foreign educational cooperation.

In view of the above figure, the first two categories, Sino-foreign cooperation programs and Sino-foreign cooperation second-tier colleges, often involve three participants, namely Chinese public universities, foreign tertiary education institutions, and private investors. Students could share the facilities of Chinese universities by paying high rent and with the help of the teaching staff both from local and international partners. The participation of private sector and the official linkage with Chinese universities have given rise to several problems since the emergence of these cooperation activities, such as the blurring responsibility in quality assurance, the problematic distribution of 'profit', and the differences between certificates conferred by local and international institutions. Although the central government released a series of policies governing TNHE, there have not been clear provisions explaining which agencies should take the regulating responsibilities. The lack of official supervision had caused serious problems, wherein some TNHE cooperation programs were only approved by local governments but not the MOE in the central government. Hence, some students enrolling in such programs would have found being cheated, especially when their qualifications were not recognized nationally (Mok and Han 2016).

Fig. 3.4 The Development of TNHE in China. *Source* The Supervising Platform for Chinese-foreign Cooperation in Running Schools, available at http://www.cfce.cn/, accessed 14 June, 2015

Faced with these problems, coupled with the aspiration to develop world-class universities in China, the Chinese government thereafter changed its attitude toward TNHE. In the 2000s, the Chinese government began to encourage cooperation with foreign HE institutions, especially world-renowned ones to tap into overseas educational experience and resources to transform universities in mainland China. Thus, a new form of transnational cooperation emerged in 2004, that is, the Sino-foreign cooperation universities, which was marked by the foundation of the University of Nottingham in Ningbo. This latest cooperation is a landmark development of TNHE in China. Soon after the establishment of the University of Nottingham Ningbo, seven other Sino-foreign cooperation universities were built or prepared, such as the Xi'an Jiao tong Liverpool University, New York University Shanghai, and others.

The thriving development of Sino-foreign cooperation universities clearly shows that the Chinese government has changed its strategy from increasing HE opportunities to improving HE quality through engaging overseas partners, such a paradigm shift is further reinforced after the publication of the *National Plan for Medium- and Long-Term Educational Reform and Development* in 2010. This plan re-emphasizes the importance of transnational cooperation and talent introduction. By strengthening international communication and cooperation, the plan aims to improve domestic education systems and cultivate students to be capable in dealing with international business and competitions. The importation of high-quality education resources is also recommended, which includes improving transnational education cooperating, drawing prestigious researchers and professors, and encouraging the Chinese talents studying abroad to return (State Council 2010). These measures indicate the Chinese government's ambition to transform 'the country from an economic power to a power with rich human resources' (Mok and Yu 2011, p. 241).

3.5 Case Study on Two Sino-Foreign Cooperation Universities

The aforementioned discussion on policies toward TNHE has provided a wider policy background for the development of TNHE in China. The thriving of Sino-foreign cooperation universities based on the strong support from the Chinese government, both in financial and political aspects, represents the direction for further development of TNHE in China, which makes the exploration of Sino-foreign cooperation universities necessary. Given that all eight cooperation universities in China have concentrated in the more economically developed eastern coastal area, and most of them collaborate with world-class HE institutions from the USA and the UK, we have chosen University A, a corporation university that has been soundly operating for 10 years, and the University B, a recently established cooperation venture as our case studies. Notwithstanding that the experiences of

students and overseas administrators in these two universities may not represent the experiences of students and administrative staff in other six universities, the findings will enable researchers and policy makers to understand why students choose to study in TNHE institutions, how students evaluate their learning experiences, and how the senior management of these two universities assess this new kind of cooperation with their Chinese counterparts.

3.5.1 Research Methods

To understand how students who enroll in TNHE programs, joined by Sino-foreign universities, evaluate their learning experiences, an opinion survey was conducted in March 2014. The major research objectives of the student survey are to explore the motivations of students of choosing to study in these two universities, examine how students evaluate their learning experiences, and assess the students' overall satisfaction level. University A and University B are selected as case studies not only because they cooperate separately with two major exporters of TNHE in China, which ensures the representativeness to a large extent, but also because they are located in the most prosperous coastal areas where most TNHE are concentrated. However, we must admit that these two cases cannot represent the entire China, but the examination of areas with strong financial capacity can enable us to understand how economic dynamism could affect a citizen's quest for higher quality education (Wen 2005; as cited in Mok and Xu 2008, p. 398).

Before distributing the questionnaires to all participants, we conducted a pilot study to collect more information concerning the students' motivations and their preliminary assessment about the quality of education. A focus group discussion was conducted in February 2014 via telecommunication technology. A questionnaire was designed in making reference to the 'push-and-pull' factors developed by Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) and to the information collected and developed on the basis of this discussion. We adopted purposive sampling method in the survey. We interviewed students via the Internet from University A from Year 1 to Year 4. Given that University B has started to recruit students recently, only freshmen were accessible for interviews. The total number of delivered questionnaires via email were 150; 100 from University A and 50 went to University B. The number of completed and returned questionnaires is 98; 69 University A and 29 from University B. The total response rate is around 65 %. We have no intention to analyze the data separately because after carefully checking the returned questionnaires, the students in these two aforementioned universities obviously share common views to a large content. In addition, one of the objectives of this study is to explore the general assessment to TNHE and is not particularly focused on a certain institution.

During the same period, we also conducted semi-structured interviews with selected administrators from the two selected Sino-foreign cooperation universities to examine their experiences in Chinese partner cooperation. Most of the eight

Sino-foreign cooperation universities in China collaborate with British or American partners (5 out of 8; two other universities cooperate with China and Hong Kong, where education systems are deeply influenced by the British style). University A and University B have already covered the aforementioned foreign partners. To some extent, these two cases could help us understand how foreign universities operate their offshore campuses in China by providing TNHE programs.

3.5.2 Findings

3.5.2.1 Students' Motivation of Choosing Sino-Foreign Cooperation Universities

The pilot study shows that when choosing the institution, students are mostly focused on academic fame, expected expenditure, and employment possibility. Based on the information collected from the focus group discussion, we developed questions concerning students' choice of TNHE, particularly their choice of current universities. A large proportion of respondents (82.61 %) claim that they chose TNHE because the courses offered are better than those offered at local universities. The uniqueness of courses in transnational cooperation universities is another factor (78.26 %) that appeals to students. TNHE also permits a method for them to better understand the western world (86.96 %), and offers them promising opportunities to further pursue education overseas (73.92 %). Interestingly, nearly half of the students (47.82 %) believe that applying for Sino-foreign cooperation universities in China is relatively easier than other Chinese HE institutions (Fig. 3.5).

Those who support the introduction of TNHE state that one of the advantages of 'studying at home' is the possible savings in tuition fee, living costs, and traveling

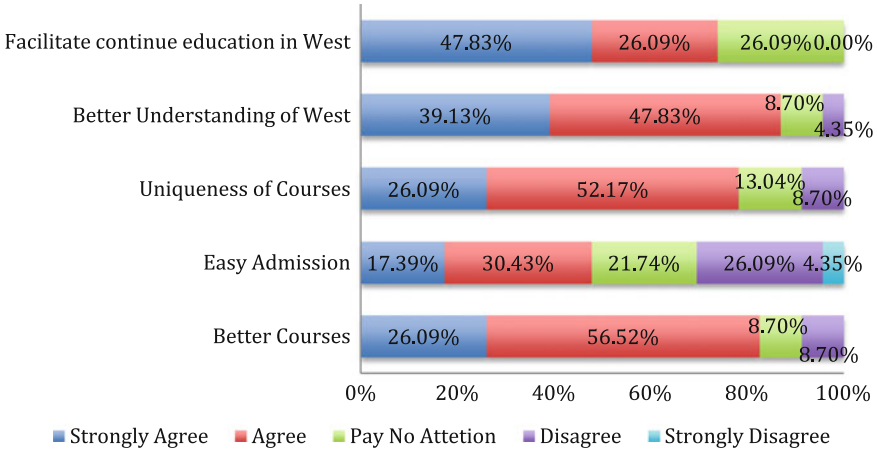

Fig. 3.5 Influencing factors of choosing TNHE

expenses. The survey to some extent provided proof for this claim, with more than half of the students (52.17 %) expressing agreement on the low tuition fees and living costs (47.82 %). In terms of travel expenses, 47.83 % of the students (the largest proportion) said they pay no attention to this factor (Fig. 3.6).

We also developed some questions to explore why students would choose a cooperation university over others. The concerns of students are mostly concentrated on the quality of education (91.31 %), responsiveness to students' needs (91.30 %), excellent faculty (86.96 %), and favorable linkage with future employers (69.56 %). Students also pay great attention to teaching and research innovation (86.96 %), while least focus on the technology and facilities (65.22 %) (Fig. 3.7).

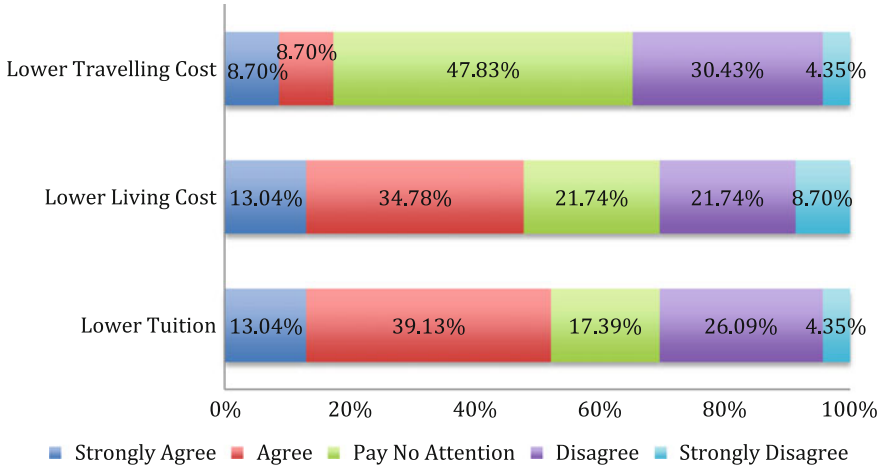

Fig. 3.6 Financial consideration of choosing TNHE

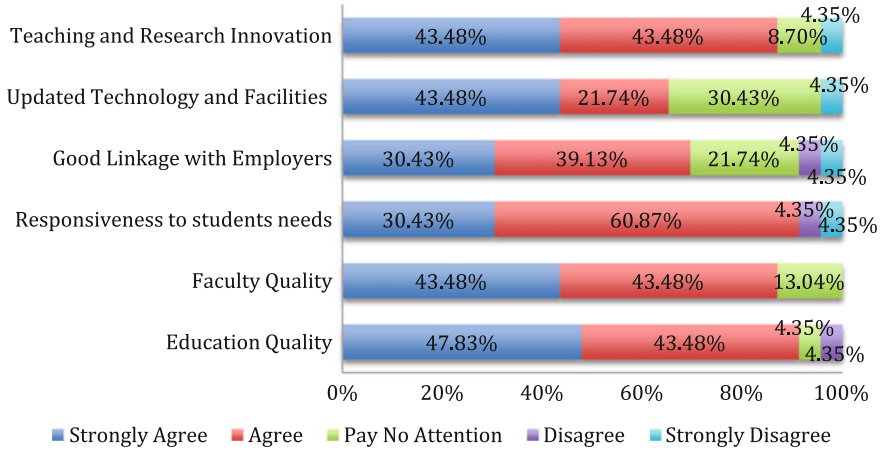

Fig. 3.7 Influencing factors of choosing a certain university

3.5.2.2 Student Evaluation of Education Quality

When asked how they evaluate the courses offered by the universities and the teaching materials used, more than 65 % of the respondents expressed a strong positive view. In the pilot study, the respondents said that the arrangement of courses is appropriate and most of the materials adopted by the professors are original editions, which provide them with up-to-date information. About 20.40 % of respondents chose 'agree,' which shows their overall satisfaction on the courses and materials. Among the respondents, only 8.16 % (8 out of 98) considered the current course arrangements as inappropriate and fail to meet their study needs and expectations (Fig. 3.8).

When examining how respondents evaluate the teaching methods, over 70 % believe that the teaching methods are appropriate and thought-provoking. Among the respondents, nearly half (47.95 %) expressed great satisfaction toward the teaching methods. A total of 15 out of 98 students were neutral and offered no response to the teaching methods, whereas 10 were relatively unsatisfied of the teaching methods. Given that some teaching staff are from the 'host' universities and may, thus, know little about Chinese culture, this phenomenon may be explained by the insufficiency in mutual understanding, which both administrators and policy makers should pay more attention to.

The qualifications of the academic staff do have direct impact on the learning experiences of students. As Mok and Xu pointed out in 2008, the 2003 Regulations stated that 'foreign teachers and administrators in the institutions of CFCRS should have at least a bachelor's degree and certification accordingly, and need more than two years' experience of teaching' (Mok and Xu 2008). When examining the 'quality' of the teaching staff teaching in these two joint-venture universities, 69 students (70.40 %) think highly of the professors' expertise, whereas no more than 6 % expressed dissatisfaction toward the teaching staff's qualifications. The autonomy enjoyed by this kind of transnational cooperation universities allows them

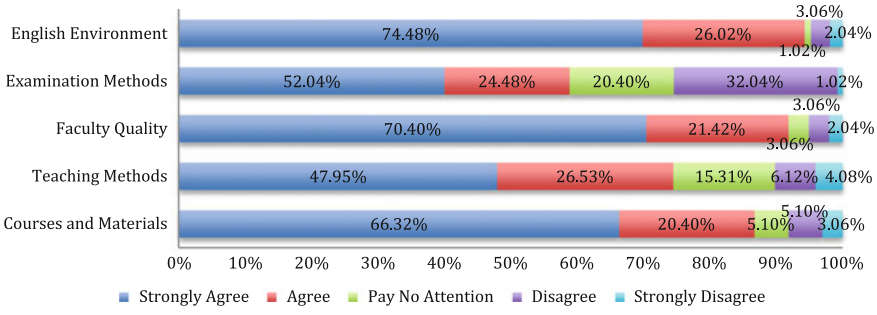

Fig. 3.8 Students' evaluation of education quality

to offer competitive salaries to attract world-renowned expert, and as the principals said, 'our pays are in accordance with the international level' (Interview 2014).

Another aspect of student evaluation is the examination methods. In our survey, 75 respondents (76.53 %) considered the examination methods appropriate and stated that they could evaluate their true understanding of the courses. By contrast, 52.04 % of the students ranked the assessment methods as 'highly suitable.' About 20.40 % of the respondents expressed lack of interest in this aspect, whereas less than 4 % of the students said that they are unsatisfied with the current examination methods. The most positive feedback revealed in the student evaluation survey is the English environment. Nearly 75 % of the students believe that they are immersed in a strong English environment. They use English every day, which greatly improves their English language proficiency. About 26.02 % of the respondents express the same supportive attitude, whereas only one of them (1 out of 98) said that he/she has paid no attention to this aspect. The proportions of respondents discontented with the English environment in their campuses are nearly 5 %.

Putting the above findings together, we can observe that most respondents are generally satisfied with their learning experience in these two Sino-foreign cooperation universities. Nonetheless, the study also raised concerns about the type of governance in this newly emerged cooperation type. How do the Chinese and foreign aspects divide their responsibility in the academic and administrative spheres? Who takes charge of the quality assurance? The following section offers further discussions about the governance model in these two cooperation universities.

3.6 University Governance: From State-Control to a State-Supervising Model

The survey discussed above reveals the satisfaction of students in choosing to study in Sino-foreign cooperation universities, which could be ascribed to the relatively high autonomy enjoyed by TNHE in China. TNHE has the power to decide the course design and teaching materials. TNHE is free to design the enrollment criteria and the number of each cohort. TNHE could autonomously distribute investment from the local governments, which invest nearly all initial funding, and the Chinese partner. TNHE sets the quality assurance mechanism to assure the teaching and research quality in accordance with the 'host' universities. These aspects show that the central government has relaxed its control over HE. The governance in TNHE, which shares the same trend with Chinese HE institutions (Min 1994; Mok 2001), has changed from state-control to a state-supervising model indicating that the role played by the central government has been gradually minimized. The following part focuses on how the administrators evaluate their university governance when working with their Chinese counterparts.

The interviews concerning the cooperation and division of labor between the foreign and Chinese partnering institutions could be analyzed into three aspects, namely financial, administrative, and academic spheres. Although the graduates from these cooperation universities could be conferred with the diploma that is exactly the same as their counterparts in the 'host' country, these cooperation universities cannot be defined as a 'branch campus' of the 'host' university. As Huang (2008) concluded, 'it is strongly emphasized that the University of Nottingham, Ningbo China, which is considered one of China's most admired new model universities with the status of corporation, is not a branch campus of the University of Nottingham, but a completely independent university' (p. 31). The same situation is true with University B. Although the 'home' university claimed it as the portal campus of its international network, University B is an independent Chinese university. The interview with the principal officers of these two universities confirmed this point. In the financial and administrative aspects, these two universities have their own staff to regulate daily affairs. As the Chinese president from University B pointed out, 'none of these two partner universities will draw any cash flow from here'; President from the University A further confirmed this point, stating that, 'we are independent Chinese university and do not have to report daily affairs to the host' (Interview 2014).

No cooperation exists between the Chinese partners and the overseas providers in the financial part because in the initial phrase, the monetary investment overseas only represents a small and ignorable proportion, and the Chinese investors (partners or local governments) require no economic payback. All financial input, tuition fees, or other donations are distributed autonomously by this newly established university. Thus, there is no collaboration in the financial aspect. In addition, these two Sino-foreign cooperation universities could not be considered as a 'branch campus' of their 'host' universities because they developed their own independent administrative mechanism. The staff in these two universities, although some are from their Chinese partners at the beginning of the establishment (such as University B), are not affiliated with its Chinese partner during the working period, and University B has soon enrolled its own administrative staff.

In the academic aspect, most of the responsibilities for quality assurance have been distributed to foreign partners who are in charge of course design and arrangement, recruitment of teaching staff, the quality of teaching and research, and the evaluation of students' examination. The presidents in the interviews stated that 'all of the criteria are exactly the same as that of in host universities.' Nevertheless, as an independent Chinese university, the enrollment criteria have to be in accordance with the results of the College Entrance Examination (*gaokao*). Thus, the two partners collaborate to develop the appropriate criteria during enrollment and decide on the number of students in each cohort. Finally, the academic cooperation between the Chinese and foreign scholars increase during this process, which does not only promote mutual understanding, but also provides great contribution to the society.

3.7 Discussion and Conclusion: Need for New Regulatory Framework

The above discussion concerning the development of TNHE in China in general and the case study in two selected Sino-foreign cooperation universities in particular have clearly shown that the Chinese HE system has been significantly transformed, especially when we consider the proliferation of providers and the diversification of financial sources. If we put the rapid development of TNHE into the wider context of the growing marketization in HE since the economic reform in 1980s, especially when different kinds of *minban* or quasi-*minban* (such as second-tier colleges or independent colleges in affiliation with national universities) HE has increased in number, we would come to the conclusion that the privatization and marketization of HE have inevitably challenged the conventional governance model of HE (Lin et al. 2005; Mok and Ngok 2008). A critical review of the development of TNHE in China reveals the problems emerging during the process such as the unclear share of profits, the undefined quality assurance agency, the excessive use of brand names of overseas partners, and the blurring of boundaries between public and private TNHE. All such 'confusion' has rendered the existing regulatory regime no longer appropriate, particularly when the existing legal and regulatory framework(s) is/are inappropriate and ineffective in governing these newly formed institutions. As Mok and Xu (2008) observed, 'the Chinese government attempts to maintain a state-oriented regulatory regime in governing this increasingly complex and diverse HE sector,' which blocks 'the formation of a new regulatory state by adopting a corporate regulatory framework, civil society-led regulatory systems, or international benchmarking evolving in governing the highly diversified sectors or markets' (p. 406).

Thus, the Chinese government should develop a new regulatory framework that is appropriate for governing its increasingly complex and diversified HE. Although the trend of decentralization could be observed after the economic reform, the state-supervising model cannot effectively and efficiently regulate the growing complicated system. The analysis of the policies issued by the Chinese government and the real development of TNHE in time order has revealed that the regulations in China have always been lagged after the appearance of new forms. The strong support, both in political and financial aspects, of the Chinese government toward TNHE, especially to Sino-foreign cooperation universities, could be taken as a pilot study, which will hopefully provide more information and experiences to policy makers in redefining the relationship between the state and the different educational providers, such as the dividing responsibilities, functions, and legal statuses that different actors should perform in this transitional period.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the major development trend of how higher education systems in some selected countries like Australia, South Korea and China have internationalized student learning experience in general and taken TNHE more seriously in particular. More specifically, this chapter has also critically examined how higher education in mainland China has transformed through engaging foreign partners by establishing joint venture of Sino-foreign universities in the country to enhance students' international learning experience. Although students enrolling in these transnational higher education programmes are generally satisfied with their learning experience, there is still some university governance issues need to be sorted out for further improving effective regulatory regime of these joint ventures.

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Chapter 4
Qualification Recognition of Joint Degrees in Europe and Asia in the Era of Massification

Angela Yung-chi Hou

Abstract Growth in the internationalization of higher education is driving the expansion of tertiary systems and institutions throughout the world, and intensifying student mobility. However, when students are provided with more opportunities to study abroad to earn a foreign or joint degree, the recognition of qualifications within nations and regions and across regions becomes an international agenda item for many countries. This chapter discusses the current situation in the recognition of joint qualifications and quality assurance in transnational higher education. Schemes, procedures, and challenges for recognition of a joint degree in Europe and Asia are then analysed. The role of recognition bodies and quality assurance agencies in qualification assessment is discussed at the end of the chapter.

4.1 Introduction

Growth in the internationalization of higher education is driving the expansion of tertiary systems and institutions throughout the world. At the same time, such internationalization articulates massified systems of higher education and intensifies student mobility (Daniel et al. 2009; Moor and Henderikx 2013). When students are provided with more opportunities to study abroad to earn a foreign or joint degree, the recognition of qualifications within nations and regions and across regions becomes an international agenda item for many nations.

Since the 1950s, the Council of Europe has established conventions and information networks to enhance student mobility and qualification recognition in Europe. UNESCO has also been interested in this issue. The two organizations collaborated to develop the *Convention on the recognition of qualifications concerning higher education in the European region* (called the Lisbon Convention) adopted in Lisbon in 1997 (Van Damme et al. 2004). The Lisbon Convention aimed

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at 'finding common solutions to practical recognition problems in the European region' (Council of Europe 1997: 3). An agreement forged in the Convention stated that host countries are responsible for providing evidence for qualification recognition. Van Damme et al. (2004) emphasized that mutual trust and sharing in each other's higher education systems and information on such systems are the major characteristics of the agreement. By the end of 2013, 53 European countries had ratified the Convention (Council of Europe 2013).

Asia did not consider this issue until the 1980s. Driven by UNESCO in Bangkok, the UNESCO Regional Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in Asia and the Pacific (the "1983 Convention") was adopted in 1983 and officially enforced in 1985. Since then, Asian higher education has been undergoing significant changes, including the formation of a mass system and increases in the number of international students.

In 2011, UNESCO Member States decided to update the Convention in Tokyo to enhance transparency and effective exchange of information in higher education across the region. The new revised Convention entitled 'The Asia–Pacific Regional Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications in Higher Education' (the "2011 Revised Convention") emphasizes that studies, diplomas, and degrees in higher education should be recognized as widely as possible, considering the significant diversity of educational systems in Asia and the Pacific and the richness of its cultural, social, political, religious, and economic backgrounds (UNESCO 2011). The revised convention is expected to facilitate the recognition of foreign higher education qualifications in the Asia–Pacific region through the availability of information and increased transparency.

Student mobility has not been limited to a single region. Degree-seeking processes can involve two or more regions, perhaps with a student earning a Bachelor degree in an Asian institution and having a Master degree in a European university, or a joint degree involving both regions. As a result, the Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM) bridging Declaration was created to enhance 'closer cooperation and exchange of information in recognition of qualifications between the Asian and European regions' by developing a regional network of information centres (The ASEM 2012: 27).

In Europe, the number of joint degree programmes has increased rapidly over the past decade with the support of the European Commission. By 2010, more than half of the institutions in a quarter of EU nations had been involved in joint programmes. Up to the present, 84 % of European universities have offered joint programmes, and 33 % of them have awarded joint degrees. Nearly all European countries had implemented the legislation required for joint degrees, and the total number of joint degree programmes had reached 3000 (ECA 2013).

Joint degree programmes have gained popularity in Asia due to the growth of transnational higher education in the region since 2000. Although complete data on joint degree programmes are unavailable, we are aware that many Asian nations promote higher education internationalization through joint degree programmes (Huang 2007).

The recognition of a joint degree is more challenging for a foreign qualification because they do not belong to a single national higher education system. This chapter aims to discuss the current situation in the recognition of joint qualifications and quality assurance in transnational higher education. Schemes, procedures, and challenges for recognition of a joint degree in Europe and Asia are then analysed. The role of recognition bodies and quality assurance agencies in qualification assessment is discussed at the end of the chapter.

4.2 Student Mobility and Recognition of Qualifications in Transnational Higher Education

Since the late twentieth century, globalization has become a powerful force with profound effects on the internationalization of higher education throughout the world. The multifaceted processes and dimensions of internationalization in higher education are 'integrating an international dimension into the purpose, goals, functions, and delivery of higher education' (Knight 2007: 134). A key element of internationalization is cross-border education. Cross-border higher education generally refers to 'student, faculty, institutional, and programme mobility' (Daniel et al. 2009). According to *Education at a Glance* by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the number of international students totalled more than 4.5 million in 2012. The USA, UK, Germany, France, and Australia are the five major destination countries (OECD 2014). An increasing number of students chose to study in Korea, New Zealand, and the Russian Federation (OECD 2014).

Student mobility in Asia is also being driven, encouraged or influenced by a range of factors, including economic growth, national competitiveness, and regional development. A manifestation of these trends is a significant increase in the number of students moving between Asian campuses, such as in China, Japan, and South Korea. Between half and three-quarters of international students in Asian campuses come from other neighbouring countries (British Council 2008). According to the UNESCO (2007) *Yearbook*, 57,000 Korean students were studying in China, 23,000 Chinese students were studying in Korea, 80,000 Chinese students were studying in Japan, and 23,700 ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) students were studying in China (UNESCO 2007).

With the rapid growth in the number of international students in recent years, the quality and relevance of transnational higher education have become a national agenda worldwide. Each nation has its indicators to define quality. As Lee (2012) stated, 'The quality of higher education may mean different things to different stakeholders and different stakeholders will have their own ideas as to what constitutes quality and how to measure it' (p. 7). Quality should also have an international dimension due to the fact that 'the interpretation of the concept of quality itself can extremely vary in different contexts' (p. 8). As a result, two concerns are

likely to surface: first, how a foreign degree will be recognized in the cross-border context, and second, foreign degree mills are likely to emerge if governments are incapable of verifying degree quality. Students who are going to study in other countries will be vulnerable if they have limited information and experience by which to judge whether a foreign institution is a degree mill or not (CHEA 2003).

'Degree' or 'qualification' recognition refers to the 'acceptance of degrees, transfer of credits, or individual certification and licence' (Eaton 2004). Van Damme et al. (2004) defined the term as 'the recognition of foreign degree/diplomas or study periods and credits as educational credentials' (p. 96). In the 'Toolkit for the Recognition of Foreign Qualification' published by UNESCO, the recognition of qualifications means 'a formal acknowledgement defined and given by competency recognition authorities of a party to recognize the value of a foreign education qualification' (UNESCO Bangkok 2013). This definition indicates that a foreign qualification will be accepted if it has no substantial difference from a local degree.

The agencies responsible for recognition vary between nations. In the USA and Canada, no statutory or national agency exists for the assessment of academic qualifications. Individual institutions take full responsibility for recognition of qualification and credential assessment (Eaton 2004; Knight 2004). In Asia, the recognition of overseas qualifications is primarily undertaken by governmental bodies. Most European countries have developed information networks within their higher education systems to assist the recognition of overseas qualification.

However, cultural diversity and quality differentiation in higher education systems render the complexity of the recognition of a foreign qualification within or between regions. As an intergovernmental organization, UNESCO developed six regional conventions on the recognition of higher education qualifications, including Latin America and the Caribbean, Arab States, Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, as well as the Arab and the Mediterranean (Lee 2012; Uvalic-Trumbic 2004). The six conventions are expected to achieve two aims, namely to promote international cooperation in higher education, and to reduce obstacles to the recognition of degrees and qualifications (Lee 2012).

4.3 Degree Mills and Quality Assurance in the Era of Massification

In the era of massification, the quality and relevance of higher education become a national agenda in several countries. Lee (2012) stated that 'the concerns over quality have emerged against the background of massification in higher education where there are budget cuts on one hand and the expansion of higher education systems on the other' (p. 7). As a result, the massification of higher education would spur degree mills, particularly in foreign qualifications.

'Degree mill' originally indicates that an institution provides diplomas on a profit-making basis, similar to a factory. Currently, 'degree mill' is 'an

internationally accepted term for any type of person or organization that sells diplomas and academic degrees purely for profit and without requiring any serious academic achievement or study' (Centre for Information on Diploma in Dutch 2014). Students who are going to study in other countries are understood to be vulnerable if they have limited information and experience by which to judge whether a foreign or a joint degree is a 'mill' or not (CHEA 2003).

Currently, 90 % of nations around the world have developed a national quality assurance system to ensure the quality of higher education. At the same time, accreditation is regarded as a useful tool for avoiding the increase in degree mills. Through a formal review procedure, accreditation will be able to protect students from being awarded with fake qualifications. According to INQAAHE (2014), 'the accreditation process is intended to prevent the creation or continuation of poor-quality programmes or institutions, and hence, it is a consumer protection mechanism'. Accrediting bodies are appointed or commissioned by the government to evaluate the institutions or programmes to inspect whether they met a set of minimum standards. In sum, when a degree is awarded by institutions or programmes not officially accredited by the country where they are based, it will likely not be recognizable in other countries. As student mobility becomes a phenomenon worldwide, several quality assurance organizations and networks strengthened their role in quality guidance. For example, UNESCO developed a portal that provides reference to accredited institutions in many countries. INQAAHE offered lists of recognized and valid accrediting, quality assurance and recognition bodies on its website (INQAAHE 2014).

4.4 Development of Joint Degree Programmes in Europe and Asia

An increasing number of universities have developed joint degrees with foreign higher education institutions. Several reasons explain this phenomenon, including the need to meet changing professional requirements, the pressure to restructure degree programmes to become more interdisciplinary, student demand, calls to enhance the specification of some degree programmes and academic reputation (Michael and Balraj 2003; Kuder and Obst 2009; Chan 2012). According to the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), a joint degree pertains to 'a single diploma issued by two or more institutions offering an integrated study programme' (EACEA 2014). The European Consortium for Accreditation (ECA) in higher education defined a 'joint degree' in a more specific manner as 'a single document nationally acknowledged as the recognized award of the joint programme and signed by competent authorities representing the institutions involved in the joint degree' (Aerden and Reczulska 2012: 11). In other words, only one diploma exists, no matter whether it is at the Bachelor, Master, or Doctoral level, signed jointly by the rectors of all participating universities and

recognized 'officially in the countries where the degree-awarding institutions are located' (ECA 2013). With regard to international joint degree programmes, 'they are study programmes collaboratively offered by two (or more) higher education institutions located in different countries. They typically feature a jointly developed and integrated curriculum and agreed-on credit recognition' (Obst et al. 2011: 9). Upon completion of the study programme, students will obtain one joint qualification signed jointly by all of the institutions involved in the programme, including local and foreign institutions (Knight 2011; Obst et al. 2011). By contrast, a double degree is a combination of two individual qualifications at equivalent levels from two discipline areas of the participating institutions (Knight 2008; National University of Singapore 2013).

Joint degree programmes are at the top of the European higher education agenda as a principal instrument for developing the European Higher Education Area and for improving the competitiveness of European higher education around the world (Knight 2008). To enhance the international visibility and influence of European higher education, the European Union (EU) developed the Erasmus Mundus programme to support high-quality joint Master programmes, including scholarship programmes for non-EU students to study in Europe. The European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) stated that 'the Erasmus Mundus joint degree programme is a cooperation and mobility programme, which is intended to promote the European Union as a centre of excellence in learning around the world' (European Commission 2009: 4). Rauhvargers et al. (2002) also indicated that the Erasmus Mundus programme is 'relevant to virtually all the goals of Bologna process and will boost the development of joint quality assurance, recognition, and the transparency and convergence of higher education systems throughout Europe, as well as student and staff mobility, graduate employability, the European dimension of studies and the attractiveness of European education all round' (p. 2). In the academic year 2011–2012, the European Commission supported 124 Erasmus Mundus Master programmes and 22 Erasmus Mundus joint Doctoral programmes (ECA 2010).

Asian universities are interested in developing joint degree programmes due to growing international aspiration and the desire for academic reputation enhancement (Huang 2007; Li and Chen 2012; Chan 2012). Asian universities particularly intend to collaborate with foreign research universities, specifically prestigious universities from the USA, Australia, and UK (Huang 2007). Consider the National University of Singapore (NUS) as an example. NUS offers joint degree programmes with the Australian National University, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Johns Hopkins University. It has stated that its primary reasons for collaborating with well-known universities are combining its strengths with those of the partner university, and fully integrating international experience into a student's course of study and research (National University of Singapore 2013).

Many Asian universities have offered joint degree programmes at the PhD level. The University of Hong Kong signed agreements with King's College London, Imperial College London, and Universitas 21 to confer a joint PhD degree with its partner institutions in 2009 in the fields of arts, social sciences, humanities,

sciences, and medicine (The University of Hong Kong 2013). Peking University has collaborated with Georgia Tech–Emory in a biomedical engineering PhD programme (Li and Chen 2012). Most of these programmes are offered in professional fields, such as business and management, engineering, computing, and information science. In recent years, more Asian universities have also started to collaborate with institutions from neighbouring countries, such as the joint graduate programme on Structural Engineering and Construction Management developed jointly by Hanoi University of Civil Engineering and National Taiwan University (Taiwan National University 2013).

4.5 Recognition of Joint Degrees and Its Challenges in Europe and Asia

Joint qualifications in Europe and Asia are principally recognized by governmental bodies, non-governmental bodies (i.e. institutions), and commercial organizations (i.e. employers), as foreign degrees are. No special procedure for the evaluation of joint qualifications in Europe and Asia exists. The countries in both regions apply their regular procedures to evaluate a joint qualification.

In Europe, the *European Area of Recognition* (*ERA*) *Manual* outlines seven steps for the assessment of a joint qualification, namely (1) information and its receipt, (2) verification of completeness of the file, (3) verification of the institution and/or programme, (4) verification of documents, (5) assessment of the qualifications, (6) outcomes of assessment, and (7) communication of the result. No "*recognition manual*" similar to ERA exists in Asia, but some countries have outlined their assessment processes. In China, CSCSE, a government body, developed a three-stage review process, including examining the legal status of the awarding institution, validating the authenticity of documents and assessing the equivalency of stated credentials. At the end, the applicant will be provided with a written assessment report in Chinese.

The European system of qualification recognition has been and remains very different from this pattern. Traditionally, qualification recognition has focused on duration of studies, content of programme, and the graduate's formal rights regarding further studies or employment. The new approach attempts to emphasize learning outcomes, transparent quality assessment, and coherence of the information provided rather than workloads. A German institution specifically indicated that learning outcomes, quality of education, curriculum, international regulation and convention, access to further study, the grading scheme, and the credit system are now regarded as criteria for assessing the individual qualification awarded by a joint degree programme. With regard to learning outcomes, the degree holder should not only present the number of credits earned, but also demonstrate what he or she knows, understands and can do (Rauhvargers et al. 2002).

Learning outcomes can help the recognition body to understand the general output of the awarding programme at the national level. At the programme level, information on learning outcomes can be found in the diploma supplement, the description of the study programme, and the degree profile. General information on learning outcomes at the national level can be found in the national qualification descriptors, national-level descriptors, and the national subject benchmark statements. Having all of the learning outcomes exactly matched is not necessary; only the essential compatible features are required. According to the *ERA Manual*, five aspects of the qualification should be included for recognition, namely level of degree, workload of study, quality of programme or institution at which the qualification was obtained, profile of the programme or institution at which the qualification was obtained, and the learning outcomes of the programme that led to the applicant's qualification (NUFFIC 2012). In Europe, Diploma Supplements, which provide the title of the qualification, the status of awarding institutions, the level of the qualification, and its reference point within a national framework, the contents and results gained, and information on the national higher education system, are used as a certificate of learning outcomes. Given the lack of a widely acceptable credit transfer system or diploma supplements in Asia, evaluation criteria remain focused on the duration of studies and content of programmes.

Recognition poses varying levels of difficulty. Rauhvargers et al. (2002) identified the four typical situations in the recognition of a joint degree. In the first situation, a joint degree qualification is recognized in a country, one of whose institutions has provided a part of the study programme. In the second situation, the qualification is recognized in a country, one of whose institutions participates in the consortium having issued the degree, but this institution has not provided any part of the degree. In the third situation, recognition will occur in a third country, which has not been involved in the study programme. In the fourth and least desirable situation involves a degree, in any country, all or part of which has not been accredited. In the first and second situations, the qualification recognition of a joint degree can be sought in the countries where the institutions are located. In the third situation, recognition could be problematic because none of the institutions in the country took part in the joint programme, which may possibly lead to the result of non-recognition. In the fourth case, such a degree can justifiably be unrecognized because the awarding institutions are not recognized or accredited at all (see Table 4.1).

The lack of transparency and coherence in the information provided on the degree certificate is a leading factor that contributes to difficulty in the recognition of joint qualification (ECA 2010). Recognition bodies encounter difficulty in determining whether the joint degree awarded by more than two institutions is valid or not. The recognition of a joint degree can be subjective and dependent on who is doing the recognition. The recognition of a particular institution sometimes depends on a particular country. For example, University A in Country X is recognized by Country X but not recognized by Country Y. If University A collaborates with

Table 4.1 Four situations in the recognition of joint qualifications

	Degree awarded	Programme accredited	Possible result	Level of difficulty
Situation 1	By the institutions providing a part of the study programme in the consortium	All participating institutions are accredited	Recognized by the countries where institutions in the consortium are located	Low
Situation 2	By the institutions in the consortium	The institution did not offer the programme but took part in the consortium	Recognized by the countries whose institutions provide a part of the programme	Medium
Situation 3	By the institutions in the consortium	The programme accredited but not offered in the country	Would not be recognized by the country whose institutions did not take part in the consortium	High
Situation 4	By the institutions in the consortium	The programme is not accredited	Would not be recognized in any country	Very high

University B in Country Y for a joint degree, then it would be recognized in Country X but not in Country Y (Lee, personal communication, 2014). Arden stated that 'in essence, every authority from the involved institutions is "responsible" for the recognition of a qualification awarded by a joint degree programme. But in reality, only a few take up their responsibility' (personal communication, 2014). Another reason for this ambiguity is national legislation (ECA 2010). Some Asian nations have prohibited universities from conferring a single degree jointly with universities in foreign countries (Hou and Fahmi 2014). In addition, quality assessment and accreditation are key obstacles to the qualification recognition of a joint degree, as in situation four described above.

National regulations on qualifications and their recognition continue to hamper swift procedures for the recognition of joint degrees in the countries involved (OECD 2004). Even worse, some institutions use joint degrees to escape national regulation and accreditation (ECA 2010). ECA determined that unfamiliarity with national quality assurance systems has induced conservative attitudes towards the assessment of joint degrees (Campbell and Van der Wende 2000; Van Damme et al. 2004). In the 2003 Berlin communiqué, European nations agreed to engage in 'remov[ing] legal obstacles to the establishment and recognition of such degrees and [to] actively support[ing] the development and adequate quality assurance of integrated curricula leading to joint degrees' (Berlin communiqué 2003: 6).

4.6 Guidelines for the Fair Recognition of Joint Degrees in Europe

Based on the preceding discussions, we observe that the recognition of joint degrees is quite challenging because these degrees do not belong to any single national higher education system. The recognition process, involving at least two competent recognition authorities, results in this complexity. As Knight (2014) stated, '[j]oint degree programmes are very attractive alternatives, but face legal and bureaucratic barriers as it is impossible in many countries to offer a joint qualification with another institution' (p. 3).

Two key documents provide guidelines for the fair recognition of a joint degree in Europe. One is the *ERA Manual* published by the Lifelong Learning Programme of the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission in 2012; the other is *Guidelines for Good Practice for Awarding Joint Degrees* by the European Consortium for Accreditation (ECA).

For the ERA document, eight recognition experts from NARICs and ENICs worked together to come up with best practices for efficient recognition procedures in the ERA. Most European recognition bodies now follow the outlines in the *ERA Manual* because it is included in the Bologna process (Aerden 2014, personal communication). ERA stated that a joint degree will be recognized with various conditions, including the following: whether the institutions involved in the joint programme were recognized and/or accredited in their own country; whether the joint programme is recognized by the institutions involved; whether the joint degree awarded is legal and signed by all institutions; and if the joint degree is offered by a consortium, it is required to be recognized/accredited by all members of the consortium, or at least the quality of the awarded programme has to have been properly assessed. However, the *ERA Manual* also suggested that some flexibility can be allowed to cope with the cultural and social differences between higher education systems. In the case of unrecognized but legitimate institutions, further investigations to ascertain their qualifications are recommended. These institutions can be divided into two groups, namely institutions choosing not to be recognized (i.e. military education institutions and religious institutions), and institutions that fail to meet relevant standards. More information is suggested to be requested, or third-party quality assurance measurements or any other information from the national accreditation authority must be sought (Nuffic 2012).

The recognition of a joint qualification must involve recognition bodies and quality assurance agencies. Established in 2003, the ECA is the first accrediting agency in Europe aiming to achieve mutual recognition of accreditation decisions among member countries 'to facilitate international acceptance of academic institutions, degrees and studies' in the European higher education area (Frederiks and Heusser 2005: 5). Against the varying backgrounds of 15 accreditation organizations from 10 European countries, including Austria, Belgium [Flanders], Switzerland, Germany, Spain, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland, ECA was established to implement the mutual recognition of accreditation

decisions among member countries by the end of 2007 (ECA 2008). In 2005, ECA members and ENIC/NARICs signed a joint declaration called 'Vienna Sententia', in which they agreed to automatically recognize a foreign qualification with each other. The signing of this agreement is based on the premise that the mutual recognition of review decisions linking mutual recognition of degrees will eventually facilitate student mobility in the European higher education area.

In 2010 and with the support of the European Commission, ECA developed a project entitled 'Joint programs: Quality Assurance and Recognition of degrees awarded' (JOQAR), aiming at ensuring the quality of Erasmus Mundus joint degree programmes in terms of accreditation and recognition (Frederiks and de la Carrere 2013; ECA 2013). In the project, the guidelines for good practices for awarding joint degrees were developed by a recognition group, and included four elements, namely the consortium, the joint programme, the joint degree, and the diploma supplement. The guidelines outline the principle that all of the institutions in the consortium involved in the joint degree programme should be recognized and accredited in their national higher education systems. In addition, the joint degree programme needs to be offered in compliance with their legal framework for higher education. Under these circumstances, a joint degree will be recognized in the higher education systems of awarding institutions. In the diploma supplements, the name and status of institutions where students actually studied and the level of the programme should be listed clearly. The guidelines suggest that European credit systems should be used to demonstrate student learning outcomes (Aerden and Reczulska 2012).

Based on the preceding two documents, we can conclude that recognition and accreditation of the awarding institutions in the consortium is the perquisite for the recognition of a joint degree, which should avoid the problem of degree mills. Moreover, both documents emphasize the importance of diploma supplements, which are highly useful in facilitating the understanding and recognition of a joint degree qualification.

4.7 Convergence Between Quality Assurance and Recognition

Joint degrees are emerging rapidly as an important strategy for nations intending to promote higher education internationalization. Thus, the basic question of whether the programme meets the required standards or not is currently being addressed. The quality assurance should play a vital role in graduate mobility and credential recognition (Van Damme et al. 2004). A survey conducted by ECA (2010) shows that quality assurance and accreditation indeed influence the outcomes of the assessment of the awarded qualification.

As student mobility becomes a phenomenon worldwide, several international organizations and networks have strengthened their role in quality guidance. For

example, OECD and UNESCO have developed international guidelines entitled 'Quality provision in cross-border higher education' to strengthen quality assurance, accreditation, and recognition of qualification schemes both at the national and international levels. The leading quality assurance and accreditation agencies are expected to conduct an external accreditation of cross-border education through international cooperation with other agencies, and to develop strategies to cover transnational higher education within national qualification schemes (UNESCO/OECD 2005).

Quality assurance and recognition have been expected to be linked closely in Europe since the Prague communiqué of ministers was signed in 2001. In the communiqué, ministers encouraged collaboration and cooperation between recognition and quality assurance networks, as well as emphasized that quality assurance systems should play a key role in 'ensuring high-quality standards and in facilitating the comparability of qualifications throughout Europe' (Prague communiqué 2001: 2). A key step would be for the information provided by quality assurance agencies and networks to be used for a double check on programmes and institutions. As Molly Lee, former director of UNESCO Bangkok, indicated, 'quality assurance agencies will be able to provide the detailed information concerning the joint degree programmes as well as the partnering institutions to the recognition authority, and it is up to the recognition body to decide whether to recognize the degree or not' (personal communication, 2014).

The OECD/UNESCO guidelines have highlighted the problems of a lack of interaction between quality assurance agencies and recognition bodies in terms of cross-border higher education. In fact, qualification recognition and quality assurance are mostly conducted by different agencies in European and Asian nations. Most nations have not developed a convergent system to facilitate the linkage of quality assurance and recognition, although this step has been regarded as central to the quality of transnational education.

However, recognition bodies and quality assurance networks in Europe have started joint collaboration through several projects. For example, ENIC/NARIC networks and ENQA have begun joint meetings in support of 'the principle that the recognition of qualifications be made contingent on the provider of education having been subjected to transparent quality assessment' (ACE 2004). ECA has also worked with ENIC/NARIC networks on the JOQAR project to develop joint degree guidelines. An integrated information portal, such as ECApedia's Joint Programme Portal, would structure this collaboration even better (Arden 2014, personal communication).

In the Asia–Pacific region, the linkage between recognition and quality assurance remains weak. The two functions are often conducted separately, for example, in Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan. Malaysia is the one case where the recognition function is carried out by the quality assurance agency. Thus far, no substantial collaborations exist between recognition bodies and quality assurance agencies in Asia. Established in Hong Kong in 2003, the Asia Pacific Quality Network (APQN) has started to raise the issue among its members to achieve its objective 'to permit better-informed international recognition of qualifications

throughout the region' (APQN 2014). In 2014, APQN was invited by UNESCO Bangkok to attend the 13th Session of the Regional Committee on the Recognition of Qualification in Higher Education in Asia and Pacific, sharing QA perspectives in terms of qualification recognition.

In sum, Europe has been moving to an advanced level of qualification recognition after the establishment of ENIC/NARIC networks. Thus, the mechanism for the convergence of recognition bodies and QA agencies is forming gradually. By contrast, Asia is still under development, and the integration of the QA role into the recognition of qualifications remains at an initial stage. On the one hand, interactions between QA and recognition are encouraged, as Jamil Salmi has stated, 'I believe that QA agencies should participate in a joint discussion of the criteria for recognition of joint degree programs, together with the competent national/regional authorities responsible for recognition, and the qualifications framework agency. It is important that the QA agencies can give their views upstream to avoid unpleasant surprises later on once universities start asking for recognition of their joint degrees' (personal communication, 2014). On the other hand, Cloud Bai-Yun from UK ENIC/NARIC has admitted that difficulties remain, stating, 'In theory, they should collaborate closely, but in reality, it is not the case across the globe' (personal communication, 2014).

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the various mechanisms for recognizing cross-border qualifications in Europe and Asia. Governmental bodies are primarily responsible for the recognition of overseas qualifications, followed by ENIC/NARICs. In some nations, institutions and quality assurance agencies have the authority to recognize academic qualifications.

Legal aspects are among the largest obstacles to recognition. In most European and Asian nations, a joint degree is not recognized if a programme is not established in accordance with national legislation, or if one of the awarding institutions is prohibited from awarding the degree. To facilitate the recognition of a joint degree, a diploma supplement is regarded as an important document for the recognition body to provide detailed information on the degree.

The convergence of quality assurance and recognition is supported by international networks and national governments. With government support, European quality assurance agencies and recognition bodies have developed the guidelines for joint degrees and signed mutual recognition agreements to facilitate their recognition. Implementing such recognition in Asia will likely require more time. In the long term, an international network for qualification recognition is expected by a range of stakeholders of higher education. As Lee has stated, '[a] well-developed network of qualification recognition bodies across the region will definitely help to facilitate international mobility, may it be among students, academic staff or the labour force' (personal communication, 2014).

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Part II
Managing Global Competition and Regional Responses

Chapter 5
Higher Education Activities in World Cities: A Spatial Study of Global Leadership and Connectivity

Alice S.Y. Chow and Becky P.Y. Loo

Abstract Key characteristic of globalization is intensified interconnectedness among different places and individuals, beyond exchanges led by states and governments. However, existing literature on the geographies of higher education under globalization primarily focuses on the interactions at the regional scale and the intercountry level. Little is known about the disaggregate distribution of higher education activities in cities and the manner in which cities are connected in terms of academic linkages. This chapter reveals the spatial distribution of world cities with more higher education activities showing international standings and global connections. A four-indicator system of Globalizing Education Index, which consists of the Place Power and Network Power of cities, is proposed to measure the internationalization and connectivity of places. The spatial distribution of cities performing well in the four areas of prestigious-university standings, influential world scholars, international academic events, and global research networking suggests that decentralization of higher education activities is restricted to certain aspects, although the movement and information flows of the knowledge economy are supposedly more unrestricted under globalization. The geographical distribution of world cities with high Globalizing Education Index remains concentrated in North America with strong historical and cultural backgrounds of world academia and slightly spread to East Asia due to its strength in organizing international events. This chapter supplements existing geographical studies on higher education and proposes further research directions addressing the influence of geography and connectivity in facilitating academic activities with a global reach.

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5.1 Introduction: Intensified and Fragmented Connections in the Knowledge Economy

Globalization has changed the development of higher education, including, but not limited to, the following aspects: national policies for attracting and retaining global talents, interactions among universities, strategies to maintain the competitiveness of universities despite global competition, overseas and offshore schools, and international standardization of the curriculum (Yang 2003; Wang 2008; Lanzendorf and Kehm 2010; Broaden and Crawley 2012; Knight 2012; Ng 2012; Alivernini and Wildova 2013; Postiglione 2013). The focus of these studies varies, but numerous researchers investigated the changes and proposed strategies in response to the challenges brought by globalization. One of the changes realized under the trend of globalization is that different actors in the field of education, including students, scholars, policy makers, universities, research institutions and nations, can readily get in touch with counterparts elsewhere due to the ease of movement and improved telecommunication technology. The increasing role of non-state actors, such as universities, research units and joint research teams, suggests that studies about the internationalization of education should focus more on changes at more disaggregate spatial levels (e.g., city level) instead of the national level. Many academic interactions nowadays are relatively free from the influence of national policies. For instance, universities, even faculties and schools, have signed collaborative memorandums with both local and overseas partners who share common goals. Another example is the popularity of overseas exchanges and the rise of the destination choices of students in the past. Fragmented but interconnected linkages across different localities in a single world is a realization of globalization in higher education activities. These changes suggest that a country or nation may no longer be a sufficient unit of analysis in the field of 'internationalization of education.'

The intensified interconnectedness under globalization rests on the improvements of transport and telecommunication networks over time (Loo 2012). The global economy supported by improving transport and telecommunication networks connects different world cities to the web of commercial exchange (Derudder and Witlox 2010). A global knowledge economy is also strengthened by transport and telecommunication development. Researchers, university management, and students can now travel relatively easily with more affordable airfare and better flight connectivity worldwide. Even when they do not travel physically, they can remain connected to the world. Access to telecommunication and Internet infrastructure allows researchers to generate knowledge flows that bypass national boundaries, perhaps in multi-directions. Students taking online courses can interact with teachers and students elsewhere. A web of invisible links spreads globally and locally in the information age. Any individual studying in the higher education or working in the R&D sector may contribute to the intense interactions in the global

knowledge economy by adding his or her international connections. Subsequently, any city with a mass of individual actors and non-state institutions may become centers of innovations. Thus, 'transnational space' without the traditional sense of boundary may be a more appropriate unit of analysis for studying the global activities of education (Kim 2007). The investigation of higher education can focus on various non-state units, such as universities, regions, cities, or even individuals, which render the multi-faceted nature of the studies on the global geographies of higher education.

In this chapter, higher education activities are investigated at the city level. The transition from a central periphery pattern in the global educational landscape to a multi-center pattern is one of the changes brought by globalization (Chan and Ng 2008: 498). Cities, where universities, research institutions, scholars, and students are located, are perceived as nodes of knowledge concentration in the multi-centered geography of higher education. At the national level, several studies have investigated and interpreted the global geographies of higher education. For example, the illustration of diversifying global knowledge power by Marginson (2010: 6974–6975) was centered on the performance of the state. The National Science Foundation (2012) also studied the expanding global research pool in science and engineering among countries. Nevertheless, these nation-based studies on decentralization patterns only offer one side of the multi-faceted globalized development of higher education. The rise of China as a global knowledge power illustrates this argument. As a new and rapidly growing global knowledge power, China is home to new nodes of knowledge concentration that emerged in some eastern Chinese cities, such as Hong Kong, Beijing, and Shanghai. Hence, the East China Coast may be better described as a rising power than China as a whole. On the one hand, the global geographies of higher education may be less stratified because of the rising importance of non-American units. On the other hand, the spatial distributions remain highly stratified because of the Anglo–American hegemony in research capacity and uneven development within new global knowledge powers, such as China, India, and South Korea. Thus, a subnation (e.g., city level) unit-based investigation may imply different patterns of the development of global higher education.

Against the aforementioned background, this chapter attempts to answer the following questions addressing the internationalization and connectivity of higher education:

1. What are the academic activities that can be quantified to reflect the international standings of a city and the connectivity among cities?
2. What are the performances of different cities in attracting and connecting higher education activities worldwide?
3. What is the spatial distribution of world cities with higher level of internationalization and global connections?

5.2 Identifying World Cities with International Standings and Global Connections

A starting point of this research is to measure the frequency and flows of relevant activities at or between cities to foster a better understanding of the global geographies of higher education. A Globalizing Education Index that reflects the strengths and connections of cities within the global higher education network is formulated. Higher education activities that occur in cities and involve universities, scholars, and students reflect the global education power of the city. Locational strengths can be reflected by the global reputation of universities, number of world-renowned scholars, number of research units and patents granted, number and diversity of overseas students, and frequency of international academic conferences. Networking power among cities can be reflected by interuniversity cooperation, joint programs, international research collaboration, and mobility of students and scholars between cities.

Several academic activities can show the strengths of a city and networking among cities, but measuring the international standings and global connection is challenging. City-level data for a global scale study are always absent for measuring a city's functions (Short et al. 1996; Derudder et al. 2008). Thus, most researchers have used region- or country-based data as proxies for measurement. This methodology has two major deficiencies. First, the proxies may fail to reflect the actual intensity and velocity of a city in global activity networks, as illustrated above with the example of China. Second, the definition of urban agglomeration or region differs among countries, and this difference creates a non-standardized spatial unit of analysis for global comparison. To address this methodological challenge, a Globalizing Education Index based on available city-level data sources is proposed to supplement existing studies on the geographies of higher education.

5.2.1 Globalizing Education Index

A Globalizing Education Index is designed to measure the internationalization and connectivity of a city in the academic world. This index is a modified version of the Globalizing Cities Index (Taylor et al. 2011) and consists of the Place Power and Network Power of a city in contributing to the global network. Taylor et al. (2011) measured the performance of a global city in attracting and connecting commercial activities. Using the headquarter-office structures of different advanced producer services firms, the connectivity among cities is constructed based on the command and control functions of transnational corporations. Similarly, the attraction and connection power of cities are measured by various higher education activities showing their global influence. Figure 5.1 illustrates the four-indicator system of the Globalizing Education Index. This index consists of two subindices, namely, City Place Power and City Network Power. The Place Power (i.e., attraction) of

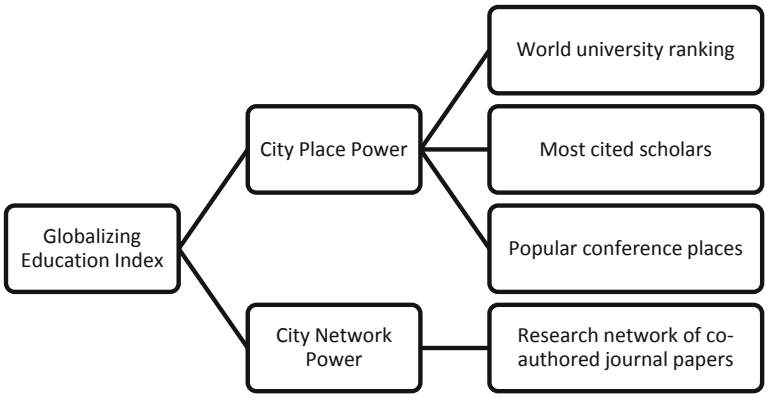

Fig. 5.1 Globalizing Education Index (four-indicator model)

cities covers world university rankings, location of the most cited scholars, and popular conference places, whereas the Network Power (i.e., connectivity) is measured by the co-authorship in published journal papers.

'**World university ranking**' is an indicator that highlights the international ranking of cities in terms of world-renowned universities. It considers the reputation of universities as a measurement of the attractiveness of a world city. The Academic Rankings of World Universities (ARWU), which is conducted by the Center for World-Class Universities and the Graduate School of Education of Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China, is a popular global university ranking that covers institutions all over the world. The chosen global university ranking measures the status and prestige of a university based on research outputs, faculty staff, world-class awards, and number of international students, among other factors, as an aggregate strength index of a university (Shanghai Ranking Consultancy 2013). The top universities announced by ARWU are included as the world university ranking indicator of the Globalizing Education Index.

'**Most cited scholars**' is an indicator that highlights the locations of internationally renowned scholars who contribute intangible knowledge flows in the academic world. It shows the locations of such researchers listed in the Highly Cited Researcher project of Thomson Reuters. Thomson Reuters organizes citation information between 2000 and 2008 and identifies the 250 most cited researchers in each discipline (Thomson Reuters 2013). Cities with a higher number of most cited scholars are considered to have a higher place power because of these researchers' contributions toward knowledge generation with high impact and global influence.

'**Popular conference places**' is an indicator that shows cities selected as the hosting place of international academic conferences or meetings. The information is collected from conference proceedings or journals published in 2012 and listed in the Scopus database to identify the frequency of a particular city as the location of international conferences or meetings. The cities on this list are the places with more face-to-face interactions among researchers.

'**Research network of co-authored journal papers**' is an indicator that considers scholarly networking and as a proxy of intercity connection in transnational research collaboration. This indicator represents the interactions and flows of information and knowledge exchange in the knowledge economy. The networking patterns reflect both face-to-face and intangible transnational knowledge generation and exchange. The locations of co-authors and distance between their hometowns indicate the level of internationalization and connectivity of cities in the knowledge economy. The data for this indicator are collected from the Web of Science database. The sample consists of the last issues of the highest, middle, and lowest ranked journals in each subject category of journal citation reports published in 2012. The locations of the work affiliation of the first and second authors are analyzed to build the intercity research network pattern. The more frequent the cities appear in the net of research network, the stronger networking power they have. The average earth surface distance (measured by the haversine formula) between the first and their second authors in a particular city reflects the spatial extent of this transnational higher education activity:

$$\text{haversine}\left(\frac{d}{R}\right) = \text{haversin}(\varphi_2 - \varphi_1) + \cos(\varphi_1)\cos(\varphi_2)\text{haversin}(\lambda_2 - \lambda_1),$$

where haversine is $\text{haversine}(\theta) = \sin^2\left(\frac{\theta}{2}\right)$; d is the spherical distance between two points (cities of authors); R is the radius of the sphere (the earth); and (φ_1, λ_1) and (φ_2, λ_2) are the latitude and longitude of the two cities, respectively.

Table 5.1 summarizes the data sources, sample sizes, and the relevance of the proposed index system to the studies on the internationalization and connectivity of higher education.

With the formulation of this four-indicator system, this research offers a new set of quantitative measurement and reveals the importance of each local node (i.e., city) in forming the globalizing education network and in leading the globalization of higher education. Most of the previous quantitative measurements with a global coverage have relied on country-based performance. The Globalizing Education Index can demonstrate the strength and connectivity of a city with regard to education activities. At this stage of the study, the four indicators carry equal weight in the aggregate Globalizing Education Index. Cities with more place-based activities (i.e., world universities, most cited scholars and popular conference places) will have higher scores based on the importance or frequency of occurrence. For research collaboration, cities with more occurrences in this network-based activity will have a higher score. The assignment of index scores to cities is proportional to the performance of the highest scoring city.

The data sources of the four indicators are primarily from established Anglo–American-based global institutes analyzing scientific research performance. Hence, the potential bias is recognized and addressed. For instance, data collected from

Table 5.1 Data summary of the four-indicator globalizing education index

Indicator	Data source	Sample size	Relevance to internationalization and connectivity of education
World university ranking	Academic Rankings of World University (ARWU)	Top universities reported in ARWU	Cities with world-renowned universities
Most cited scholars	Highly Cited Research, Thomson Reuters	Approximately 3500 scholars on the list	Cities with active knowledge creation that act as key focus points of the global knowledge economy
Popular conference places	Scopus Database	Approximately 700 conferences held in 2012	Cities with frequent international knowledge exchange through face-to-face interactions
Research network of co-authored journal papers	Web of Science	Approximately 1500 co-authored papers from the highest-, middle- and lowest-ranked science and social science journals published in the last quarter of 2012	Cities that generate intangible and sometimes face-to-face knowledge exchange with other places

different journal citation rankings may overrepresent the English-speaking, world-leading, and scientific or technological academic exchanges (Jöns and Hoyler 2013). To address this issue, non-ISI (The Institute for Scientific Information) listed conference proceedings from the Scopus database and journals from social science disciplines are also incorporated into the indicator calculation. At the later stage of the study, other indicators such as scholar and student mobility will be added to diversify the data sources. Nevertheless, the suggested data sources offer a comprehensive coverage for a world city study addressing the internationalization and connectivity of higher education activities.

5.3 Findings of the Four-Indicator Globalizing Education Index

In this section, the results of each indicator and the overall Globalizing Education Index are examined with an emphasis on the spatial distribution of city with outstanding performance.

5.3.1 World University Ranking

Figure 5.2 shows the cities that house more world-renowned universities. The distribution of cities matches the traditional power of education with New York (the only city with four prestigious universities), London and Paris housing more internationally recognized universities. Most of the top 50 universities are located in the United States and Europe; only two are located in Japan. None of these universities are located in South America and Africa. The spatial distribution is highly concentrated in the Northern atmosphere, in particular North America and Europe. In other words, the World University Ranking indicator demonstrates the ongoing Anglo–American academic hegemony of university rankings (Jöns and Hoyler 2013).

5.3.2 Most Cited Scholars

Figure 5.3 presents the world cities with the highest number of most cited scholars. Similar to the distribution of world cities with world-renowned universities, the key global localities of the most influential scholars are concentrated in North America and Europe. Four cities with more than 100 most cited scholars are located in the USA: Cambridge in Massachusetts, New York, Stanford, and Chicago. Only four non-American cities (i.e., London, Cambridge, and Oxford in the UK as well as Tokyo) are on the list. Several Asian countries, such as China, Singapore, and South Korea, are regarded as new global powers of higher education measured by their scholarly outputs (Jarnecic et al. 2008; Mukherjee 2010; National Science Foundation 2012; Shin 2012; Abrizah et al. 2013). Despite the rising importance of Asia in the global knowledge economy, the world's most influential researchers continue to display a highly concentrated spatial pattern (see Fig. 5.3). In Europe, London, Cambridge (in the UK), Oxford, Paris and Copenhagen are the top five cities with more influential world researchers. In the Asia–Pacific and Australasia,

Fig. 5.2 Top 50 universities in world cities [produced by the authors based on data from ARWU (2012)]

Fig. 5.3 Top 30 world cities with the most cited scholars [produced by the authors based on data from Thomson Reuters (2013)]

Tokyo, Kyoto, Canberra, Hong Kong, and Melbourne house a larger number of the most cited scholars. The more powerful Asian–Pacific and Australasian cities with higher global standings remain concentrated in places with mature economic development and strong links with the English-speaking culture.

5.3.3 Popular Conference Locations

Figure 5.4 shows the spatial distribution of world cities hosting more international academic conferences. The result reveals a more decentralized pattern of globalizing higher education activities. More Asian cities are on the list, including Beijing, Shanghai, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Hong Kong, Seoul, and Taipei. The spatial distribution also shows a weaker connection to the traditionally powerful academic cities, such as those along the northeast coast of the USA. Cities with established tourism development, such as Las Vegas, Xian, Jeju Island, and Bali, are key hosting locations of face-to-face academic interactions as well. This factor induces a more dispersed spatial distribution of powerful world cities measured by conference organizations.

Fig. 5.4 Top 30 popular conference cities [produced by the authors based on data from Scopus (2013)]

5.3.4 *Research Network of Co-authored Journal Papers*

The previous indicators of Globalizing Education Index signify a city's place power in the globalization of higher education in terms of the world-renowned universities, citations of scientific outputs, and international academic events. They indicate the visibility of a particular city in the global academic world measured by the tangible movement (flows of researchers) and intangible interactions (knowledge creation and exchange). Another characteristic of globalizing higher education is the transnational research collaboration; joining this transnational activity is now easier for researchers. To illustrate the connections among the world research collaborators, the study has extracted 1500 co-author papers published in 2012 for this part of the research. Figure 5.5 shows the spatial extent of the global research connections. Cities in North America and Europe as well as a few in Asia and Australia have participated in the global knowledge economy with active networking. Meanwhile, cities in South America and Africa are not fully engaged in

Average distance between the first two authors (in order of the top 20 cities with most research networking):

1. London (2,663 km)
2. New York (1,018 km)
3. Montreal (1,029 km)
4. Sydney (2,109 km)
5. Beijing (1,434 km)
6. Cambridge, MA (1,077 km)
7. Ann Arbor (740 km)
8. Hong Kong (4,758 km)
9. Chicago (191 km)
10. Iowa City (582 km)
11. Madrid (1,655 km)
12. San Francisco (1,036 km)
13. Atlanta (938 km)
14. Melbourne (446 km)
15. New Haven (1,536 km)
16. Seattle (1,124 km)
17. Seoul (0 km, all are intra-city networking)
18. Vancouver (198 km)
19. Baltimore (653 km)
20. Boston (3,246 km)

Fig. 5.5 Connectivity of global research networks [produced by the authors based on data from the Web of Science database (2013)]

the global networking of research activities, although this activity is more individual-based compared with attaining a prestigious-university status and hosting international conferences.

Among the top 20 cities with the highest number of global connections, no obvious relationship exists between the frequency of engaging in global research networking and the spatial extent of collaboration. Cities with higher standings of global academic reputation do not necessarily entail long networking distance (e.g., Ann Arbor, Chicago, and Baltimore). Numerous research collaborations found in North America are confined to the continent. Meanwhile, research collaboration found in Asia–Pacific and Australasia is of relatively long distance (e.g., Sydney, Beijing, and Hong Kong). The Hong Kong research network shows the largest spatial extent with the longest research networking distance of 4758 km. By contrast, the research collaboration network recorded in Seoul, another rising academic power in Asia, indicates no degree of internationalization and is primarily limited to domestic collaboration.

5.3.5 *Geographical Distribution of Cities with High Globalizing Education Index*

Figure 5.6 illustrates the locations of the leading 30 cities based on the four-indicator Globalizing Education Index system. The top two cities, New York and London, are almost tied in leading the globalizing academic activities (with the indices of 1.000 and 0.996, respectively). The top five cities are either located in North America (New York, Cambridge, Montreal and Chicago) or Europe (London). Beijing and Shanghai also rank high in the Globalizing Education Index (6th and 10th, respectively). A number of American cities are on the top 30 list, such as Chicago, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Berkeley and Princeton. They form a network of strong clusters of higher education activities. Although European cities have a longer history of education and R&D with global recognition, this regional cluster has been challenged by an Asian one

Fig. 5.6 Spatial distribution of cities with high globalizing education index

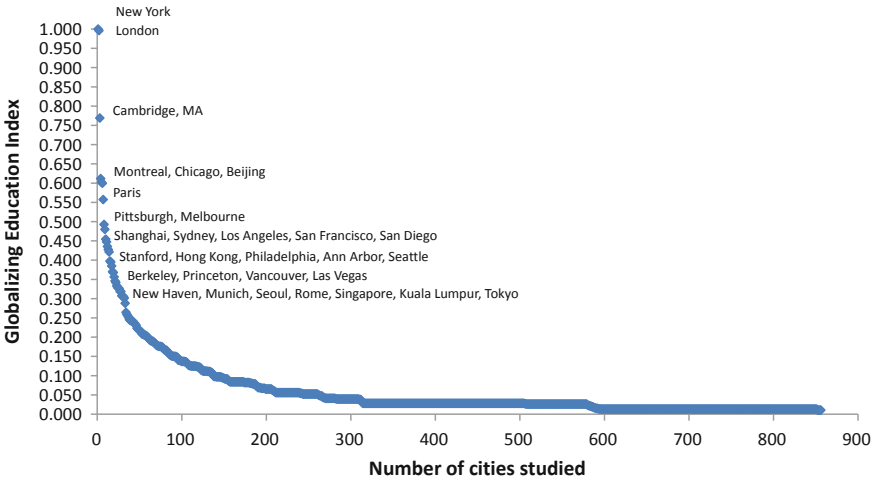

Fig. 5.7 Globalizing Education Index for all cities

(Fig. 5.6). In particular, several Asian cities with economic strengths also perform quite well in the academic world (e.g., Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Beijing and Shanghai). In other words, the city-level analysis of internationalization and connectivity of higher education activities indicates a very strong concentration in North America. Cities along the East Coast and West Coast exhibit a well-rounded performance in the four indicators. Another cluster of cities with more globalizing higher education activities is located in East Asia. Their importance in the global academic community is primarily demonstrated by frequent international academic events. In addition, this global study covering more than 800 cities worldwide indicates that the internationalization of higher education remains concentrated at the top cities—only two cities have a Globalizing Education Index that is equal to or very close to 1, and roughly 770 cities have a Globalizing Education Index below 0.3 (see Fig. 5.7).

5.4 Discussion and Conclusion: Toward a New Research Agenda

In this chapter, the Globalizing Education Index, which consists of four indicators of knowledge production and circulation, reveals the internationalization and connectivity of different higher education activities. The results indicate the global geographies of higher education activities at the city scale. These empirical findings suggest future research directions for the field on geographies of higher education. Activities and people movement are supposed to be more unrestricted under globalization in the knowledge economy. However, the spatial distribution of world

cities with intense globalization remains concentrated in certain parts of the world. Different factors have influenced the performance of world cities measured by the Globalizing Education Index, namely, the historical and cultural background of cities, local and national education policies, increasing demand of higher education due to structural, and population changes of cities. Aside from these socioeconomic factors, the manner in which 'geography' and 'connectivity' affect the landscape of globalizing higher education activities would be interesting to investigate. First, Beijing, Shanghai, Singapore, Hong Kong, and London, which are on the list of top cities with globalizing education activities, have excellent air transport connectivity. Second, numerous cities on the same list are popular tourist spots with cultural and nature attractions, such as Beijing, Las Vegas, Istanbul, Xian, Jeju Island, and Bali. Third, Hong Kong shows an extremely long networking distance of research collaboration. In addition to socioeconomic and education factors that facilitate the internationalization of the Hong Kong education sector, the city's connectivity with the outside world, including the convenient flight connections and high-quality telecommunication and Internet infrastructure, may lead to the global reach of Hong Kong. In summary, little is known about how different geographical or network characteristics, such as flight connectivity, Internet access and inherent geographical locations, are related to the spatial distribution of global academic activities, and whether these characteristics have slowed down or fostered more and faster interconnectedness of higher education activities under globalization. Thus, a further spatial analysis on globalizing higher education activities, taking into consideration socioeconomic factors, education policy influence, and geographical factors, is required.

Note: A longer version of this chapter with themes on the geographical embeddedness in a city's global reach strategies and a comparison of city rankings measured by academic and economic activities was published in the *Higher Education Policy*. Based upon the previous article, the present chapter is revised and adapted to this volume. This research was supported by the Education University of Hong Kong [Dean's Research Grant FLASS/ECR-17].

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Chapter 6
Global City Tokyo and the Lives of University Academics in Japan

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Abstract Although the relationship between cities and universities is a commonly discussed topic, the so-called world-class universities and global cities in East Asia do not always fit into one single cosmopolitan model. Focusing on the case of Tokyo and Japan, the authors of this chapter examine the mobility patterns, academic and social lives, and gender differences of university academics as representative knowledge workers. Using original survey results, the authors initially create a hierarchical structure of academic mobility patterns in Japan and subsequently argue that Tokyo, as the capital of Japan, is a centre of intellectual network through its education and training function.

6.1 Introduction: Situating Tokyo in the Landscape of Higher Education

This chapter examines the dual roles of Tokyo as a global city and a capital city in understanding the power relationships of urban universities in attracting academics. Although knowledge and knowledge creation are essential for Tokyo as a global city, such an ecosystem is largely supported by the position of Tokyo, which, as the capital city of Japan, comes with this status, a strong concentration of government

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and consumption services. Higher education in Tokyo, which is essential for a knowledge-based economy, is thus sustained by various capital-city opportunities and amenities that work to attract students and faculty.

In a knowledge-based economy, knowledge is considered a crucial factor for wealth creation and innovation. Universities and higher education institutions are recognized as a core system in knowledge societies (World Bank 2002). Numerous East Asian countries with advanced economies, such as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, have experienced a transformation from being manufacturing centres to becoming knowledge societies by the beginning of the twenty-first century. These countries are also well known for concentrating their human talent on a limited number of world-class universities and global enterprises (Altbach and Balan 2007), which are typically located in their capitals (i.e. large metropolitan cities), namely Tokyo, Seoul and Taipei.

By the end of the 1980s, Tokyo had established its status as a 'global city'. Sassen (1991) selected Tokyo as one of the three major international and financial business centres, along with New York and London. Subsequently, Hong Kong, Bangkok and Taipei were added to the list of East Asian global cities (Sassen 2007). Sassen (2009) also indicated that the advantage of such a dense centralization in the limited number of global cities is the accumulation of 'urban knowledge capital', which maximizes technological creativity; globalization has also helped increase the 'territorial moments' of these global cities. However, the international profiles of Japan's global city, Tokyo, are significantly limited compared with other Asian world cities, such as Hong Kong and Singapore. Among the 13.4 million residents (as of 1 January 2015) in Tokyo, only 417,442 are foreign residents.[1] Moreover, even with the inclusion of the population in the areas surrounding Tokyo (i.e. Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba prefectures) the total number of foreign residents is merely 845,819 (as of 31 December 2014).[2]

Nevertheless, Tokyo, as the capital city of a country with a population of 127 million, attracts highly skilled human resources from all areas and serves as the nation's polarized centre of politics, commerce, transportation and culture. The transformation of Japan into a post-manufacturing knowledge industry accelerated the concentration of population in Tokyo. Kuwahara (2010) analyzed the trends of population flows in three major cities (i.e. Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya) in Japan and concluded that only Tokyo and its surrounding areas have experienced excess migration after Japan transformed into a post-manufacturing economy at the end of the 1970s. The establishment of a global knowledge economy strengthened the dominant status of Tokyo among the major cities in Japan.

However, the distinguished status of Tokyo within the domestic hierarchy does not automatically assure it of a similarly prestigious status in a global context. In

[1]Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government (http://www.toukei.metro.tokyo.jp/jsuikei/js-index.htm). Accessed on 28 May 2015.

[2]Source: Ministry of Justice (http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html). Accessed on 28 May 2015.

other words, merely being a global city in East Asia does not imply that Tokyo can automatically attract top talent and human resources from all over the region and the world; in this competition of talent, academics and international students have an important role.

Firstly, universities foster highly skilled human resources that can be utilized competitively in a globalized economy and contribute to national socio-economic benefit through brain gain and brain circulation (Saxenian 2005; Lee and Kim 2010). Secondly, universities are the key institutions for creating knowledge that benefits the economy, frequently collaborating with enterprises in R&D (Bagchi-Sen and Smith 2012). Thirdly, universities and higher education institutions constitute a key knowledge industry. Most of the universities and major cities in the Asia-Pacific region are inevitably involved in international exchange, trade and partnerships in the cross-border flows of academics, students and educational services (Sakamoto and Chapman 2012).

Although the global influence and prestige of cities and universities in certain East Asian economies have become self-evident, the so-called world-class universities (Salmi 2008) and global cities in East Asia do not always fit into a single cosmopolitan model. In particular, differences exist in the languages most commonly used in these cities. In cities such as Hong Kong and Singapore, where English is the predominant working language among the creative class, human resource development policies must be formed assuming a very high turnover of human capital. By contrast, several other cities including Tokyo and Taipei are increasingly relying on the concentration of domestic talent and networks as well as sharing common national languages and cultures.

The geographical boundaries of the pool of human resources are highly correlated with language and cultural space. In non-English-speaking countries with relatively large populations, such as Japan, the strategy for establishing a human capital base to become a global city with robust financial flows and knowledge creation is inevitably different from that of cosmopolitan city-states, such as Singapore, which have a multi-ethnic and multicultural population and use English as the lingua franca. In international higher education marketing, Quacquarelli Symonds releases the QS world rankings of the 'best student cities'. In the 2015 edition, Hong Kong, Tokyo, Seoul, Singapore, Taipei, Beijing, Shanghai, Kyoto and Osaka were among the top 50 internationally attractive cities for university study. Several countries are currently rushing into competition with each other to attract students, academics and even universities from all over the world to establish the status of an 'international education hub' (Knight 2014) or a 'regional education hub' (Mok and Yu 2011). However, neither Knight nor Mok and Yu mentioned Tokyo or any other cities in Japan as representative examples of such education hubs.

In the case of Japan, the relationship between cities and universities has been developed within a strong national framework. The first national (public) university in Japan, the University of Tokyo, was established in 1877 in Tokyo, which is the country's new capital (established by the modern Meiji government in 1868). The second national university, Kyoto University, was founded in the old capital city of Kyoto. By the end of World War II, the national government had established

'imperial universities' and other national universities in major cities. In addition to national universities, private universities have also been established in large cities, such as Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka, primarily for attracting both students and teachers.

After World War II, a new university system was introduced under the strong influence of the USA. New national universities were established sometime in 1949 in all 47 prefectures. However, the governmental policy has attempted to decentralize the universities and students by limiting enrolment in city areas. Firstly, the government prohibited the establishment and expansion of universities in the central city areas of Tokyo (1959) and Osaka (1964), partially through a student movement. In 1976, the government began to strengthen national control over student enrolment by introducing national plans for higher education, particularly in the central districts of large cities. In the 1980s, the Ministry of Home Affairs began encouraging municipal governments to invite university campuses into their areas, believing that universities and students would help vitalize the local economy. However, the strong preference of students and professors to study and work in large cities has continued, and the prestige of private universities in central city districts, particularly in Tokyo, has become almost equal to that of top national universities. In 2000, the restriction of student enrolment in city districts was finally abolished, thereby indicating the transformation of Japan towards a knowledge industry (Yonezawa 2014).

Overall, for a large and developed national economy such as Japan's, the domestic flow of talent remains critically important to establish and develop a 'global city' with 'world-class universities' and other significant higher education institutions. Simultaneously, the universities in Japan are not always located in major cities but can also be found in rural areas and small provincial cities, as well as in downtown areas and suburbs of metropolitan areas. Academics, who could be regarded as representative professionals categorized as knowledge workers, include experts in a wide variety of fields ranging from humanities to engineering. How do the academics in Japan build their career and decide their place of work and living? In what manner could a 'global city' attract national talent on the basis of national culture such as that represented in Tokyo?

This chapter illustrates the geographical preference of university academics as representative knowledge workers in Japan. Based on a survey conducted with academics in Japan, the authors examine the manner in which the 'hierarchy' of higher education institutions influences the geographical distribution of academics. The chapter concludes by discussing both the issue of managing intellectual human capital in Japan, particularly focusing on the capital city Tokyo, and the challenges related to the increasing pressure of globalization.

The authors focus on university academics because employers in Japanese enterprises basically dictate the factors that decide their employees' job positions and working place within a company under a system called the 'internal labour market' (Koike 1983). Recently, however, numerous companies have implemented systems to assure job rotation within a specific geographical area to respect the geographical preferences of the employees. However, most of the executive

workers do not apply for these systems, preferring nationwide (and even international) job rotation as the fastest pathway to promotion within their companies. Professionals, such as university professors, are the exception and are representative of the jobs that do not involve arranged job rotation. Nowadays, the majority of academic job vacancies at Japanese universities are widely disseminated through the public website provided by the Japan Science and Technology Agency. Therefore, analyzing the locational preferences and lives of university academics allows us to gain a better understanding of the direct effects that geographical preference within an open, and rather competitive, labour market has on these university academics.

Firstly, based on the survey conducted by the authors and their collaborators in 2006, the mobility patterns of university academics within Japan are examined. Particular focus is placed on the structure of academic cliques and networks concentrated in Tokyo and other large cities. Secondly, the academic and social lives of the university academics are explored according to the location of their universities. Thirdly, focusing on their private lives, the authors identify female academics, particularly in local cities, as a vulnerable group in the Japanese academic labour market.

6.2 Data and Sampling

In this chapter, the authors utilize a survey of academics working in Japanese universities, which was implemented by Yonezawa et al. in 2006. The research group distributed postal questionnaires to 4875 academics at 23 public and private universities based on a published list of faculty members (Kojunsha 2005) and the websites of prospective universities. One reminder was sent, and 1352 (27.7 %) academics responded. Although the questionnaire was designed to acquire quantitative data in principle, the responses to the open-ended questions were also collected and analyzed. The results of quantitative analysis are primarily presented to show the general structure, whereas the answers to the open-ended questions are partially utilized to obtain a deeper understanding of the specific context.

In the sampling, the following four geographical areas and four academic fields were selected:

1. Central Tokyo (23 districts): Tokyo prefecture, the capital, contains 23 special districts at the centre of the city. This area is generally recognized as the heart of Tokyo, where the establishment of new university campuses was prohibited from 1959 to 2000 to avoid the over-concentration of industry in large city areas. The old public and private universities, which were established before the 1960s, enjoyed privileged geographical locations in the middle of the capital city, thereby improving their prestige. The samples in the survey were principally obtained from representative top public (national and local) and private

universities in this area, most of which have graduate schools that are capable of fostering new academics.

2. Suburban Tokyo: Tokyo is surrounded by widely spread suburbs in the Kanto Plain. The Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba prefectures are typically recognized as Shutoken (Tokyo metropolitan areas), from which many workers commute to the city district of Tokyo or to city areas in the satellite cities surrounding Tokyo. Based on the highly concentrated metropolitan population and the government policy to promote the movement of campuses from city districts (i.e. Tokyo's 23 districts) to other areas, several universities have opened up new campuses in these areas. The samples were selected from institutions with a relatively high prestige. All of the universities selected in this survey have graduate schools for fostering new academics.
3. Provincial cities: After World War II, a new university system was introduced under the occupation of the US military in 1949. The occupational government implemented a policy to establish at least one national university in each of Japan's 47 prefectures. Since the 1970s, local public and private universities have been increasingly established in these provincial cities in response to enthusiastic invitations from the cities. The samples were selected from provincial cities with populations under 500,000. Most of the universities lack doctoral programmes, whereas others have doctoral programmes only in certain fields, such as engineering.
4. Campus cities: As a part of the decentralization policy of the national government, several campus cities were established after the 1960s. The samples were selected from two representative campus cities, in which large national public research universities with graduate schools are located. In this geographical category, only a national public university was selected, and the sample omitted private universities.

Table 6.1 presents the profiles of the selected samples and their statistical population. Notably, the sampling excludes top research universities located outside Tokyo or campus city areas. The former imperial universities other than the University of Tokyo also have competitive doctoral programmes to foster next-generation academics. All of the former imperial universities other than the University of Tokyo are located in large key cities with populations exceeding one million in different geographical locations, that is, at least 250 km from Tokyo. Shimbori (1981) studied the competition for dominance of the academic labour market among alumni of these universities. For simplification, universities outside the Tokyo metropolitan area were omitted from the sample. Therefore, the analysis must consider that Tokyo is not the only city capable of producing a massive number of academics.

The behaviour of the academics is expected to be highly diverse among different fields. In the sampling, four representative academic fields were selected for adequately reflecting the diversity of perspectives among university academics in Japan, namely (i) medical and dental sciences; (ii) education; (iii) humanities and social sciences (economics, management and law); and (iv) engineering and natural

Table 6.1 Profiles of selected samples and their statistical population

	Academic staff	National share (%)	Academic staff at public universities	Share of public universities (%)
School basic survey 2006				
Central Tokyo	37,417	22.7	6578	17.6
Suburban Tokyo	34,662	12.6	5746	27.8
Cities designated by government ordinance	34,557	21.0	2955	8.6
Prefectures with campus cities	6707	4.1	4730	70.5
Total	164,473		72,455	44.1
Effective respondents				
Central Tokyo	316	23.4	153	48.4
Suburban Tokyo	325	24.0	194	59.7
Provincial cities	402	29.7	311	77.4
Campus cities	309	22.9	309	100.0
Total	1352		967	71.5

sciences. To acquire as many samples as possible from each institution, the samples were selected from large institutions. Larger universities are generally more competitive and prestigious in Japan's student market. Therefore, the results represent the behaviour of academics working at relatively successful universities, with Tokyo clearly dominating the national share and share of public universities.

6.3 Mobility of Academics Within Japan

Contrary to other East Asian countries and economies that heavily relied on North American and European universities in their graduate school-level academic training, the majority of university academics in Japan obtained their final degrees within Japan and pursued academic careers that relied heavily upon domestic academic network. Kim and Locke (2010) called this phenomenon 'self-contained' academic mobility, in contrast to the study-abroad model, in which academics tend to obtain final degrees outside their own country (a situation that is more commonly seen in South Korea).

At the same time, the higher education system of Japan is strongly hierarchical. Only a limited number of old and mostly comprehensive public and private universities have the capacity to provide the systematic academic training required for university academics. Based on Kojunsha's analysis of data on university academics, Fujimura (2005) revealed that more than 50 % of the university academics working in 669 separate universities in Japan in 2001 were alumni of only 12 universities. Among these 12 universities, four are located in Tokyo—namely the University of Tokyo (national, 11.4 %), Waseda University (private, 3.5 %),

Keio University (2.5 %) and Tokyo Institute of Technology (1.8 %)—and they have produced 19.2 % of university academics in Japan. Six national 'former imperial' universities (Kyoto, Tohoku, Kyushu, Hokkaido, Osaka and Nagoya), which were established in core cities other than Tokyo before World War II, have produced 25.6 %, whereas two national universities in campus cities founded after the 1960s (Tsukuba and Hiroshima) have produced 6.5 %. At the same time, a strong network of university alumni has induced a strong tendency of intellectual inbreeding among university academics in Japan, although various reforms have changed this trend to a certain extent (Horta et al. 2011).

In accordance with the aforementioned tendency, university academics are likely to maintain their academic alumni networks by continuing to work for their alma mater or at universities that are geographically close to their alma mater. In terms of their social life, pursuing jobs near their hometowns, where their parents and friends live, may be important to the academics.

Table 6.2 presents the locations of universities where respondents of our questionnaire are currently working, the location of their senior high schools, the universities they graduated from at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels, and the universities where they obtained their first jobs. The locations are identified as the nine area blocks within Japan–Kanto (Tokyo metropolitan and the surrounding area), Kinki (Osaka and Kyoto and the surrounding area), Koshinetsu and Tokai (Nagoya and the surrounding area), Hokkaido (Sapporo and the surrounding area), Tohoku (Sendai and the surrounding area), Chugoku (Hiroshima and the surrounding area), Shikoku (Takamatsu and other prefectures of Shikoku Island), Kyushu (Fukuoka and the surrounding area) and overseas.

Table 6.2 clearly shows the high domination of university academics who went to school and obtained their first jobs in the same geographical area as their current universities. This tendency is very strong in both the central and suburban areas of the Tokyo metropolitan area. The table indicates that talented young undergraduate students are attracted to the Tokyo metropolitan area (and other research universities in core cities). Studying in the Tokyo metropolitan area is crucial at the graduate level to gain access to academic jobs in the same area.

By contrast, the majority of academics at universities in provincial cities obtained jobs there because these universities lack a strong history of providing

Table 6.2 Proportion of respondents working in the same location as their university (%)

	Senior high school	Undergraduate programme	Graduate programme	First job
Central Tokyo	61.9	84.7	89.4	82.2
Suburban Tokyo	58.7	79.8	82.9	79.6
Provincial cities	51.3	43.7	36.2	63.0
Campus cities	41.3	60.3	61.2	64.5
Total	53.3	65.8	65.6	71.8

Table 6.3 Distribution of age and job status (%)

	Age				Job status		
	Under 40	40–49	50–59	60 or over	Professor	Associate professor/lecturer	Research associate
Central Tokyo	13.4	36.2	32.6	17.9	54.6	31.7	13.7
Suburban Tokyo	16.4	33.8	32.5	17.4	49.2	39.7	11.1
Provincial cities	20.6	35.5	31.1	12.9	41.2	45.4	13.4
Campus cities	24.0	36.3	32.3	7.3	40.1	49.5	10.4
Total	18.7	35.4	32.1	13.9	46.0	41.8	12.2

graduate education that leads to academic jobs. This finding indicates that the majority of academics at universities in provincial cities begin to build their local networks after getting jobs, or they lack a strong connection to a local social network.

Academic jobs in prestigious universities in central Tokyo are strongly monopolized by alumni. Survey data indicate that 65.0 % of respondents working in central Tokyo are alumni of their current universities; meanwhile, 35.1 % of those in suburbs of the Tokyo metropolitan area, 30.7 % of those in the provincial cities and 42.7 % of those on campuses are alumni of the universities where they are currently working.

Finally, Table 6.3 presents the age and job status of the respondents organized by university location. Academics working at universities in central and suburban Tokyo tend to be older and senior. This finding may imply that Tokyo and its metropolitan area tend to be the ultimate career destination of university academics, particularly among those who received graduate education in research universities located in Tokyo. This difference simultaneously indicates that Tokyo and other metropolitan cities host a significant number of private universities that, in turn, may employ more senior professors rather than young academics who are more engaged in research activities.

6.4 Academic Life

In pursuing academic life, access to a research community and professional networks is an influential factor. An academic could be attracted to global cities possibly because of the easy access to national and international intellectual communities and networks that such cities offer. However, the distance from daily or real-world communities, particularly local ones, could also attract academics who prefer a research-oriented life. Over-commitment to social services and teaching activities that are unrelated to the research may result in loss of time and energy that could be used for research.

Table 6.4 presents the geographical realm of the professional activities of respondents. The geographical domain of activities was categorized into five levels, namely international, national, neighbouring prefectures, within prefectures and within the cities or towns where the universities are located. For instance, if a respondent living in Central Tokyo participates in an international conference held in Central Tokyo, he or she is considered to be engaged in international professional activities.

Table 6.4 also shows the responses in three different types of links, namely links to the activities in academic associations and networks, links to their research field and objects, and links to the industry. In Japan, in addition to national-level academic associations and networks, local-level academic associations and networks are organized for academic exchanges within a local realm. The location of universities may influence the access to such international, national and local academic associations and networks. At the same time, the academic fields may have a diversified range of geographical realms, from international realms such as global governance, to local realms such as rural village lives. On the contrary, in the field of engineering,

Table 6.4 Geographical realm of professional activities (multiple response, %)

	International	National	Neighbouring prefectures	Prefecture	City or town	No activities
Activities in academic associations and networks						
Central Tokyo	60.0	87.7	20.0	22.3	8.1	1.9
Suburban Tokyo	44.1	84.0	17.3	21.9	5.6	3.7
Provincial cities	44.8	92.4	35.0	20.4	11.1	3.3
Campus cities	51.6	90.3	27.3	17.5	6.2	1.0
Total	49.7	88.8	25.5	17.5	7.9	2.5
Links to research fields						
Central Tokyo	37.1	43.7	22.0	17.5	6.3	29.0
Suburban Tokyo	31.3	38.4	21.8	17.3	9.4	27.7
Provincial cities	23.9	42.2	21.8	26.0	19.9	30.0
Campus cities	28.0	41.5	23.9	22.1	14.5	26.6
Total	29.6	41.5	22.3	21.0	13.0	28.4
Links to industry						
Central Tokyo	4.2	22.3	15.0	13.6	1.7	61.0
Suburban Tokyo	3.3	16.6	15.6	10.1	3.6	65.1
Provincial cities	1.1	24.5	9.6	17.8	8.5	59.8
Campus cities	1.4	15.5	9.6	14.2	4.4	60.1
Total	2.4	20.0	14.5	14.1	4.8	61.5

Table 6.5 Available facilities (average %)

	Facilities related to media	Facilities related to socialization	Facilities related to welfare	Facilities for shopping	Facilities to avoid meeting students
Central Tokyo	47.9	87.5	64.2	36.2	43.4
Suburban Tokyo	25.6	62.3	53.8	41.0	21.2
Provincial cities	41.0	68.3	58.7	58.3	13.2
Campus cities	50.2	82.1	73.0	73.5	25.0
Total	41.0	74.4	62.1	52.6	24.8

for example, links to the industry may be more important for pursuing academic activities. For instance, a university next to a large science park may be rather attractive for some academics in specific fields, but most of the university campuses in the downtown area of metropolitan cities are unlikely to be located beside such a facility. The questions of the survey allowed for multiple-response answers, and the scores showed the percentage of positive responses.

Table 6.5 clearly indicates the domination of national-level activities in professional activities regardless of the location of the universities. That is, in all three types of activities, the largest number of responses is for the national level. In particular, in the activities in academic association and networks, the domination of national-level activities is very clear, whereas it is significantly less clear in the links to the industry. At the same time, no obvious hierarchical tendency in national-level activities exists among universities in different geographical locations. In other words, academics working at universities in provincial and campus cities tend to commit to national-level activities more than those in the Tokyo metropolitan area.

However, a clear gap is evident in the commitment to international activities among academics working in different geographical locations of universities. Academics at universities in central Tokyo tend to commit to international activities the most, and those in provincial cities commit the least. However, the difference in commitment to international academic communities is not significantly large. Almost half of the academics at universities in provincial cities are still involved in international research activities. Academics at universities in provincial cities also tend to be active in smaller geographical areas, although such tendency is unclear.

6.5 Social Life

The attractiveness of world cities to academics or professionals may be influenced not only by the intellectual stimulus found in such cities; social and cultural life may also influence and attract intellectuals and knowledge workers, including university academics. The social life and surrounding environment of universities

and their campuses may be complex, considering the wide variety of campus locations worldwide; universities that are a part of city guilds in medieval continental Europe, Oxford and Boston are in cities dominated by academics, and Princeton and other US research universities have huge campuses located outside major cities. Similar to the case for Tokyo and other capital cities in East Asia, including Seoul and Bangkok, the metropolitan city environment tends to attract all types of industries and services, including top public and private universities.

To obtain information on various aspects of the social life of university academics, the questionnaire asked about the existence of various facilities near the universities where the respondents worked. Table 6.5 presents the average percentage of positive responses in five categories, namely (i) facilities related to media (large bookstores, English conversation schools, art museums, theatres and movie theatres); (ii) facilities related to socialization (cafes, restaurants, bars, pubs, Izakayas or Japanese-style drinking spots, and karaokes); (iii) facilities related to welfare (parks, sport gyms and nurseries); (iv) facilities for shopping (department stores, electricity stores and DIY stores); and (v) facilities to avoid meeting students (faculty lounges, etc.). The term 'facilities to avoid meeting students' may appear inappropriate in the context of the professional life of university academics.

However, some academics feel that these facilities are necessary, particularly in teaching and service-oriented universities and those in small cities with an insufficient number of places that provide the academics with privacy and anonymity in daily life as well as places where they can concentrate on their research in a quiet atmosphere.

Table 6.5 indicates that the overall accessibility of these facilities is highest in university cities, followed by central Tokyo, and lowest in the suburbs of the Tokyo metropolitan area. The accessibility of facilities or places to avoid meeting students is distinctively high in central Tokyo and distinctively low in provincial cities.

The survey also asked for the number of days of attendance of respondents per week at their universities, both during terms and between terms. In the field of social sciences, in which the gap is largest, the percentage of academics who attend university for five days or more per week is low among those attending universities in central Tokyo (38.6 % during the term and 22.7 % between terms) and in the suburbs of the Tokyo metropolitan area (37.0 and 20.9 %) and is very high among those attending universities in local cities (81.4 and 57.4 %). This finding may be partially attributed to the longer commuting hours for academics in the Tokyo metropolitan area. The percentage of academics working at universities in central Tokyo who spend one hour or more in commuting is 46.1 %, whereas that for academics working at universities in the suburbs of the Tokyo metropolitan area is 48.1 %. However, only 6.4 % of academics working at universities in local cities spend one hour or more in commuting.

Thus, academics in the Tokyo metropolitan area working in fields such as humanities and social sciences tend to have more flexibility in how they spend time in addition to their teaching activities. In other words, academics working at universities in provincial cities tend to be asked more often to commit to education and local community services in their work at the universities. With regard to

attendance at universities, the gap in fields such as engineering and medical sciences is not large, and the majority of the academics attend five days or more per week regardless of term status.

6.6 Female Academics as Vulnerable Groups

Japan has a serious social problem: the social discouragement of participation of female academics in universities. The academic profession is an exceptionally attractive profession for female intellectuals, and it can provide a stable career. Nevertheless, the percentage of female university academics in Japan is limited: 17.4 % in 2006 and 21.8 % in 2013. The percentage of female workers is higher at junior levels: 25.2 % of research associates and lecturers, 17.7 % of associate professors and 10.6 % of professors in 2006, according to the School Basic Survey of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT).

Although the statistically significant difference is not recognized in the distribution of location by gender in the survey, the location of the university certainly influences the professional and social interactions between male and female academics. Gender tends to be a crucial factor in the family lives of academics when combined with the location of the universities where they work.

Table 6.6 presents the percentage of university academics who have spouses or partners, organized by gender. The table shows a clear gap between male and female academics; female academics are less likely to have a spouse or partner than male academics. This tendency is stronger in female academics aged under 45 years who work in the suburbs of the Tokyo metropolitan area or local cities, and in female academics aged 45 years or older who work in local cities. Working in a university in a local city appears critical because the probability of having a spouse or partner does not increase among the older group, contrary to the results of those working at universities in the Tokyo metropolitan area and campus cities. This finding could be explained by the difficulty in finding jobs for academics' partners in the same geographical area.

Table 6.6 Spouse or partner (%)

	Have spouse or partner				Live in a different prefecture from partner	
	Under 45		45 or older			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Central Tokyo	84.1	61.5	96.8	68.4	5.2	17.4
Suburban Tokyo	82.8	50.0	97.8	66.7	4.5	22.7
Provincial cities	81.7	56.3	95.3	56.5	10.4	21.9
Campus cities	81.7	68.2	97.3	76.5	11.8	13.8
Total	82.4	59.0	96.7	66.3	8.0	18.9

Table 6.6 also shows the percentage of respondents whose spouses or partners are working in different prefectures, organized by gender. Except for campus cities, where the percentage exceeds 10 % even among male workers, the percentage is clearly higher among female academics. Given the large gap between male respondents (42.6 %) and female respondents (91.2 %) in the percentage of those whose partners have jobs, female academics in Japan who work in local cities may have to spend considerable time away from their families.

In the previous sections, we did not find a critical difference between professional and social lives based on the geographical location of the universities. However, working at universities in local cities appears to be particularly stressful for female academics who have received their academic training from universities in larger cities. The following responses to open-ended questions by female academics working at universities in local cities are indicative of the stress of their working lives:

> I came to the area with no personal connection, and I am single. At least in my personal life, I do not want to commit to the local community at all. There is nothing I want to actively commit to here. (Female, 45 years old)

> In a local university, there is no privacy because my life area is the same as that of students —it is stressful. (Female, 37 years old)

The preceding survey responses indicate that life would be more comfortable in larger cities for female academics in Japan. If female participation in intellectual fields becomes more common in provincial cities, then this situation may change.

6.7 Discussion and Conclusion

Japan is characterized by a strong national language and culture, and the 'global city' Tokyo as the capital similarly has national characteristics that are completely different from cosmopolitan cities such as Singapore. In this context, attracting knowledge workers from the national pool of highly skilled human resources and then linking them to the global economy are realistically more important.

The mobility and the professional and social lives of the university academics in Japan presented in this chapter were analyzed to obtain knowledge on the behaviour and perspectives of knowledge workers in the national context. The results indicated a rather hierarchical structure in the mobility of university academics according to geographical location. That is, the geographical concentration of research universities in major cities, such as Tokyo, and their alumni networks influence the mobility patterns of university academics; older and senior academics, particularly those who studied in the Tokyo metropolitan area, tend to work at universities located in the area where they once studied. In this sense, the reputation and the quality of (central) Tokyo-based universities are likely to be reinforced by such preferences by both students and academics.

Surprisingly, the analysis also revealed that such a significant gap is lacking in the professional and social lives of university academics in different geographical locations of universities within Japan. Firstly, the geographical realms of professional activities among university academics in Japan are rather nationally standardized, regardless of the geographical location of the universities where they work. In terms of academic networking and the links to industry and research fields, the national level is dominant as the geographical realm in the professional lives of university academics in Japan. Although the academics working at the universities in Tokyo have more opportunities to be active at the international level, the gap is not considerably significant. Secondly, the Tokyo metropolitan area does not necessarily provide the best access to various social facilities. Rather, the results of quantitative analysis indicate that the academics in campus cities have greater access to social facilities than those working in suburban Tokyo. At the same time, the academics working at universities in provincial cities may experience difficulty in protecting their privacy and anonymity and are more likely to be asked to commit to activities involving the local community.

Through quantitative and qualitative analyses, we also identified the vulnerable groups through hierarchical differentiation. Typically, female and young single junior academics (particularly those trained in universities located in larger cities and working at universities in provincial cities, possibly as a stepping stone for further career goals) tend to face more dilemmas when choosing between the metropolitan-driven professional and social lifestyle and the high demand for education and social activities that are independent from established urban networks. Less anonymity, in both their public and private lives, and a greater possibility of living away from their partners and family signify a highly stressful proposition for female and young single junior academics.

From these conclusive findings, certain aspects can be discussed as research implications. We need to expand the perspectives on the relationships between 'global cities' as financial centres and the lives of knowledge workers who are mostly trained within national and local settings. Global cities certainly attract talent, knowledge workers and highly skilled human resources from all over the nation, the region and the world. However, Tokyo's historically embedded capital-city function of training the national elite continues to be responsible for educating a disproportionate share of Japan's youth for civil service, industry and academia. Occasionally, this educated population continues to work in these cities, but numerous members of this population move out to other cities, including small and local ones, as a stepping stone towards ultimately returning to the major cities.

In the twenty-first century, most of these knowledge workers in provincial and campus cities do not appear to spend significantly different professional and social lives from those in the 'global city' of Tokyo and its metropolitan area. However, in reality, the isolation from the network they established at a younger age and the substantial differences of characteristics of social networks, such as the anonymity-oriented metropolitan culture, may increase the stress levels in certain vulnerable groups such as young female academics.

These accounts of domestic mobility and distribution of intellectuals in Japan may also have implications for other types of global cities with cosmopolitan culture, such as Hong Kong and Singapore. The globalization and development of information and communication technology radically reduced the gap in the professional and social lives of knowledge workers in different locations, as evident from the remark by Friedman (2005) that 'the world is flat'. However, Florida (2005) continues to argue for the critical role of cities as a platform for new types of contingent communities formed by the creative class. Through the enhanced cross-border mobility of students, academics and education services, the role of global cities as education hubs is becoming more important. Global cities enable a further expansion of the concept of multicultural openness.

However, the formulated networks may also increase the disparity of physical and psychological location.

Japan is highly recognized for its severe ageing problem, and the internationalization of its human capital is inevitable. Thus, developing its globalization agenda, particularly in higher education, is increasingly important for Tokyo. In this respect, Tokyo already has an inherent advantage over large Japanese cities in the attraction of international students. Tokyo, being the largest city in Japan, accounts for approximately 31.6 % of the international students in Japan (Japan Student Services Organization 2011), whereas the percentage of university students studying in Tokyo is 25.0 % of the total university students in Japan (School Basic Survey by MEXT 2011).

Considering the rapid development of global cities in neighbouring countries, Tokyo is certainly at a crossroads in terms of maintaining its status as a distinguished knowledge centre in the global economy. After facing the tsunami crisis and the nuclear accident in Fukushima in 2011, the Japanese government is now attempting to utilize Tokyo as a driver of national, economic and social recovery. The preparation for the 2020 Olympic Games, which will be held in Tokyo, will revitalize investment in increasing the international attractiveness of the capital. Universities and schools of higher education are also major players for improving national competitiveness. Thus, the rapid pace of national intervention is ongoing for improving research excellence and the internationalization of university education.

However, the characteristics of Tokyo as a capital based on a nationwide intellectual hierarchy may continue to contradict the open cosmopolitan nature of 'global cities', in both city and academic life. Therefore, we should further examine the networking function of the cities, particularly through university education in the context of the twenty-first century.

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Chapter 7
Higher Education Industry in Hong Kong and Singapore: Reflections on a Decade of Expansion

William Yat Wai Lo

Abstract Aspiring to become a global city asserting for regional leadership, Hong Kong and Singapore identify themselves as regional education hubs. This chapter focuses on the development of the higher education industry in Hong Kong and Singapore over the last decade. The education hub notion was introduced during the concession period; thus, sustaining economic growth was considered the key reason for the education hub policy. However, this instrumentalist approach has stimulated tension between the global agenda and local needs. This chapter selects these issues to examine the significance of the concept of education hub in the future development of higher education in Hong Kong and Singapore. The chapter begins with a review of the globalization agenda in higher education. It subsequently analyses the development of education industry in the two city-states, which illustrates the connection between competitiveness and higher education development in the policy agenda. The chapter then critically examines the effects of the hub strategies adopted by the two city-states. The analysis focuses on the tension between the global agenda and local needs. Finally, this chapter discusses the prospect of the education hub vision, which explores the common trends and challenges facing higher education development at the post-massification stage in Hong Kong and Singapore.

7.1 Introduction

In the last decade, Hong Kong and Singapore attempted to undertake education hub initiatives to expand their education industry, thereby serving their ambitions of becoming an education exporter. In this regard, both city-states identified themselves as regional education hubs, and sustaining economic growth was considered the key reason for the education hub policy because the notion of education hub

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was introduced during the concession period. Although the hub strategy expresses a clear intention of responding to the challenges imposed by globalization in higher education, recent developments in the two city-states indicate that local political constraints have a significant role in post-implementation review and policy change.

This chapter selects these issues to examine the significance of the concept of education hub in the future development of higher education in Hong Kong and Singapore. It begins with a brief review on the globalization agenda in higher education. It subsequently examines the development of education industry in the two city-states, which illustrates the connection between economic competitiveness and higher education development in the policy agenda. The subsequent section critically analyses the effects of the hub strategies adopted by the two city-states. The analysis focuses on the tension between the global agenda and local needs. The final section discusses the prospect of the vision of education hub by examining the common trends and challenges facing higher education development at the post-massification stage in Hong Kong and Singapore.

7.2 Globalization Agenda in Higher Education

The conceptual basis of the analysis presented in this chapter relies on the essential role of higher education in national development in the globalization era. To be specific, higher education cultivates human resources as well as innovates and applies new technologies in economic activities in the age of knowledge-based economy (Marginson and van der Wende 2007). In this context, numerous countries have been exerting efforts to expand their higher education sectors or increase the access to higher education to add value to their human capital, thereby facilitating the post-industrialization process (World Bank 2003).

Meanwhile, the notion of 'education as a tradable item' has been spread within the WTO/GATS framework. This concept forms a neoliberal agenda for higher education, in which higher education is perceived as a profitable investment that can be used to generate revenue from international student fees. Consequently, the neoliberal market model has dominated the policy discourses on the development of higher education across the world, and several countries have attempted to participate in the international trade in education services (OECD 2004; Oleksiyenkoa et al. 2013; Verger 2009, 2010).

Transnational higher education emerges within this context of neoliberal globalization. To facilitate the import and export of education services, a wide variety of cross-border activities in higher education, such as campus branches, twinning programmes, franchises and double and joint degree programmes, are developed and applied in different places. Although the conventional centre–periphery model remains effective in describing and explaining the roles of individual countries in the international market of higher education, the concept of education hub has emerged and has been adopted by some places to further sophisticate the global landscape of higher education. From the student perspective, the emergence of

education hub not only signifies more destination choices, but also provides them with cheaper and easier access to foreign education because they can study at home or close to their homes. From the perspective of the places that are identified as education hubs, the vision of becoming a regional education hub is viewed as a strategic response to intensify cross-border higher education activities within the contexts of globalization and the associated internationalization of higher education. Indeed, the education hub concept does not merely pertain to education, but also involves other related arenas (Knight 2011).

With a focus on economic dimensions, the hub strategy serves as a means of generating national income from international student fees and expanding the talent pool. The former refers to the adoption of a business-oriented operation mode, which is commonly used in transnational higher education (Leung and Waters 2013). The latter presents the objectives of developing local talent, attracting foreign talent and repatriating diasporic talent (Lee 2014). Therefore, the education hub strategy is viewed as a strategic means of synergizing 'education, training, knowledge and innovation initiatives' (Knight 2011: 234). The economic imperative of the education hub strategy denotes the relevance and importance of higher education in post-industrial transformations in the globalization era.

7.3 Contexts and Developments of the Higher Education Industry in Hong Kong and Singapore

The conceptual elements discussed in the previous section illustrate how the vision for turning the two city-states into regional education hubs is important to the development of the higher education industry in Hong Kong and Singapore. The link between the concept of education hub and the development of the education industry was revealed by the fact that the notion of education hub emerged after the 1997–1998 Asian financial crisis and was adopted by the governments of both city-states as part of the transformation towards a knowledge-based economy.

In this context of transformation for the post-industrial era, the education hub notion was used to promote the ideas of higher education as a service industry and as a means of attracting talent, thereby increasing national income and enhancing national competitiveness. Thus, when the Hong Kong government pledged to develop the city into an education hub in 2004, exporting educational services to satisfy the growing demand for education in neighbouring countries and regions is regarded as a rationale for the policy. As former Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa explained, 'apart from catering for local needs, they (the education, medical, and health care services of Hong Kong, added by the author) can be further developed into industries to serve people in the Mainland and elsewhere in Asia. We will study how our immigration and related policies may support such development' (Tung 2004, para. 32). This idea of developing the education industry was consolidated after the 2008 global financial crisis as indicated in the 2009 policy address of

Tsang Yam-kuen, the successor of Tung. He noted that 'the self-financing higher education sector has room for further expansion and is an important component of education services' and 'developing our education services will bolster the pluralistic, international, and professional outlook of Hong Kong, and make the best use of social resources in the non-government sector to provide more opportunities for local students to pursue degree education' (Tsang 2009, para. 28). He, therefore, saw the education industry as one of the six economic pillars of Hong Kong and assigned the education sector the role of 'enhancing Hong Kong's status as a regional education hub, boosting Hong Kong's competitiveness, and complementing the future development of the Mainland' (Tsang 2009, para. 26).

The Singaporean government has begun to develop its education industry during the same period. It published a number of blueprint documents illustrating its notions of developing and reforming higher education in the late 1990s. The aspiration of developing the country into a regional education hub was subsequently adopted to consolidate these various notions. Teo Chee Hean, the then-Minister for Education, explicated that:

> Our vision, in shorthand notation, is to become the Boston of the East. Boston is not just MIT or Harvard. The greater Boston area boasts of over 200 universities, colleges, research institutes and thousands of companies. It is a focal point of creative energy; a hive of intellectual, research, commercial and social activity. We want to create an oasis of talent in Singapore: a knowledge hub, an "ideas-exchange", a confluence of people and idea streams, an incubator for inspiration (Teo 2000).

To uphold this vision, the global schoolhouse strategy was launched in 2002. This strategy is crucial for the nation in opening up its territory to the presence of foreign higher education providers and consumers and thus corresponding to globalization.

In sum, the education hub notion entered the discourse of higher education development in Hong Kong and Singapore in the context of economic recession. Therefore, developing the education industry is a means of diversifying the economic structure of the two city-states, thus creating opportunities for the socio-economic development of the societies (Mok and Cheung 2011; Ng and Tan 2010).

Commercialization and internationalization are the major approaches adopted by the Hong Kong government to turn Hong Kong into an education hub. Firstly, the government promoted private higher education by introducing a self-financing mode in the higher education system. The user-pay principle has been adopted at various levels of higher education. Specifically, the University Grants Committee (UGC) has completely withdrawn its funding to teach master's programmes and has a minor role in sub-degree education. Meanwhile, a self-financing mode is introduced into the undergraduate sector. Consequently, in addition to programmes offered by self-financing colleges, self-financing undergraduate programmes are run by UGC-funded institutions on a full-cost recovery basis (Lo in press-a).

With regard to internationalization, the UGC announced to gradually increase the population of non-local students in 2004 (UGC 2004) and decided to increase the allowed proportion of non-local students from 10 to 20 % in the undergraduate programmes of UGC-funded institutions in 2010 (UGC 2010). Moreover, regulations on immigration and employment were relaxed. The current regulations allow non-local students to take part-time jobs and internship programmes during their study period and to stay and work in the city after completing their degrees. The Hong Kong government also provided new scholarship opportunities to attract non-local students into the city by establishing the $1 billion HKSAR Government Scholarship Fund in 2008. In 2012, a targeted scholarship scheme was established for first-year, non-local, full-time students from ASEAN countries, India and Korea (Education Bureau 2013). Importantly, further increasing the number of non-local students is used to develop the self-financed higher education sector. Hence, higher education institutions are allowed to accept non-local enrolees in their self-financed programmes (TFEC 2009a, b).

In Singapore, the government set a target of attracting an influx of 150,000 international students by 2015 and increasing the education sector's contribution to GDP from 1.9 to 5 % (Yeo 2003). To meet this target of increasing the international student population, the Singaporean government has provided a tuition grant scheme that waives part of the tuition fee of international students as a gratuity for a three-year stay in Singapore after graduation. Established universities also deploy 'talent scouts', who travel across the region and offer scholarships to talented young people. In addition, international students studying at 22 designated institutions are allowed to work up to 16 h per week. They are also allowed to stay in Singapore for one year to seek employment after graduation (Waring 2013: 5–6).

Meanwhile, the Singaporean government was actively bringing foreign provision of higher education into the city. Ng and Tan (2010) reported that the government intended to attract approximately 10 world-class universities together with a pool of 1000–3000 global top talent to Singapore (p. 180). Therefore, the government proactively invited globally renowned higher education institutions to establish offshore campuses in the city-state. Although the government was successful in attracting renowned universities to establish branch campuses, these offshore campus projects encountered setbacks. For instance, the University of New South Wales decided to withdraw from Singapore after two months of operation in 2007. The University of Nevada, Las Vegas and Tisch School of the Arts of New York University also announced that they would close their campuses in Singapore in 2014 and 2015. Financial distress and unexpected low number of students were reported as the major reasons for the closure of these branch campuses. In this regard, concerns emerged regarding the state-led model that was used to plan and fund the offshore campus projects in Singapore (Ng and Tan 2010).

7.4 Effects of the Hub Strategies

The aforementioned actions have successfully boosted the growth of the non-local student population in Hong Kong. In the UGC-funded sector, the population of non-local students increased from 1239 to 14,512, or from 1 to 15 % between 1996–1997 and 2013–2014. In the self-financing sector, the non-local student population has reached approximately 7772 or 7 % in 2010–2011. However, the government views the strong relationship of Hong Kong with mainland China as a competitive advantage; thus, tapping into the Chinese market is considered a viable method for expanding the education export industry of Hong Kong (TFEC 2009a, b; Tsang 2011; UGC 2004). Consequently, mainland Chinese students have accounted for roughly 80 % of the entire non-local student population in Hong Kong from 2000 to 2001 onwards. Nevertheless, this phenomenon has been widely criticized. Some critics argue that the policy of expanding the recruitment of students from mainland does not serve the goal of internationalizing the higher education sector of Hong Kong. They believe that Hong Kong is a gateway for students from mainland China, instead of a regional hub (Knight 2011), and that this education hub strategy would only spur 'mainlandization' rather than internationalization of higher education (Lai and Maclean 2011).

Relatedly, the opening of the Hong Kong higher education sector can be placed in the wider contexts of accelerating integration between China and Hong Kong and of the rise of nativism. Although Hong Kong sovereignty has been returned to China and the city has been intensifying its connections with mainland China since 1997, the strong local identity and distinctive cultural differences have produced anti-mainland sentiments that induced political and social resistance against integration with the mainland. These public sentiments not only impede the political and economic integration process, but also reveal a situation in which Hong Kong citizens, particularly young ones, increasingly entrench discontent over the heavy financial burden of higher education brought by commercialization and feel threatened by competition caused by internationalization and integration with the mainland (Lo in press-b).

In response to these public sentiments, the Hong Kong government has seemingly slowed the move towards the commodification of higher education. The ideas of regional education hub and education industry were not mentioned in the three policy addresses of Leung Chun-ying, the current Chief Executive. Alternatively, in his 2014 policy address, he has re-strengthened the role of the public sector in higher education by providing 1000 senior-year undergraduate places in UGC-funded institutions to the sub-degree graduates from 2015 to 2016 and subsidizing 1000 students to pursue a degree in selected disciplines in the self-financing sector each year (Leung 2014, para. 96). In his 2015 policy address, he expressed concerns over the large surpluses of UGC-funded institutions generated by their self-financing operations. He said that these institutions would be asked to 'critically review their financial position and consider ways to use their surpluses to benefit their students, such as lowering tuition fees and offering scholarships or bursaries

for underprivileged students' (Leung 2015, para. 155). Furthermore, although the government maintains the policy of allowing UGC-funded institutions to admit non-local students up to a level equivalent to 20 % of the approved UGC-funded student number, all of the approved UGC-funded places should be used to admit local students (Education Bureau 2015). The extent to which these recent initiatives can be viewed as a policy shift in higher education policy in Hong Kong is unclear. Nevertheless, suggesting that exporting higher education services is no longer a priority for higher education development in Hong Kong seems reasonable.

Similar to the situation in Hong Kong, a number of Singaporeans have been doubtful about 'whether such a warm embrace of globalization has restricted opportunities for them and their children' (Waring 2013: 7). As reported in the recent literature, concerns have emerged regarding competition for jobs and housing and congestion issues in the society. Moreover, some local students and parents perceived that places for local students were insufficient, and that education opportunities for local students have been restricted and local students displaced and otherwise forced to pay high fees for overseas university education (Ng 2013). For example, a Singaporean mother, who wrote to Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong in behalf for her son, noted, 'What I am asking for is a place for my child to further his education. Why do not you give him a chance?' Thus, the prime minister admitted that 'One unhappiness is the feeling that maybe foreign students have taken the place of locals in the universities' (Lee 2011). This incident has brought changing public sentiments towards the influx of foreign students as well as the 'open-door' policy (Ng 2013; Sidhu et al. 2014; Waring 2013).

The concerns and anxieties among Singaporeans were reflected in the 2011 general election, in which the ruling People's Action Party (PAP) won only approximately 60 % of the vote, a record low since independence. The PAP immediately acted in response to public sentiments by providing 2000 extra university places to Singaporeans at public universities in the coming four years. This new policy initiative has lifted the cohort higher education participation from 26 to 30 %. Meanwhile, more restrictions have been imposed on the recruitment of international students, such as capping the foreign enrolment rate at 18 % of the cohort, raising tuition fee levels for international students and abolishing the one-year after-graduation job search period. In addition, the government notably tightened its control of the private education sector in 2009 through the establishment of the Council for Private Education, the new regulatory agency, and the promulgation of the Private Education Act. Consequently, the size of the private education sector has decreased, thereby achieving a smaller number of larger and higher quality providers (Waring 2013).

The general election in 2011 and the promulgation of the new regulatory regime for private education in 2009 mark a shift in the higher education policy of Singapore. As Lim Hng Kiang, Minister for Trade and Industry, explained in his reply to parliament questions on the global schoolhouse initiative, 'Since 2009, the Global Schoolhouse initiative shifted its focus towards building industry-relevant

manpower capabilities and helping to attract, develop and retain talent' (Lim 2012). As a result, the number of foreign students in Singapore decreased from approximately 100,000 in 2008 (Davie 2012) to 84,000 in 2012 (Lim 2012). These figures indicate that the target of attracting 150,000 international students by 2015 has been abandoned, and that developing the education industry of Singapore is no longer the focus of the global schoolhouse strategy. Moreover, the government has been readjusting the balance between public and private spheres in the university sector. According to the report of the Committee on University Education Pathways Beyond 2015 published in 2012, the publicly funded university education would be strengthened by increasing the pre-employment university cohort participation rate to 40 % and the continuing education and training participation rate to 10 % by 2020 (CUEP 2012: 4–5). The committee also recommended the development of the Singapore Institute of Technology as Singapore's fifth autonomous university (p. 7) and introduction of publicly funded degree programmes at Singapore Institute of Management University, a private university (p. 9). The government accepted all of these recommendations and decided to increase the full-time university intake from 13,000 a year to 16,000 a year by 2020 (Lee 2012). In this regard, the goal of achieving quality enhancement and innovation has replaced that of expanding Singapore's share in the global higher education market in its education hub strategy.

7.5 Future Directions for Higher Education in Hong Kong and Singapore

This chapter views the notion of regional education hub and the associated call for developing education industry as an adoption of the neoliberal market model in higher education in Hong Kong and Singapore in the globalization context and as a means of characterizing the massification of higher education in the two city-states. Indeed, the interplay between the state and neoliberal market force in the context of globalization is adopted as a focus of discussion in the existing literature on the education hub strategy in Hong Kong and Singapore. For example, Cheng et al. (2011) examine the case of Hong Kong and argue that tension exists between public funding and private funding/market driving and between global/regional orientation and local orientation. Such tension is viewed as a key factor affecting the direction of the education hub strategy in the analysis. Relatedly, the evaluation of Mok (2008) on this issue indicates that state capacity is a determining factor affecting the direction of high education development adopted by individual societies. He argues that the Hong Kong government needs to rely on market mechanism to control the content, level and cost of courses because the traditional laissez-faire principle and liberal approach are used as the guiding principles on the governance of this private

part of the higher education sector, despite the fact that the government plays a certain role in monitoring the quality of the self-financing programmes offered by local and overseas providers. Thus, Mok views Hong Kong as a 'market facilitator' that constantly follows the norms of economic liberalism and avoids intervening in the higher education market. By contrast, although a decentralized approach is adopted in the early stage of the global schoolhouse initiative, the Singaporean government plays a proactive role in enticing renowned foreign universities to establish branch campuses in the country, thereby making the city-state a major exporter. This state-led development model characterizes the higher education governance model in Singapore, and hence, Mok considers Singapore a 'market accelerationist'. Indeed, the recent recentralization of regulatory power reconfirms the strong state in Singapore and demonstrates its strength in managing the higher education sector (Gopinathan and Lee 2011; Olds 2007).

However, the recent developments in the two city-states indicate that local politics has a significant role in the process of applying global academic capitalism in the higher education context. The political circumstances discussed in this chapter suggest that although higher education has been instrumentalized as an engine of economic development in the knowledge-based economy, its connections with the public sentiments as well as local politics limit the governments of individual societies in developing capitalist markets in higher education. As Marginson (2013) points out, government actions are inevitably restricted by local political constraints in the implementation of neoliberal discourse and practices because the 'government cannot abstain on public goods' and governments also need to 'use higher education policy to build their own political capital' (p. 366).

The emergence of political interests in higher education is due to an overlap between knowledge creation/dissemination and profit-seeking activity in the knowledge-based economy (Münch 2014). This phenomenon spurs the involvement of higher education in the dichotomy of public good versus private good, which is relevant to the examination of the issues of equity and equality. At the same time, it highlights that higher education comprises various political narratives that are likely conflicting and competitive, in view of the numerous legitimate interests and rights in a society. Therefore, although we realize that the tension between public and private funding models and between global and local orientations sketches a map for the future development of higher education (Cheng et al. 2011), we need to address that the directions of repositioning of higher education are not only caused by strategic planning (Knight 2013) and governance approaches (Mok 2008), but are also influenced by local politics and collective public sentiments. This understanding of the global–local dynamics in higher education is important in terms of further illustrating the complexity of capitalist commodification in the context of national perspectives as opposed to global dynamics and rationalizing the policies of strengthening the public sector in higher education recently adopted by Hong Kong and Singapore (Lo 2014).

7.6 Conclusion

Although the neoliberal paradigm has been used extensively in the education restructuring process in many places, including Hong Kong and Singapore, higher education reforms are not necessarily completely consistent with the free-market discourse set in neoliberalism-based market fundamentalism. By contrast, the state typically retains an important role in higher education transformation. This understanding of neoliberalism in education justifies the analyses of the state–education relationship in the existing literature.

However, this chapter reviews the development of the higher education industry in Hong Kong and Singapore with a focus on their education hub initiatives. The emergence of transnational education and the associated call for building education hubs are viewed as a form of neoliberal globalization. Importantly, the development of the education hub strategy in both places has demonstrated that the implementation of neoliberal discourse and practices and the adoption of global academic capitalism can be subjected to local politics (Marginson 2013). This finding indicates a limit in the existing literature in which the role of the state is emphasized (e.g. Gopinathan 2007; Mok 2010). In this regard, this chapter primarily suggests that the conceptualization of higher education governance in East Asia in the globalization context should be updated, given that more attention shall be paid to other local factors such as changing political circumstances.

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Chapter 8
Singapore as a Global Schoolhouse: A Critical Review

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Abstract In 2002, the Ministry of Trade and Industry announced its ambitious plan for Singapore to become an education hub. The idea to transform Singapore into a 'global schoolhouse' was driven primarily by economic concerns. The plan was envisioned to entice foreign universities to establish branch campuses in Singapore; at the same time, it would also allow Singapore to position itself as an education destination, with a target of 150,000 international full-time students by 2015. The chapter is an instructive case study of an 'entrepreneurial state' (Ziguras and McBurnie in Governing cross-border higher education. Routledge, London, 2015) attempting to move into the 'Third Generation' of cross-border higher education (Knight in Internationalization of higher education and global mobility. Symposium Books, Oxford, 2014). It informs the international literature on international education in a number of ways. First, it highlights the ways in which cross-border higher education is primarily driven by pragmatic economic considerations. Secondly, the chapter illustrates the top-down nature of education policymaking. Thirdly, this chapter identifies the limits to this kind of policymaking and points out various factors that may thwart even the most well-laid of plans.

8.1 Introduction

In 2002, the Ministry of Trade and Industry announced its ambitious plan for Singapore to become an education hub. The idea to transform Singapore into a 'global schoolhouse' was driven primarily by economic concerns. The plan was envisioned to entice foreign universities to establish branch campuses in Singapore; at the same time, it would also allow Singapore to position itself as an education destination, with a target of 150,000 international full-time students by 2015. The idea was also fuelled by long-standing government concerns over the lack of indigenous professional talent to maintain national economic competitiveness.

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This chapter begins by outlining the 'global schoolhouse' vision and situating it within the socio-political context of Singapore. The vision was consistent with the governing party's view of education as a key instrument of economic growth and its dream of turning Singapore into the 'Boston of the East'. It also followed from the decades-old government policy of encouraging foreign student enrolment in universities and top secondary schools, which was once again justified primarily on economic grounds. Furthermore, the government had been concerned about the effect of declining population growth on economic sustainability and competitiveness.

This chapter subsequently highlights the complications and setbacks in the midst of policy implementation of the 'global schoolhouse' vision. These complications and setbacks included the closure of campuses and programmes by foreign universities, a significant domestic backlash against untrammelled immigration and the perceived social and economic inequalities engendered by this immigration. The chapter is an instructive case study of an ambitious government that is keen to promote the idea of an education hub; however, the government witnessed its plans thwarted by various socio-political complications.

8.2 Outlining the 'Global Schoolhouse' Vision

The 'global schoolhouse' vision was outlined by the Ministry of Trade and Industry in a 2002 report. The report had its genesis in the 2001 economic recession. The committee responsible for the report claimed that the regional and world environment had changed significantly and that Singapore needed to revitalize its economy and move away from low-cost, low-income strategies. More than 1000 people provided input into the report, which covered a host of areas, such as taxation, wages and human capital and services sector development (Ministry of Trade and Industry 2002). Among the many committees was a Services subcommittee, which examined, among other things, the education industry.

This subcommittee claimed that Singapore, with its pre-existing reputation as 'a hub of educational excellence', along with 'excellent infrastructure, business hub standing and cosmopolitan society' (Ministry of Trade and Industry 2002, p. 1) was well placed to gain a portion of the estimated US$2.2 trillion world education market. INSEAD Professor Arnoud de Meyer, chairman of the Education Workgroup, stated that '[h]elping private providers to grow, facilitating partnerships between institutions and attracting new players into the market would create a "Global Schoolhouse" that offers a comprehensive continuum of learning experiences' (ibid. p. 1). Singapore is strategically located within eight hours' flying time of 2.8 billion people, particularly from countries that are major sources of international students, such as India, Malaysia, the People's Republic of China, Korea and Japan.

Unsurprisingly, the rhetoric was entirely economic in nature. In addition, the well-entrenched government practice of studying other countries' experiences came

into play. The subcommittee suggested increasing the contribution of the education services sector to gross domestic product (GDP) from 1.9 % in 2000 to 3 to 5 %, which would be comparable to 'established education hubs such as the UK and Australia' (ibid. p. 1). An ambitious target of 150,000 international full-fee paying students was set for 2015, which was three times the then-estimated figure of 50,000.

Several advantages for pursuing this vision were outlined. Firstly, the increase in institutional spending and the expenditure of foreign students would fuel economic growth and create high-paying jobs. Secondly, the influx of foreign students would contribute human capital to existing and projected industry needs. Specific universities were expected to engage in knowledge-based activities, such as research and development (R&D), patent generation and enterprise development, thus bringing Singapore closer to its vision (first enunciated in the 1980s) of becoming a knowledge-based economy. Thirdly, the growing number of educational institutions would help address the increasing domestic demand for higher education, which was currently unmet. The outflow of students to overseas universities consequently occurred. This outflow might have been spurred by the introduction of more institutions and a diversity of choices. Fourthly, the subcommittee indicated that the interaction between domestic and international students would 'promote societal and community development' (ibid. p. 1). Other factors include the role of these students in boosting the pool of talented individuals in Singapore and the potential of establishing a network of international alumni around the world.

The subcommittee recommended a three-tiered system of universities to form the core of the 'global schoolhouse'. At the apex would be the so-called world-class universities, which would help denote Singapore's status as a 'premier education hub' (ibid. p. 5). These universities would focus primarily on postgraduate education and would be 'niche centres of excellence' contributing to R&D. These world-class universities would be followed by the three pre-existing publicly funded universities, namely National University of Singapore (NUS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU) and Singapore Management University. These so-called bedrock universities would conduct R&D activities, supply the bulk of domestic university-educated manpower needs, attract regional students through scholarships and fulfil the concept of education as a public good. Forming the base of the pyramid would be the institutions we termed 'additional private universities'. These institutions would focus on teaching and applied research and cater to the majority of the additional 100,000 foreign student enrolments envisioned in the 'global schoolhouse'. In addition to providing diversity to the higher education landscape, the subcommittee perceived that these universities could be diverse in their operation mode. These universities could be either domestic or foreign in origin, with stand-alone campuses or campuses jointly operated with local partners. However, they should be of equivalent global prestige as NUS and NTU to strengthen Singapore's brand name.

In terms of enrolment figures, the subcommittee provided the following projections for the three tiers: 1000 undergraduates and 2000 postgraduates for the top tier, 50,000 undergraduates and 20,000 postgraduates for the bedrock tier, and

60,000 undergraduates and 12,500 postgraduates for the bottom tier. These figures were based on the intention of the Ministry of Education to boost the university cohort participation rate from 21 % in 2002 to 25 % by 2010 (ibid. p. 6). The increases in enrolment were expected to ease the demand from approximately 8000 local students who headed overseas annually as well as working adults who desired university qualifications.

In addition to establishing enrolment targets, the subcommittee recommended the implementation of supporting mechanisms. These supporting mechanisms included the provision of competitive land pricing for prospective universities and the establishment of a quality assurance system to allay concerns over the current lack of such a system for the private education sector. The subcommittee also suggested that the Economic Development Board (EDB) (a state-affiliated investment promotion agency) and the Ministry of Education co-manage an Education Promotion Agency with overseas offices to attract international students. The Singapore Tourism Board subsequently began promoting Singapore as an education destination on its website.

8.3 Setting the Context for the 'Global Schoolhouse'

The 'global schoolhouse' vision was not entirely a novel idea, but it is the latest in a string of policy initiatives that promoted the key role of education in supporting national economic competitiveness. For instance, almost two decades earlier, the Ministry of Trade and Industry published a report in the aftermath of the 1985–1986 economic recession, which had considerably dented the Singaporean economy. The report had already identified education as one of the 18 services sectors to be promoted as possible growth sectors (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1986). Similarly, a 1991 report of the Ministry of Trade and Industry had echoed the need for Singapore to develop into an international centre of learning to use 'global resources, global technology and global talent' (p. 59). Five years later, then Prime Minister announced the government intention to turn Singapore into the 'Boston of the East', with Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) serving as role models for NUS and NTU to develop into world-class institutions (Goh 1996). These models were subsequently replaced by the University of California. The 2002 report subsequently followed on the heels of an EDB drive, which was launched in 1998, to attract at least 10 so-called world-class universities to establish a presence in Singapore within the next decade. This drive managed to attract prestigious institutions, such as Johns Hopkins University, University of Chicago, INSEAD, Georgia Institute of Technology and Technische Universiteit Eindhoven.

The 'global schoolhouse' rhetoric was also symptomatic of the Singapore government's perennial obsession with monitoring and capitalizing on international economic trends in line with its overriding emphasis on ensuring economic competitiveness. The report did not mention the civilizing effects of education or the

benefits of a liberal education. Instead, Singapore was urged to stay ahead of competitors in the education hub market, such as Australia and Malaysia (Ministry of Trade and Industry 2002, p. 5).

Welcoming foreign students was also not a novel idea in Singapore higher education. In the mid-1980s, the government had announced an official target of 20 % for foreign undergraduate enrolments in local publicly funded universities. In response to concerns among parliamentarians and members of the public that foreign students might deprive local students of university places, the government had stated that local students would be accorded first priority for admission. Foreign students would have to satisfy more stringent entry requirements than local students (*Parliamentary Debates*, Volume 45, March 26, 1985, cols. 1444–1446).

The government rationale for admitting foreign students was characteristically pragmatic. Firstly, all of the foreign students would have to sign a bond to live and work in Singapore for at least three years after graduation, thus adding to the limited local talent pool. Admitting these students represented a prime investment because Singapore would tap into their talent without having had to pay for their prior education. Secondly, Singapore students would benefit from interacting with students from other societies and further learn about these societies. This interaction would help local students in their future job-related contacts with foreigners. Finally, when foreigners returned to their home countries, a network of alumni holding prominent posts in key private and state sectors would emerge (*Parliamentary Debates*, Volume 45, March 26, 1985, col. 1447; Volume 50, March 21, 1988, cols. 1103–1104). Towards this end, since the 1970s, the government had been awarding scholarships to students from the Southeast Asian region (and subsequently India and the People's Republic of China) to study in secondary schools, pre-university institutions and universities. Moreover, in the late 1990s, the former Prime Minister had urged top independent secondary schools to maintain a 20 % enrolment figure for foreign students, on the grounds that local students would benefit from the added competition posed by the presence of the foreign students (Fernandez 1997).

In addition to its obsessive concern over economic growth, the governing People's Action Party (PAP), which has enjoyed uninterrupted power since 1959, has long been preoccupied with the issue of 'talent'. Such concern was highlighted once again in 1989 by then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew in conjunction with his anxiety over the rapid decline in population growth engendered by more than two decades of a successful family planning programme. Lee had hoped that the events of Tiananmen Square in 1989 would lead to Singapore attracting 25,000 migrants from Hong Kong who were worried about the political future of the territory (Entry of Hongkongers 1989). The government echoed his concerns over talent, stating that an insufficient number of locals were interested in pursuing R&D careers. Furthermore, the relatively low educational attainment of the workforce would prove inadequate to support the realization of Singapore's dreams of becoming a knowledge-based economy (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1991, 2003). For instance, a Ministry of Trade and Industry report in 2003 claimed that

> [T]alent has become a key resource in a globalized world. The appeal and receptiveness of cities like Boston and San Francisco to talent, whether indigenous…or from the rest of the world, is a key reason why these cities thrive. Today, even emerging economies like China and India also compete for global talent….To sustain our economy in this environment and indeed to maintain the standards of living which we have achieved as a first-world country, we must do the same. While there are many talented Singaporeans, our indigenous talent pool is not deep enough. We must therefore seek talent from around the world, develop a healthy mix of indigenous and global talent, and encourage all our talent to identify with Singapore (p. 173).

At this point, the 'global schoolhouse' initiative represented a clear move of the Singapore 'entrepreneurial state' (Ziguras and McBurnie 2015) towards what Knight (2014) has termed the 'Third Generation' of cross-border higher education. This generation, which involves the establishment of education hubs, builds on the first and second generations (people mobility and programme and provider mobility, respectively):

> An education hub is a concerted and planned effort by a country…to build a critical mass of education/knowledge actors and strengthen its efforts to exert more influence in the new marketplace of education…a country's plan to position itself within the region and beyond as a reputed centre for higher education and research (p. 50).

Knight highlights three categories of hub, namely student, talent and knowledge/innovation hubs. The student hub, where the key activity is the education and training of local and international students, focuses on attracting foreign higher education institutions to establish branch campuses or offer franchised or twinning programmes. The talent hub emphasizes the development of a skilled workforce and encourages foreign students to remain in the host country after graduation. The knowledge/innovation hub aims to build capacity in the production and distribution of knowledge and innovation.

The 'global schoolhouse' was also part of a continual reform wave enveloping the university sector in Singapore, serving as evidence of the long-standing dominant interventionist state role in education (Tan 2004). Being the pinnacle of the entire education system, this sector naturally had come under close government scrutiny for decades. In addition to two official reports within the space of five years on reforming the university admission system (Ministry of Education 1999, 2004), two reports in 2000 and 2005 recommended that NUS and NTU should become autonomous universities along the lines of SMU, even as the Ministry of Education retained strong governing and regulatory powers over them (Ministry of Education 2000, 2005).

A major concern of all of these reforms has been the upgrading of the educational attainment levels of the workforce amid the continuing inability of the local publicly funded universities to cope with the growing social demand for higher education. This demand has been fuelled by improved secondary and pre-university examination pass rates since the 1980s, growing aspirations of polytechnic graduates (i.e. graduates who comprise 40 % of each age cohort) and pre-university graduates (i.e. graduates who account for 25 % of each age cohort) for a university qualification (Ministry of Education 2007), as well as a persistently strong positive

link between educational attainment and employee remuneration. For instance, a 2008 report of the Ministry of Education revised upward the earlier Ministry of Trade and Industry university enrolment target of 25 % of the relevant age cohort. The new target was 30 % by 2015. Within a few years, another Ministry of Education report recommended a target of 40 % by 2020 (Ministry of Education 2012). These increased enrolment targets that represented a massification of higher education were partly a response to the increasing numbers of local students choosing overseas universities. A 2008 report of the Ministry of Education acknowledged the need for 'our local institutions…to retain more of the brightest students in Singapore' (p. 11).

Towards this end, three new universities of local origin have been established since the publication of the 'global schoolhouse' report: the Singapore University of Technology and Design (a publicly funded university established in 2010 in collaboration with MIT and Zhejiang University), the Singapore Institute of Technology (a publicly funded institution established in 2009) and the UniSIM (established in 2005 as a privately funded university). Thus, the Ministry of Trade and Industry's 'global schoolhouse' report was part of official attempts to broaden and diversify the range of degree courses while catering to the social demand for degree qualifications. These three recently established universities were additions to the bedrock layer of the three-tiered pyramid.

The 'global schoolhouse' initiative, which perceives education as a money-making enterprise, was couched in the language of economics. This use of economic lenses to view education was also not new. Since the mid-1980s, the primary and in particular the secondary and pre-university sectors of schooling have been inundated by what Tan (2010) has termed the 'marketization of education'. The use of terms such as 'diversity' and 'choice' has become commonplace, along with the usage of competition as a means of goading schools to improve their performance. The advent of international comparative assessment tests, such as TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) and PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), has further pressured Singapore to maintain its stellar rankings in these tests. As mentioned in the 2002 report of the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the need for Singapore to beat competitors in the international higher education marketplace is further symptomatic of the marketization and commodification of education.

8.4 Complications and Developments

At the outset, the 'global schoolhouse' initiative was plagued with various difficulties that took some of the lustre off its ambitious goals. Firstly, in several rather embarrassing high-profile cases, foreign universities lost their initial enthusiasm for establishing campuses in Singapore; thus, they decided to withdraw their campuses and programmes, or were asked to terminate their Singapore operations after a few years. For instance, Warwick University, which had received an invitation from the

EDB in 2004, had plans to be one of the first foreign universities to establish a full-fledged branch campus offering courses in biotechnology, nanotechnology, management studies, and the creative, performing and visual arts in Singapore (Warwick U a step closer 2005). However, Warwick University abruptly announced in 2005 that these plans would be aborted. Among the reasons for this sudden turnabout was the university senate vote against these plans because of the incapacity of the university management to secure assurances from the Singapore government about academic freedom in the branch campus and the state of human rights in the country. The university staff also expressed concerns about the proposed governance and financial infrastructure in the proposed campus, ensuring the quality of teaching staff, and the prospect of overly high tuition fees, thus deterring potential students from enrolling (Finances, not freedom 2005; Latest UK branch 2005; A miscalculated level 2007).

In 2006, a public spat occurred between the state-funded Agency for Science, Technology and Research and Johns Hopkins University. The former announced in July 2006 that it would be closing the university's biomedical research facility because of a failure on the part of the latter to recruit the anticipated number of doctoral students. In addition, despite having received more than US$50 million in funding since 1998 (Johns Hopkins University having been one of the world-class universities that the EDB enticed to Singapore), the research facility had failed to meet 8 out of its 13 performance benchmarks, including the recruitment of senior faculty (Jaschik 2006; A miscalculated level 2007).

Close on the heels of the Warwick University and Johns Hopkins incidents was another debacle involving the University of New South Wales (UNSW). This university had been the first to publicly declare its intention to establish a branch campus in Singapore after receiving an official invitation from the EDB in late 2003 (O'Keefe 2007). In April 2004, the UNSW–Asia campus announced that classes would begin in February 2007 with an initial intake of 500 students and that enrolments would eventually reach 15,000. Most of the students would be recruited from several countries, such as India, the People's Republic of China, Indonesia and Malaysia. Students would pay the same amount of tuition fees as those enrolled in the Sydney campus. The Singaporean government had even arranged temporary government-owned premises for UNSW–Asia before its eventual move to a stand-alone campus, which would be built with the aid of EDB financial subsidies. Merely four months after opening to great fanfare, UNSW–Asia was closed in June on the grounds of an insufficient number of students (having managed to recruit only 148 students for the first semester) and worries over financial viability. The original planners of the campus appeared to have miscalculated the level of risk involved in establishing an offshore comprehensive campus. In addition, the high tuition fees charged, which were on a par with those charged in the Sydney campus, might have prompted prospective students to study in the Sydney campus instead, where they could enjoy an authentic Australian study experience (A miscalculated level 2007).

Singapore's 'global schoolhouse' initiative has further damaged its reputation in the last few years as three other universities announced the closure of their campuses. In 2012, the Tisch School of the Arts Asia, an offshoot of the main school affiliated with New York University (NYU), decided to terminate its Masters courses in film, animation, media production and dramatic writing. It had been incurring financial deficits for all five years of its existence despite having received roughly US$17 million in financial subsidies from the EDB and additional funds from NYU. The Minister for Trade and Industry told Parliament in 2013 that 'EDB provided Tisch Asia with a level of support that was commensurate with the anticipated benefits of having the school in Singapore' (Lim 2013, p. 2). For its part, Tisch said the campus, which was NYU's first degree-granting programme outside the USA, would remain open until 2015 to allow students to complete their coursework. The school's closure of its Singapore campus formed part of a nasty lawsuit between Tisch Asia's founder and president and NYU (Ang 2012; Schlanger 2013).

In 2013, the University of Chicago Booth School of Business, yet another of the original group of world-class universities selected by EDB in 1998, said it was moving its executive education programme from Singapore to Hong Kong to be nearer the thriving economy of the People's Republic of China. Its dean hoped to capture a growing share of the Chinese market and build its reputation in north Asia (Bradshaw 2013; Gold 2013). At the same time, the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, which in 2006 had established a stand-alone branch campus for a few years before running a joint Bachelors programme in hospitality management with the then-newly established Singapore Institute of Technology, declared that it would not be renewing its contract with the Institute, citing financial viability as a reason (Redden 2013).

Similar to the case of Warwick University in 2005, the Yale–National University of Singapore College was dogged by controversy at the outset. The College had its genesis in a 2008 report of the Ministry of Education, which commented on the NUS proposal to establish a liberal arts institution in Singapore. Set up in 2011 as a collaborative venture between the two universities, it was roundly criticized by several members of Yale faculty and human-rights advocates who doubted the compatibility between a liberal arts education dedicated to free enquiry and an authoritarian state with heavy restrictions on free speech and assembly (Simon 2012).

In addition to these high-profile controversies, a second issue dogging the 'global schoolhouse' initiative was that of quality assurance. The first decade of this century witnessed several cases of fraud involving the sudden closure of private for-profit schools, which left their students without any recourse to financial or academic redress. In one egregious case, a private school proprietor managed to peddle fake Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology degrees for a few years before being exposed (Davie 2009). The Parliament passed the Private Education Act seven years after the initial announcement of the initiative (Government of Singapore 2011). The Act enabled the Council for Private Education to regulate all of the private educational institutions awarding degrees, diplomas or certificates.

The third and more explosive challenge was the growing anti-immigration backlash from Singaporeans (e.g. Curtis 2014). Amid concerns that a liberal immigration policy for two decades had caused cracks in national identity, along with strains on public infrastructure and perceived competition for jobs and school places, the PAP suffered a reduced majority at the 2011 general elections. A 2003 report of the Ministry of Trade and Industry had already warned that

> bringing in foreign talent is a sensitive issue in any society….the reality is that keeping out global talent will not create more jobs for Singaporeans, while sending away foreigners who area already working in Singapore may cause the economy to spiral down further. Moreover, global talent may be attracted to competing cities in Asia, and this will have profoundly adverse impact on Singapore's aspiration to become a leading global city. (p. 174)

The PAP has yielded to pressure in the last few years by tightening the reins on immigration. This change in immigration policy direction will generate inevitable consequences for Singapore's dreams of becoming an education hub.

The year 2015 has finally arrived, and the 'global schoolhouse' vision of 2002 remaining a mirage has become increasingly clear. Davie (2014) reported that the number of foreign students decreased from 97,000 in 2008 to 84,000 in 2012 and 75,000 in 2014. In late 2014, Singapore fell 12 places from 3rd to 15th in the London-based educational consultancy Quacuarelli Symonds' annual ranking of the world's best cities for university students (Teng 2014). Furthermore, the results of a Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation survey published in the same year revealed foreign students' growing concerns over employment prospects and living costs in Singapore (Lee 2014). At the same time, the difficulty in eradicating public prejudice against degrees awarded by private higher education institutions (vis-à-vis those from public institutions) (Yeo and Ho 2014) will have implications for the global schoolhouse's vision of attracting foreign students to remain in Singapore after they have completed their degree studies. Two years earlier, the Minister of Trade and Industry had told Parliament in 2012 that the education sector contributed 3.2 % of GDP in 2011 (Lim 2012, p. 1).

> [S]ince 2009 the [g]lobal [s]choolhouse initiative shifted its focus towards building industry-relevant manpower capabilities and helping to attract, develop and retain talent for our economy as global competition for talent has intensified….while the educator sector remains an important part of our economy, the [g]lobal [s]choolhouse initiative will emphasis quality of education and relevance to the economy, and not student numbers or GDP share. (p. 2)

The Minister's statement, which was issued only a year after the PAP's disappointing showing in the 2011 general elections, was an implicit acknowledgement that the original target of 150,000 international full-fee paying students was near impossible to achieve. Rather than directly acknowledging that the original enrolment target was over-ambitious, the government has decided to modify the objectives of the 'global schoolhouse' initiative.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the Singaporean government's ambitious 'global schoolhouse' initiative, first announced in 2002. In characteristically Singaporean form, the government couched the initiative in economic terms, citing three major benefits, namely economic growth, capacity building and talent. A target of 150,000 international full-fee paying students was set for 2015.

The chapter demonstrated how the initiative, while being new in terms of setting a concrete enrolment target, was not exactly novel within the Singapore context. The highly interventionist states that harnesses higher education for economic ends, as well as attracts foreign students, once again on economic grounds, has a long-standing history. Furthermore, the 'global schoolhouse' fits in well with the concurrent government need to meet the growing domestic demand for university places, as well as with the growing marketization and commodification of education.

A few major hurdles hindered the attainment of the vision. A number of high-profile debacles involving foreign university campuses, such as the University of New South Wales, Johns Hopkins University and Tisch School of the Arts Asia, featured problems ranging from financial woes to home campus politics. Teething problems with quality assurance also emerged. The more devastating challenge came in the form of a massive anti-immigration backlash from the local population. Only a few years before 2015, and even as foreign student enrolments had begun to decline, the government implicitly acknowledged that the ambitious target of 150,000 would be abandoned. In this respect, Singapore now appears to focus more on becoming what Knight (2014) has termed a 'talent hub' and a 'knowledge/innovation hub' and less on becoming a 'student hub'. The Singapore case is instructive in determining the practical limits to what can be achieved, even when a firm interventionist will to pursue ambitious goals exists. Various issues, including both domestic and foreign politics, can conspire to hamper the best laid plans.

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Part III
International Connectivity and Managing Diversity in Student Learning

Chapter 9
Getting Connected with the Global World: The Promotion of Internationalization in University Campuses in Hong Kong and China

Li Wang and Xiao Han

Abstract The impact of globalization compels nearly all countries to strongly emphasize talent cultivation and quality improvement of higher education. Mainland China and Hong Kong, the two major economic entities in the Asia–Pacific, follow the same trend. The two governments have adopted the same internationalization strategy in response to the influence of globalization, and the focus and results vary due to the different political backgrounds. This chapter reviews the rationale and practices of internationalization in the higher education systems of mainland China and Hong Kong. The chapter consists of four sections. The first section analyses the background of the rise of internationalization in universities. The second section discusses and examines how the governments and universities in Hong Kong and mainland China internationalize their higher education systems. The third section compares the differences between policies released by the governments and the results of the internationalization strategy. The final section ends the chapter with a conclusion on policy implications.

9.1 Introduction

Over the past three decades, globalization has appeared as the most frequently used term in nearly all academic fields. The world has become flat and the connections among countries have been increasingly tight due to the ever-developing technologies. Globalization produces profound and widespread effects on various aspects, including social, political, economic and cultural spheres. As most

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researchers pointed out, globalization has changed everything people used to believe or the manner in which people used to think (Ball 1998; Flynn 1997; Fukuyama 1992; Giddens 1994; Mok 2000; Ohmae 1999; Robertson 1995). Viewed in this light, nearly all of the transformations of higher education could be attributed to the influence of globalization. The rapid development of the global world aggravates the competition among countries, exacerbates the existing inequality and compels all nations, particularly those in adverse situations, to improve their national competitiveness with the hopes of reaping more profit in the global market (Altbach 2001; Knight 1999, 2005, 2007).

Tertiary education, which is regarded as the most effective method to provide high-quality labour force and accelerate the development of the economy, has been considered a very important determining factor for national growth. Under the increasing pressure exerted by globalization, universities around the world are compelled to be more internationally active, demonstrating their global competitiveness, to compete for talent students and limited financial funding. Internationalization of education, which refers to higher education in the contemporary world, is obliged to 'prepare students for living and working in a more connected, interdependent and globalized world', while 'research and scholarships need to contribute to national and international issues' (Knight 2004, p. 14) and has become the primary mission of higher education institutions around the globe. Mainland China and Hong Kong are no exception of this trend.

This chapter explores the development of internationalization of higher education systems in Mainland China and Hong Kong in the past few decades. The chapter begins with the exploration of the rationales why both governments intend to internationalize their higher education institutions. The subsequent two parts focus on the different strategies and policies the governments have adopted and released to fulfil this goal. The final section concludes the chapter by examining the implications to policy makers in these two Chinese societies.

9.2 Internationalizing Higher Education in Mainland China and Hong Kong

9.2.1 Mainland China: Quest for World-Class Universities

Even before the term internationalization was widely used, international influence has been long observed in education in China. As early as in the Qing dynasty, which was more than a century ago, the government sent a group of students to the USA and Europe to learn advanced science and technology. The influence of Japan, former Soviet Union and other Western countries subsequently spread to China and affected the Chinese education system to a different extent. More recently, the integration of the global economy and the emergence of a global market have

challenged the operation of education. A response from the higher education sector is a sharp increase in globalization activities since the 1990s, such as the flow of students and scholars, international collaboration on education programmes and the establishment of overseas campuses (Knight 2004). Interrupted by the political turbulence in the 1970s, internationalization activities resumed in Chinese universities after the opening-up reform in the late 1970s. Similar to many other reforms, the internationalization of universities was initiated by the state in a top–down manner. Various policies encouraging international higher education were issued, indicating the different aims and goals of internationalization in accordance with the development of higher education and the domestic and global economies.

Improvements in education quality and quest for world-class status were central to the internationalization practices until the 1990s. As with the development of the economy, a skilled labour force was required. Higher education was thus used to facilitate economic development and improve competency by preparing students for an emerging global knowledge economy. The government recognized that a huge gap existed between the Chinese higher education and advanced systems. The CCCCP Decision on Institutional Reform of Education issued in 1985 highlighted the importance of international academic exchange in improving higher education quality (CCCCP 1985). Consequently, universities were given autonomy for such internationalization practices. Indeed, the empowerment of the university was a major aim of this policy because it was issued during the transition from a planned economy to a market economy in which universities require autonomy to function. Similar to the deepening of the opening-up reform, the National Outline for Education Reform and Development issued in 1993 paid more attention to internationalization (CCCCP and State Council 1993). This policy explicitly stated that China was preparing to address the challenge of internationalization by improving education quality to a world leading level.

The emergence of a global market has intensified the competition among universities. Various league tables were published in an attempt to rank universities across the world. Countries across the world have actively participated in global ranking exercises, aiming to enhance competitiveness and the reputation of their higher education systems globally. Similar to its western counterparts, China has also committed to the global ranking exercise. The Action Plan for Revitalization of Education in the twenty-first century passed in 1999 made the request to establish world-class universities (MOE and State Council 1999). Following this policy, the government initiated the '211' and '985' projects to select a number of top universities and help facilitate their achievement of world-class status through additional financial support. Meanwhile, China actively participated in the global search for talent through a number of projects, such as 'Changjiang Scholar Program' and 'Overseas High Level Recruitment', to recruit overseas Chinese and foreign experts to work in China (State Council 2010).

The policies passed in the new millennium indicated a new direction for internationalization practices. Aside from repeating the request for world-class

universities as a response to internationalization, the state attempted to take advantage of this process to promote Chinese culture and language. The promotion of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language was proposed by the 2003–2007 Action Plan for Revitalization of Education as a strategy to expand the influence of Chinese across the world (MOE 2004). Moreover, the intention to enhance the overall influence of China was clearly stated in The National Outline for Mid- and Long-Term Education Planning and Development passed in 2010 (State Council 2010). Educational aid to developing countries and operation of Confucius Institutes worldwide were considered to be effective strategies to expand Chinese value to the world. Some went even further and argued that education has been used as an important source of soft power to facilitate the rise of China in recent years (Yang 2010).

9.2.2 Hong Kong: Introduction of Market Principles

Hong Kong, under the 'one country, two systems' constitutional framework, has constantly prioritized internationalization to sustain its status as the 'East–West meeting point' (Mok and Cheung 2011, p. 232), particularly in the current era of knowledge-based economy. As all nations have realized the vital role played by higher education in spurring economic development, the competition becomes fiercer. Asian economies, like Singapore, Malaysia and mainland China, have made every effort to expand and improve their higher education systems to compete for regional leadership (Mok and Cheung 2011, p. 232). Within this context, internationalizing the Hong Kong tertiary education and building world-class universities have been inevitably considered as major tasks not only by policy makers, but also by the administrative staff of universities in Hong Kong.

The intensified pressure to enhance the competitiveness of university graduates in the global market, because of the fierce competition spurred by globalization, forces nearly all governments to increase higher education opportunities for their citizens and improve teaching and research quality, with the strong intention to ensure that their higher education systems could compete internationally (Varghese 2004). Hong Kong has undergone the same trend. The Hong Kong government conducted a series of educational reforms to expand its higher and ensure education quality as early as the mid-1990s (Chan 2008; Mok 2009). After the reunification in 1997, Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa of the newly established Hong Kong Special Administration Region (HKSAR) government reemphasized the importance of higher education in improving global competitiveness and claimed to double the enrolment rate by 2010, which could provide 60 % of the graduates from secondary schools the opportunity to accept tertiary education (Tung 2000). Realizing that dependence on state funding can never meet the pressing demands from higher education institutions, the Hong Kong government openly advocated

the diversification of funding sources. Higher education institutions are thus encouraged to attract more private donations, venture into the market and cooperate with enterprises in research projects and launch self-financing programmes.

In addition, under the influence of marketization, the Hong Kong government has paid more attention to the effective and efficient use of public money. As early as the 1990s, the University Grant Committee (UGC), as the government's executive arm, conducted three major quality assurance activities, namely research assessment exercises, teaching and learning quality process reviews and management reviews, and connected the performance reports of these activities with the distribution of future public funding. The resulting competition among Hong Kong higher education institutions, principally the eight UGC-funded universities, namely City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Baptist University (HKBU), Lingnan University (LU), Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology and University of Hong Kong (HKU), has compelled individual institutions to pay more attention to their international profile, which is also an important factor in attracting more private donations. As Mok and Cheung (2011) pointed out, higher education institutions in Hong Kong have undergone a purposeful redistribution of higher education and research resources:

- *'Top-slicing' of existing publicly funded first-degree places of all higher education institutions by the UGC for each three-year Academic Development Proposals exercise (4 % for the current 2009–2012 triennium) for the purpose of re-bidding and redistribution;*
- *Planned transfer of a very substantive part of the research portion from the present block grant for higher education institutions by the UGC to the RGC for competitive bidding;*
- *Competition for large-sum research funding through the 'Areas of Excellence' and Theme-based Research schemes;*
- *Introduction of a more competitive regime for the allocation of research degree places by moving away from the current 'historically based' allocation of almost all UGC-funded PhD places, and incorporating factors such as past award results of RGC/UGC research grant schemes, research assessment exercise results, as well as the Hong Kong PhD Fellowship scheme award based on individual students' choice of university and discipline specialization; and*
- *A Matching Grant Scheme established in 2003 to encourage higher education institutions to search for private sector funding on their own in the first place, with the government offering a certain proportion of matching grant afterwards (including one-for-one dollar matching up to a floor and subject to an overall ceiling for any individual institution), to induce a sense of fund-raising culture among higher education institutions.*

  (Mok and Cheung 2011, pp. 235–236)

9.3 Implications of Internationalization on University Practice: Experiences of Mainland China and Hong Kong

9.3.1 Mainland China: Talent Recruitment and Stratification of Universities

As highlighted in the aforementioned policies, the international recruitment of talent is considered an important strategy to improve the competency of Chinese universities. Indeed, key to the establishment of world-class universities is the attraction of world-class staff and students. As previously discussed, initiatives are launched to attract Chinese and foreign experts to work in China in both the long and short terms. However, China has been suffering from brain drain for a long time. Indeed, China was alerted by the scale of brain drain as early as in 1988 (Zweig et al. 2008). The USA, as a major destination for talent migration, has attracted a large number of Chinese students for years. Statistics show that in the last two decades, an overwhelming majority (roughly 90 %, slightly varied over years) of Chinese students who received doctorates in science or engineering from American universities have decided to stay in the USA in the first five years after graduation, and the stay rates have decreased only slightly in the longer term (Finn 2007, 2010). The most recent data demonstrate that the stay rates of Chinese doctoral recipients in the USA in 2003–2007 are higher than any other country (see Table 9.1) (Finn 2010).

This phenomenon is not limited to the USA. In general terms, a significant number of Chinese students trained abroad do not return home (Fig. 9.1). Facing the large-scale brain drain, China adopts various strategies to utilize valuable overseas human resources (Zweig 2006). The policies examined earlier call for the return of Chinese students trained overseas repeatedly. Both the public and private sectors are found to actively participate in the search for talent. Special programmes are initiated by the state to provide financial incentives and streamline administration processes for returnees. Associations for overseas students and scholars are also established in many countries, supported by the Chinese government, to facilitate the exchange of information and strengthen the bond between overseas Chinese and their motherland (Zweig 2006). At the same time, the competition for talent between regional governments has intensified. Competitive employment

Table 9.1 Percentage of temporary residents from China receiving S/E doctorates in 2002 who were in the USA, 2003–2007

	Foreign doctorate recipients	Percentage in the USA				
		2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
China	2139	94	93	92	92	92
Total	7850	69	66	64	62	62

Source Finn (2010)

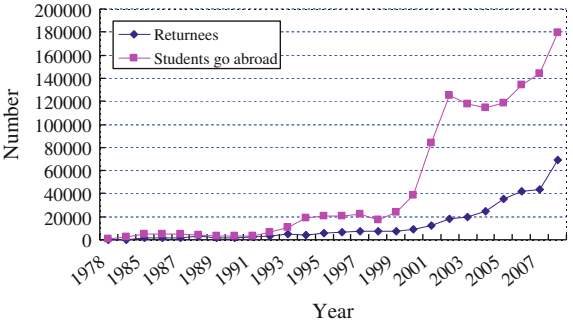

Fig. 9.1 Number of returnees and students studying abroad in selected years (1978–2008). *Source* National Bureau of Statistics 1978–2008

packages and various incentives are offered by local governments to attract talented people to contribute to the local economy. In addition, individual institutions and enterprises are actively engaged in the competition for the best minds to enhance institutional performance (Zweig 2006; Zweig et al. 2008).

This trend of international talent flow predominantly from developing countries to advanced economies has been often viewed as a brain drain that harms the former. However, this argument has undergone gradual change (Altbach 2004a; Zweig et al. 2008). An increasing number of Asian scholars worked in the West and returned to their country of origin, as the academic system and overall living conditions at home improved. In China, a growing number of students have come back after graduation due to the efforts to attract overseas Chinese (Fig. 9.1). Despite a significant majority who choose to stay (Finn 2007, 2010), they are no longer viewed as a permanent loss by the Chinese government. A shift in policy strategy towards people trained overseas is observed in the internationalization discourse, as examined above. Instead of merely emphasizing returning as in earlier years, China now opts to encourage either returning or contributing to the homeland through multiple means to mobilize the valuable overseas human capital. Realizing that giving up the potential value of overseas Chinese is unaffordable given the large population of those who stay abroad, the state passed policies to encourage them to serve the country from abroad by engaging in various business and academic cooperation (Chinese Education and Society 2003). This policy is viewed as a 'diaspora option', which helps China to 'turn human capital, lost through the brain drain, into a positive force for development by encouraging overseas citizens or educational migrants to help their home country' (Zweig et al. 2008, p. 2).

Altbach (2004a) proposes a push and pull model to explain the international flow of talent predominantly from less developed periphery to more developed academic and economic centres. According to Altbach, talent migration is caused by both 'pull' and 'push' factors. The former principally refers to positive attractions at the centres, such as higher salary, better working conditions and career opportunities. The latter is often denoted as negative repulsions at the periphery, including lack of academic freedom, favouritism or even corruption in promotion, limited career development opportunity and the like. Altbach argues that change in the current talent flow relies more on the elimination of push factors because 'the "push"

factors can be moderated', while the '"pull" factors at the centers cannot be altered much' (Altbach 2004a, p. 14).

Nevertheless, the efforts adopted by China to combat brain drain and attract talent seem to fit more comfortably into the pull factors. Most, if not all, of the strategies are related to financial incentives and career opportunities. However, these strategies do not signify that the state has completely ignored the push factors such as lack of academic freedom. The policies examined above repeatedly emphasize the importance of university empowerment. Chinese universities are indisputably enjoying greater academic and administrative autonomy today than decades ago due to the adoption of neoliberal strategies, such as decentralization, marketization and privatization (Mok 2005a). However, this autonomy is arguably restricted and the state continues to retain effective control over the key aspects of higher education governance. The strong tradition of government intervention and well-established mechanism of control ensure the smooth implementation of decisions from both the state and the ruling Chinese Communist Party (Wang 2010).

Attempts to eliminate other push factors, such as academic corruption and favouritism, are also reported. However, despite such efforts, academic corruption and erosion of academic ethics are still regarded as major problems in Chinese universities (Zhang et al. 2007; Wang 2008). The high penetration of the party-state controlling system and consequently administrative dominance has largely transformed the higher education sector into an attachment to the government (Wang 2010). Academic corruption is deeply rooted in the Chinese bureaucratic system and therefore has to be tackled as part of a larger problem associated with the public sector in China as a whole. Despite the difficulty in eradicating the push factors in the short term, focusing on pull factors in practice to attract talent is apparently easier for China, which is probably why financial incentives are used by the Chinese government and institutions to create pulling effects on the intellectual flow.

Following a number of policies that aim to improve the status and competence of universities, higher education institutions actively participate in ranking exercises. To rank high on global league tables and achieve world-class status, Chinese universities emphasize indicators used by popular rankings to rapidly improve their standing. As one of the most important aspects affecting ranking, publication has received considerable attention in faculty review and promotion. A 'publish or perish' culture is emerging, exerting substantial pressure on Chinese academics, particularly untenured young academics. As most international rankings focus only on publication in English, journal articles and books written in English and published by Western publishers are encouraged and often outweigh any publications in Chinese, which is problematic for domestically trained Chinese scholars who are unfamiliar with writing in English for academic purposes. As more overseas trained students return upon graduation to work in Chinese universities, this preference obviously works in favour of overseas trained academics and is likely to cause rifts between overseas and domestically trained colleagues (Pella and Wang 2013).

The stratification of universities is adopted in the development of Chinese higher education, as indicated by top universities being selected for special funding programmes, such as '211' and '985' projects. This stratification, however, reinforced

regional disparity in terms of the distribution of educational resources, particularly quality higher education. Universities are concentrated in major cities in developed regions (i.e. eastern costal area). Higher education institutions enjoy significantly more funding from local governments and the private sector due to the prosperity of the local economy. For example, universities in the eastern costal area received 55 % of public funding and 67 % of private funding allocated to the entire higher education sector, whereas the population in the region only accounted for 41 % of the national figure (NBSC 2008). Quality higher education also is concentrated in this region because most top universities are located in this area. For example, the majority of universities selected by the '985 project', which are the best universities in China, are located in eastern provinces. By contrast, only a few are located in less developed regions (National Institute of Educational Sciences 2012).

The current admission system in higher education reinforces the regional disparity and undermines equal access for students from provinces where fewer universities exist. Higher education institutions tend to allocate a considerably larger admission quota to local students, thus facilitating the satisfaction of requirements and enrolment. Privatization and decentralization reform has prompted universities to heavily rely on provincial governments and the local private sector for a significant part of funding. In return, universities are expected to enrol more local students for their financial input. Therefore, students in the East, particularly in Beijing and Shanghai where top universities are concentrated, have a substantially easier access to quality higher education compared with their counterparts in Middle and West China (Wang 2011). Moreover, this unequal access creates a vicious circle. The better trained population in the East facilitates economic development in that region, which consequently benefits higher education development, whereas the less trained population adversely affects economic development in the Middle and West, which consequently hinders higher education. Regional disparity subsequently increases in terms of both economic and educational development.

9.3.2 Hong Kong: Internationalization at Home and Abroad

According to Knight (2004), the strategies and activities higher education institutions adopt to improve their international level could be divided into two categories, namely internationalization at home campus and internationalization abroad (Knight 2004, p. 16), which could be observed in Hong Kong universities. Internationalization at home presents the methods and strategies adopted by individuals, organizations or even nations to infuse an international dimension into the internal campus experience, such as redesigning the curriculum that adopts global perspectives and attracting and recruiting more international students and faculty. Internationalization abroad refers to the exposure of education institutions to the external world, including engagement of international partnership, sending students

overseas and establishment of branch campus or portal campus in other countries (Knight 2004, p. 42).

9.3.2.1 Internationalization at Home Campus: Education Hub

Transnational cooperation has always been seen as an integral and vital facet of internationalization in higher education. The most drastically developed area in all aspects of internationalization in the world is the education and research moving across national borders during the past decades (Knight 2008; Vincent-Lancrin 2007). The development of higher education internationalization since its beginning in the Middle Ages and Renaissance period (Knight and De Wit 1995, p. 6) involved three generations of international activities, namely student mobility, programme and provider mobility and education hub. Knight (2011) described an education hub as 'a planned effort to build a critical mass of local and international actors strategically engaged in cross-border education, training, knowledge production and innovation initiatives' (p. 227). In the 'Report on Hong Kong Higher Education' issued by the UGC in 2002, the aspiration to build a 'world city' and 'education hub' in the Asia–Pacific region by developing Hong Kong's capacity to recruit overseas students and export higher education services was initially proposed. The Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB), in response to China's 11th Five-Year Plan report, subsequently re-emphasized the potential power of Hong Kong to become the regional hub of education (2005). EMB then promulgated a series of prioritizing issues in the 2006–2007 Policy Agenda, including immigration control, boarding facilities, financial assistance and supporting local institutions, to offer services outside Hong Kong to facilitate the establishment of an education hub (EMB 2006). Universities in Hong Kong have begun to actively internationalize their higher education. The most obvious changes occurred in curriculum reform, non-local student attraction and fervour for global ranking.

Catering for the needs of a knowledge-based society, a large number of universities have started to reform their curricula, aiming to boost the spirit of lifelong learning, multicultural understanding and capacity building (Mok 2010, p. 404). Hong Kong followed this trend and changed its academic structure from a three-year British model to a four-year American model, which prevails in most universities all over the world (the new model comprises three years of junior second school, three years of senior secondary school and four years of university study). This new academic form permits more time for students to accept tertiary education with the hope of improving their competitiveness in the labour market after graduation.

Most universities regard the extra more year as an opportunity to impart more comprehensive education to students before they focus on their specialties. For instance, the HKU developed a 'common core' curriculum, requiring students during the first two years to take six courses in four 'areas of inquiry', namely humanities, global issues, Chinese culture state and the society, and scientific and technological literacy. The same situation occurred in CUHK and LU, which

require students to take additional credits in general education to expand their knowledge base (CUHK, cited from Mok and Cheung 2011, p. 236) and consolidate liberal education in their core curriculum. As Hennock stated:

> *What I've liked in U.S. universities is the broad liberal education. In Hong Kong, students have to specialise too early.. .. They don't have the opportunity to go into university and say, here is a whole world of knowledge. The US does have that.*
>
> (*Hennock, 2010; cited from* Mok and Cheung 2011, p. 236)

Another important factor in determining the level of internationalization in a certain higher education system is the proportion of international students. The Chief Executive of Hong Kong in 2007, Donald Tsang, reinforced the intention of expanding the population of non-local students by 'increasing the admission quotas for non-local students to local tertiary institutions, relaxing employment restrictions on non-local students, as well as providing scholarships' (Tsang 2007, p. 40). According to the technical report conducted by HKIED in 2009, the purpose of increasing the inbound provision of higher education for overseas students is not money-making; instead, the government has realized the importance of attracting talented students, which could also create an internationalized environment in the campus for local students to expand their horizons and understanding of different cultures (Tang et al. 2009, p. 26). The trace of international students' increasing rate in the total number of students has confirmed the effort of the Hong Kong government in attracting more non-local talent (see Fig. 9.2).

Notably, the most significant component of non-local students comes from mainland China because of geographical proximity and ease in mutual-culture understanding. In academic year 2013–2014, 14,512 non-local students enrolled in the eight UGC-funded universities, of which 11,376 came from mainland China. The number of students from other places of Asia was 2494, and students coming from other parts of the world totalled 642, accounting for only 4.42 % of the total non-local

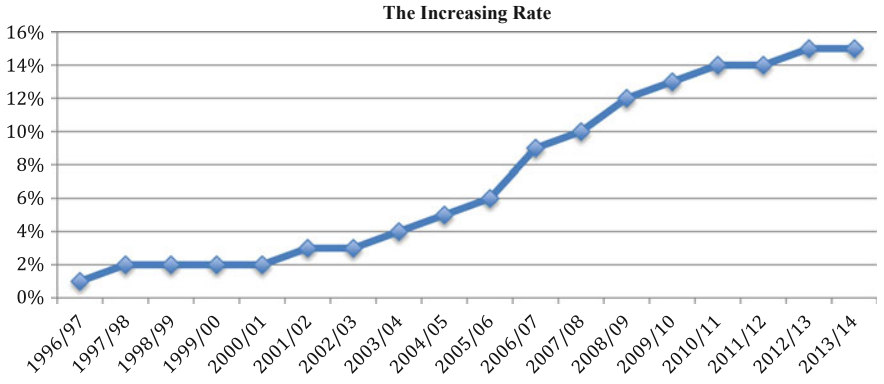

Fig. 9.2 Increasing rate of non-local students (1996–2014). *Source* UGC

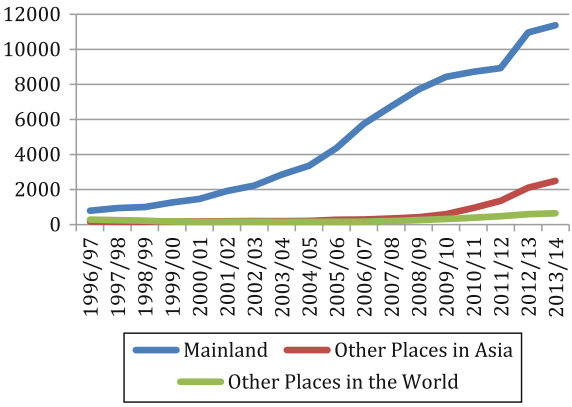

Fig. 9.3 Number of non-local students (1996–2014). *Source* UGC

students. The result of internationalizing enrolled students seems to become 'mainlandization'. A close examination of the actual number of students from other parts of the world from 1996 to 2014 (see Fig. 9.3) indicates that the increasing trend is slight. Attracting more global students and fulfilling the real diversification of cultures signify a crucial problem confronting the Hong Kong government.

The internationalization of higher education has inevitably reinforced the globalization process, as some scholars have pointed out (Maringe 2010, p. 17); thus, competition between universities in the world intensifies. Many universities are currently exerting efforts in the quest for world-class status, and even the definition of being 'world class' is lacking consensus among researchers (Niland 2000; Altbach 2004b; Watson 2006). An external demonstration of world-class identity is the global league table, which could be regarded as a powerful indicator to 'prove and advertise the standard of universities in the marketized global education market' (Chan and Lo 2008, p. 642). If we consider the limited public funding from the Hong Kong government, then a higher ranking in the global league table not only produces prestige implications for universities, but also induces financial consequences (Mok 2005b, p. 298). According to the World and Asian Reputation Rankings conducted by the Times, universities in Hong Kong demonstrate higher performance compared with their Asian counterparts. Three HK universities belong to the top 100 around the world, and six belong to the top 100 in Asia. The prestigious profile helps recruit more international students as well as famous experts to study or participate in exchange programmes. However, the negative aspect of such rankings should also be considered. The criteria adopted in ranking universities received enormous criticism among academics and administrative staff. Criticisms include impairment of the academic freedom and institutional autonomy and undermining of the well-being of university development (Currie 2003; cited from Mok 2005b, p. 300). The exaggerated inequality among the eight UGC-funded universities appears as another problem emerging from focusing on world ranking. Given that UGC intends to allocate additional financial support to a few select universities to develop them as 'world-class' institutions, the phenomenon of 'university stratification' seems inevitable.

9.3.2.2 Internationalization Abroad: Exporting the Higher Education of Hong Kong

Compared with the achievements in internationalizing the higher education system of Hong Kong at the home campus in curriculum reform, attracting international talent and pursuing high ranking in global league tables, the performance abroad is poor to some extent, particularly when we consider its major destination of export educational services, mainland China. After the initial appearance of transnational higher education (TNHE) in the mid-1980s, transnational cooperation has been thriving in mainland China from two joint programmes in 1995 to 1011 in 2014. Adopting TNHE as a political tool for increasing higher education opportunities to its citizens and as an appropriate strategy for improving national teaching and research quality, the Chinese government, whether central or local, has significantly supported the development of transnational cooperation activities in the past three decades. Although Hong Kong enjoys the convenience of geographical proximity, it does not benefit from this rapid expansion in TNHE. Out of 31 provinces/municipalities/autonomous regions, transnational cooperation between mainland China and Hong Kong only occurred in nine areas, with the number of cooperation activities (39 out of 1011) accounting for less than 4 % of all cooperation activities. The small proportion demonstrates the weak linkage between Hong Kong and mainland China in the trade of education services.

Nevertheless, the recent establishment of joint-venture universities, namely CUHK, Shenzhen, collaborating with Shenzhen University and Beijing Normal University–HKBU United International College in Zhuhai, indicates the active participation of Hong Kong universities in exporting their higher education to mainland China. In this English-dominated world, the demands for world-class educational resources in relatively underdeveloped areas, taking the Asia–Pacific region as an example, are increasing drastically. Australia, one of the most active education exporter countries, conducted a research in 2000 and stated that 'Asia will represent approximately 70 % of the global demand for international education in 2025' (IDP 2002; quoted in Knight 2006, p. 377). How Hong Kong could reap the profit in this regional market and fulfil its aspiration to become an education hub requires more attention from both policy makers and administrative staff of higher education institutions.

9.4 Discussion: Comparison Between Mainland China and Hong Kong

A clear and similar developing trend of higher education in mainland China and Hong Kong exists when facing the unavoidable influence of globalization. Both mainland China and Hong Kong have realized the importance of higher education and thus exert every effort to enhance their competitiveness in the global market by improving teaching and research quality. They also pay more attention to

internationalization at home than actively export their higher education resources. However, policy analysis reveals that compared with Hong Kong, the Chinese government puts more emphasis on introducing talent, particularly Chinese scholars studying or working abroad, to mainland China, whereas Hong Kong, which enjoys a high proportion of overseas faculty and open market for transnational higher education (McBurnie and Ziguras 2001, pp. 89–92), has already undergone the preliminary phrases of international activities (Knight 2011) and aspires to establish and reinforce its status as an education hub in East Asia.

If the political context is considered in the analysis of strategies adopted by the two governments in internationalizing their higher education systems, the differences become more clear and understandable. The 'wider context' in mainland China, 'despite a certain degree of liberalization in education system', remains 'state planning' (Mok and Chan 2012, pp. 122–126), which permits a relatively small extent of autonomy devolved to universities and strict limitation of market forces participating. The central government concentrates its investment on several select higher education institutions with the hope of enhancing their world rankings. By contrast, the HKSAR government has adopted the principles of effectiveness and efficiency since the beginning of its higher education reform, taking financial support as a stimulation factor in intensifying the competition among the eight public-funded universities. The different results may be attributed to the different methods adopted by the governments under various political backgrounds.

9.5 Conclusion: Implications for Policy Making

The preceding discussion demonstrates the recent developments in internationalizing higher education systems in mainland China and Hong Kong. Both governments have attempted to improve the internationalization level of their higher education institutions, but the results vary. The tremendous investment concentrated in several select universities in mainland China renders disappointing results in enhancing the world ranking of Chinese universities. By contrast, the problems that have emerged, such as the ineffective use of public funding, corruption among academics and aggravating disparity between universities and regions, are significant and require more attention from policy makers. Despite some scholars stating that the governance model of higher education has changed from State-control to State-supervising and the role of the central government has been gradually minimized (Min 1994; Mok 2001), the limitation of the market force and the ensuing lack of competition among universities hinder the development of Chinese higher education institutions. The Hong Kong experiences may represent a useful model for the Chinese government.

Hong Kong, as a city-state enjoying international status and being a regional financial centre, is attractive to overseas students, particularly those from mainland China, due to its stable political environment and academic excellence. However, we have to recognize the serious competition between other Asian economies, such

as Singapore, Malaysia and mainland China, in competing for talent and generating revenue from education services. The Hong Kong government, which believes in the force of the market, exerts little interference on higher education institutions. Some criticisms indicate that quality assurance activities have largely impaired Hong Kong's academic autonomy and distracted faculty's attention from teaching to research, as well as deepened the inequality between universities or even between different disciplines within a certain university. The autonomy enjoyed by universities in Hong Kong is relatively higher compared with their counterparts in mainland China. The government adopts financial incentives as the major method in guiding the behaviours of its higher education institutions, particularly the eight UGC-funded ones, which could be considered an important factor in securing the academic spirit, thus ensuring and spurring the high performance of Hong Kong's higher education.

Nevertheless, the low proportion of international students from places outside Asia illustrates the weak visibility of Hong Kong's higher education, and the disappointing performance in exporting education services demonstrates the unsuccessful strategies adopted by the government or certain universities. To facilitate Hong Kong's bid to become an education hub and 'world city' both regionally and globally, similar to 'New York in North America and London in Europe' (UGC 2004), universities should be more active in marketizing their educational resources. Moreover, universities should further increase the admission quota for non-local students, establish funding to provide scholarships and student accommodations, relax immigration restriction and forge government-to-government cooperation in promoting transnational collaboration in higher education (Tang et al. 2009).

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Chapter 10
Comparison of Student Experiences in the Era of Massification: Analysis of Student Data from Japan, Korea and the USA

Reiko Yamada

Abstract This research explores the association of college experiences with degree of learning through a comparative research on a student self-reported survey between Japan, Korea and the USA. Since 2004, our research group has developed student survey systems for learning improvement, called Japanese Cooperative Institutional Research Program (JCIRP), as a revised version of the College Senior Survey (CSS) (HERI, UCLA). Our JCIRP program has been extended to a collaborative research between Korea and Japan. Thus, the Korean College Senior Survey (KCSS) 2012 was developed as a revised version of CSS 2011 (HERI), and it consists of a set of questions to measure the educational outcomes of college education and student experiences. KCSS 2012 is distinct from CSS and JCSS, as Korean-specific college experiences are reflected in the survey. This study uses a quantitative research design using data obtained from JCSS 2012 and KCSS 2012 designed for both upper division and lower division students. In addition, we obtained raw data of CSS 2012 from HERI for comparison. Thus, in this research, we compare the type of experiences students in the three countries have in a globalized society. We use cluster analysis for this research. Findings suggest that an institutional climate, such as a faculty's emotional and academic support, moderates the relationship between student engagement and learning outcomes in every country. We argue that students who spend a well-balanced amount of time learning, working on- and off-campus and socializing tend to achieve more learning outcomes. The question, therefore, is how HEI creates such an environment where students can spend their time in a well-balanced fashion. A small size class and an active learning style are assumed to transform students to become independent learners.

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10.1 Introduction

Globalization has brought countries increasingly closer together, and its influence on numerous aspects of life, including economics, politics, business and education, is commonly acknowledged. Higher education throughout the world has also been affected, with the resulting competition compelling universities to adapt to knowledge-based societies. The transfer of knowledge and human resources within such societies goes hand in hand with internationalization, and all universities now need to upgrade their excellence in both research and teaching within this new global context as a result of the competition. Combined with the impact of globalization and the development of the knowledge economy, such global competition is currently reshaping higher education in ways that are framed in many respects by international 'ranking' regimes, which has had a considerable impact on higher education policy in general and higher education institutions in particular. Becoming a world-class university with respect to research and student learning outcomes has become a key aim for universities around the world. Universities and colleges have to be responsible for the quality of their education. Thus, the concept of assessment of student learning outcomes has come under scrutiny.

Another issue is the universalization or massification of higher education. The USA, Japan and Korea have all moved from 'massification' to 'post-massification.' Trow (1974) defines massification as the second stage of a developmental model of higher education. He characterizes elite higher education as a stage in which less than 15 % of a specific age group are enrolled in higher education institutions, whereas mass higher education is a stage in which 15–50 % of the age group enter higher education institutions. Post-massification, or the so-called universal higher education, is a stage in which more than 50 % of the age group have access to higher education (Trow 1974). Universities in Japan, the USA and Korea are experiencing post-massification. With 49.9 % of high school graduates enrolling in higher education, Japan entered the post-massification phase of higher education in 2003.

In 2010, the rate of going to college in the USA and Korea reached 74 and 71 %, respectively (OECD 2012).[1] In Japan, the figure was more than 55 % in 2014. In such a situation, almost all students who desire to enter university will be able to gain admission, which implies that students who are less prepared for university studies in terms of basic knowledge, study skills and motivation will enter higher education. This phenomenon compels American, Korean and Japanese universities to develop more learning-centered higher education programs, and teaching and learning issues are now being discussed extensively in higher education institutions.

[1]The rate of going to college in the USA includes the rate of going to two-year and four-year colleges and universities, whereas the rate for Korea refers only to four-year colleges and universities.

In such an environment, numerous countries have started to strengthen their assessment of learning outcomes. Behind this movement, a worldwide trend to guarantee quality has emerged.

This chapter, after examining the policies regarding learning outcomes and quality assurance that the USA, Japan and Korea have in common, explores the association of a college experience with levels of learning through comparative research using student self-reported surveys in the three countries.

10.2 Higher Education Policy Toward Learning Outcomes in the USA

Universities and colleges worldwide are expected to take responsibility for the quality of their education; thus, quality assurance has become a common topic for higher education institutions in several nations. Behind this movement, the issue of accountability is emerging, which Zumeta (2011) describes as responsibility for one's actions to another individual (or to multiple parties) as a result of legal, political, financial, personal or simply moral ties. At the same time, globalization in the twenty-first century has also seen an increase in accountability in higher education, with quality assurance among higher education institutions and the enhancement of global competitiveness becoming major concerns worldwide.

A policy shift emphasizing quality assurance and learning outcomes has gradually become clearer during this century. In the USA, the 2006 report released by the commission headed by the former U.S. Secretary of Education, Margaret Spellings, titled '*The Future of Higher Education—A Test of Leadership: Charting the Future of U.S. Higher Education,*'[2] was a breakthrough in this regard. As a result of this report, higher education institutions and accrediting agencies became more oriented toward learning outcomes. According to the report, 'To meet the challenges of the twenty-first century, higher education must change from a system based primarily on reputation to one based on performance.' It also urges 'the creation of a robust culture of accountability and transparency throughout higher education' (p. 21). Criticizing US higher education institutions for unsuccessfully preparing students to thrive within the knowledge-based society of the twenty-first century, the commission required universities and colleges to be 'more transparent about cost, price and student success outcomes' (p. 4).

The commission also clarified that 'accreditation agencies should make performance outcomes, including completion rates and student learning, the core of their

[2]http://www.Ed.gov/about/bdscomm/list/hiedfuture/reports/final-report.pdf Retrieved December 5, 2012.

assessment as a priority over inputs or processes' (p. 41). It recommended that accreditation agencies revise their process for accreditation, introducing reforms such as comparisons among institutions regarding learning outcomes, as well as encouraging progress and continual improvement. Following the commission's report, regional accreditation agencies began to review their policies of accreditation and became more oriented toward learning outcomes.

Over the years, considerable research and many arguments regarding the efficacy and accuracy of the assessment of student learning outcomes have surfaced. In other words, numerous researchers have dedicated themselves to measuring, testing and assessing student learning outcomes in the USA, and they have developed various tools for gauging the cognitive, educational and affective progress of students. Research on the interaction between teaching and learning grew rapidly during the late 1990s and early 2000s. As theoretical, quantitative, qualitative and practical research on teaching and learning expanded, a journal focusing on this issue emerged, titled *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*. Numerous standardized tests have also been developed to compare student learning outcomes using the Collegiate Learning Assessment (CLA), which aims to test students to compare the institutional effectiveness of curricula, programs and teaching. Many higher education institutions have begun to demonstrate their institutional effectiveness by implementing student assessments via CLA.

University associations, such as APLU and AASCU,[3] also began to respond to the recommendations of the commission report by utilizing a database known as the Voluntary System of Accountability Program (VSA). The VSA Web site explains that 'over 80 higher education leaders from 70 public colleges and universities contributed to the development of the VSA program and data reporting template during 2007.'[4] Through the VSA program, participating institutions can use the results of CLA and student engagement questionnaires, such as the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE),[5] for benchmarking. Such a policy shift regarding individual institutions and regional accreditation in the USA was based on the movement toward accountability and assessment, which has been triggered by complaints and a sense of crisis among people who regard higher education institutions in the USA as being incapable of competing effectively within the international knowledge-based society of the twenty-first century.

[3]APLU is the abbreviation for the Association of Public and Land-grant Universities, and AASCU is the abbreviation for the American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

[4]http://www.voluntarysystem.org/about Retrieved April 5, 2013.

[5]NSSE is a self-reported student survey that is used extensively in the USA. NSSE was started in 1998 to obtain information about student engagement. Australia is currently participating in this project. http://nsse.iub.edu/ Retrieved March 5, 2014.

10.3 Higher Education Policy on Learning Outcomes in Japan

Japan is no exception to this trend. One of the major shifts in Japan's higher education policy, particularly after 2005, can be summarized as the realization of quality assurance, symbolized, for example, by the emphasis on learning outcomes. The report of the Central Council for Education (CCE) (2005), titled '*The Future of Japanese Higher Education,*' declared that the twenty-first century is the age of a knowledge-based society and that in such a society, higher education becomes more important not only for the individual, but also for the nation. An implication is that higher education institutions must simultaneously pursue the functions of cultivating elites and improving outcomes for the mass of students. Thus, the Japanese government has invested more in the development of centers of excellence that undertake sophisticated research and educational programs to cultivate highly skilled students.

The CCE Report published in 2008 was revolutionary in the sense that it confirmed this policy shift. The report, titled '*Toward the Construction of Undergraduate Education,*' urged Japanese universities to set common learning outcomes for students at every institution as a method of quality assurance within the context of globalization.

Common learning outcomes are called 'graduate attributes,' and they include generic skills, such as communication skills, quantitative skills, information literacy, logical thinking and problem solving; intercultural–multicultural knowledge and understanding of human culture, society and the natural world; and social skills, such as teamwork, collaboration and leadership.

Characteristics relating to more generic skills can commonly be found in universities in several countries. For example, a report conducted by the Task Force on General Education at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University (2007) noted several key features in general undergraduate education at Harvard. The University of Melbourne similarly proposed a set of 'Attributes of the Melbourne Graduate' in 2007. In both the Harvard and Melbourne reports, similar to the council report in Japan, learning outcomes included logical thinking and problem-solving skills, ability to work in teams and collaborate, ethical development, intercultural and multicultural literacy and communication skills. In all three reports, such skills and attributes were regarded as the 'universal skills' that are required in the knowledge-based world of the twenty-first century.

Since the release of the CCE Report of 2008, which assessed the type of college environment that enhances student experience and generates learning outcomes, these issues have become of national concern in Japanese society. This report is recognized as the starting point for a shift in higher education policy away from emphasizing diversification and flexibility toward quality assurance. Quality assurance includes an assessment of outcomes and a plan for comprehensive reform

to integrate university policy on admissions, curricula and graduation. Since then, universities and colleges have been required to clarify their policies on 'Admissions,' 'Curricula' and 'Diplomas' to strengthen quality assurance.

In August 2012, the Central Council for Education announced the publication of a report titled '*To transform the quality of university education for the future: The role of university education to cultivate students who can learn throughout life and think proactive*ly.' In this report, the qualitative transformation of undergraduate education is recognized as an urgent issue. The report mentions that during this decade, a development in university reform has occurred, which is evident in the introduction of a first-year seminar by the majority of universities and the launch of an active learning style and syllabi. In addition, many faculties have become more teaching-oriented. After expressing concern about how Japanese students spend less time studying outside class than American students, the report suggests that although an increase in such time is not the only means of transforming the quality of an undergraduate's education, sufficient time spent in this manner might help assure profound and well-grounded learning. The report subsequently suggests four improvements, namely comprehensive educational management, systematic curricula, organized provision of education and completion by both teachers and students of the syllabi. During this decade, one of the characteristics of Japan's higher education policy has been to change to become more teaching and learning oriented.

10.4 Higher Education Policy Toward Learning Outcomes in Korea

As previously described, the rate of going to a four-year university in Korea reached 71 % in 2010. Criticisms about the quality of higher education exist. These criticisms allege that students entering universities are less well prepared, the courses offered do not meet student expectations with regard to variety and quality and graduates are generally unprepared to work for companies (Rhee 2014). In such a situation, policy makers, educators and university administrators have shown interest in learning outcomes. Educational reforms include changes to the university/college system and first-year seminars. At the same time, policy makers, universities and colleges have paid attention to the measurement of learning outcomes. The Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training has developed a tool for measuring the core skills of students, and many universities have introduced this tool (Rhee 2013). The OECD recently initiated a project for assessing the learning outcomes of higher education (i.e., Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes), and a number of institutions and countries, including Korea, are now involved in this project (Choi et al. 2009).

10.5 Literature Review

Learning outcomes can be measured on the basis of effects that occur either outside or inside the formal educational system, with the latter being termed as 'college impact,' which shows the learning outcomes of students as a result of the quality of pedagogy and student engagement. The theory of college impact does not concentrate on the growth of any individual student. Rather, the theory focuses on the contexts in which a student acts and thinks (i.e., institutional structures, policies, programs and services) as well as the attitudes, values and behaviors of others in institutional environments (Pascarella and Terenzini 2005; Klein et al. 2005; Lambert et al. 2007; Lichtenstin et al. 2010). The literature indicates a strong relationship between involvement and learning outcomes. Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) have suggested that institutional structures both indirectly and directly influence student development, and that these structures include the college environment, quality of the efforts and interactions of a student with other students and the faculty.

College majors have also been recognized as factors in the cognitive growth and intellectual development of students. In a study examining the influence of academic fields, Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) reported that a person's major particularly influenced the development of his or her general cognitive skills. The cognitive growth of a student was highest on measures when what was being measured was most consistent with that student's field. Other studies affirm the significance of the academic field for student development (Coates and Ainley 2007; Marks and Coates 2007).

Several Japanese studies have focused on the learning outcomes of college students. Murasawa (2003), Kuzuki (2006) and Ogata (2008) examined the types of knowledge and skills that college students obtain through college life. They confirmed that the knowledge and skills obtained differ, depending on the student's major.

Yamada (2008) reported that upper division students (the junior and senior years of undergraduate education) acquired more knowledge, both generally and in their academic major, than lower division students (freshmen and sophomores). By the time students are promoted to the upper division, differences grow between the sciences and the arts. Students in the arts acquire more general knowledge that can be associated with global and cultural knowledge, whereas students in the sciences acquire more knowledge in their major (2008; 2009). Furthermore, Yamada (2008) revealed that the degree of satisfaction with the college experience among upper division students is higher than it is for lower division students.

Furuta (2010) confirmed that clear differences exist in students' attainment of knowledge and skills, depending on their major. He further suggested that students in the arts (the humanities and the social sciences) tended to evaluate themselves more highly than students in the sciences (the natural sciences and engineering) in terms of the knowledge and skills they had obtained. However, these studies did not delineate the extent to which this difference contributed to the amount of difference that existed in the knowledge and skills that students considered that they had achieved.

The influence of academic majors, as suggested by Pascallera and Terenzini (2005), has also been confirmed in Japanese studies and can be summarized by saying that one's major has a particular influence on the development of the general cognitive skills of a student and that his or her cognitive growth is highest in measures in which the content is most consistent with that student's major.

Korean scholars have also presented similar findings, as they show that engineering and natural science majors have reported higher gains in analytical thinking and problem-solving skills than others have, such as humanities majors (Choi and Rhee 2009). Meanwhile, the issue of the type of academic ability and skills that students improve through learning has recently been associated with quality assurance.

College impact studies have shifted in the direction of examining the influence of a student's engagement and experience on their learning outcomes.

Pike and Kuh (2005) classified engagement into five categories, namely active and cooperative learning, interaction between students and faculty, level of academic challenge, academic experiences and the support that a campus environment can provide to a student. Pacallera and Terenzini (2005) analyzed the relationship between these five categories and learning outcomes and argued that the active learning of students was the most influential variable in terms of learning outcomes.

In Korea, several studies have examined the relationship between student experiences and learning outcomes. Kim and Rhee (2003) indicated that the more the students involved in faculty projects are and the more they interact with the faculty, the more they can achieve in terms of learning outcomes. They also concluded that the learning experience in the classroom and in group projects or project-based learning pedagogies was particularly effective in developing the generic skills of students. Although research has examined the influence of the college environment on student learning outcomes and the factors involved in student learning outcomes, studies that demonstrate the relationship between the experiences of students and their involvement not only in their academic development, but also in other areas of development and other abilities and skills, are inadequate.

Moreover, a recent study has focused on the relationship between types of students and their college life. Mizokami (2009) analyzed the types of Japanese students based on their learning styles inside and outside the classroom through a cluster analysis and explored how student types manifest different types of development in college.

10.6 Development of Joint Self-reported Student Surveys in Korea and Japan

Banta (2004) suggested two types of assessment for measuring student learning outcomes, namely direct and indirect assessment. Direct assessment gauges the direct learning outcomes of students through tests, essays, portfolios, graduation examinations, graduation research papers and standardized tests in both a general

and discipline-based education. By contrast, indirect assessment measures the learning process using student surveys about the learning behavior, experiences, self-perception and satisfaction of students.

Over the years, considerable research and numerous arguments on the efficacy and accuracy of student assessment have emerged. Several researchers have dedicated themselves to measuring, testing and assessing learning outcomes for students and have developed various tools for gauging the cognitive, educational and affective progress of students. Consequently, numerous questions about the reliability and validity of self-reported student surveys have been raised. However, a growing body of empirical evidence shows that self-reported student surveys are valuable for assessing the learning outcomes and college experiences of students (Anaya 1999; Gonyea 2005).

Consequently, several standardized student surveys have been designed to assess college outcomes and experiences. The Cooperative Institutional Research Program and NSSE represent self-reported surveys that are used extensively in the USA. When used in tandem, indirect and direct assessments complement one another, thus providing a broad picture of college outcomes (Gonyea 2005). The accumulation of studies utilizing self-reported student surveys and learning in the USA is clearly sufficient. However, US research on student development lacks an international perspective and tends to focus on domestic students, who are of several races and ethnicities.

In Japan, student survey systems to assist learning enhancement have spread rapidly against the backdrop of the higher education reform that was accelerated by the shift in government policy toward teaching and learning. Our research group has developed student survey systems to improve learning. The so-called Joint Student Achievement Assessing Project (JSAAP), which began in 2004, is a revised version of CSS (HERI). Our program consists of three student surveys, namely the Japanese Freshman Survey, the Japanese College Student Survey and the Japanese Junior College Student Survey. By 2013, nearly 140,000 students from more than 800 four-year colleges and two-year colleges participated in our project. Our student survey system seems to have institutionalized a culture to assess learning outcomes based on self-reported data, and this system has been accepted extensively among Japanese higher education institutions as an indirect assessment system.

To deepen the international perspective, our JSAAP has been extended in collaborative research between Korea and Japan. Only a few Korean studies have explored college student involvement as it relates to the development of generic skills (Kim and Rhee 2003). Nevertheless, a consensus exists among Korean scholars and their Japanese research partners on the need to develop a joint investigation on the experiences and learning outcomes of students through a self-reported student survey. Thus, the Korean College Senior Survey (KCSS) 2012 was developed as a revised version of CSS 2011 (HERI). KCSS 2012 consists of a set of questions to measure the educational outcomes of a college education and student experiences. KCSS 2012 is distinct from CSS and JCSS in that Korea-specific college experiences were reflected in the survey.

Moreover, JCSS and KCSS were designed to facilitate a comparison with the original CSS of HERI. Thus, after obtaining data from HERI, we can compare the USA, Japan and Korea.

10.7 Statement of the Problem and Method

This research explores the association of student types based on data about the hours students spent on learning, socialization, work with a degree of learning and their college experiences through a comparative research using student self-reported surveys from Japan, Korea and the USA. Explaining why this comparative study on the three nations has been conducted is necessary. Given the presence of a common trend in which higher education policy orients itself toward an approach that emphasizes learning outcomes, a cross-national comparison of the influence on learning outcomes becomes important. At the same time, interest in active and collaborative learning and a supportive learning environment in Japan and Korea is emerging, whereas rich literature and abundant institutional practices are deeply rooted in student engagement in the USA.

In addition to the common policy shift in the three countries, all three have experienced post-massification. According to the OECD (2012), more than 60 % of American students, 51 % of Japanese students and 71 % of Korean students went to four-year colleges and universities in 2010. In such post-massification, we determine that (1) although US higher education spurs innovative pedagogies, such as active learning and IT, Japan and Korea are moving in the direction of educational reforms that are teaching- and learning-centered, and (2) the ratio of private higher education, including both two years and four years of higher education, in Japan and Korea is relatively large, as illustrated by the figures of 79 and 81 %, respectively (UNESCO 2014). Although the ratio of private four year universities in the USA is 76.4 % (MEXT 2014), a comparative study of the three countries experiencing post-massification is worth conducting.

In this paper, we examine how learning and socialization activities are positioned among student types and explore whether or not differences exist between these types of students and their college experiences through integrated data sets. We subsequently analyze the role of student engagement in their learning and development cross-nationally. To categorize student types, we perform a cluster analysis of integrated data on the three countries.

10.7.1 Data, Variables and Procedure

This study uses a quantitative research design using data obtained from JCSS 2012, KCSS 2012 and CSS 2012, which were all designed for both upper division and lower division students. The research framework, based on five research questions,

is designed to examine the relationship between the learning environment and learning outcomes among academic majors.

KCSS 2012 consists of a stratified random sample of junior and senior students attending four-year universities in South Korea. The final sample included 6666 students at 51 institutions (3036 male and 3630 female students), but we use the 4902 samples at private four-year colleges and universities.

JCSS 2012 consists of a sample of junior and senior students attending four-year universities in Japan. The total number of respondents is 8300 from 81 institutions. We use 2921 samples from 17 private universities.

The American sample consists of 9135 senior students from 86 private four-year universities.

Limitations exist in the data. Considering that the survey is conducted using self-reporting, US samples account for a large proportion of the data. Although US private institutions are not representative of massification, as shown in the proportion of private institutions in the overall number of higher education institutions, private institutions in both Japan and Korea do represent massification.

The items of the questionnaire used for this study consist of self-reported answers on hours 'spent on activities,' 'students' engagement in class,' 'students' experiences,' 'students' engagement with faculty,' 'self-reported learning outcomes,' 'self-reported overall satisfaction,' 'college GPA' and 'undergraduate major.'

Descriptive statistics, including student background, such as gender, high school academic performance, student major, college GPA, father's education and mother's education, are presented in Table 10.1.

To determine the dependent variable for learning outcomes, we conduct a factor analysis. As Table 10.2 indicates, Factor 1 is named as the basic qualities required for the twenty-first century, and Factor 2 is named as the basic knowledge required for the twenty-first century. The reliability of the alpha scale is 0.78 for Factor 1 and 0.82 for Factor 2.

Based on the framework of Mizokami (2009), a cluster analysis for all students in the three nations is conducted to gain an idea of the prevalent student types across the three countries, to obtain a pattern of activities and self-reported learning outcomes by student type and to compare different patterns of activities by student type across the three countries. After integrating the data for the three countries, we perform a cluster analysis based on the number of hours that students spend on activities in a week.

10.8 Findings

We obtained five types of students through the cluster analysis based on the hours students spend on socialization, the hours they spend on learning in and out of class and the hours they spend working on- and off-campus. The results are shown in Fig. 10.1.

Table 10.1 Descriptive statistics

		N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Gender	Male	2997	43.7	1320	45.8	2144	43.7
	Female	6053	56.3	1559	54.2	2758	56.3
	T	9050	100.0	2879	100.0	4902	100.0
Undergraduate primary major	Arts and humanities	2558	30.1	154	8.9	1060	24.9
	Social sciences	3250	38.2	834	48.4	1419	33.3
	STEM	1746	20.5	335	19.4	1384	32.5
	Medical sciences	423	5.0	235	13.6	142	3.3
	Education	523	6.2	165	9.6	254	6.0
	T	8500	100.0	1723	100.0	4259	100.0
High school GPA	Lower	1346	14.8	825	29.1	885	18.2
	Middle	4656	51.3	1611	56.8	3206	65.8
	Upper	3075	33.9	400	14.1	782	16.0
	T	9077	100.0	2836	100.0	4873	100.0
College GPA	Lower	2219	26.6	908	33.2	1384	28.3
	Middle	4409	52.9	1601	58.6	3283	67.2
	Upper	1704	20.5	223	8.2	219	4.5
	T	8332	100.0	2732	100.0	4886	100.0
Father's education—college graduate	Yes	5845	66.7	1197	41.0	2331	48.3
	No	3055	34.3	1724	59.0	2493	51.7
	T	8900	100.0	2921	100.0	4824	100.0
Mother's education—college graduate	Yes	5901	66.0	1049	35.9	1626	33.7
	No	3034	34.0	1872	64.1	3201	66.3
	T	8935	100.0	2921	100.0	4827	100.0

Table 10.2 Results of factor analysis for learning outcomes for the twenty-first century

	Basic qualities required for twenty-first century	Basic knowledge required for twenty-first century
Leadership abilities	0.781	0.201
Interpersonal skills	0.766	0.158
Problem-solving skills	0.72	0.317
Ability to get along with people of different races/cultures	0.663	0.215
Critical thinking skills	0.621	0.406
Understanding of national issues	0.174	0.865
Understanding of global issues	0.225	0.849
Understanding of the problems facing your community	0.305	0.761
Knowledge of people from different races/cultures	0.354	0.634

Varimax rotation 62.99 %

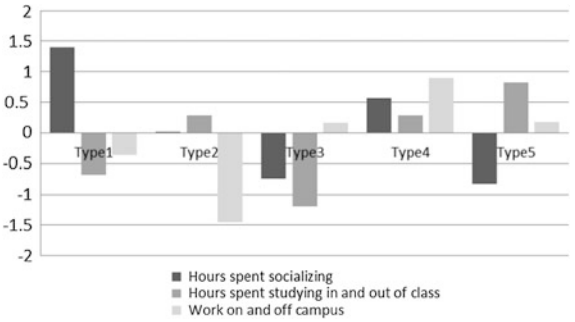

Fig. 10.1 Type of students by cluster analysis

These types demonstrate the following characteristics:

Type 1: Active in socialization, relatively less active in learning in and out of class and work on- and off-campus
Type 2: Less active in work on- and off-campus
Type 3: Busy with work on- and off-campus, less active socializing and learning
Type 4: Spends a well-balanced amount of time in study, socialization and work
Type 5: Very active in learning, less active in socialization.

The results of our analysis indicate that 1999 students belong to Type 1, 3047 belong to Type 2, 3367 belong to Type 3, 4424 belong to Type 4 and 3899 belong to Type 5.

Figure 10.2 shows the proportion for each student type across the three countries. When we focus on Type 4 students, who spend a well-balanced amount of time on study, socialization and work, the results reveal that although 44.5 % of American students belong to Type 4, 10.4 % of Korean students and only 2.1 % of Japanese students belong to Type 4. No significant difference is observed in the proportion of Type 1 students across the three countries. Compared with US and Korean students, more Type 2 students are from Japan. Compared with American students, Korean and Japanese students are relatively busy with work on- and off-campus. Compared with American and Japanese students, Korean students are relatively busy with their studies and are less active in terms of socializing.

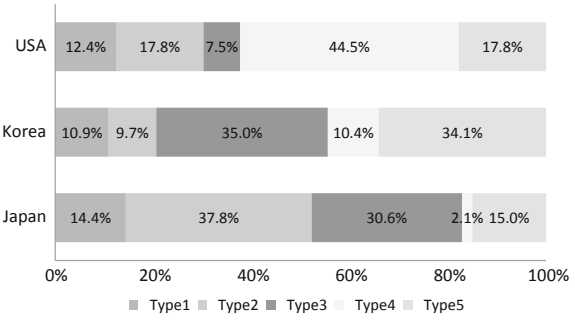

Fig. 10.2 Proportion of student types in the USA, Korea and Japan

Table 10.3 Results of one-way ANOVA for two learning outcomes on the twenty-first century by type of student

	Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4		Type 5			
	Average	SD	Average	SD	Average	SD	Average	SD	Average	SD	DF	*F*
Basic qualities required for twenty-first century	0.066	1.032	−0.145	0.990	−0.362	1.014	0.346	0.869	−0.025	0.987	4	268.119*
Basic knowledge required for twenty-first century	0.011	1.028	−0.025	0.952	−0.262	0.955	0.266	0.966	−0.107	1.021	4	146.689*

*$p < 0.001$

Table 10.3 and Fig. 10.3 show the results of one-way ANOVA for factor scores for learning outcomes by student type. The results indicate that all are statistically significant at the 0.001 levels with basic qualities $F(16{,}006) = 268.119$, $p < 0.001$ and basic knowledge $F(16{,}006) = 146.689$, $p < 0.001$.

Type 4 students gain relatively more of the basic qualities required for the twenty-first century and the basic knowledge required for the twenty-first century compared with other types of students. As previously described, Type 5 students spend more time learning in and out of class and spend less time socializing. However, their self-reported learning outcomes for the basic qualities required for the twenty-first century and the basic knowledge required for the twenty-first century are low. On the contrary, Type 1 students who spend more time socializing exhibit a higher score of self-reported learning outcomes for both factors.

We subsequently examine whether or not differences in class experience exist by type of student in the three countries. Figures 10.4 and 10.5 illustrate the experiences of students who 'worked with classmates on group projects during class' and 'contributed to class discussion.'

The self-evaluation of all types of American students is highest for 'worked with classmates on group projects during class.' Overall, the self-evaluation for all types of Japanese students is the lowest. The self-evaluation for Type 2 Korean students is the highest, whereas that for Type 2 Japanese students is the lowest.

With regard to the experience of contributions to class discussions, the self-evaluation of all types of American students is the highest. Japanese and

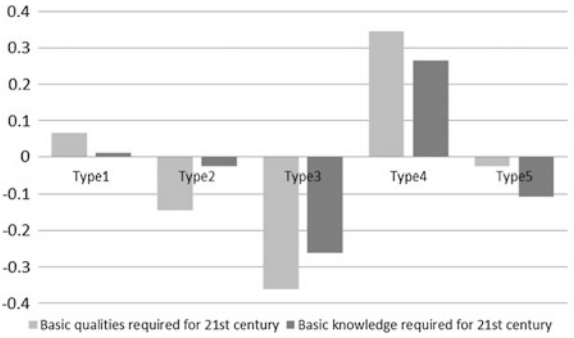

Fig. 10.3 Results of one-way ANOVA for learning outcomes

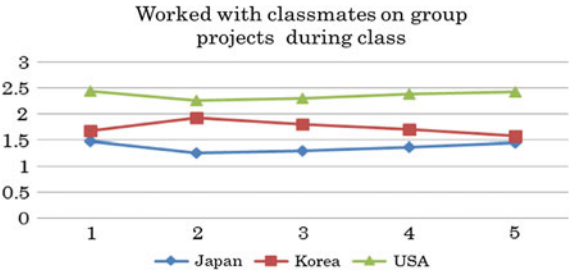

Fig. 10.4 Comparison of class experience 1 in the three countries

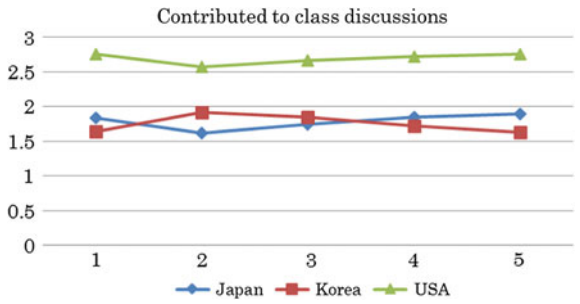

Fig. 10.5 Comparison of class experience 2 in the three countries

Korean students have relatively fewer experiences compared with American students. The self-evaluation for this experience of Japanese students is higher than that of Korean students, except for Type 2 Korean students.

10.9 Discussion and Conclusion

The findings suggest that Type 4 students achieve more learning outcomes in all countries. An institutional climate, such as a faculty's emotional and academic support, moderates the relationship between student engagement and learning outcomes in every country. Although more well-balanced students exist in the USA from the perspective of spending time on activities, Japanese students are less active in work on- and off-campus, whereas Korean students are very active in learning and less active in socializing. The pattern of some student experiences by student type is similar for the USA and Japan, but that in Korea is different. Type 2 students in the USA and Japan are less active in collaborative work in class and in discussion, whereas Type 2 Korean students are more active in these areas.

We argue that students who spend a well-balanced amount of time learning, working on- and off-campus and socializing tend to achieve more learning outcomes; the question is how higher education institutions create such an environment where students can spend their time in a well-balanced fashion. A small size class and an active learning style are assumed to transform students so that they can become independent learners. Moreover, communication and socializing with classmates are important factors in student development.

Considering that the educational background of parents is higher for American students compared with Japanese and Korean students, the socioeconomic status (SES) of American students is assumed to be higher than that of Japanese and Korean students. Moreover, a huge difference exists in the role of private higher education institutions in the three countries. Japan and Korea are similar in this respect. Private higher education institutions have an important role in achieving massification in both countries, whereas national and public universities have maintained their positions as elite institutions. In particular, although national universities in Japan have a role as elite institutions, private universities accept more

diversified student populations. The SES of students in private universities in Japan seems to be lower than that of students in national universities. In the USA, the situation is different. Many private higher education institutions play the role of being elite institutions, whereas public universities have developed massification and accept more diverse student populations. The results of the comparative study might reflect such differences in the role of higher education institutions and student backgrounds.

Although private universities have different roles in the three countries, we determine that higher education institutions share the common goal of creating an environment that induces student development through well-balanced activities. To do so, faculty and student interaction is supposed to be active and meaningful. We expect a synergy through interaction between faculty members and students that spurs the cognitive and affective development of students.

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Chapter 11
Perceived Discrimination and Integration Among New Arrivals from Mainland China: Implications for Higher Education Development for Hong Kong

Isabella F.S. Ng, Kee Lee Chou and Winky K.F. Wong

Abstract This chapter examines the relationship and effects of perceived discrimination on the integration among new arrivals from mainland China and its implications to the Hong Kong community. It also explores how perceived discrimination, which may affect the integration process of migrants, would mean to higher education in Hong Kong. By exploring the relationship between perceived discrimination and integration, the chapter argues that discrimination or perceived discrimination significantly influences the immigrant's prospect of successful immigration, which, in turn, affects the future development of society.

11.1 Introduction

As a society that builds and thrives on the strength of immigrants throughout history, Hong Kong has constantly been accepting immigrants with ease. Immigrants provide Hong Kong with a source of labour and capital. This practice of accepting immigrants also facilitates the development of Hong Kong from a fishing village to a manufacturing hub and subsequently to the financial centre of Asia, an enclave that takes pride in its people, its rule of law and freedom of press.

However, immigrants from mainland China have been received with antagonism and hostility in the past decade because of the downturn of the economy and the demographics of the new immigrants. The relocation of manufacturing industries from Hong Kong signifies that immigrants from China are no longer required as a

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source of labour; thus, Hong Kong has tightened the control of its immigration policy in the 1980s. Meanwhile, working-class Hong Kong males, who find marrying mainland Chinese women more affordable, have begun to move to the north to search for their spouses. Therefore, most of the immigrants from China since the inception of the one-way permit (OWP) in 1983 are housewives and children who intend to reunite with their Hong Kong husbands (So 2003). This group of immigrants is considered a liability and a threat to the Hong Kong economy as well as a source of social problem.

Since the Hong Kong handover, the territory has received more than 760,000 mainland immigrants, who comprise 10 % of the total population in Hong Kong (SCMP 2013). Mainland immigrants, whose number continues to grow as the OWP remains in force, can provide important human resources to the territory. However, studies have indicated that the increasing discriminatory, even hostile, attitude towards the new immigrants could affect their health and quality of life, and thereby hinder the integration process of migrants (Chou 2012; Ng et al. 2014; Zhang et al. 2009). Understanding the relationship between perceived discrimination and integration could facilitate the integration of the immigrants to the community and thus avoid the polarization of society.

Most importantly, the success of integration of both parents and children into mainstream society may affect the economic and social structure of a community.

Successful education is a means for immigrants to gradually integrate into mainstream society. Enabling immigrants to adjust and integrate smoothly into the society and subsequently to attend higher education facilitates their economic and social mobility as well as improves the economic and social development of a community (Baum and Flores 2011). The decline in the local birth rate of Hong Kong also suggests that its future manpower in terms of quantity and quality heavily relies on mainland immigrants. Statistics show that Hong Kong has undergone a demographic transition from a high-growth phase to a low-growth phase, and the growth rate is projected to remain low for the next few decades (Hong Kong Government). Whether the new immigrants can attain higher education in the coming years determines the quality of the human capital and strength of the Hong Kong economy.

This chapter examines the relationship between perceived discrimination and integration and the influence of perceived discrimination on the integration of new arrivals from mainland China. It also explores how perceived discrimination, which may affect the integration process of migrants, would mean to higher education in Hong Kong. Firstly, the chapter outlines the background of new arrivals from China in Hong Kong. Secondly, it discusses the relationship between perceived discrimination and integration in Hong Kong by referring to secondary literature and the present study. Finally, the chapter explores the implications of the integration and perceived discrimination of the new arrivals on the higher education situation in Hong Kong.

11.2 New Arrivals from China in Hong Kong

Hong Kong encountered several immigrant waves from mainland China, which have brought different groups of immigrants' expertise, problems and challenges to the territory. In the 1940s and early 1950s, immigrants were workers from Guangdong and entrepreneurs from Shanghai, and they provided Hong Kong with a large supply of cheap labour as well as financial capital. In the 1960s and 1970s, immigrants were primarily young male workers who provided a significant supply of cheap labour for the manufacturing industry of Hong Kong at the time. Hong Kong, being predominantly consisting of mainland Chinese immigrants (HKISS 1997; So 2003; Siu 2009), has altered its immigration policy to meet different needs at various times.

With the changing economic structure of Hong Kong in the 1970s, a number of industries relocated to China for cheaper labour and land supply. Hong Kong residents also moved to the north for work and business. Some of them experienced convenience in marrying mainland Chinese women in the north; others who have families in Hong Kong also acquired a 'second wife' in mainland China. Another phenomenon was that a number of immigrants who migrated to Hong Kong encountered difficulty in marrying because the number of males was considerably larger than the number of females. Thus, grassroots immigrants and older Chinese males from the working class began to search for wives in China (So 2003). Cross-border families and the children who were born because of cross-border marriages posed a challenge to the Hong Kong government.

In 1983, the Hong Kong government negotiated with the Chinese government and came up with the OWP quota system. Spouses and dependent children of permanent Hong Kong residents can apply for the OWP. The number of OWPs is currently limited to 150 per day. The introduction of the OWP quota system marked a change in the profile of immigrants from predominantly young working males and entrepreneurs to middle-aged married females with low educational attainment and their young dependent children (So 2003). This change of profile, together with the economic downturn of Hong Kong, has hindered the integration of the new arrivals, who used to integrate into Hong Kong remarkably well from the 1960s to the 1980s. The new migrants from China were received with hostility and regarded as a liability to the Hong Kong economy and competitors for social welfare.

The experiences of adult immigrants are important for the future of the host society, but even more decisive is the fate of the children immigrants, who will be the strength of the Hong Kong economy. The percentage of children immigrants from mainland China has increased from 8.2 % in 1981 to 24.1 % in 2011 (Department of Census and Statistics 1982, 2012). Studies on immigration have recognized that the hostile or discriminatory attitudes among members of the host society may deter the integration of immigrants (Chou 2012; Gee and Ponce 2010; Hunte and Williams 2009; Massey and Sanchez 2010; Ng et al. 2014; Wong et al. 2012). Studies have also indicated that the success of integration is instrumental to the success of immigrants in entering higher education (Baum and Flores 2011; Keller 2001).

Table 11.1 Average annual growth rate of the Hong Kong population

Years	Average annual growth rate (%)
1951–1956	5.3
1956–1961	3.9
1961–1966	2.8
1966–1971	2.2
1971–1976	2.2
1976–1981	2.8
1981–1986	1.3
1986–1991	0.8
1991–1996	1.9*
1996–2001	0.9

*This figure is compiled by the Census and Statistics Department based on the mid-1996 population estimate of 6.31 million under the extended de facto method

Source Demographic Statistics Section, Census and Statistics Department, http://www.info.gov.hk/info/population/eng/pdf/chapter2_e.pdf. Accessed September 30, 2014

According to the 2011 Population Census, approximately 119,500 children aged 17 and younger migrated to Hong Kong from mainland China. Educational achievement is poor for these young immigrants compared with that of Chinese children who were born in Hong Kong. Data from the 2011 Population Census reveal that the poverty rate for first-generation immigrant children is higher than the poverty rate for children in the general population. Moreover, the likelihood of being accepted to universities is also lower for the first-generation immigrant youth than for the general youth in Hong Kong. Therefore, facilitating the integration and adjustment of the first-generation immigrant children in Hong Kong is imperative for the success of the Hong Kong community in the long run.

The current situation in Hong Kong demands extreme vigilance and thoughtful consideration in how to ensure the continuing strength of the Hong Kong economy by providing training and skills to the next generation. The local population, as shown in the Hong Kong statistics, is decreasing (see Table 11.1). With the low fertility rate among the local population, the strength of the Hong Kong economy heavily relies on the immigrant population.

11.3 Perceived Discrimination and Integration in Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, a number of studies have explored the relationship between perceived discrimination and integration of the new arrivals (Chou 2012; Ng et al. 2014; Wong et al. 2012). In the West, a wealth of studies have investigated the relationship between discrimination and perceived discrimination and its effect on

the integration of immigrants (Gee and Ponce 2010; Hunte and Williams 2009; Massey and Sanchez 2010; Portes and Rumbault 2001) Studies from the West and those conducted in Hong Kong have revealed that discrimination or perceived discrimination negatively influences the integration of immigrants in the host society. The receptivity of the host country and its people affects the psychology of immigrants as well as their mental and physical health (Gee and Ponce 2010; Portes and Rumbault 2001).

Although Hong Kong has an immigrant history, its local citizens have not received mainland immigrants with open arms, particularly in the past decades. Once treated as a refuge by immigrants, Hong Kong is now a permanent homeland that houses 7 million Hong Kong people. The first generation of locals was born out of the first-generation immigrants from China. The locals, who have always been suspicious about mainland immigrants and felt superior over their mainland counterparts, often despised and derided mainland arrivals. As early as the 1970s, the media had already portrayed mainland immigrants as 'unscrupulous', 'awkward' and backward; they were also labelled as 'Ah Chaan', which is derived from a character of a Hong Kong TV soap opera. These misgivings have not subsided as time evolves. With the handover and the take-off of the Chinese economy, the rivalry between Hong Kong and mainland China has intensified. The easing of restrictions on mainland tourists exacerbated the conflict because of considerable 'anti-social' behaviours, such as spitting, littering and urinating in public area, cutting in line and jaywalking. Several incidents triggered the uproar of the Hong Kong Chinese and further escalated the hostility towards mainlanders. One instance is the seizing and hoarding of milk powder from Hong Kong because of the milk powder scandal in China. Another incident is the flooding in of mainland Chinese to maternity wards to deliver their babies, to obtain Hong Kong residency, to enjoy a better education system, and above all, to escape from penalties over the one-child policy in China. Intense and vicious confrontations between the two groups have erupted in media, in everyday life as recorded by social media and outright discrimination against the new immigrants in the daily discourse of the local media, on YouTube, on newspapers and in songs written by the Hong Kong Chinese, calling mainland Chinese 'locusts' and accusing them of invading Hong Kong and consuming the services and food of Hong Kong people; meanwhile, mainland Chinese accuse Hong Kong of being ungrateful towards the Chinese tourists and their consumption to help strengthen the Hong Kong economy (Chu 2012; Liu 2012). The unresolved, even escalating, tension between the Hong Kong people and mainlanders has become a major concern to policy makers, as well as scholars, who are attempting to understand the problems and issues, particularly when mainland immigrants are becoming the major source of manpower of the territory.

Studies on mainland arrivals in Hong Kong have explored the different aspects of the new arrivals. They have investigated their psychological adjustment and quality of life (Chan 1998; Chou 2012; Ng et al. 2014; Wong 2008; Wong et al. 2012), identity (Yuen 2010) and education issue (Chou et al. 2013; Yuen 2010; Yuen and Wu 2011).

Research and survey results have concluded that mainlanders have been facing serious discrimination in Hong Kong (Chou 2012; Hong Kong Psychological Association 1997; So 2003; Wong 2008). A study conducted by the Society for Community Organization (SOCO) in 2001 revealed that 80 % of mainland immigrants complained that they have experienced discrimination because of their new immigrant identity, behaviour or appearance. This figure has increased to 91 % in another SOCO survey in 2004. In another SOCO survey in 2014, 84.2 % of the 124 respondents believed that mainland immigrants suffered from discrimination, and 83.3 % experienced discrimination because of their identity. They were derided or humiliated or received unequal pay or unequal workload.

Scholars who study the relationship between discrimination and the quality of life of immigrants, in particular the perceived discrimination and integration, reported an intractable relationship between the two (Chou et al. 2013; Wong et al. 2012; Ng et al. 2014). Chou (2012) concluded that perceived discrimination is a common experience for new mainland immigrants to Hong Kong, which depicts depressive symptoms. Although the study did not directly address integration, it indicated that perceived discrimination adversely affects the mental health of mainland immigrants, which naturally influences the integration process. Similarly, Ng et al. (2014) revealed that perceived discrimination is significantly associated with the quality of life of new mainland immigrants, which affects their integration process.

Integration is a dynamic process between immigrants and the society. It refers to the social, cultural, economic and political participation of the immigrants in the host society. It also denotes the respect of immigrants towards the practices and culture of the host society as well as how they identify themselves in the host society. Moreover, integration requires an environment that facilitates the aforesaid activities and behaviours to occur within the host society (Council of Europe 1997; Lacroix 2010). Chou (2012) conducted a longitudinal research on the new arrivals who had been in Hong Kong for more than 9 months but less than 12 months. Their results indicated that more than half of the adult new arrivals said they had experienced discrimination, and 20 % sometimes or frequently felt discriminated against. Among the young new arrivals, only 7.4 % felt they were discriminated against, and 66.8 % never experienced discrimination. Adult immigrants seemed to be less capable of integrating into the society socially as they were unable to find friends while they were desperately in need of doing so. However, children seemed to be able to integrate into the society relatively easily, with a large number of child interviewees indicating that they participated in several community activities, 29.7 % reported that they were good or very good in academic performance and 37.0 % felt satisfied or very satisfied with their academic performance.

The studies suggest that perceived discrimination is significantly associated with the integration process. According to Chou et al. (2013), the difference between children's perceived discrimination and their integration process and those of adults indicates that age is a determining factor for successful integration. Education is also an important factor that facilitates the transition and integration of immigrant children into mainstream society. The importance of education on immigrant

integration has been well documented in numerous studies (Keller 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Vernez and Abrahamse 1996; Yuen 2010; Yuen and Wu 2011). However, studies in the West have reported variations in integration and academic achievement across different ethnic groups, resilience level of the students and ethnic background (Baum and Flores 2011; Pong and Hao 2007; Portes and Zhou 1993; Vernez and Abrahamse 1996). A number of studies agree that education is one of the most important, if not the only, means for immigrants to move upward economically and socially. Education also allows immigrants to experience a connection to and belonging in the host society (Baum and Flores 2011; Fry 2002; Pong and Tsang 2010; Vernez and Abrahamse 1996).

In a report by Fry (2002) on 'Latinos in Higher Education: Many Enroll, Too Few Graduate', he began with a quote from former US President George W. Bush that the United States expects its citizens to be college graduates at the least. However, a few ethnic groups, notably Hispanics and African–Americans, failed to achieve post-secondary education in the USA. Considering the case in the USA and other countries, scholars suggest that higher education achievement opens the door of immigrant success and the possibility of eradicating poverty. These cases in the Western countries raise important questions: What would such cases signify to mainland Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong? What are the implications of their integration to Hong Kong on the higher education scene in Hong Kong? What would be the effect on Hong Kong should they fail to integrate into the mainstream Hong Kong community and move upward socially and economically?

11.4 Discrimination, Integration and Implications on Higher Education in Hong Kong

As studies on the assimilation of immigrants and education of the new arrivals in Hong Kong have consistently emphasized, educational assimilation for immigrants is a concern for Hong Kong policy makers (Pong and Tsang 2010; Yuen 2010). Studies in the Western countries have indicated that discrimination or perceived discrimination, which adversely affects the integration process of immigrants, also influences the prospects of immigrants to obtain a better education qualification (Vernez and Abrahamse 1996; Lauglo 1999). At the same time, scholars (Pong and Hao 2007) have argued that education performance is the indicator of assimilation to the community. According to the figures released by the Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, in 2011, only approximately 6.4 % of young immigrants aged 19 and 20 attended local universities, whereas 14.1 % of young natives in the same age range received local university education (Hong Kong Census and Statistics 2011). The figure of young immigrants who attended local universities suggests that the assimilation progress of mainland immigrants is less than satisfactory, even 20 years after the OWP implementation.

Studies have listed several factors that could hinder the higher education participation and success of young immigrants, such as family structure, sibship size, parental language and education level, parental support and involvement, academic preparation and age of immigrant children at the time of immigration and neighbourhood and school support in helping the children (Baum and Flores 2011; Dustmann et al. 2011; Fekjaer 2007; Fuligni 1997; Glick and White 2003; Kao 2004; Kao and Tienda 1995; Pong and Hao 2007; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Suarez-Oroco 1989; Yuen 2002). For example, Baum and Flores (2011) have suggested parental education, academic preparation and age at the time immigration as factors that affect the education of immigrant children. Meanwhile, Pong and Hao (2007) have concluded that neighbourhood condition is also a key factor in determining the school performance of immigrant children. Several studies have indicated that young immigrants thrive because of the drive and motivation of their parents who want their children to succeed (Baum and Flores 2011; Vernez and Abrahamse 1996). Research (Rumbaut 1995; Louie 2004) demonstrates that immigrant children thrive and succeed amidst cultural prejudice and discrimination; however, some studies also indicate that perceived discrimination or discrimination (e.g., their belief that they will not get certain jobs because of their immigrant status) influences the decision of young immigrants to leave school early; some immigrants, who become underprivileged because of their immigrant status, become so assimilated to their fellow immigrant group in the host country that they learn not to learn (Suarez-Orozco 1987; Lauglo 1999). This finding correlates with some studies that conclude poverty and social background could be factors that affect student motivation to continue in higher education (Pong and Tsang 2010).

Assimilation and integration are continual processes that extend completely from the primary or secondary education of an immigrant child to a higher education level. Higher education is considered to be an indicator of the integration success of immigrants as well as a sign of the future direction of a community. The recent figures of higher education attainment of mainland immigrants in Hong Kong suggest that the assimilation process has not been encouraging. Compared with the education success of immigrants in the UK (Lymperopoulou and Parameshwaran 2014) and the Turks in Germany (Kristen et al. 2008), the prospect of mainland immigrants' higher education attainment is alarming, although they seem to perform relatively well in primary and high school according to local studies (Pong and Tsang 2010). According to a recent study by Lymperopoulou and Parameshwaran (2014), within two decades, the higher education attainment of immigrants, including Chinese, Indians and Black Africans, has reached more than 40 %, whereas 24 % of the white British have no higher degrees. In a study by Kristen et al. (2008), large datasets obtained from the German higher education in 1990, 1994 and 1999 revealed that Turkish youth are considerably more likely than Germans to enter higher education. Both studies as well as other previous research have proven that some immigrants groups could succeed in their academic performance under different circumstances and influences. Several immigrant groups thrive even amidst prejudice, with familial support and a relatively open and welcoming environment in the host countries. Groups that fail generally lack

motivation because they are stigmatized as a less successful category of people obtain less familial support and lack funds (Fry 2002; Lauglo 1999).

If higher education is an indicator of integration into the society, the figures demonstrate a certain extent of the failure of the Hong Kong government to integrate the immigrants into the society. With the declining local fertility in the territory, these immigrants are becoming the resources and human capital for the future development of Hong Kong. However, without a considerable size of knowledgeable and well-educated workforce that attained higher education, society lacks a source of well-trained, well-educated and sophisticated labourers to maintain the current status of Hong Kong as a competitive international financial centre. The community can also be burdened with a group of underprivileged individuals who require the government to allocate extra resources for support. As the economy has transformed from a manufacturing economy to a knowledge-based economy, an inadequate number of skilled labourers may impel the government to reorient the structural development of the economy or to import high-skilled immigrants. If the current situation is not solved, the higher education in Hong Kong is bound to shrink or open up its places to migrants from other parts of the world to fill in the void. Such consequence would signify a serious demographic change in Hong Kong; most importantly, mainland immigrants, who could be an asset to Hong Kong, should they succeed academically, may become a liability in the society. The recent longitudinal study by Pong and Tsang (2010) has indicated that mainland students have been assimilated successfully into Hong Kong secondary school and perform very well academically. Pong and Tsang have listed immigrant redshirting and a stronger home-country curriculum as the two factors, together with an overall positive context of reception of mainland immigrants by the Hong Kong government after the 1990s, which induced the successful integration of junior high school mainland immigrants. However, the current escalating face-off between the Hong Kong Chinese and mainland Chinese could bring ripple effects to students, whose academic success is partly determined by a favourable and hospitable environment within the host country.

11.5 Conclusion

The chapter examines the relationship between perceived discrimination and integration among new arrivals from Mainland China and its implications for higher education development for Hong Kong. Drawing on census and secondary data, this study analyses the current situation of mainland immigrants and how perceived discrimination could affect integration, which, in turn, may influence the academic performance of mainland immigrant students and therefore affect their higher education achievement.

By exploring the relationship between perceived discrimination and integration, studies have revealed that discrimination or perceived discrimination significantly influences the immigrant's prospect of successful immigration. In addition, although

education serves as a medium for integration, it also functions as an indicator to gauge the immigrants' extent of integration into the host country. Recent figures released from the Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department did not portray a favourable picture of immigrants' education achievement in the Hong Kong higher education scene. Thus, policy makers should examine the factors that can support the successful integration of mainland immigrants and their pursuit and completion of their higher education, particularly when the Hong Kong population is expected to heavily rely on these immigrants in the coming decades. The Hong Kong environment, which was once favourable to immigrants' pursuit of success, is now under test as a series of conflicts and confrontation between the local Hong Kong community and the mainland Chinese community exploded in the past few years.

Questions once asked by Rumbaut (1995) about the expectations of Americans from their immigrants are also pertinent issues for Hong Kong policy makers: Will the immigrants arriving Hong Kong in OWP gradually move into the middle class or into an expanded underclass? Will their social mobility be enabled by the structure of opportunities or blocked by racial discrimination and a changed economy? What will be the ratio of immigrant success stories to the tales of urban woes? All of these questions should be further investigated to understand how the territory could provide the resources to support the immigrants who could be potentially assets or liabilities.

Further longitudinal research is required to understand how immigrants could integrate into the mainstream Hong Kong community and succeed academically. Current research on education integration on mainland immigrants primarily focuses on the primary or secondary levels of their performance on individual academic subjects (Pong and Tsang, 2010; Zhu and Leung, 2011) and identity construction (Yuen 2008; Yuen and Wu 2011). A few studies have investigated the psychological adaptation of mainland immigrant students in the primary or secondary school (Chan 1998; Wong 2008). However, little is known about mainland immigrants who participate in higher education; the relationship between the immigrants' external circumstances and the immigrants themselves; and the elements that contribute to the attainment of higher education. These studies should also take into account that humans can function as active subjects (Rumbaut 1995) in their own development and that they can change to adapt towards their new environment more effectively.

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Part IV
Managing Labour Market Changes and Employment

Chapter 12
Massification of Higher Education and Labour Market: The Case of Taiwan

Sheng-Ju Chan

Abstract The issue of whether or how higher education can contribute to the labour market or employment has been an enduring topic. The most frequently raised argument by international organizations or governments is associated with the accumulation of human capital. Several quantitative studies even indicate positive social and private returns to higher education on the basis of international research. This association between higher education and wage/income has substantially inspired the widening access to university education in many countries. Taiwan, as a massified higher education system, has achieved a high level of economic growth and productivity. However, this success is accompanied by personal extra study cost, competitive employment opportunity and declining income level. Thus, this chapter provides possible explanations about why and how this negative correlation is formed and what the implications of this dynamic relationship are to the government and individuals.

12.1 Introduction

Higher education is a core sector of society that has grown in importance. To serve the diverse needs of a society, continuous expansion has become one of the major themes in modern higher education (McNay 2006). For example, the average participation rate among 25- to 34-year-old individuals in member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was 26 % in 2000 and increased to 39 % in 2011 (OECD 2013: 39). East Asian countries have undergone the same process. Only 28 % of young people in Taiwan were allowed to enter universities in 1995, but the proportion increased to approximately 67 % in 2010.

Tapper and Palfreyman (2005: 2) commented that 'demand for wider access has historically been a complex process, in which a combination of personal

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preferences, economic pressures and political variables is interwoven'. They asserted that 'there may be global economic forces which explain the international nature of the rise of mass higher education', although the key determinant is uncertain (2005: 2). On the one hand, intensified global competition in economy and trade might trigger the further growth of higher education internationally. On the other hand, another rationale in driving wider access is related to the idea of the equality of opportunity. Along with the development of democratization in several countries, enlarged higher education systems seem effective in removing 'institutional barriers in education to guarantee each social group an equal chance' (Teichler 2009: 103). The major task of expanding higher education is to provide equal footing, at least at the entry point, for students from different social groups (Wang 2012). Regardless of the motivations present, both rationales push higher education reform in the same direction.

However, the massification of higher education systems may create major challenges for the labour market. This chapter investigates how and why the higher education system has been massified in Taiwan since the mid-1990s and examines the lingering effects of this massification on employment. The increased emphasis on the integration of higher education and economic growth has prompted many governments to expand the access to university to ultimately boost the development of industrial sectors. Examining Taiwanese experiences, a massified higher education system, can shed light on this dynamic relationship. The structure of this chapter consists of several sections. The first section focuses on the rationale for improving the linkages of higher education and labour market. The second section discusses the concepts, patterns and concepts of massification of higher education. The third section illustrates why Taiwan has massified its higher education system. The fourth and fifth sections explain how massification has been achieved. Based on our analysis of the situation in Taiwan, we discuss major labour market challenges. The final section provides conclusions and implications.

12.2 Linkages of Higher Education and Labour Market

The stronger linkage between the higher education sector and the world of work is a recent phenomenon (Teichler 2009). Traditionally, university education has been regarded as purely positional goods representing higher social status. Attending a university is primarily a cultural or social activity without economic connotations, simply because, in this context, students can broaden their vision, expand their knowledge, cultivate their personality or shape their values, as suggested by German philosopher Eduard Spranger. During this period, very few of the same age cohorts were allowed to enrol in higher education institutions. What students learnt inside the university campus, to some degree, might not be highly relevant to the outside world. However, this disengagement with the economic world changed rapidly when modern societies became increasingly industrialized. With the advancement of modern technology and economic production, the need for college

graduates increased. In this scenario, the output of universities (i.e., students) becomes a major raw material for industrial sectors. The labourers or workforce generated by higher education form a fundamental basis for economic production.

However, higher education and employment are far from exhibiting a simple or linear relationship, although their integration has intensified in recent years. At a societal level, three major themes should be addressed, according to Teichler (2015), namely, quantitative-structural theme, functional discourse and substantive discourse. The first theme relates to the total number of college graduates that a society should produce or educate to meet its social and economic development needs. Unfortunately, no simple standard or criteria exist to assess this question. However, overprovisions should be prevented as a waste of expenditure, investment and human capital. The second theme addresses the extent to which the graduate of higher education is required to fulfil the expectation of the labour market. Higher education is not entirely focused on job preparation due to its complex nature or multiple functions. A correct balance must be attained between the pursuit of theoretical knowledge and the provision of occupational training. However, an obvious tendency of greater 'vocationalism' in recent years has surfaced (Grubb and Lazerson 2005; Johnson et al. 2015). The final theme, substantive discourse, is related to the core competencies, skills and knowledge required for better employment. Within massified higher education, students are frequently required to upgrade or equip themselves with diverse skills, 'suitable' personality traits and professional knowledge (Allen et al. 2005). The intensive discussion focusing on this matter reflects a critical reality that graduates have to compete for better salaries or vacancies by offering the right or qualified characteristics in this competitive labour market. Employers pay more attention to the quality of college students to raise the effectiveness of an enterprise as a whole. As Teichler (2009) indicated, these three themes vary but are deeply interlinked. For example, in an elite higher education system in which graduate provision is limited, students are not under intensive scrutiny in relation to their core competencies and skills. Similarly, if a society is not so concerned with the mission of occupational preparation, then the substantial competencies of a graduate will not be emphasized considerably.

12.3 Massification of Higher Education: Concepts, Patterns and Theories

12.3.1 Operational Concepts

The USA was the first to expand its higher education system; thus, scholars in this country have been keen to explore concepts, structure, meanings and effects. In his seminal work, *Problems in the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education*, Trow (1973) proposed a well-known operational definition of the different phases of higher education according to participation rate. Using these rates, Trow (1973)

defined a higher education system as elite if 15 % of its population (in the relevant age grade) are enrolled in higher education. The mass type refers to a country with enrolment in higher education between 16 and 50 %. When the proportion is more than 50 %, the higher education system reaches the stage of 'universal' access. The attitude towards access varies in these different phases (Trow 1973). When the age grade enrolment of higher education is below 15 % of the total population, people tend to view access to higher education as being based on talent. When the proportion is more than 15 %, access to higher education is regarded as a right. When the participation rate is more than 50 %, access to higher education becomes an obligation (Trow 1973: 7). These changing attitudes reflect how the nature of higher education is deemed differently and how this aspect may affect potential participants.

By explaining the potential problems of the transition from elite to mass higher education system, Trow (1973) identified several issues that should be addressed, including the functions of higher education, curriculum and forms of instruction, student careers, institutional diversity, characteristics and boundaries of higher education, locus of power and decision-making and academic standards. He predicted that 'for the rest of the century, the most important [functions] are 'growth, democratization and diversification' (1973: 40). The seminal report analysed a wide range of critical problems faced by mass higher education, but it failed to address the issue of employment. His exploration concentrates on the internal system changes without touching upon the interaction with the wider economic context. This chapter addresses the influence of the post-massification of higher education on the employment of college graduates in Taiwan.

12.3.2 Various Massification Patterns

In Western societies, such as Britain, France, Germany and Nordic countries, a wide range of factors have been considered in expanding their higher education systems, including population demand, public financial burden and labour market characteristics. Some countries have spent decades gradually expanding their higher education systems. For example, the British government has been cautiously moving towards this direction (Robbins 1963; Department for Education and Skills 2003). Some countries such as Switzerland continue to maintain an elite type of higher education without substantially enlarging participation. Most East Asian countries, such as Korea, Taiwan and China, have expanded their systems within a short period. In most cases, these countries spent only two or three decades in reaching the universal phase. This rapid transformation offers an able workforce for economic development, but it might also provide an excessive number of graduates.

Different patterns might characterize the process of expansion. Private institutions in some East Asian countries were allowed substantial growth to compensate for participation shortcomings in the public sector (Cheng et al. 2009; Kitagawa 2009; Kariya 2011). In the context of marketization or neoliberalism, an expanded

private sector aims to enhance flexibility and effectiveness and save public expenditure in education. In Korea, the proportions of students in the public and private sectors in the post-massification era are estimated at 20 and 80 %, respectively. In Taiwan, the number of students enrolling in private institutions increased to 70 % of the total population. However, boosting participation through private higher education institutions also involves higher tuition fees (Altbach and Levy 2005). The higher cost can exclude disadvantaged students or could result in a lasting debt for them, thus reducing the rate of return of such an investment. In addition to introducing or expanding the private sector, a variety of other measures were undertaken to achieve a massified or universal higher education sector. Firstly, establishing new institutions, enlarging current ones and upgrading some post-secondary institutions are mainstream strategies that are commonly used in developing and developed countries. Some countries have constructed new universities (e.g., England) in the 1970s (Tapper 2005). Secondly, expanding current institutions is a strategy in which departments, programmes and colleges within the universities are enlarged. Thirdly, upgrading tends to be regarded as effective because it can provide degree-level programmes in a short period for a low cost. Taiwan adopted all of these strategies, but the upgrading of junior colleges has induced some disturbance in the labour market because sub-degree programmes have been substantially reduced.

The expansion might also alter the balance between the different types of institutions. In some countries, the binary system, which prevails in European and Asian countries, is composed of general and technological institutions that serve different purposes (Teichler 1988; Kyvik 2009). General universities tend to focus on pure knowledge production and academic- and discipline-based teaching, whereas technological institutions often aim to provide competent labour, stress knowledge application and foster economic development. The upgrading of junior colleges and colleges to university status in Taiwan since the 1990s has spurred a more homogenized type of higher education institution to some extent; in turn, the features of their graduates also converge. These upgraded institutions began to reduce their course provision at a sub-degree-level or a vocational-oriented curriculum. Consequently, a less diversified graduate body had to find jobs in the labour market.

12.3.3 Different Roles of Higher Education in the Labour Market

The role of higher education is explained from two perspectives. Firstly, the human capital approach argues that one of the underestimated factors in lifting economic growth is workforce quality. Able and competent employees are the key to productivity. Therefore, expanding higher education positively influences national development. However, the signalling approach does not believe that individual

ability can be improved through learning or teaching. Instead, higher education simply performs a screening or signalling function without substantially contributing to economic development.

12.3.3.1 Human Capital Approach

The most traditional and convincing argument for the expansion of higher education comes from human capital theory, which was strongly endorsed by American economists, such as Theodore William Schultz in the 1960s and Gary Becker in the 1970s (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004). This theory holds that one of the major determining factors in explaining the productivity of a company is the relative quality of its workforce. With better skills, knowledge and competencies, employees can promote their overall institutional effectiveness and productivity. In addition, individuals with university education can generally earn more than their counterparts. Becker (1994: 17) argued that 'the monetary gains from a college education rose sharply during the 1980s to the highest level during these fifty years. The earnings advantage of high school graduates over high school dropouts also increased'.

By summarizing the important quantitative measurements of the rates of return to education, Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004: 15–16) pointed out that gaining education is beneficial to both the individual and society. For high-income countries, the private and social rates of return to higher education are 12.4 and 9.5 %, respectively. In other words, a university degree holder is expected to earn more in monetary and non-monetary respects than a non-degree holder. The private rates of return are even higher than social ones because of the public subsidization of education. According to the OECD (2012), the long-term economic advantage for an individual with a university degree instead of a secondary school leaving diploma is more than USD 175,000 for a man and USD 110,000 for a woman. These findings indicate that investing in higher education is beneficial for both individuals and countries. OECD (2012) asserted that this economic advantage will remain the same in the future as long as societies need (more) high-level skills. Thus, the human capital approach empirically and theoretically provides bedrock for expanding higher education. Nonetheless, an alternative approach can explain the role of higher education in the labour market.

12.3.3.2 Signalling Approach

Some scholars have proposed a neutral approach in interpreting the function of the university in the labour market, which regards education as a function of job market signalling (Spence 1973; Brown and Sessions 2004). In contrast to the human capital approach, the screening or signalling approach denies the possibility that education can actually improve or raise personal skills or competencies through

teaching and learning (Bedard 2001). The signalling approach holds that (higher) education serves another purpose:

> The individual, in acquiring an education, need not think of himself as signalling. He will invest in education if there is sufficient return as defined by the offered wage schedule. Individuals, then, are assumed to select signals (for the most part, I shall talk in terms of education) so as to maximize the difference between offered wages and signalling costs (Spence 1973: 358).

In other words, this approach views signalling costs as an 'investment in education'. The signalling approach suggests that an individual receives higher education simply because this is the additional cost one must pay if he or she wants a higher salary. In fact, individuals do not have to believe in the effectiveness of education in general. Credentials or degrees function as devices to aid in selecting employees with high-level abilities. However, with these characteristics and internal logics, signalling theory has failed to 'explain most of the positive association between earnings and schooling'. Furthermore, 'companies do not want information on success in schoolwork, but in terms of their abilities and performance in the context of working life—the discipline imposed by factories, the need to please customers and get along with fellow employees, and so forth' (Becker 1994: 20). Nonetheless, from the perspective of the employer, this approach highlights that education can predict the potential of workers. However, the following concern remains: What happens to the effect of signalling or screening if the number of college graduates increases rapidly?

12.4 Educational and Economic Rationales for Continuous Expansion in Taiwan

Some major forces or rationales have been intertwined and have reinforced one another in driving the expansion of higher education in Taiwan since the 1990s. After lifting the martial law, the entire society became even more diverse and democratic than before. Civil group movements and political reforms became mature and frequent. As an emerging economy, Taiwan attempts to transform its export-led industry into an innovative, knowledge-based and service-oriented economy. International competition in trade and commerce has intensified. The island country must not only fight for its market niche with neighbouring counterparts, such as South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore, but also aspire to gain relative advantages from traditional mature Western economies by enhancing its industry competitiveness (Mok et al. 2013). These backdrops stimulated higher education to undertake structural reforms to satisfy social and economic development needs.

One of the mainstream rationales that support expansion in Taiwan is closely related to the access issue, particularly equal access or equality of opportunity (Wang 2003). The key idea behind this rationale is that an expanded system is

likely to recruit additional students who were previously unable to attend elite institutions. The extra places created may help realize the objective of equal access or even 'democratization' with the societal transformation. Opportunities for access to higher education have been restricted because of an elite system in Taiwan. Higher education institutions in Taiwan were encouraged to accept more students with diverse backgrounds to materialize the idea of equality in a democratized society. A diverse student body reflects the mainstream discourse of 'opening the university to the public' and helps the young generation live better lives in the future. Traditionally, access to higher education has been competitive and exerted considerable pressure on the learning of students and entrance examinations. Some distortions occurred, such as significant stress for students and their families, the prevailing of cram school (shadow education) and a bias towards some subjects (e.g., science and language subjects) because of high-stake assessments. Thus, unified entrance examinations have been criticized for such negative effects. An expanded higher education system is expected to remove such disadvantages and deter the idea that 'one examination determines your whole life' (一試定終身).

In echoing such educational or cultural motivations, some grassroots movements have begun to call for increased participation in higher education. In 1994, a major civil group called 410 Civil Educational Reform Alliance proposed the 'universal establishment of senior high school and universities' (廣設高中大學) to solve problems. In response to public expectation, the Council on Education Reform (1996), a high-level review committee led by Nobel Laureate Dr. Yuan-Tseh Lee, suggested the following solution:

> To cater to the diverse needs of higher education, the overall capacity should be expanded continuously. However, the growth rate of public universities should be slower, while private ones can be considerably enlarged… the existing public universities should be expanded to suitable size so as to take advantage of scale of economies (1996: 60).

The proposed strategies focus on different paces of expansion between public and private institutions. As stated by the Council of Education Reform, 'public institutions should be still under control of government with appropriate planning', whereas 'the private sector is subject to social demands' (Council on Education Reform 1996: 30). In other words, the market-oriented principle is applied to the expansion of the private sector, whereas governmental control is applicable to the public sector. Thus, in achieving greater equal participation, the private sector has a key role. However, this market-oriented principle, which is subject to 'social demands', might pose serious challenges to college graduates in the labour market, which is addressed later on.

Taiwan has a long history of planned economy. Its education sector has served as an effective tool in the economic development. Higher education is no exception. Since the 1980s, the economic structure in Taiwan has been changing and heading towards knowledge-intensive industries (Ministry of Education 2001). A large highly skilled workforce is urgently required for economic development. This economic rationale aims to provide qualified and high-quality workers to upgrade

industry structures and ultimately promote national development. Former Minister of Education, Ovid Tzeng, stated the following:

> The twenty-first century will be the century where knowledge-based economy will form the fulcrum of development, where universities around the world will become the spawning ground for the new knowledge and for human resources, i.e., universities will become the major focus for national competitiveness (Ministry of Education 2001: 6).

This white paper suggests that the educational authority in Taiwan clearly acknowledged the important role that universities should play in the new type of economy. An expanded and improved higher education sector is the prerequisite for securing relative competitiveness at the national level. Based on such economic motivations, the higher education system in Taiwan began to undergo a dramatic transformation. One of the notable features is to enlarge long-standing colleges and universities and permit the establishment of additional public and private institutions beginning in the 1990s. This supply-side policy driven by economic imperative provides additional places in higher education. The subsequent section illustrates how the expansion has occurred in the past two decades.

12.5 Expansion of Higher Education in Taiwan: Institutions and Students

The higher education system in Taiwan has expanded and produced a system with a variety of institutions, both public versus private, and varying by disciplines offered. According to the classification of Trow (1973), the development of higher education of Taiwan has undergone a substantial transformation within a short period. As far as net enrolment rate (NER) is concerned, Fig. 12.1 shows a rapid expansion of the higher education system. In 1991, the NER was slightly more than

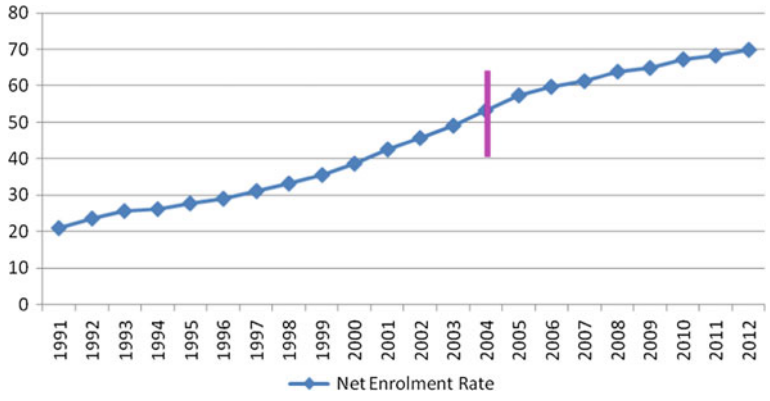

Fig. 12.1 Net enrolment rate of higher education in Taiwan by year (%) (Ministry of Education 2014a)

20 %, which is somewhat over the threshold of the elite system. However, the figure increased to 50 % in 2004, reaching the universal phrase (see violet bar in Fig. 12.1), and continued to increase afterwards.

We reveal some interesting patterns from Fig. 12.2 by examining this issue from the total numbers and changing proportions of the type of higher education institutions. The total number of higher education institutions considerably increased from 130 in 1994 to 164 in 2007. The growth rate is moderate (approximately 26 %) compared with the NER because each university and college has been enlarged to accommodate more students, as previously discussed. When considering the changing proportions of higher education institutions with respect to institutional type, three different phases of development in Taiwan have been identified. Junior college (i.e., a sub-degree or foundation courses) was the dominant form of higher education institution prior to 1998 (see violet bar in Fig. 12.2), and it provides vocational- and occupational-oriented programmes. The second phase, from 1999 to 2003, was characterized by numerous colleges primarily focused on four-year courses (i.e., undergraduate). After 2004 (see violet bar in Fig. 12.2), universities became the mainstream type of higher education institution, with a wide range of courses, including those at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. These distinctions highlight a trend of several institutions having been gradually upgraded to a higher level of universities. The major drivers for this structural transformation are twofold, namely, enhancing the education quality and meeting the cultural expectation of attending a 'university', rather than a 'junior college' or 'college'. Politically, the expansion of higher education aims to raise citizenry quality through schooling. Therefore, upgrading junior colleges and colleges corresponds to the needs of transforming the higher education sector and providing more places for prospective students.

Another dimension of the expansion of higher education is the types of graduates produced. The upgrading policy centred on the junior colleges and colleges that belonged to the 'vocational and technological sector'. These institutions produced a

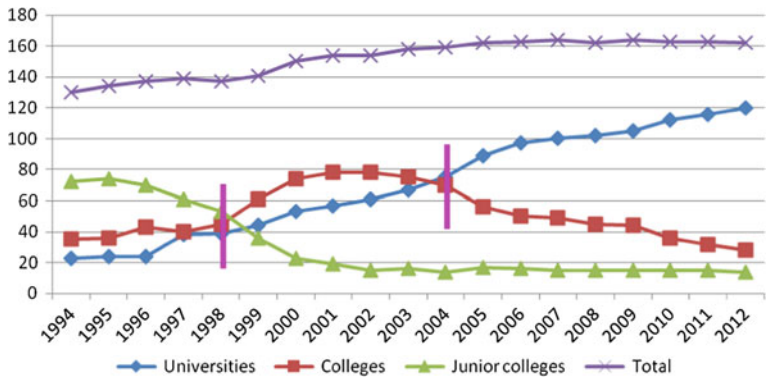

Fig. 12.2 Number of higher education institutions by type (Ministry of Education 2014b)

mid-level workforce and emphasized practical skills and techniques. After upgrading, the mission of the programmes shifted to white-collar professional or even high-end jobs. However, whether such an institutional transformation is successful or not heavily depends on the absorption capacity of the labour market.

Another feature of higher education expansion in Taiwan is a relatively larger private sector, which has significant implications for individual financial burden. On average, public institutions catered for 30 % of the students from 1994 to 2012 (Ministry of Education 2014b). This finding signifies that although the public sector had expanded, the entire system is principally composed of private universities. This reality shows that increased participation is achieved in Taiwan through further 'privatization' to absorb more students. This strategy, which eases the public financial stringency, amplifies the private monetary contribution to the growth of the higher education sector. However, students registering at private institutions pay higher tuition fees because of the lack of 'public subsidization' (Lin 2012). Tuition fees at private universities are generally two times higher than those at public ones. This difference can be problematic because more disadvantaged students are enrolled in private institutions than in public ones. Lin (2012: 29) asserted that 'more and more disadvantaged households rely on increased borrowing to send their children to school'. Considerable financial burden has been placed on lower-income groups because of this dual policy on tuition fees (Wang 2012). Social class segregation seems to persist in Taiwan in terms of the types of higher education institutions (Chen 2012) because students with higher social status end up paying less for an education at public universities with a good institutional reputation. Their disadvantaged counterparts (students with a lower socio-economic status) pay higher tuition fees and attend lower-reputation private universities, which will have major implications for the employment of college graduates in the labour market.

12.6 Features of Massification: In Pursuit of Higher Degrees

The analysis shows that Taiwanese higher education has undergone substantial growth in NER, accompanied by a moderate increase in the number of institutions. The proportions of students in public and private higher education institutions have been almost unchanged. However, a prominent feature emerges in Taiwanese higher education expansion if we examine the statistics by the level of education, that is, the pursuit of higher degrees. In mirroring the development of different types of institutions (junior colleges, colleges and universities; see Fig. 12.2), the constituents of the student body in Taiwanese higher education change accordingly (see Fig. 12.3). Prior to 1998, junior college students comprised the majority, followed by undergraduate students. However, undergraduate students have substantially taken the lead since 1999 because of the continuous upgrading from junior colleges

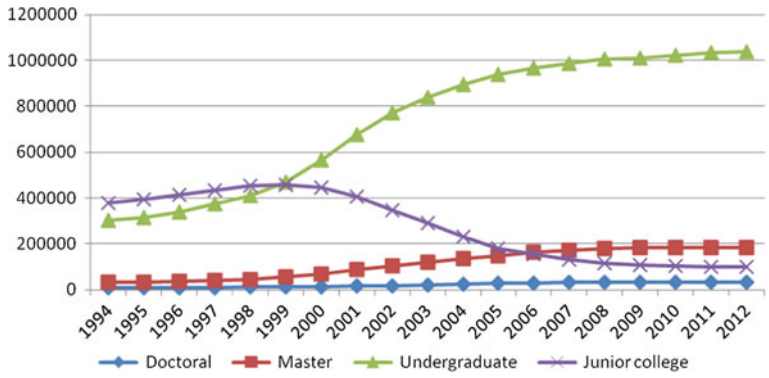

Fig. 12.3 Number of students in higher education by level (Ministry of Education 2014b)

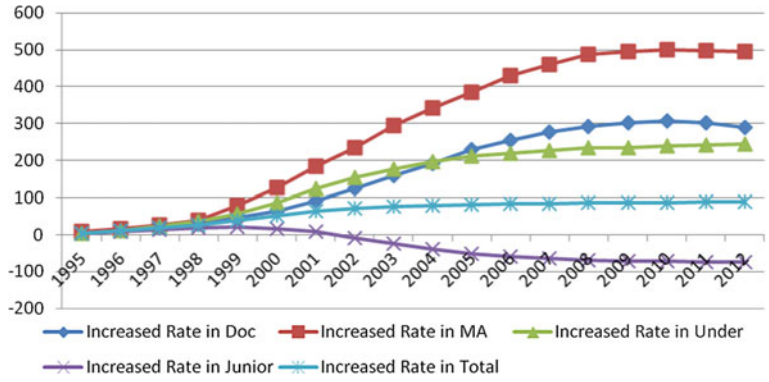

Fig. 12.4 Increased rate of student numbers by level (calculated from Ministry of Education 2014b)

to colleges or even universities. Hence, the number of master's students even surpassed that of junior college students in 2006. Junior colleges and their students have become marginalized with minor roles since the early 2000s.

Other dramatic transformations are revealed if we examine the changing proportion of the student body according to the level of education. With 1994 as the benchmarking year, Fig. 12.4 shows a different landscape of Taiwanese higher education. The total number of students considerably increased by 88 % from 1994 to 2012. However, the number of junior college students has decreased rapidly, whereas the number of participants in other levels has grown substantially since 2000. Over the past two decades, the number of undergraduate students doubled within 10 years (from 1994 to 2005), stabilized and grew rapidly after 2005. However, the number of master's students increased fivefold from 1994 to 2010, whereas the number of doctoral students rose by 300 %. In other words, postgraduate programs have been the focus of expansion. More students of doctoral and

master's degrees than undergraduate were produced. This systematic growth of postgraduate programmes coincides with the hopes of raising human resource quality and lifting the overall enterprise productivity.

With the successful transformation of higher education, the Taiwanese workforce actually faces serious declining wage levels (see Figs. 12.5 and 12.6). Taiwan had 40 % NER approaching universal access in 2000. With this year as the benchmark, we witness a continuously reduced income level after inflation

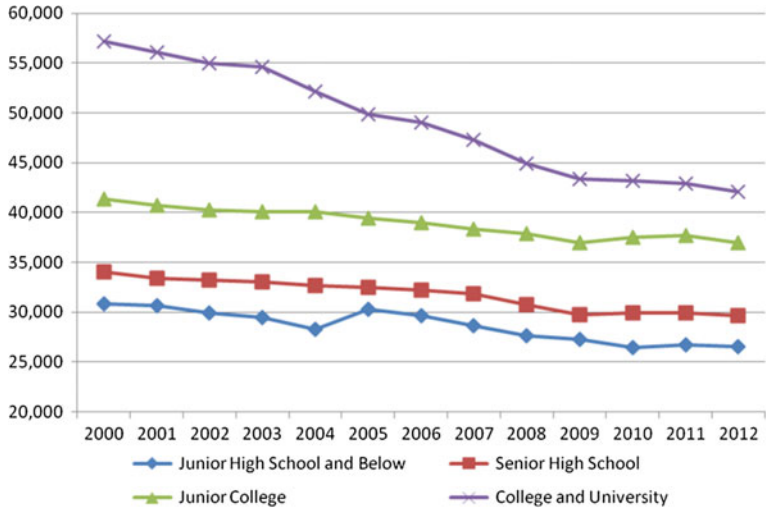

Fig. 12.5 Declining average wages (after inflation adjustment in NT dollars) (Chan and Yang 2015)

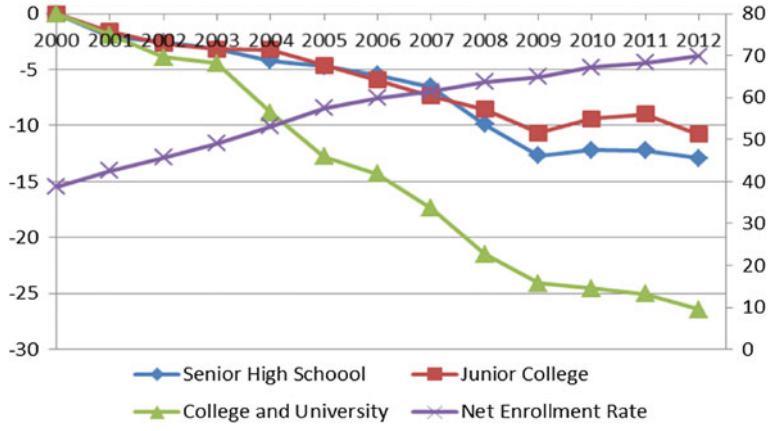

Fig. 12.6 Declining average wage by percentage (after inflation adjustment) (Chan and Yang 2015)

adjustment for all types of educational attainment. Figure 12.6 shows that college graduates still earn more in the labour market than other levels of education. However, the differences in average wage gradually narrowed between 2000 and 2012 due to the slower decline of other levels of educational attainment. In Fig. 12.6, the average wages of college and university graduates in 2012 were less than three quarters of the level in 2000. Clearly, declining wages are consistent with the continuous expansion of NER. College and university graduates suffer the most, followed by senior high school and junior college leavers. Using data from 1990 to 2000 in Taiwan, Chuang and Lai (2010) suggested that the trend of declining return to university education may have been caused by the rapid expansion of the number of colleges and universities and the increasing supply of college graduates in the 1990s. Gindling and Sun (2002) confirmed that the decrease in the wages of workers with higher education, compared with non-degree holders, is attributable to the increased number of students enrolled in universities and junior colleges in the 1990s. The surprising outcome seems to be not supported by the human capital approach, which states that graduates with higher educational attainment are more competitive and productive in the general sense. With the narrowing differences in wage levels between college graduates and junior college leavers, the relative advantage of employment in the labour market seems to erode for university attendees. Therefore, how such an expansion strategy in the pursuit of higher degrees has induced other difficulties or challenges in the labour market is a serious issue.

12.7 Challenges to the Labour Market: Increasing Personal Burden

An expanded higher education in Taiwan has extended educational equal access to some extent (Lin and Yang 2009). With regard to political will and economic needs, the Taiwanese experience is positive. However, if we approach this issue from the individual level in relation to the labour market, we arrive at a different conclusion. The opportunities for students to have bright employment prospects in the labour market have become problematic. Firstly, in the universalized higher education system in Taiwan, public universities tend to be full of students with high or middle social status who pay lower tuition fees and have better employment opportunities. By contrast, private universities that charge higher tuition fees than public universities principally admit working-class students whose job prospects are somewhat uncertain (Wang 2012). This massified higher education might spur reverse income redistribution among different social classes because of the varied institutional reputations and the dual-track tuition fee policy. The rate of return to higher education for upper- or middle-class students is even higher than working-class ones because of the public subsidization to public universities.

The second issue that challenges the labour market is related to the declining quality of college graduates (Chou and Wang 2012). The higher education system was originally expanded to provide enterprises with a competent workforce. However, the mass production of college graduates in such a short period has received substantial criticism in terms of their declining ability, skills and required attitudes (Cheng and Chang 2014; Chiang 2013). The entry scores of university examinations have gone down further along with the expansion. Some university students are not entirely devoted to learning. Despite the greater number of graduates, employers complain about the lack of skills required by industries. Therefore, balancing the rapid expansion of higher education and quality of college graduates has become a tough issue for policy makers and institutional leaders in Taiwan.

According to the Global Competitiveness Report 2013–2014 released by the World Economic Forum (2013), Taiwan has been highly ranked in terms of its performance. One of the major enhancers is its higher education system, which is excellently rated. Compared with other political entities, the high competitiveness of Taiwan is related to universal participation and increased human resources brought by the expansion of postgraduate courses. However, as previously explained, such an achievement was attained through an enlarged private sector of higher education. Thus, despite enjoying high international ranking and national competitiveness, the Taiwanese higher education system is characterized by a distinct feature; that is, most of the educational cost is shared by individuals who attend private institutions and pay higher tuition fees. The better competitiveness or productivity in Taiwan is attributable to the additional investment of individuals in higher education borne with additional study costs. Notwithstanding its overall productive society, Taiwan suffers a serious decline in wages for college graduates. The supply-side approach in Taiwan (i.e., expanding higher education) makes the labour market even more competitive than before for college graduates. However, this situation might also induce a polarized phenomenon, that is, a lack of mid-level workforce and reduced wage level for college graduates. Taiwan has to import several foreign workers to perform basic or low-skill jobs and faces a lack of workers for semi-professional or mid-level jobs because of the overexpansion of the higher education system (more than 70 % NER in 2012). This type of universal higher education might have provided the labour market with some able and competent candidates for cutting-edge industries. However, sub-degree-level workers have been largely removed, but Taiwanese enterprises still need them. This assertion might be confirmed by Fig. 12.6 in that the wage decline among junior colleges has been considerably less than that among degree holders over the past decade. This situation induces another major concern in Taiwan in relation to overeducation or overinvestment in higher education as a whole (Lin and Wang 2005).

As we have presented previously, NER in Taiwan at the university level nearly reached 70 % in 2012, with the risk of overeducation. A continuous decrease in income level is a key indicator because the market value of college graduates has diminished along with the expansion of higher education. The actual level of overeducation depends on the dynamic relationship among the industrial structure,

demand side, and the configuration of the higher education system and supply side (Chevalier 2003). As the signalling approach asserts, extra investment in schooling, such as higher education, is deemed as an additional cost for exchanging better employment opportunities, rather than actually improving skills and professional or vocational experiences. Therefore, such a signalling effect became blurry or considerably weakened when Taiwan evolved from an elite system to a universal system. Employers face a wide range of difficulties in determining the most competent individuals because of the increase in the number of degree holders, particularly master's and doctoral degrees. Competition among individual graduates intensified. Thus, personal cost in job hunting substantially increased as each candidate seeks to gain a better chance for employment. Job seeking became a game in which each young person must engage. Receiving higher education became a must or obligation (as Trow (1973) mentioned) when universal access became a reality in Taiwan. Without higher education, the relative advantage for employment is diminished. Individuals bear higher study costs, particularly socially disadvantaged students attending private institutions, but they are not guaranteed of bright job prospects in a highly competitive labour market. The signalling effect has lost its validity in these situations.

12.8 Conclusions and Implications

With considerable prospects of elevating citizenry quality, meeting the cultural expectation of parents and promoting a high-technology island region, higher education in Taiwan has been encouraged not only to improve the overall quality, but also expand the participation rate. Based on these motivations and visions, the massification of higher education in Taiwan has been a mainstream public discourse since the 1990s without any challenge or resistance. This transformation promised bright prospects for students, parents, industries and higher education institutions. The massification generated positive effects in terms of upgrading the industrial structure and maintaining regional competitiveness. At the individual level, the pressure of access to higher education substantially improved by providing extra places. Nevertheless, this process posed challenges for the career development of the younger generation.

High-end job vacancies seem limited in Taiwan nowadays, which has resulted in declining wage levels because of the overprovision of master and doctoral courses. Rapid expansion aggravates this issue because of the increasing incidence of overeducation or mismatch. Instead of raising the overall regional competitiveness through a massified higher education sector, this major reform in Taiwan has undoubtedly presented the younger generation with an extra cost for higher learning. Unfortunately, this unstable and intensified competition for employment incurs an additional personal burden, particularly to disadvantaged students.

Therefore, matching the expansion of higher education and the changing needs of the transformative economy has been a tough lesson learned in the case of Taiwan. In addition, the rapid expansion of access and the wrong types of graduates seem to be related to the declining income level. These points merit further investigation.

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Chapter 13
Massification of Higher Education: Challenges for Admissions and Graduate Employment in China

Ka Ho Mok and Jin Jiang

Abstract With a strong conviction to transform the country and prepare its people to cope with the growing challenges of the globalizing market, the Chinese government has actively increased more opportunities of higher education. The higher education system experienced a transformation from elite to mass form. The massification of higher education has provided more and more accesses to junior college and universities, and subsequently produced a growing number of college graduates looking for jobs in labor market. Similar to other East Asian countries/economies like South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, the strong impacts of China's expansion of higher education on higher education admission and labor market are expected to appear. College students start to doubt the effect of higher education massification on bringing more equality in admission and improving their competitiveness in the job market. This, in turn, leads to a wide dissatisfaction of higher education development in China. Realizing students coming from different family backgrounds may confront diverse experiences in higher education admission, graduate employment, and opportunity for upward social mobility, this chapter sets out against the policy context highlighted above to critically examine the impact of the massification of higher education on admissions and subsequently on graduate employment and social mobility in contemporary China. In the final section, this chapter also reflects upon reconstructing new education governance framework in promoting educational equality when higher education is massively expanded.

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13.1 Massification of Higher Education: A Growing Trend in Asia and China

Similar to the experience of the higher education system moving from elite to massification, and even to post-massification in the other Western countries, the Asia-Pacific region has witnessed an unprecedented growth in higher education over the past decades, in particular from the 1980s onward (Hawkins et al. 2014). Believing that increasing higher education enrollment would improve the quality of the population and enhance the national competitiveness in the globalizing world, South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and even Hong Kong and Mainland China have recorded a dramatic expansion in higher education, with increasingly privatized and marketized strategies to create education opportunities for meeting the pressing demand for higher education (Mok 2015; Mok and Han 2015) (see Fig. 13.1).

Being a latecomer in higher education development, China has made serious attempts to expand higher education enrollment in the last few decades. According to "The Action Plan to Vitalize Education in the twenty-first century" (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China [MOE] 1998), the government aimed to achieve a gross enrollment rate of 15 % by 2010, and later adjusted that goal when it reached that percentage by 2005. In early 1999, MOE pledged to have an increase of 20 % in the enrollment of college (including junior college and four-year college, college, university, and higher education are used interchangeably hereafter), and revised the plan to target at a 47 % increase rate (Wan 2006). A dramatic increase in higher education opportunities has been taking place in China since 1998.

Figure 13.2 below shows China's cohort trend of higher education expansion during 1988–2012, which covers the period before and after college expansion. The connected dotted line presents the higher education enrollment, which is measured by the number of students admitted in higher education. The higher education enrollment indicates the system capacity. It is worth noting that the capacity

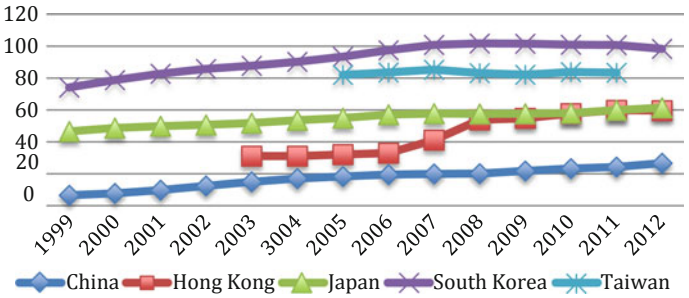

Fig. 13.1 Expansion of higher education in selected Asian countries/areas (1999–2012). *Source* UNESCO database, http://data.uis.unesco.org; http://www.studyintaiwan.org/living_statics.html

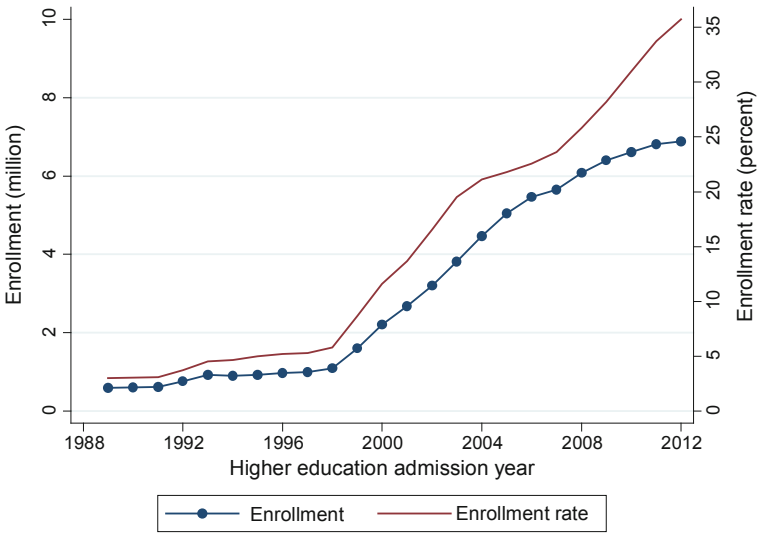

Fig. 13.2 National enrollments and enrollment rate of higher education, 1989–2012. *Source* Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 1982–2012. *Note* Enrollment of higher education is measured by number of students admitted in regular higher education institutions. Enrollment rate of higher education is measured by the enrollment of higher education relative to the cohort size of the same age. The number of graduates from primary education is used as the proxy for the cohort size, as the direct measure of cohort size is not available

increased smoothly from 0.67 million in 1988 to 1.08 million in 1998, and surged from 1.6 million in 1999 to 6.89 million in 2012—more than 10 times in number within 25 years. The solid line presents the higher education enrollment rate, which is measured by the higher education enrollment at a specific year relative to the cohort size—the number of students enrolled in primary education in the corresponding year.[1] The enrollment rate reflects the relative opportunity for the students at the same age cohort. The cohort trend of enrollment rate is similar to that of higher education enrollment: it increased slowly in 1988–1998 and then leapt in 1999—increasing from 5.8 % in 1998 to 8.7 % in 1999. The enrollment rate grew to 35.7 % in 2012, more than 10 times of the rate in 1988 (3.0 %), and almost seven times the rate in 1998—the last year before the big bang. Therefore, China has been undergoing dramatic higher education expansion in terms of system capacity and relative opportunity.

According to Trow's definition of three-stage higher education development (Trow 1973), China's higher education experienced the transformation from elite to

[1]The statistics on the size of age cohort is not available. This study uses the number of students enrolled in primary school as the proxy for students at school age, as China implemented compulsory education in 1986.

a mass form in a short period of time.[2] Access to higher education has moved from a benefit for the elite to a means by which members of the general population can improve their life chances. However, the massification of higher education does not guarantee more equal opportunities in higher education admission, for example, maximally maintained inequality perspective (Raftery and Hout 1993) and the effectively maintained inequality perspective (Lucas 2001) are influential studies suggesting that educational inequality persists despite massive educational expansion. In addition, early cohorts of college students caught up in massification were expected to flood the labor market in recent years, thus increasing the proportion of college-educated workers. The effect of the massification of higher education on labor market is expected to appear.

The present chapter sets out against the socioeconomic background to critically examine the impact of the massification of higher education on higher education admissions and labor market (especially employment of graduates from junior college and four-year college). Whether this massification brings more equal opportunities or creates greater challenges for higher education admissions and graduates employment forms the core research focus in the present study.

13.2 Data and Research Method

13.2.1 Data Sets

This study draws on both macro-level and micro-level data from multiple sources. The micro-level data are mainly based on pooled nationally representative data—the 2006 and 2008 Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS).[3] Bian and Li (2012) have detailed documentation of the research design, sample properties, and quality control of the Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS) from 2003 to 2008. CGSS 2006 and 2008 cover most provincial level divisions in mainland China, except for three of the remotest and sparsely populated provinces: Ningxia, Qinghai, and Tibet.[4] The analysis sample of CGSS 2006 and 2008 is based on respondents born in 1971–1989 (assumed to be the 1989–2007 higher education admission cohorts). We restricted the sample of respondents who started school after the Cultural

[2]According to Trow's indicator of higher education development (the gross enrollment rate, i.e., the percentage of age group enrolling in higher education), the cutoff point of enrollment rate between elite and mass higher education is 15 %, and that between mass and universal education is 50 %.

[3]The data are collected and distributed by the National Survey Research Center at Remin University of China (http://www.cssod.org).

[4]CGSS 2006 excludes Ningxia, Qinghai, and Tibet, while CGSS 2008 excludes Qinghai and Tibet.

Revolution (1966–1976), so that it avoids the complications prior studies found in regards to the Cultural Revolution with its dramatic and unique effects on the educational attainment for a whole generation of Chinese (Deng and Treiman 1997; Zhou et al. 1998). The sample for higher education admissions consists of 4604 respondents born in 1971–1989, and the sample for analysis for employment consists of 1445 respondents entering labor market during 1991–2008.

We also extracted micro-level data from Youth Survey of Graduate Employment and Social Mobility in Greater China 2012–2013 (Youth Survey, hereafter). This survey project examines how university students in Hong Kong, Taipei and Guangzhou, three major cities in the Greater China region, evaluate their job prospects and perceive social opportunity and mobility. Our present analysis is based on the data collected in Guangzhou. Questionnaires were distributed to 1200 college students at six different colleges/universities in Guangzhou. To ensure a balanced representation within Guangzhou, we used stratified sampling and cluster sampling in stages one and two, respectively. In the first stage, stratified sampling was used to select six universities/colleges in Guangzhou. In the next stage, cluster sampling was used to distribute the questionnaire to college students at the selected universities/colleges. These two sampling strategies should have provided a good representation of the target population, despite the moderate response rate.

The macro-level data are drawn from the annual issues of China Labor Statistical Yearbook, 1996–2012. The national official statistics provide information on the changes of labor market conditions, including the employment and unemployment for adults and college graduates.

13.2.2 Variables

We focus on the regression analysis in higher education admissions. The main dependent variable is a binary variable whether a respondent attended higher education (0 = no higher education, 1 = any higher education). The main independent variables at the individual level are related to respondents' family background. Father's education and father's occupational status reflect a family's cultural capital and economic resources, respectively. Father's education is defined as years of schooling (6 = primary, 9 = lower secondary, 12 = upper secondary, 15 = junior college, 16 = four-year college, 19 = graduate school). Father's occupational status is measured by the International Socioeconomic Index (ISEI), which the CGSS recorded using the 1988 International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO88) (Ganzeboom et al. 1992; Ganzeboom and Treiman 1996). Both father's years of education and ISEI are further rescaled to a unit range of [0–1] from minimum to maximum.

A respondent's *hukou* of origin is measured by father's *hukou* (for CGSS 2006) or respondents' *hukou* (CGSS 2008) when a respondent was age 14—following the prior studies' definition of respondents' original *hukou* status (e.g., Wu and

Treiman 2004, 2007).[5] Higher education admission cohort is imputed basing on individual's birth year[6] and then rescaled into the unit of a decade, ranging from 0 to 1.8, corresponding to birth years from 1971 through 1989. This study also includes gender (0 = male, 1 = female) as control variable. For the analysis of graduate employment, we have some descriptive analyses based on national official statistics and some survey questions from CGSS 2008 and Youth Survey. We will explain the corresponding measures in the graduate employment section.

13.2.3 Statistical Models

The statistical analysis of this study is mainly based on binary logistic regression models of college attendance. As we want to examine the cohort trend of the inequality in higher education admission, our focus is the interaction between cohort and family background effects (measured by father's education and father's SEI). Specifically, the model is as follows:

$$\ln\left(\frac{p}{1-p}\right) = \alpha\text{Origin} + \beta\text{Cohort} + \lambda\text{Origin} \times \text{Cohort} + \theta\text{Hukou} + \varphi\text{Gender}$$

where p denotes the probability of college attendance, *Origin* includes father's education or occupational SEI. α and β are the coefficients of the main effects of *Origin* and *Cohort*, respectively. λ denotes cohort trend of the *Origin*. θ and φ are the coefficients of the control variables of Hukou and *Gender*.

Sampling weights of CGSS 2006 and 2008 are used to correct for oversampling and to compute figures representative of the general population in China. In addition, robust standard errors are reported. The analyses are mainly implemented with Stata 12.

13.3 Increasing Inequality in Higher Education Admissions

13.3.1 Previous Studies on Educational Inequality in China

While higher education has been expanding dramatically around the world over several decades, scholars are interested in the question how higher education

[5]The survey questions of *hukou* origin of CGSS 2006 and 2008 are slightly different.

[6]The college entry cohort is imputed as the year when the individual was 18 years old because: (1) age 6 is eligible for entry to primary school, (2) 6 years of primary schooling, (3) 3 years of lower secondary education and upper secondary education, respectively.

expansion would affect educational inequality in higher education admissions, that is to explore the impact of expansion on the effects of family background (i.e., parental resources and conditions) on higher education attendance. Yang (2006) suggests that the educational inequality in higher education increases during expansion by analyzing the parental occupation composition of the students in several colleges before and after college expansion. Drawing on the Chinese General Social Survey 2003, Liu (2006) yields similar findings and notes that the family advantage in attending four-year college is almost double after college expansion. Guo and Wu (2008) also demonstrate an increase in the impact of social background on college attendance with the help of data from the China Health and Nutrition Survey (CHNS). A recent study by Jiang and Tam (2015) find that students from better educated families had increasing advantage in higher education attendance, while higher education opportunities for students from less educated families were depressed during higher education expansion. However, Li (2010) compares the effect of family socioeconomic status before and after college expansion and finds that the educational inequality based on family background remains stable. There has been international and comparative studies examining how the rapid expansion of higher education has resulted in a growing number of families and students to grapple with the uncertainty of employment after graduation (Quinn and Kay 2007; Kong and Sreng 2012), especially when international reputable review like the *Economist* recently published an article entitled "The World is going to University: *More and more money is being spent on higher education. Too little is known about whether it is worth it*" (Economist 2015).

Putting the previous studies into perspective, whether educational inequality persists or not is still controversial. In addition, studies of educational inequality in China are handicapped by design flaws that the authors assumed a dichotomy variation (instead of a continuous trend) of the inequality before and after higher education expansion (e.g., Li 2010; Yang 2006; Liu 2006). And the findings based on the data of early years only present the changes of inequality after expansion for a short period of time. Therefore, the overall time trend of inequality in higher education admission, especially a recent cohort trend, remains unknown. In this chapter, we employed recent nationally representative data to examine the cohort trend of the inequality in higher education admissions.

13.3.2 Rising Importance of Family's Educational and Economic Resources

The analysis begins with a standard binary logit model of college attendance. The change of class inequality is measured by the extent to which the effects of socioeconomic origin vary across entry cohorts, which is reflected in an interaction effect of socioeconomic origin and cohort. Table 13.1 compares two dimensions of

Table 13.1 Logit models of college attendance: cohort trend of two dimensions of class inequality (N = 4604)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Family background			
Father's education	2.816***	1.725***	2.863***
	(0.338)	(0.514)	(0.338)
Father's SEI	0.565*	0.571*	0.015
	(0.247)	(0.249)	(0.410)
Hukou origin (1 = urban)	1.302***	1.299***	1.305***
	(0.112)	(0.112)	(0.112)
Trends of class inequality			
Father's education × Cohort		1.611**	
		(0.544)	
Father's SEI × Cohort			0.691+
			(0.404)
Basic controls			
Cohort	0.321***	−0.420	0.126
	(0.097)	(0.265)	(0.144)
Gender	−0.060	−0.066	−0.063
(1 = female)	(0.101)	(0.102)	(0.102)
Constant	−3.671***	−3.197***	−3.538***
	(0.185)	(0.247)	(0.203)
Pseudo R-squared	0.172	0.174	0.173

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$
Source Chinese General Social Survey 2006 and 2008
Note Robust standard errors in parentheses

class inequality—the effects of socioeconomic origin on respondents' higher education attendance adjusting for gender and *hukou* origin.

Model 1 indicates that father's education, SEI, and *hukou* origin strongly predict respondents' college attendance. A respondent from better educated, more wealthy family, and/or urban *hukou* origin are more likely to enter higher education. Moreover, the cohort variable is also positively significant at 0.05 significance level, suggesting that the overall higher education attendance has been increasing overtime. However, the overall increase in higher education opportunities does not mean that the new opportunities would be equally distributed.

Models 2–3 examine the cohort trend of father's education and SEI effect on higher education attendance, respectively: the interaction between father's education/SEI and higher education admission cohort. The results show that both father's education and SEI effect increase across cohorts, suggesting a rising class inequality in higher education attendance. This result is largely consistent with previous studies (e.g., Yang 2006; Liu 2006).

Figure 13.3 presents a scatter plot of the estimated effects of father's education on college attendance from a logistic regression model. Each dot is an estimated

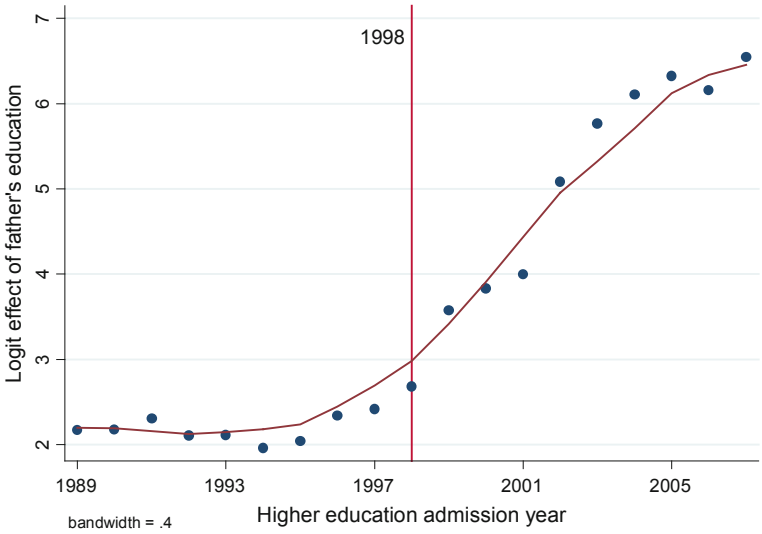

Fig. 13.3 Cohort trend of father's education effect on higher education attendance. *Source* Chinese General Social Survey 2006 and 2008. *Note* Each dot is an estimated effect of father's education on college attendance for a specific higher education admission year according to a logistic regression model, and is taken a simple moving average of order 7. In addition to the interactions between father's education and higher education admission year, the logistic regression model also controls for gender, urban origin, and father's SEI. The nonlinear curve is estimated by a Kernel-weighted local polynomial smoothing procedure with a degree of 0.4

effect of father's education on college attendance for a specific higher education admission year. The nonlinear curve is the estimated trend of father's education effect by locally weighted scatterplot smoothing (LOWESS). What particularly intriguing is the dramatic surge in the father's education effect in higher education attendance after the big bang of China's higher education since 1998. This figure assures our findings in the regression model that there is an increase in the importance of family's educational resource (cultural capital) in determining a child's higher education attendance amid higher education expansion.

In Fig. 13.4, we use the similar way to present a scatter plot of the estimate effects of father's SEI effect on higher education attendance. The importance of family's economic resource (measured by father's SEI) in determining higher education attendance also increased overtime, but the time of uptake is higher education admission year 2001, which is a bit latter than the year of uptake for higher education expansion—1998. Our interpretation of this "time-lagged" of father's SEI effect is the late development of shadow education. For the higher education admission cohorts before 2000, there were limited market alternatives to direct parental involvement in student's homework assignments and lesson reviews. Thus, the competitive advantage of families in advancing students' academic performance often manifests as parents' engagement in students' learning activities. Wealthy families usually did not have any compensation for educational resource. However, there are more and more

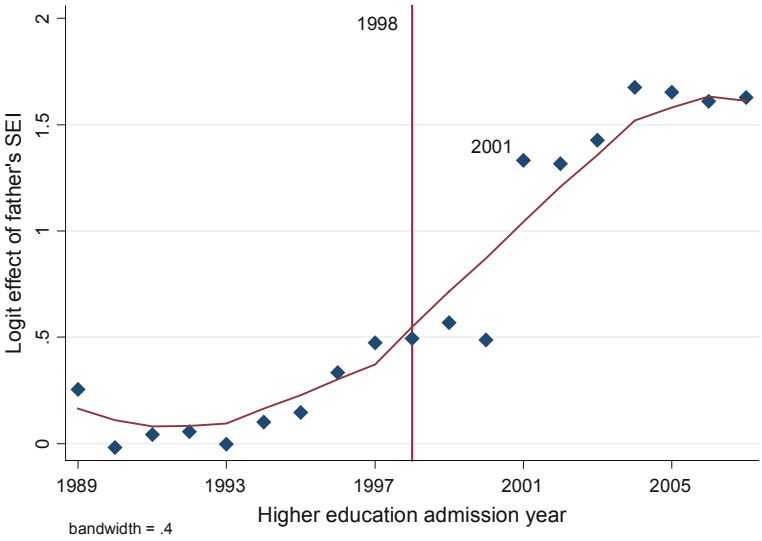

Fig. 13.4 Cohort trend of father's SEI effect on higher education attendance. *Source* Chinese General Social Survey 2006 and 2008. *Note* Each dot is an estimated effect of father's education on college attendance for a specific higher education admission year according to a logistic regression model, and is taken a simple moving average of order 7. In addition to the interactions between father's education and higher education admission year, the logistic regression model also controls for gender, urban origin, and father's SEI. The nonlinear curve is estimated by a Kernel-weighted local polynomial smoothing procedure with a degree of 0.4

private tutorials in recent years, which could help students in academic learning as long as their family can afford (Zhang 2014). As such, family's economic resources and family asserts become a competitive advantage in enhancing students' academic performance. The parental economic resource is likely a source of competitive advantage for higher education attendance in more recent years.

13.3.3 Explanations: Positional Values or Labor Market Incentive

After decades of empirical research on the generality of the persistent inequality of educational opportunity, Alon (2009) recently established a new theoretical model of higher education inequality. She incorporated class adaptation (investment in competitive success) and organizational exclusion (the importance of admission barriers) as twin mechanisms mediating the family background effect on college destinations. Both mechanisms are depicted in the context of a meritocratic pathway, recent studies extend (Tam and Jiang 2014, 2015) extend the model by incorporating meritocratic and non-meritocratic pathways. In addition, Alon (2009) emphasizes the role of competition for higher education admission—the balance of

supply and demand for college slots—as a means of interpreting the evolution of educational inequality in a society. She uses the competition model to explain the variation in educational inequality in the USA within a relatively short period of time. When the competition for college declined from 1972 through 1982, inequality for college attendance decreased. When the college competition intensified during the 1982–1992 period, the inequality rose.

We apply Alon's theoretical model to interpret China's rising educational inequality in higher education attendance. This model implies that inequality in higher education attendance can increase amid expansion if competition for higher education intensified. In fact, *positional deflation argument* suggests that competition could increase amid higher education expansion. This is because the positional value of the qualifications of upper secondary education and higher education would decrease during higher education expansion. This argument builds on the idea that education functions as "a positional good" (Hirsch 1976; Sorensen 1979). The value of an educational credential is determined by its relative ranking in the hierarchy of educational credentials. To the extent that education is a positional good, higher education expansion decreases the value of upper secondary education, even the value of higher education. This deflation of educational credential would motivate more students to invest more to enter higher education (Van de Werfhorst 2009). The competition for higher education is further intensified. As upper class usually has advantages in academic performance, the intensified competition for admissions enlarges the class difference in higher education admissions. The reproduction of social inequality through the process of education when intergeneration transfer is made possible for those who come from middle class and above could enjoy far more social and cultural capital benefited from their family backgrounds have unquestionably influenced people's decisions when choosing university education and majors of studies in order to become pragmatically rational in calculating risks and uncertainty critical to individual life courses (Furlong and Cartmel 2009; Giddens 1991; Zinn 2004, 2008).

However, Jiang and Tam (2015) find that not the educational expansion but labor market incentive drove competition of higher education and then increased class inequality in higher education attendance. Their study suggests the *labor market incentive explanation* that the balance of labor market supply and demand of college graduates (reflected in the earnings premium for college graduates over upper secondary education graduates) determines the competition in winning a higher education slot. Labor market induces individual behavioral responses so that family investment in education meets the demand for higher education graduates by employers. Labor economists have a long-standing interest in the evolution of the supply and demand of higher education (such as Goldin and Katz's 2009; Acemoglu and Autor 2012). Individuals respond systematically to labor market incentives, and the college premium provides the price signal needed to coordinate the supply and demand of college graduates. When relative supply is low (equivalently, when relative demand is high), the college earnings premium increases to induce a growth in supply of college graduates (Jiang and Tam 2015). This explanation is consistent with the human capital investment theory that education is regarded as an investment

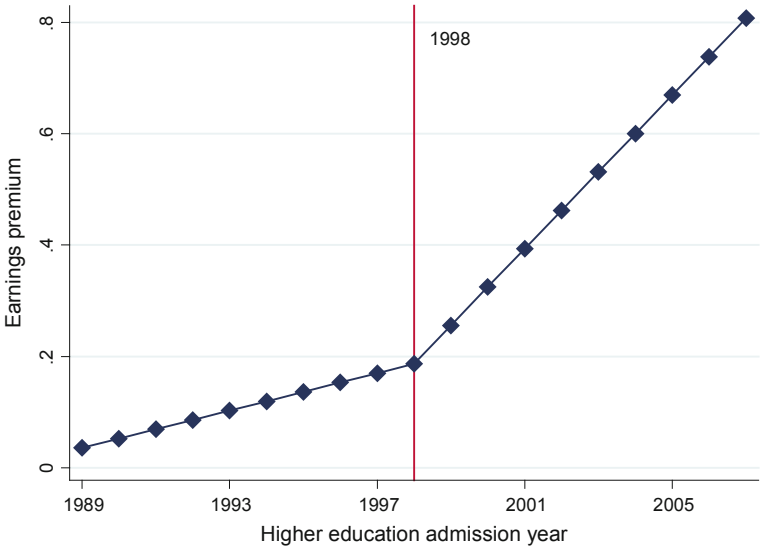

Fig. 13.5 National earnings premium of higher education graduates. *Note* The earnings premium was presumed to be observed by an individual when he/she was aged 15. The higher education admission year is the year when this individual presumed to enter higher education. Earnings premium is estimated from Chinese Household Income Project 1988, 1995, and 2002. The reference lines display the same uptake cohort for the trends of educational inequality. See Jiang and Tam (2015) for detailed discussion of the measures of the earnings premium

in human capital (Becker 1993). The expectation of higher returns in the future stimulates current demand for education (Checchi 2006: 19–23).

Therefore, the labor market incentive explanation underscores the college earnings premium as the main driver of the demand for higher education admission, which is reflected in the competition among potential application in competing for a college slot. The college premium thus triggers an increase in class-differentiated educational investment[7] to secure college slots, further enlarging class inequality in higher education admission.

Figure 13.5 presents the trend of national earnings premium of higher education. The figure is drawn on the statistics from Jiang and Tam (2015), and we expanded the estimates of premium for more recent cohorts (see Jiang and Tam 2015) for details of the measures. Comparing this trend with the trend of father's education effect on higher education attendance (Fig. 13.3), we can find that the two trends display the same striking uptake for admission cohort of 1998. The matched cohort trends strongly suggest that labor market incentive can account for the rising class inequality in higher education attendance during the higher education admission cohorts of 1989–2007 in China.

[7]Upper class usually has more resource for investing in their offspring's education, the educational investment is thus class-differentiated.

Earnings premium for higher education graduates over upper secondary education graduates increase over time during the higher education admission cohorts of our study 1989–2007. But the absolute earnings for more recent college graduates may not always increase (but may be stable or even decrease), the labor market condition may change in post-expansion period. More importantly, increase in opportunities for higher education and earnings premium for college graduates do not mean more equal opportunities in labor market nor for college graduates in finding jobs. In contrast, higher education expansion may have negative impacts on labor market. In the next section we will discuss the declining opportunity in graduate employment during higher education expansion.

13.4 Declining Opportunity in Graduate Employment

13.4.1 Unemployment

As higher education has experienced explosive growth for several years, early cohorts of college graduates caught up in this tidal wave of expansion are expected to enter labor market, and lead to a substantial growth in supply of college-educated workers. Whether and how the expansion affects labor market and graduate employment are important to understand. Recent studies suggest that graduates in Europe, North America and East Asia have been negatively affected in terms of employment and social mobility by the rapid expansion of higher education. As Lauder rightly pointed out, around 40–50 % of college graduates in the USA are doing sub-graduate work; about 52 % of four-year college graduates are in jobs that match their skills, whereas 48 % are overqualified for the work they do (Vedder et al., cited in Lauder 2014). The situation is similar in Britain; the Office for National Statistics reports that underemployment among graduates rose from 37 % in 2001 to 47 % in June 2013 (Lauder 2014).

Comparing the massification of higher education and its impact on graduate employment and social mobility, Green and Mok (2013) identified similar developments in Europe and Asia. Pointing to the growing number of unemployed college graduates in the context of intensified position competition among youth in the globalizing economy, Robertson and Dale (2013) challenged the conventional wisdom that higher education provides young people with better career prospects and upward social mobility. Worse still, many of these college graduates have borrowed money for their higher education, believing that they would have better career prospects after graduation. However, international research on youth employment in general and college graduate employment in particular has clearly shown that highly educated people are not guaranteed job opportunities (Brown et al. 2011; Robertson and Dale 2013; Mok and Neubauer 2015 in press).

China's higher education expansion brings similar challenges for employment. Figure 13.6 presents the changes of labor market conditions in 1996–2010. Since

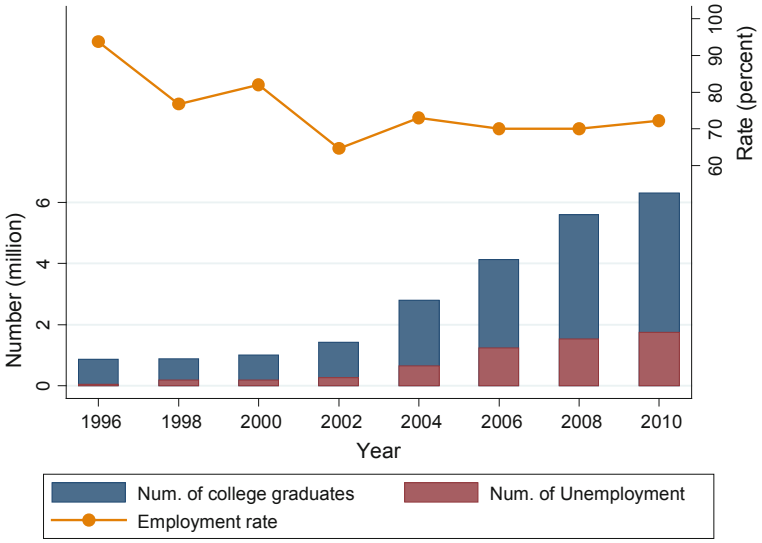

Fig. 13.6 National employment rate, numbers of graduates, and unemployment. *Source* China Labor Statistical Yearbook, 1996–2012

2002, college graduates experienced rapid higher education expansion entered the labor market, the numbers of higher education graduates dramatically increase. Meanwhile, the number of unemployment also increased, and the overall trend of employment rate decreased. The matched time trends imply that expansion may result in unemployment in the labor market.

Higher education expansion may not only affect the overall unemployment, but it may also have direct impact on the college graduates employment. According to the official statistics, the ratios of university and junior college graduates that never work to overall unemployed college graduates have increased since 2002 (Fig. 13.7), when the college graduates that caught up expansion started entering labor market. It means that there is an increasing proportion of unemployed college graduates were unemployed since their graduation. In addition, this proportion was over 50 % for four-year college graduates since 2003, and 40 % for junior graduates since 2005. The finding casts doubt on the idea that higher education brings youth greater advantages in the labor market and higher return. It also suggests that higher education expansion may not create more opportunities and upward mobility in labor market.

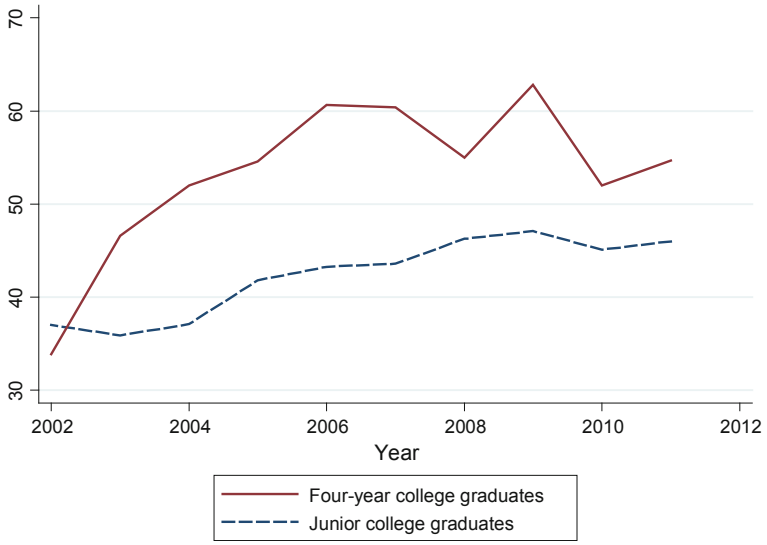

Fig. 13.7 Ratios of four-year and junior college graduates that never work to overall unemployed college graduates. *Source* China Labor Statistical Yearbook, 2003–2012

13.4.2 Stagnation in Social Mobility

For decades, human capital theory dominates the explanation of returns to investment in education (Becker 1962, 1993; Becker and Chiswick 1966; Mincer 1974; Psacharopoulos 1973, 1985; Schultz 1961). It suggests that the level of education received is positively correlated with earnings. A youth completing a four-year degree or with a three-/two-year college education can in principle enjoy a greater advantage in the labor market and thereafter a higher real income in his or her later life (Psacharoloulos 1994; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004). In this regard, college graduates would enjoy more chances for upward occupational and social mobility, as education plays a crucial role in social mobility.

Nonetheless, some scholars argue that the most important determinants of income and social mobility are not education-related factors, but family background. They argue that family background provides educational opportunities, competitiveness in the labor market, occupational and social mobility, and so forth (Dale 2015; Brown et al. 2011). In the 1960s, a study using a large-scale questionnaire survey of 4000 public schools and more than 645,000 pupils found that family background has the strongest relation to educational achievement, and parents' education has the strongest relation for nearly all groups, whereas the characteristics of schools and teachers have weak relations (Coleman et al. 1966). Recently, the relationship between social mobility and university credentials is also being challenged in both developed and emerging economies. Haveman and Smeeding's (2006) research reveals a growing income-related gap both in access to

and in success in higher education in the USA. In top-tier colleges and universities, almost three-quarters of the entering classes are from the highest socioeconomic quartile. The pool of qualified youth is far greater than the number admitted and enrolled. These studies challenge the conventional wisdom that education is one of the most important determinants of labor market success. It is particularly unclear whether graduating from university leads to promising career prospects and eventually to upward social mobility.

Wen's study (2005) is a recent and influential research about China's higher education expansion and graduate employment. The study based on a large-scale questionnaire survey found that family background plays a crucial role in graduates' employment in the labor market: "the better the family background, the more opportunities to find a job, to pursue further study, and the higher the starting salary." However, this study was conducted in 2003—in an early period of higher education expansion, it is unclear that whether the situation remained in post-expansion period. In this section, we examine whether family background and social resource still exert strong influences on employment, and how college graduates perceived social mobility in the period of post-massification of higher education.

Similar observations are found in a recent research by Wen and Ngok (2011) discovering a growing number of college graduates are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their employment, especially for those graduates who have come from rural areas enrolling in university education in major cities. Conducting intensive interviews with these unhappy graduates who live together in cities under unfavorable living environment, receiving only basic salary level, having no welfare entitlement without citizenship in urban area, Wen and Ngok found a special group of "new poor" or "new working poor" is emerging in China (2011). The interviews reported in their study have clearly demonstrated how the expansion of higher education, has inevitably turned some new college graduates from welfare poor to working poor. Wen and Ngok (2011) suggests that if higher education expansion does not matching the changing market needs, new graduates may encounter unacceptable social and economic environment, during their transition from university student life to become working adults. What makes this group of new graduates unhappy is when they have invested financially heavily in obtaining a university degree but only found being treated less socially respected and economically disadvantaged, many of them have begun to criticize the marketization of higher education and complain about the poor teaching quality and learning experience that they had received. A strong sense of being cheated during the process of university education has become a growing anger among these new graduates suffering from less favorable employment conditions (Wen and Ngok 2011).

In sum, prior studies suggest that family background played an important role in employment and social mobility for individuals. Even for college graduates who may enjoy more advantages than those without college degrees, their family background may still have great impact on their opportunities in labor market. We suggest in this study that the importance of family background on employment

persists and even increases amid the massification of higher education. In the following sections, we discuss our findings on the impact of family background on employment in terms of subjective perception and objective reality amid college expansion.

13.4.2.1 Importance of Family Background on Employment: Subjective Perception

To understand how college students perceive social stratification and social opportunity/social mobility in the recent period of massification of higher education, the youth survey was conducted at six different colleges/universities in Guangzhou. The students were asked about perceived social opportunities, in particular the factors affecting social mobility, the impact of parents' social status, how they are preparing for social mobility after graduation, how they evaluate government policies, etc.

According to the survey results, students thought that family background plays a substantial role in college students' employment and future development; 79.4 % of the respondents said that family background and resources have great impacts on the employment of college students. Similarly, as shown in Fig. 13.8, 76 % respondents agreed that family background and social resources affect their future development. Among the respondents, 25 % thought that family background and social resources have a strong influence, while 51.4 % believed a relatively strong influence, and 17.4 % believed some influence. Only 7 % respondents suggest that family background and resource have a small or hardly any influence on their future development.

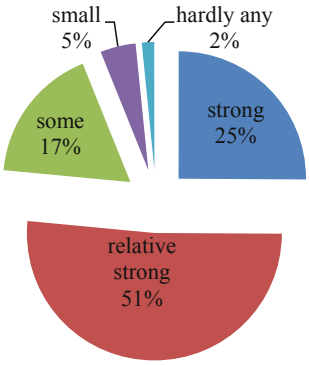

Fig. 13.8 Perception of the influence of family background and resource on one's future development, Guangzhou. *Source* Youth Survey of Graduate Employment and Social Mobility in Greater China. *Note* The survey question is "Do you think family background and resource have any influence on one's future development?"

13.4.2.2 Importance of Family Background on Employment: Objective Reality

We also use a recent nationally representative social survey—Chinese General Social Survey to examine whether family background and social resource play an important role employment during massification of higher education. Table 13.2 compares different sources of help for respondents' getting their first jobs before and after higher education expansion. The results show that a substantial proportion of all respondents including college graduates gained help from family or non-family networks. The findings echo early research about the importance of social network in seeking jobs (e.g., Granovetter 1973, 1974; Lin et al. 1981; Bian and Ang 1997). Compared with the period before expansion (1991–2002), respondents entering labor market after college expansion are more likely to seek help for getting their first jobs. The percentage of gaining help increased for all respondents and college graduates. In particular, the percentage of gaining family help for college graduates increased more than 80 % (from 10.6 to 18.72 %). The results suggest that when the competition increased in labor market after college expansion, family background appears to become more important in helping individuals in their employment. In addition, whether or not holding a college degree does not change this fact that family background and social resource became more and more crucial in individuals' employment during massification of higher education. This trend of growing importance of social network in finding jobs may correlate to the intensified competition in labor market amid massification of higher education. While more and more college graduates experienced higher education expansion look for jobs in the labor market, candidates from all educational levels would more likely to try all means to win the competition in labor market. And social capital is an important mean to gain access to information and resource in labor market.

We go one step further to examine what kind of help from non-family (Table 13.3) and family (Table 13.4) get individuals a job. It is worth noting that the majority of the non-family and family help is to provide job information. In

Table 13.2 Main source of help for getting the first job: comparing all respondents and college graduates before and after college expansion (in percentage)

The main source of help	1991–2002		2003–2008	
	All respondents	College graduates	All respondents	College graduates
Family	16.22	**10.6**	17.8	**18.72**
Non-family	26.46	**12.49**	28.03	**14.83**
None	**57.33**	76.91	**54.17**	66.44
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

Source Chinese General Social Survey 2008

Note Non-family help includes the help from friends, acquaintances, classmates, comrades, and others. The sample sizes for all respondents and college graduates are 1445 and 490 respectively

Table 13.3 What kind of *non-family* help for getting the first job: comparing all respondents and college graduates before and after college expansion (in percentage)

What kind of non-family help	1991–2002		2003–2008	
	All respondents	College graduates	All respondents	College graduates
Provide job information	64.71	42.72	**72.79**	**69.48**
Help preparing application materials	8.89	13.08	5.38	3.47
Help submitting application materials	2.27	12.68	4.03	10.50
Arrange to meet the employer's agent	16.25	9.18	17.02	12.55
Do a favor for the employer	2.26	1.90	0	0
Others	5.63	20.43	0.78	4
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

See Table 13.2 for source and notes

Table 13.4 What kind of *family* help for getting the first job: comparing all respondents and college graduates before and after college expansion (in percentage)

What kind of family help	1991–2002		2003–2008	
	All respondents	College graduates	All respondents	College graduates
Provide job information	55.51	62.74	67.16	45.70
Help preparing application materials	6.94	14.69	5.47	13.05
Help submitting application materials	9.81	**4.11**	3.45	**8.03**
Arrange to meet the employer's agent	18.63	**10.54**	19.99	**31.04**
Do a favor for the employer	3.54	7.91	3.07	2.17
Others	5.58	0	0.86	0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

See Table 13.2 for source and notes

particular, more than 60 % help from non-family network during the period of 2003 to 2008 is providing job information. And the percentages for all respondents and college graduates have increased in massification of higher education. This is an interesting phenomenon. While various job information are public available nowadays, we can easily find information from traditional (print) and new (internet) media, there are still some individuals get their jobs through internal job information from their networks. It suggests that the effective job information may not be fully transparent and inclusive, but may be exclusively for individuals from family with advantage in social resource.

In addition, Table 13.4 indicates that for college graduates, there is an increase in the percentage of family in helping submitting application materials and arranging meeting with the employer's agent. It means that college graduates' families adopted a more aggressive way to help their offspring's in getting jobs than before. Instead of just providing job information, families of college graduates involve in more direct interactions in the recruitment process to help their offspring in finding jobs amid massification of higher education.

In short, family background and social resources are not only perceived as crucial determinant in future development of college students, but also played an important role in individuals' employment. Most importantly, the significance of family background and social resources in social mobility does not decrease amid massification of higher education. Instead, more families, especially families of college graduates, tend to mobilize social resources to help their offspring to find jobs. We suggest this is interpretable, as massification of higher education increases the supply of college-educated workers, the competition of labor market would intensify (especially when the demand of college-educated workers does not catch up with the supply). Individuals would mobilize all available resource to secure their job positions. Families with better social resources tend to have advantages in helping their offspring to win the competition in labor market (Dale 2015; Brown et al. 2011).

13.4.2.3 Youth's Expectations for Social Mobility

Our analyses above clearly show that family background play an important role in graduates employment amid the massification of higher education. College graduates, especially for those do not have efficient social capital from family and non-family networks, may seriously suffer from the difficulties in finding jobs amid massification of higher education. In fact, our survey shows that quite a few college students were pessimistic about their future upward social mobility, though they did not yet enter labor market (Fig. 13.9). In the same youth survey in Guangzhou mentioned earlier, when asked whether the opportunities for upward social mobility

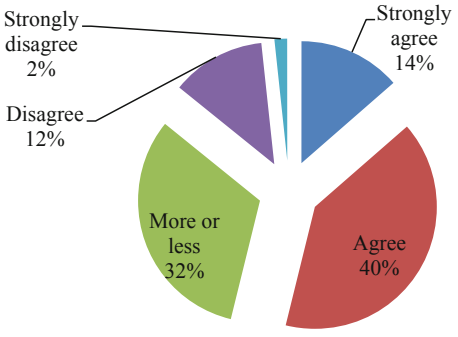

Fig. 13.9 College students' perception of upward social mobility, Guangzhou. *Source* Youth Survey of Graduate Employment and Social Mobility in Greater China. *Note* The survey question is "'The channels for college students to have upward social mobility are becoming narrower than before', do you agree with this statement?"

among college students were decreasing, more than 50 % strongly agreed or agreed with this argument (14 % respondents strongly agreed, 40 % agreed). 32 % hold neutral opinion, and only 14 % strongly disagreed or disagreed. It is obvious that most of college students tended to doubt their future social mobility, even though they will hold a college degree.

13.5 Discussion and Conclusion: Reconstructing New Education Governance Framework in Promoting Education Equality

Our above analysis has clearly suggested the massification of higher education and the mismatch between the supply of college graduates and the changing labor market needs have inevitably led to unfavorable graduate employment confronting China today. Human capital theory predicts that, other things being equal, raising participating in higher education will initially increase inequality, as rates of return rise, and then decrease it as expansion reaches mass levels and rates of return decline. Providing the output of graduates outpaces the demand for graduate skills (which appears to be the case in many countries now), supply and demand pressures reduce the pay premium for degrees and lower income inequalities (Knight and Sabot 1987). But our present research has clearly suggested a different scenario emerging when higher education has been affected by the strong tide of privatization and marketization, where individuals and families have to take up the significant financial responsibility in getting higher education opportunities. Our above study has clearly shown under some circumstance higher education expansion (at mass level) may actually increase inequality, particularly when intergenerational transfer of assets and resources not necessarily in monetary terms but other forms of support like social capital and cultural capital would have affected people's higher education admissions, prospective job opportunities, and eventually upward social mobility (Green and Mok 2013; Mok and Wu 2015; Lauder 2014). Seen in this light, the expansion of higher education may not promote fairness but intensify educational inequality as our present study has clearly demonstrated.

More important of all, the present research points out the limitations of existing approaches when analyzing the distributive function served by education. Most approaches to social justice in and through higher education are based on common sense notions of social justice when typically assume a *distributive* framework that not only ignores but more importantly hides and disguises critical institutional analysis of domination and oppression. This dominant distributive paradigm defines social justice as the *morally proper distribution* of social benefits and burdens among society's members. Our above study offers strong empirical evidence to challenge this conventional wisdom, especially when education has failed to serve such a distributive function. In particular, when higher education is seen as a private good and social justice is generated and maintained through particular forms of

social relations, as they are experienced in the *valorization* of higher education knowledge (Dale 2015). To break away from the existing education governance frameworks structurally and strategically select particular interests which in turn distribute (more or less unequal) social opportunities and outcomes (and therefore the basic structure), we need to reconstruct a new education governance to promoting educational equality because the existing education governance frameworks place responsibilities on those who are particularly advantaged by them (societal interests). In order to break from the existing unequally but stubbornly imposed social order, we need to create new modes of accountability and spaces for representation (politics) *within* and *beyond* the national state to protect those at the less advantaged position or those being socially and economically exploited (Robertson and Dale 2013).

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Chapter 14
Teaching the Dragon? The Diffusion of European Union's Social and Employment Policies to China

Minna van Gerven and Yang Weiguo

Abstract This chapter analyses the extent to which we can trace the ideational spread of the European Union's employment and social policies outside European borders, more specifically in China. Based on the analysis of labour market reforms in China between 2000 and 2012 and interview data obtained from EU-level and Chinese officials, this paper sets out to investigate **the extent to which the European solution of flexicurity is diffused to China**, a country with a massive pool of labour force and high reform intensity in the last decade. Guided by theoretical insights on policy diffusion literature, our findings propose that a partial diffusion (emulation between EU and China) exists, in which China has been keen to learn from European virtues to combine equality with economic growth. With regard to instruments provided by the flexicurity strategy, more learning than mimicking has occurred, that is, the Chinese have learned about the aspects of active labour market policies, public employment services and training services to embrace flexible labour market arrangements to rapidly adjust to changing labour market conditions as well as those aspects strengthening the basic social (insurance) safety nets to promote inclusive growth in a harmonious society.

14.1 Introduction

A major political challenge in Europe and Asia is the urgency to undertake fundamental reforms of the public sector to respond to the changing socio-economic structures, demographic trends and citizen needs, and ultimately maintain the

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legitimacy of public governance. In seeking effective solutions, global diffusion of policy (innovations) has gained importance among scientists and policy makers. As Parsons states,

> As the world economy in particular is transformed by new modes of production and trade, and as transnational corporations and institutions come to exercise more influence and power, so the capacity of national policy-makers to frame their own agendas is diminished. Public policy now takes place in a world system as well as in national political systems.

The horizontal spread of ideas through strong global actors (e.g., United States and European Union [EU]) and international organizations (e.g., OECD and ILO) provides policy makers with a wide range of best practices to learn from. Recent scholarly work has indeed suggested several examples of diffusion in the field of social and employment policies. For instance, Weyland (2005) has analysed the spread of (Chilean-style) pension privatization in Latin American pension reforms. Similarly, Dolowitz has investigated how welfare-to-work and workfare policies and programmes have been transferred from the United States to Britain since the early 1980s. Furthermore, in response to the 'success' of Tony Blair and Bill Clinton in using American-style welfare-to-work programmes to reduce levels of unemployment, many European governments have consequently adopted welfare-to-work policies themselves (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, pp. 6). Subsequently, scholars focusing on European integration have unravelled diffusion mechanisms from EU to the member states. For example, Van Gerven and Beckers (2009) have argued for the learning potential of EU's open method of coordination procedure in their analysis of the converging trends in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Finland towards activating social policy reform. Nevertheless, a key question should be addressed: Have European ideas travelled beyond the European continent? This paper analyses *the extent to which and how the European solution of flexicurity is diffused to China.*

The flexicurity strategy, which is part of the wider European social policy governance model, has been the EU solution to cope with structural mismatches between supply and demand of labour.[1] It aims to achieve inclusive growth in the member states by reconciling labour market flexibility with the security nets of social protection schemes. Chinese authors have suggested that the contemporary labour market policy priorities of China that are targeted towards harmonious inclusive growth and job creation resemble the flexicurity strategy of EU (Yang 2005). The current paper aims to identify the extent to which and how the EU employment model has influenced the recent reforms in China.

From the onset of opening up and economic reform era, China has gradually extended its openness for foreign ideas and innovations and has been generally suggested (Stepan 2008, pp. 79) to look at three directions: firstly, towards the United States and to learn about the Washington Consensus under the motto of freer

[1]The term 'flexicurity' is centrally embedded in the new Europe 2020 Strategy and was communicated by the Commission to be an important part of the EU flagship initiative to create new skills for new jobs (Bekker 2012, pp. 15; see also Bovenberg and Wilthagen 2009).

markets for greater returns; secondly, towards Japan and its productivist model that prioritizes economic development; and thirdly, towards EU, about combining capitalism with both equality and growth. China has also increased its international commitment, ratified numerous international agreements and participated in multiple exchanges and cooperation projects in the area of labour with the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations (UN) Development Program, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and EU.

By analysing the most significant reforms to the employment and social policies from the early 2000s and exploring the policy-making mechanisms behind these changes, our study makes a threefold contribution to academic literature. Firstly, this study contributes to the wider theoretical debate of policy diffusion between Europe and China. Secondly, it analyses the recent reforms to Chinese social and employment policies between the mid-2000s and 2013. Thirdly, it explores the mechanisms behind the employment and social policy reforms in China and sheds light on how European social policy has influenced policy ideas behind contemporary Chinese policies in the field of employment and social policies, as well as the actual instruments put at work.

The chapter is structured into several parts. Part 2 discusses diffusion theory and how policy ideas are expected to travel. Part 3 presents the methodology and data. Part 4 is the empirical section. At the end of the chapter, preliminary conclusions are derived.

14.2 Traveling Policy Ideas

Braun and Gilardi (2006) define policy diffusion as a process in which policy choices are interdependent. In this case, policy in country A is taken over by country B, and through the 'horizontal' explanation of policy diffusion, interdependency-related factors induce collective actors to adopt policies that have already been instituted elsewhere.

The framework provided by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) is helpful in analysing what (and to what extent) flexicurity strategy might be diffused to China. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, pp. 12) identify eight categories of the potential objects of diffusion, namely, policy goals, policy content, policy instrument, policy programme, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes and negative lessons. The object of diffusion can thus vary from providing policy makers with broader policy ideas on how social risks can be governed to actual policy instruments and how to achieve this. In other words, what is being diffused may assume different gradations, and Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) have identified four different gradations of policy diffusion. Policy makers may transfer or emulate an entire policy, in which ideas behind the policy or programme are diffused. Furthermore, policy makers may transfer a mixture of several different policies or may be inspired by new

policy innovation. Meanwhile, Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) indicate that policy from another jurisdiction inspires a change in policy without actually adopting anything from the policy that inspired it.

To analyse how diffusion occurs, a long list of theories on diffusion (mechanisms) is available, but generally, four main mechanisms are distinguished, namely, constructivism/mimicry, learning, coercion and competition (Dobbin et al. 2007). Deriving from top-down pressures, coercion theorists suggest that a few powerful players exercise influence over others through carrots and sticks, using disproportionate power, by serving as focal points or through hegemonic ideas (Dobbin et al. 2007, pp. 462). The compliance to the IMF or the World Bank policies is an example of such coercive diffusion, in which countries adopt policies they would not choose otherwise. Competition theorists posit a diffusion mechanism, whereby a (foreign) policy is implemented to gain a competitive edge (Dobbin et al. 2007, pp. 463). By adopting innovative policies or early adherence to emerging standards, countries may attempt to increase their competitiveness by gaining advantages or avoiding becoming disadvantaged. However, countries may end up implementing a policy that goes against national preferences, but is required to maintain a competitive advantage.

According to the constructivist view, 'experts and international organizations promote formal theories with policy implications, and the rhetorical power of these theories carries new policies around the world' (Dobbin et al. 2007, pp. 462). Mimicking countries may consider themselves as members of subglobal groupings, which (based on history, culture, language, level of development, or geography, or by simply wanting to belong to this group) may copy a policy. Mimicking countries often infer that what works for a peer will also work for them (ibid. 462). Similar to constructivists, social learning theorists trace changes in policy to changes in ideas (Hall 1993), but rational learning theorists imply a type of cost–benefit analysis preceding the policy choice (Dobbin et al. 2007, pp. 463). Although the assumption of rationality is inherent in most studies of policy learning, policy makers rarely act on perfectly rational considerations (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, pp. 14). Most learning is expected to occur within the confines of bounded rationality. Visser and Hemerijck (1997) suggest that policy making is mostly backward looking that is, policy makers draw lessons from past successes and failures and use these lessons in dealing with novel problems (Hall 1993; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993).

When viewing the transnational diffusion between EU and China through these theoretical lenses, a few assumptions can be derived. Firstly, as policy institutions, such as administrative structures, ideologies and policy content, are seldom transferrable between countries, policy ideas and perhaps exact policy instruments are often expected to travel from Europe to China [cf. different levels of policy learning as elucidated by Hall (1993)]. Secondly, in the same vein, as a full transfer of policies rarely occurs even among countries sharing strongly similar institutional characteristics, a transfer between Europe and China is likely to occur through emulation or adoption of a mixture of policy instruments or ideas. Detecting mere inspiration is empirically problematic and, therefore, not expected in this case. Thirdly, policy diffusion, if detected, is likely to occur through the mechanism of

either policy mimicking or policy learning. Weyland (2005) revealed in his analysis of pension reforms in Latin America that the principal mechanism driving innovations in Central America was coercion, notably due to the fact that countries were reacting on external pressures emanating particularly from international financial institutions. In terms of diffusion to China, however, its detection is unlikely to be driven by coercion. The EU has no coercive instruments in labour market policies to enforce the compliance of member states, let alone countries outside of EU. Moreover, the diffusion of labour market strategy would be unlikely credited to the mechanism of competition. With a population of 1.3 billion, China recently became the second largest economy and is playing an influential role in the global economy. Instead, two mechanisms of policy diffusion, mimicking or learning, are more plausible to be more at work between China and the EU, and these mechanisms will guide our analysis.

In this vein, Chinese labour market policies may take over the wider employment and social policy model of EU or implement (the parts of) the exact instruments in the EU flexicurity model. Arguably, such view would embrace the expectation that EU solutions that are successful in Europe could also work in China, which would be evidence for constructivist usage, or mimicry in other words. Policies or at least bits and pieces of policies are subsequently to be copied, and the EU flexicurity model (or reference to it) could be found in recent Chinese policy reforms and governmental plans on policy reforms. Alternatively, China may learn from European flexibility model and instruments, which would signify that a cognitive and normative reorientation will occur among Chinese policy makers about thinking of labour market policy. References to the EU model are likely to be made during the policy-making process, but a crucial aspect in this case is the amalgamation of Chinese and European policy ideas and new (European induced) orientation about thinking of the issue.

14.3 Methods

As previously discussed, the substantive diffusion and mechanisms through which this diffusion occurs are considerably interrelated. In our empirical analysis, we attempt to identify the diffusion and mechanisms and we follow Dolowitz and Marsh (2000), who suggest that future research should identify the policy diffusion process rather than merely describe the transfer of ideas or policies between countries. Thus, researchers should analyse and explain the processes involved. They must clarify who the actors engaged are, what components are transferred (policy goals, instruments, governance institutions and so forth), where the ideas are derived from and what constructs or facilitates diffusion. Dolowitz and Marsh's model (ibid.) guides our analysis on how to organize the research and functions as a theoretical lens to understand and explain the policy diffusion process and the substance of policy diffusion.

Data used in analysing our main question (i.e., *To what extent and how is the European solution of flexicurity diffused to China*?) are governmental documents on recent policy reforms in the field of labour market policies from 2000 to 2013 (policy reforms and discussion papers relating to these reforms) and semi-structured interviews with 12 officials at EU and Chinese levels involved in employment policies. Some of the interviews were conducted in person, but most interview data were obtained through written answers to our semi-structured interview questionnaire. All of the interviews were conducted from September to October 2013. Two interviews were held at the EU level, where EU officials involved in EU–China relations and social policy matters were interviewed. For China, 10 people were interviewed at the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security (MoHRSS), 6 of whom were directors of different departments in the ministry and 4 were directors of different divisions of the ministry. The respondents can be regarded as core policy makers, the bureaucratic elite that both advises the Chinese government about social policy reforms (and goals of these policies) and drafts and supervises the implementation of the policy (instruments). The respondents play a key role in policy making and can hinder or facilitate policy diffusion between Europe and China. Our respondents are a relevant body to analyse and detect substantive diffusion and the mechanism behind this diffusion. In addition, we consulted three academic experts in China to obtain technocratic views. The list of interviewees is presented in Appendix 1. Process tracing method is applied for the reforms and content analysis of the transcripts of the semi-structured interviews.

14.4 Major Characteristics of the Chinese Labour Market

With a total population of 1.3 billion, China has an enormous labour force. China transitioned from a planned economy to a market economy in the late 1970s. Since then, its labour policy has undergone numerous changes to address several challenges, including the reduction of the (urban) unemployment rate, provision of security for urban and rural citizens and upgrading of workforce skills (Yang 2005).

Since the abolition of the majority of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), China has confronted the challenge to create employment for millions of laid-off workers. The number of employees in SOEs decreased by 36.4 million between 1990 and 2011 from more than 100 million in 1990 to 67 million in 2011 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, China Statistical Yearbook 2012). In particular, the contradiction between the total volume of workforce supply and demand has increased the pressure on urban employment and accelerated the shift of surplus rural labourers to non-agricultural sectors.

In terms of employment structure by urban and rural areas, the ratio of those employed in rural areas decreased from 73.7 % in 1990 to 53 % in 2011. The number of those employed by urban individuals and private economic entities increased by 114.7 million to reach 121.4 million, representing 60.8 % of the newly employed in urban areas in the same period. New forms of employment

proliferated, such as jobs in foreign-invested firms and economic entities of diverse forms, part-time jobs, temporary jobs, seasonal jobs, work on an hourly basis and jobs with flexible working hours, and became important avenues for the expansion of employment. However, employment pressure continued to intensify. Although Chinese unemployment rates have been relatively low (roughly 4 %) compared with European unemployment rates, the Chinese government has adopted numerous measures to curb the sharp increase in urban unemployment. An unemployment rate of 4.3 % (as was the case in 2003), which is equivalent to nearly 8 million registered jobless urbanites, merits the urgent action of policy makers. Apparently, the economic crisis has superficially altered the situation. The unemployment rate was approximately 4 % in 2011, as depicted in Fig. 14.1.

China is currently facing the challenge to upgrade the skills of its workforce. Its rapidly growing sectors and coastal areas are experiencing skill and labour shortages, and the wages of unskilled labour are increasing in proportion. According to some estimates by World Bank (2007), the wages of unskilled labour in coastal areas have already increased to a level sufficient to reduce competitiveness in labour-intensive industries. Moving enterprises to the central and western regions where wages are low may allow China to remain competitive in some of these products for years to come. However, in coastal areas, firms are facing the need to switch to more skill-intensive products and production technologies. Continued rural-to-urban migration will increase wages in China's poorer areas over time as well. Eventually, China's comparative advantage in purely unskilled labour-intensive products will decline, thus rendering skills development a key priority going forward.

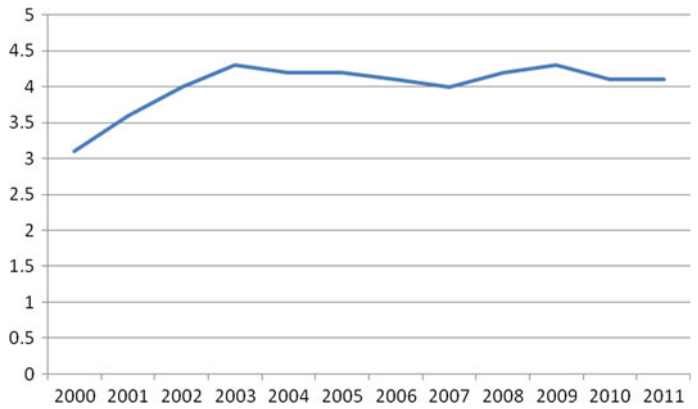

Fig. 14.1 Registered urban unemployment rate (%) in 2000–2011. *Source* National Bureau of Statistics of China, China Statistical Yearbook (2012)

14.5 Tracing Commonalities and Policy Diffusion Between Europe and China

This section examines the findings from policy document analyses and interview data. Firstly, it discusses the broader policy ideas underlying the contemporary employment and social policies in China, as well as their relation to EU employment and social policy ideas. Secondly, this section further explores the diffusion of flexicurity instruments.

14.5.1 Chinese Employment and Social Policy Ideas and Diffusion from the European Model

Chinese academics have observed that European social policy models are considered interesting for Chinese administrations and are even more relevant than other social policy models from the United States, Japan or Eastern Europe (Yuan 2013; Song 2010). This observation is confirmed by our respondents at the EU level (EU1, EU2), academic experts consulted, and to some extent, by all of the 10 Chinese officials interviewed.

According to a study by the Institute of European Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), more than 1000 publications on European social policies (in Chinese) had been published by the end of 2002 (Song 2010). The exposure of European models has been so vast that arguably some European experiences have inspired a new strategy for the development of China that was introduced by People's Republic of China (PRC) President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao during the 16th Party Congress in 2002 (Song 2010). The major target of the future 20-year development was set to be 'a well-off society of higher standard in an all-round way to benefit [of] well over one billion people' (Song 2010, pp. 763). The Communist Party was inspired by the European 'perspective to pay attention to the social justice and social security system'. As the political reform states, 'establishing and improving a social security system compatible with the level of economic development constituted an important guarantee for social stability and long-term peace and order in the country' (Song 2010, pp. 763). Furthermore, in 2005, the Centre of Economic Security at the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, a leading governmental think-tank, published a 440-page report on international experiences that highlighted European models as good examples for China to follow. In this study, as Song (2010, pp. 764) has observed, European experiences, compared with those of the United States, Japan, Latin America and former Soviet Union, were considered the most successful in terms of their capability to bring social justice and harmony into the capitalist market economy. Although the report indicated that the major challenges of the Chinese strategy for harmonious society lie in social polarization and imbalance between the rich and poor and lack of social policy measures to deal

with unemployment, ageing and ill heath, European experiences were perceived as attractive alternatives to follow. Our interviews reveal that European solutions have indeed inspired Chinese officials. One of our respondents refers to European examples as examples of the 'long-term evolution [of employment policies] that now are relatively perfect' (CH4). Both Europe and China are considered to face similar problems, such as youth unemployment, diversity of regions and structural problems in employment, thus stirring the interest of China in learning from Europe (CH2, CH4). At the same time, officials point out the differences between political systems in China and the EU (CH8), thus facilitating the initiation of the majority of Chinese policies in Chinese situations and the implementation of Chinese solutions (CH4). EU officials (EU1, EU2) interviewed confirm this claim, suggesting that Chinese are keen to learn but are more prone to develop their own policies. Chinese adopt such an approach because they have the capacity to do so (particularly in comparison with other parts of the world such as Africa) and also because the problems they need to solve often find no remedies from other countries (EU1, EU2). An example provided by the EU official (EU1) was the close linkage of the Chinese labour market challenges to the household registration system (*hukou*), which does not exist in other European countries, and therefore, 'no copy pasting of the solutions' is possible.

Over the years, considerable efforts have been made to consolidate the policy exchange between Europe and China. To strengthen mutual knowledge transfer, a bilateral agreement between EU and China was signed in the mid-2000s. During the 8th EU–China Summit in Beijing in September 2005, the European Commission and Chinese Ministry of Labour and Social Security signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on EU–China cooperation in Labour, Employment and Social Affairs. Thereafter, high-level officials have visited the other at least once a year in Brussels and Beijing interchangeably. The EU also initiated a five-year EU–China Social Security Reform Cooperation project (ASEM 2006–2011) aimed at accelerating the modernization of the Chinese social protection systems in 2006 (EU2). The European observers confirmed the ideational exchange from the ASEM project by referring to a number of policy roundtables gathering a small number of experts from both countries and various annual seminars on labour law, skills development and matching, youth unemployment and so forth (EU1, EU2). Our respondent at the EU level, also participating in the ILO meetings and G20 processes, characterized the Chinese as 'actively involved in employment policy dialogues in multilateral fora' (EU2). Yuan (2013, pp. 1) derived a similar conclusion by portraying China as being a good student in the audience lectured by the West.

The Chinese officials interviewed confirmed that several visits to Europe and discussions with European delegates visiting China have extensively informed them about issues relating to active labour market policies, public employment services and vocational training, and monitoring and statistics (CH7, CH8). These examples are derived both from the EU level and individual EU member state level (predominantly from Sweden and other Nordic countries, Germany, Netherlands). However, the EU–China diffusion is hampered by involved parties that differ in their economic development and employment situations (CH2). Furthermore, at

times, people around the EU–China roundtable have different focuses and priorities, as illustrated by a respondent (CH 7), who stated that 'while China pays attention to employment of university graduates, EU countries pay attention to those who do not go to university'. Policies in China must respond to total employment supply and demand, economic transformation and rising societal awareness, in which European cure does not always provide effective and legitimate solutions because Chinese officials 'need to consider own situation when bringing in other countries' experience (CH8). Policy diffusion is also hampered by language barriers and hurdles in information exchange (EU1, EU2, CH1, Ch3, CH4, CH5). Moreover, Chinese officials are dependent on the extent to which China supports exchanges in employment policy (CH2, CH3, CH6, CH9) and the degree to which citizens are concerned about a certain type of policy (CH2).

In addition to looking at Europe, the respondents report their interest in learning from market economy countries, such as the United States, Japan and South Korea (CH1, CH2, CH3, CH4, CH8, CH9, CH10), and their macroeconomic models when shifting from a planned economy to a market economy (CH3). The productivist model, which prioritizes economic development, has also gained importance in the development of the Chinese welfare state. As codified in the 11th 5-year Economic and Social Development Plan (2006–2010), China has made considerable efforts to achieve balance among economic growth, social development and environmental protection to maintain economic growth as the paramount objective in line with the Washington consensus model. Nevertheless, under the 'harmonious socialist society development' paradigm, many new governing principles, such as 'putting people first' and building 'a harmonious society', have been emphasized, bringing relatively novel issues of labour interests and rights to the policy agenda in line with the European model. The social dimension was also advocated in the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China Report, in which strengthening social development was viewed as an important guarantee for maintaining social harmony and stability. Intensified efforts were set out in this report to improve the basic public service system, strengthen and innovate social management and boost the building of a harmonious socialist society to uphold the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of people. The European employment model is considered by our respondents (EXP 1, EXP 2, CH4, CH6) to provide a politically interesting model to consider because it provides safety and good ideas for increasing security vis-à-vis economic security and growth. Moreover, a memo from the DG Employment (Stepan 2008, pp. 78) suggests the same by describing that 'China's interest in EU's integrated approach to competition, employment and social cohesion is underscored and set in relation to the harmonious development concept of the Chinese government'.

Some policy diffusion between EU and China apparently occurs. China seems to have been interested in core policy ideas embedded in the European welfare state, that is, combining capitalism with both equality and growth. The diffusion appears to be emulated, in which ideas behind the policy are diffused rather than copied and pasted. However, does the diffusion of the EU flagship strategy of flexicurity occur?

14.5.2 Diffusion of European Flexicurity Instruments to China

Our analysis on the Chinese employment and social policies introduced from 2005 onwards, the policy makers' reflections on the reasons behind these changes and the role of European diffusion indicate two strands of ideational diffusion in policy instruments in line with European flexicurity, namely, flexibilization and security. These two strands are discussed in the subsequent sections.

14.5.2.1 Security

The Chinese labour market has undergone a set of remarkable transformations since 1978, but the shadow side of the successful economic growth has been the rapid social change of increasing inequality. The protection of workers seriously lagged behind the economic development, and the growing social expectations of citizens fuelled the state-led measures. From 1986 onwards, the Chinese labour market (policy) has been under a gradual normalization process. The first National Labour Law of PRC became effective in 1994 and harmonized the provisions and completed the transition from a planned labour system to a labour market. However, the 1994 Law left out a strict enforcement of the labour law. The 1994 controversial law primarily focused on the effectiveness and creation of a real market economy without the real regulation of the labour market policies that resulted in a labour market comparable to a jungle, as described by one Chinese academic (EXP 3).

Catalyzed by the MoU between EU and China in 2005, a series of seminars, roundtable talks and cooperation projects covering employment and labour issues was held (EU2).[2] These international activities were followed by a series of Labour and Social Laws in 2007 (Labour Contract Act in 2008, the Employment Promotion Act in 2007, the Labour Dispute Mediation and Arbitration Law in 2007). In 2007, which was also known as the Year of Labour Legislation, the provisions grounded the Chinese labour law to a model of increased social protection, reduced mobility and decreased flexibility. The Labour Contract Law, with 8 chapters and 91 articles, became effective in 1 January 2008 and is often considered by academic experts to be the most significant change in the labour policy of China. The act standardized labour contracts in favour of employees and facilitated its implementation. The law, for instance, plead for the establishment of sound standards for labour contracts and

[2]In the analysis of Yuan (2013), China has shown considerable interest in the EU experience and technical assistance in decent work and other labour law issues. Already in EU–China bilateral summits (2001, 2006), both sides pledged to respect the four fundamental labour codes in eight ILO Conventions. EU officials are known to raise these issues on various occasions with Chinese authorities (Yuan 2013: 12) (EU1); in the past, China has ratified the ILO convention on child labour (138 in 1999 and 182 in 2002) and the discrimination at work (100 in 1990 and 111 in 2005). Moreover, in the 10th EU–China summit in 2007, China pledged to 'promot[e] harmonious labour–management relations' (Yuan 2013, pp. 17).

discouraged the use of short fixed-term contracts. The EU officials interviewed expressed hesitance about designating actual policy learning in this law. Nevertheless, they do refer to the numerous bilateral expert meetings and annual seminars in the context of social dialogues between the European Commissions' Directorate General for Employment and Social Affairs and Chinese administrations and CASS (from 2005) as providing Chinese inspiration from relevant European policy practices in the area of labour law (EU2). However, Chinese officials preferred to look at European models while preparing to enact the Employment Promotion Act (CH3, CH4, CH7). A respondent (CH8) involved in the drafting of the Labour Contract Law reported that the Chinese ministry was investigating relevant policies in EU countries, as well as those in the United States, Japan and Korea. In this specific case, according to this official (CH8), they ended up increasingly emphasizing 'the experience of east Asian countries since we have more in common [with them]'.

Even more comprehensively than for labour law, European experiences with social policy and social security systems are suggested to have inspired the content of the first Social Insurance Law in 2010 (EU2, CH8). During the 7th EU–China Summit, a financial agreement for the EU–China Social Security Reform Cooperation Project (EUCSS) was signed, and the European Commission and Chinese government jointly provided financing of EUR 40 million to improve China's policy development and capacity building in social security. The five-year project was considered a success by Chinese authorities at several levels and the media (Yuan 2013: 14). Yuan (ibid.) indicated that this project played an important role in policy advice, capacity building and dialogue between Chinese and EU officials and scholars. The EUCSS organized a series of Social Insurance Legislation Consultation seminars to advise Chinese legislators, regulators and administrators on Social Insurance Law (EU1, EU2, also confirmed by Chinese officials CH3, CH7, CH8).

The first Social Security Law of PRC was passed during the 11th Session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China on 28 October 2010. The Law took effect on 1 July 2011 and institutionalized five insurance programmes, namely, pension insurance, medical insurance, work injury insurance, unemployment insurance and maternity insurance (Stepan and Müller 2012, pp. 14). According to Yuan (2013, pp. 15), the EU experience and practice were regarded as important inspirations and references by Chinese high-level officials (Yuan 2013, pp. 14). In the words of two interviewed directors of a division, 'yes, we make policies after we investigated other countries' relevant policies' (CH7) and 'we collected advice from European Union countries when drafting the Social insurance law' (CH8).

In sum, Chinese officials indicated a strong willingness to learn; however, the implemented policies are characterized by China's own specificities with regard to socio-economic structures and need to improve the rights of (rural) workers.

14.5.2.2 The (De- Versus Re-) Flexibilization

Although stringent labour legislation is an effective answer to the protection of worker rights and interests, it may (under the supremacy of economic growth) harm investments and, hence, negatively affect economic growth. Therefore, the Chinese government faces a double challenge. On the one hand, driven by economic transformation and changes in international economic conditions, labour policies and regulations need to be increasingly adjusted and new ones are created to provide *flexible* instruments. On the other hand, given the segmented labour market based on the rural–urban dual society and the gradual development of the rule of law in China, the country needs to balance urban and rural employment by promoting the employment and *security* of rural (surplus) labourers and protecting their rights.[3]

To protect the new segment of (flex) workers, the Chinese government, in addition to strengthening the position of migrant workers (e.g., by introducing pension insurance for urban and rural areas), a medical insurance policy has been established for part-time employees and temporary workers, and regulations have been enacted with respect to wage payment and social insurance to promote and protect the legitimate rights and interests of those who obtained jobs in a flexible manner. Similar to Europe, China has been seeking a new balance between stability and flexibility of labour relations (CH4), and the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security and Tianjin municipal government have built together an experimental zone of harmonious labour relations in line with European labour relations (CH2).

Flexibilization has also been extensively searched from measures aiming at activation within the broad understanding of this policy priority. Reemployment service centres have been widely established in SOEs that have laid-off workers. Inspired by European examples, for instance, Chinese officials have boosted the availability of public employment services and training services (CH3, CH6), strengthened vocational training programmes (following the German models) (CH7, C2, CH3, CH4, CH6), introduced a labour dispatching policy (following the Dutch examples) (CH6) and activated labour market policies in line with Swedish policies and German Hartz Plan (Ch3, CH7) to accelerate workers' flow to (new) employment. Furthermore, considerable attention has been given to encourage entrepreneurship (CH1, CH3, CH6). As argued above, China is facing the challenge of upgrading the skills of its workforce because the country's rapidly growing sectors and coastal areas are experiencing skill and labour shortages, while the wages of unskilled labour are rising in proportion. European remedies have been investigated to seek solutions for assuring citizens' employment rights and decent work conditions and providing basic social insurance (CH2). Differences in European countries are regarded to be similar to differences in China's provinces;

[3]Migrant labourers (rural dwellers) coming to urban areas to work represent a key issue of rapid economic development (Stepan 2008).

thus, Chinese officials are keen to 'learn from Europe when making policies considering differences' (CH4). In the words of one of the directors of a division interviewed, 'Yes, {there is} influence [from EU]. China's concept of "active employment policy" is derived from the European "active labour market policy"; thus, China's public employment service system did [originate from the European examples]' (CH7). The bilateral meetings between EU and Chinese administration have indeed discussed a number of topics, including skills development and matching, public employment services mobility of workers, inclusive growth models, occupational safety and others (EU2).

14.6 Preliminary Conclusion and Discussion

Based on the analysis of labour market reforms in China between 2000 and 2012 and interview data obtained from EU-level and Chinese officials, this paper investigates the extent to which and how the European solution of flexicurity diffused to China.

We made several assumptions based on the literature on policy diffusion. Firstly, policy ideas and exact policy instruments may likely travel from Europe to China [cf. different levels of policy learning as elucidated by Hall (1993)]. This assumption was proven to be correct. Our analysis indicated that China has been keen to learn from European virtues to combine equality with economic growth. In the last decade or so, China has established a market-oriented employment mechanism, worked on re-employing the surplus enterprise personnel arising over the years under the planned economy and intended for better security and coordination of employment. In many respects, these broad lines follow those adopted by EU both in its broader agenda for social and employment policies as well in its specific flexicurity model. However, several factors hinder this learning. Given the large rural–urban divide, regional disparities and segmented labour market in China, China remains distant from the goal of treating urban and rural workers equally, similar to what the EU (at least) endeavours to accomplish as a virtue. Furthermore, policy makers are dependent on financial resources, people's attitudes on the issues and government position on exchanging employment policy ideas.

Secondly, a transfer between Europe and China is likely to occur through emulation or adoption of a mixture of policy instruments or ideas, rather than full-fletched adoption or copying. Our findings indicate that partial diffusion (emulation between EU and China) has occurred, in which instruments provided by the European employment model and flexicurity strategy have been used by Chinese officials who look at Europe in their efforts to balance the relationship between stability and flexibility of labour. The Chinese have eagerly learned about the aspects of active labour market policies, public employment services and training services to embrace flexible labour market arrangements to adjust to the rapidly changing labour market conditions as well as those aspects strengthening the basic social (insurance) safety nets to promote inclusive growth in a harmonious

society. However, China is in the process of strengthening labour law provisions. By contrast, EU, particularly at times of extending economic crisis, gives more priority to further flexibilizing the employment protection legislations in many EU countries.

Thirdly, policy diffusion, if detected, will occur through either the mechanism of policy mimicking or that of policy learning. We find evidence for policy learning, rather than mimicking, as policy makers draw lessons from past successes and use these lessons in dealing with (novel) problems (Hall 1993; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993). In line with policy learning theory, a cognitive and normative reorientation seems to have occurred among Chinese policy makers when they think about labour market policy. References to the EU model are made during the policy-making process (predominantly when seeking solutions); however, crucially, an amalgamation of Chinese and European policy ideas exists, as clearly illustrated in our interviews. Despite the strong indication of learning from Europe (9 of 10 officials confirm that EU employment policies are seen as an attractive model for China), only 2 of 10 officials admit having considerable knowledge about the flexicurity strategy, whereas others (8 of 10) have heard only little about it. The officials interviewed strongly claim to have built Chinese employment policies and, to some extent, based on European experiences. This view was confirmed by our academic experts and respondents at the EU level, who argued that the major interest from the Chinese part has not been flexicurity as a model per se; rather, they have expressed willingness to learn about the EU experience in general (EU1, EU2) and particularly the European experiences in skills development and matching part of the flexibility (EU 2).

Our chapter concludes by stating that partial learning (emulation) seems to occur between EU and China. However, the Chinese have set the course towards harmonious development and have performed this action in a culturally specific manner. They prefer (national) solutions that are most suitable to national, regional and local conditions, but actively consider European experiences wherever available.

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Appendix 1

Code	Respondent status	Date of interview
EU 1	Official European Commission DG employment	19 September 2013
EU 2	Official European Commission DG employment	14 October 2013
EXP 1	Academic expert	12 July 2013
EXP 2	Academic expert, CASS	25 September 2013
EXP 3	Academic expert	12 July 2012
CH1	Director of a department, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH2	Director of a department, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH3	Director of a department, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH4	Director of a department, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH5	Director of a department, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH6	Director of a department, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH7	Director of a division, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH8	Director of a division, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH9	Director of a division, MoHRSS	September–October 2013
CH10	Director of a division, MoHRSS	September–October 2013

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