

**GLOBALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN EIGHT CHINESE UNIVERSITIES:
INCORPORATION OF AND STRATEGIC RESPONSES TO WORLD CULTURE**

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Brian L. Yoder, Ph.D.

This dissertation examines the globalization of both universities and related government organizations in the Peoples Republic of China. By using the analytical framework Allomorphism, I investigate how worldwide patterns of university governance and practices are incorporated in eight universities in the PRC. Allomorphism is an analytical framework specifically developed to examine changes of higher education institutions. It combines concepts from “Glonacal Agency Heuristic” and “World Culture.” Hence, it conceptualizes globalization at the cognitive level, that is, the spread of ideas about how universities should be organized and the role of universities in society, but allows for exploration of how organizations respond to global ideas. Therefore, according to Allomorphism, while universities and government organizations will share similar ideas about organizational structure and practices, they adapt and select global ideas in unique ways.

From the literature, I identified four patterns. They are: 1) change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education, 2) accreditation and quality control, 3) transnational higher education, and 4) internationalization. From interviews with higher education administrators, university professors, Ministry of Education officials and document analysis, I describe how these four global patterns are incorporated into the organizational structure and practices in four different types of universities and how the Ministry of Education plays a part in this process.

This study has two principal findings. The MOE plays a role in how universities adopt and adapt global patterns of organizational structure and practice. For example, the MOE encourages certain universities to focus on research and self-generate funds through funding projects called Project 211 and Project 985. Second, the length of time a university has had international programs and the number of international programs at a university relate to how much a university incorporates globally held ideas into its organizational structure and practices.

This study contributes to the field of globalization studies by providing systematic empirical data on the selection and adaptation of “global patterns” into the organizational structure and practices of different types of universities in the Peoples Republic of China. This study is also the first to use Allomorphism as an analytical framework.

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PREFACE

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1.0 CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This dissertation was inspired by three shortcomings of the literature on the globalization of higher education. The first shortcoming is that despite the rapid growth of higher education globalization literature, neither consensus on conceptualizations (definitions) of globalization nor theoretical consensus about higher education globalization exists in the literature (Deem, 2001; Fitzsimons, 2000; Forest, 2002; Yang, 2003a; Jordan & Yeomans, 2003; Edwards, Crosling, Petrovic-Lazarovic & O'Neill, 2003; McBurn, 2001; Mok, 2000) (see Appendix A for a brief review of some examples of the theoretical conceptualizations of higher education globalization). The second shortcoming, related to the first, is that very little empirical evidence has been brought to bear on theories of higher education globalization or used in conceptualizing (defining) higher education globalization (Enders, 2004; Yang, 2003b; Vidovich, 2002). The third shortcoming is that empirical evidence is needed to advance theories and conceptualizations of globalization (Yang, 2002; Enders, 2004). This dissertation takes up the third shortcoming, and attempts to provide an empirical account of higher education globalization in China. My hope is that by focusing on the third shortcoming, this research can potentially contribute to rectifying the first two.

1.1 GLOBAL PATTERNS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

During my reading of the globalization of higher education literature, I came across articles observing that similar patterns of higher education are appearing in various countries around the world, but the exact patterns vary in universities within the same country and in universities in different countries. For example, Vidovich and Slee (2001) note increased accountability as a main feature of widespread education reforms of higher education in many countries around the world. Their study focused on the nature of accountability reforms in higher education in Australia and England. They found similar policy objectives of accountability for higher education in both countries, but the particular structures and processes employed by each country in implementing the reforms were different.

I found the idea of global patterns of higher education to be a strong basis for an empirical study on higher education globalization, since it is based on observations and descriptions of what is actually occurring in countries. I wanted to do a study to investigate why similar patterns of higher education are appearing in universities in different countries, but the exact patterns appear differently within the different universities in the same country. An early question that guided the development of this study was this: What accounts for the fact that universities around the world are taking on similar patterns of organizational structure and practice in general, yet the patterns appear differently in different universities within the same country? This question guided my review of the higher education globalization literature.

1.2 CRITICISM OF OTHER GLOBALIZATION THEORIES/Frameworks

In my review of the literature, I actively sought a theory or analytical framework that could account for similar patterns of higher education globalization appearing differently at different universities (see Appendix A for a summary of some of the theories and frameworks I came across). I found theories and frameworks that often explained how developed countries influence higher education in developing countries.

These globalization theories and frameworks did not take into account the development of global patterns of higher education, nor do they provide an explanation for why universities in both developed and developing countries are taking on similar patterns of university organization and practice, yet universities within countries and across countries retain and take on unique characteristics.

1.3 ALLOMORPHISM – THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK USED IN THIS STUDY

At the time I was reviewing literature on higher education globalization, a new analytical framework developed by Massimiliano Vaira specifically for studying globalization of higher education was published in Higher Education. Called Allomorphism, this analytical framework addressed why universities in various countries are developing similar patterns of university organization and practice, and why the patterns appear differently in different universities in the same country. Vaira argues that the entire globalization of higher education literature can be divided into two main strands: a) articles that deal with convergence – why universities around

the world are taking on similar patterns of organization and practice; and b) articles that deal with divergence--why universities are becoming increasingly dissimilar in organization and practice.

Vaira (2004) argues that the study of higher education globalization should include both convergence and divergence. Vaira (2004) draws on two other analytical frameworks used in the study of higher education globalization to develop Allomorphism: the Glonacal Agency Heuristic, which explains divergence in university organization and practice; and Global Culture (including New Institutional Theory), which explains convergence of university organization and practice. Since Allomorphism is a new analytical framework, in the literature review I include both the Glonacal Agency Heuristic and World Culture separately to clearly explain the ideas Allomorphism draws from these two frameworks.

According to Allomorphism, globalization pressures are generated at the global level by the “world economy competitive pressure” and “world polity constitutive structure,” which create institutional imperatives and archetypes for higher education. These institutional imperatives and archetypes are ideas about how university organization and practice should be; the globalized economy and political process shape these ideas and “ways of doing.” By conforming to these ideas and models of practices, nation-states and individual universities receive social legitimacy.

Global pressures are modified by different organizations (see Figure 2.3 - Diagram of Allomorphism and **Error! Reference source not found.** for a modified diagram of Allomorphism that includes the organizations in this study: the Ministry of Education and eight Chinese universities). For example, global pressures are selected and adapted at the international level by international agencies like the World Bank and UNESCO, which, in turn, pass the

global pressures to nation-states and individual universities; each nation-state selects and adapts global pressures, which affect individual universities through policy.

In total, three global pressures can affect the nation state: world economic competitive pressures and knowledge-based competition (I combine these two global pressures for my study, since Vaira does not explain well how they differ), and global pressure adapted by international agencies like the World Bank and UNESCO. According to Allomorphism, a total of three global pressures can affect individual universities: those from internationalized higher education institutions as knowledge producers and deliverers, those adapted by government organizations for individual universities, and those adapted by international agencies like the World Bank and UNESCO.

In addition to multiple global pressures, *pre-existing institutions* influence how universities adopt and adapt global pressures. Vaira draws from Marginson and Rhoades' (2002) definition of pre-existing institutions as the "sedimentation of ideas, structures, resources and practices" (p. 293). Vaira holds that pre-existing institutions work as "layers and conditions" (p. 293), which shape how universities adapt certain organizational structures or practices in response to new institutional pressures. According to Allomorphism, global pressures are selected and adapted to fit pre-existing institutions.

Allomorphism is a good analytical framework for this particular study. It assumes both similar patterns of higher education organization and practice at the global level and different responses at the university level. Allomorphism's conceptualization of globalization as resulting from multiple global pressures and the influence of pre-existing institutions on universities' responses to global pressures provides a framework through which I can study how different

types of universities take on global patterns of higher education organization and practice differently.

Although Allomorphism presents the process through which globalization happens by identifying the actors and organizations, as well as the nature of global pressure (competitive pressure), it does not effectively define the aspects of globalization to be studied. This means that although Allomorphism guides my study of how globalization happens, it does not provide a good definition of global ideas of higher education organization and practice. Hence, I needed to define the substance of “globalization of higher education.” To do so, I conducted an extensive literature review on globalization of higher education and defined the following four areas of globalization: 1) change in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization; 2) accreditation and quality control; 3) internationalization; and 4) transnational higher education.

Since this was the first time for a researcher to use Allomorphism in a higher education globalization study, I wanted to use Allomorphism in the following ways. First, I wanted to use it as a guide to explore how globalization of higher education in Chinese universities is happening. Allomorphism was used to guide data collection and analysis. Second, I wanted to use data and analysis to validate and refine some of the concepts used in Allomorphism. In this sense, my study assumes that there is a process assumed by Allomorphism involved in the globalization of higher education in China. From a careful examination of the data collected around the concepts used in Allomorphism, I also aim at refining the conceptual framework of Allomorphism.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

This study is the first on higher education globalization to use Allomorhism as an analytical framework. Given that not many empirical studies of higher education globalization exist in the literature (Yang, 2002; Enders, 2004), I identify the following areas to which this study contributes.

First, by using Allomorhism, I extend the types of analytical frameworks used in the study of higher education globalization. This study presents a multi-level analysis involving global, national and university levels. While much of the globalization literature treats the interaction between the global and local, this study adds the role of the nation-state as a mediating factor. By doing this, the study presents how the national level context influences universities' responses to globalization, an area of focus which is rare in the globalization literature.

Second, through collecting qualitative data and analyzing it, my study will provide a description of how different global pressures play roles in universities' organizational responses, which will delineate Vaira's analytical framework by adding to what extent various global pressures matter to universities. Vaira's analytical framework does not indicate differences in the strengths of global pressures of different types. By describing how universities are strategically responding to global pressures, I am able to add to the globalization literature insights on how universities actively participate in globalization; in other words, I describe the "localization" of global pressures.

1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation has five main sections: Review of the Literature, Research Questions, Methods, Findings, and Conclusions. The Review of the Literature consists of two sections. The first part is a review of four existing theoretical frameworks used to study globalization of higher education. I review these frameworks in order to argue why I use Allomorphism in this study. The second part is the history of Chinese higher education, which provides the reader with a historical context.

The Research Questions section presents how my questions guide the study according to the conceptualization of higher education globalization in terms of Allomorphism. My questions were aimed at guiding my data collection and analysis at two levels--national level organizations and universities--so that I could explore how global pressures are mediated and how organizations respond to them. Since this is the first time Allomorphism has been used in a study of higher education globalization, to my knowledge, I included a third question concerning the extent to which data and analysis from the research questions support Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization.

In the Methods section I justify defining patterns of higher education globalization (changes in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization, accreditation and quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher education) from the existing literature. As Allomorphism does not specify the content of global pressures well, I conducted a review of existing studies to identify what these pressures entail. I examined the responses by national level organizations and universities to these pressures. I also present data collection and analysis in this section.

The Findings section is divided into three parts, according to the three research questions. The first section is the analysis of globalization of the Ministry of Education. The second section is the analysis of globalization at the universities. In the third section I discuss how well the analysis from the first two questions supports Vaira's propositions and hypotheses related to higher education globalization. The final section is the Discussion. In this section I present the main findings of this study in relation to existing studies, and I discuss possibilities for future research.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

This study has several limitations. First, the conceptualization of globalization pressure presented here, which I identified through a study of the literature on higher education globalization, may not capture all the aspects of globalization. I defined globalization pressure as the aspects I identified in the literature, which was drawn from consists of 66% of the literature I reviewed. In my definition of globalization, I explored these selected aspects. In fact, there may be different forms of globalization pressures, which I did not explore in this study.

Second, the conditions/methods of data collection limited my study in the following ways. I relied on the interview as the primary source of data. However, the study was conducted in China, where interview norms differed from those in the United States, and sometimes I could not ask follow-up questions. Neither could I go back to the field to exhaust the data. Also, it was impossible to collect data matching all aspects of globalization due to being unable to interview all the people who had the relevant knowledge. Hence, I was not able to present a comprehensive description of globalization, which would have involved filling in every aspect of

the flow of the globalization mechanism proposed by Allomorphism. Rather, my study describes some selected processes of globalization. For example, I have considerable data about governments' role in supervising and regulating higher education, in which I describe how translation happens. However, I did not have enough data to describe how universities select and adapt global pressures to pre-existing institutions. To avoid making claims from the data based on selective evidence, I present my claims through comparison. Hence, the volume of the findings is smaller than I had originally anticipated.

Third, the information reported by university professors, higher education administrators and Ministry of Education officials might not always be accurate. I attempt to compensate for possible inaccuracies in data from the interviews and other sources through triangulation; I confirmed the information with three other sources: other interviews, policy documents, or websites.

2.0 CHAPTER 2 - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of literature has two main sections: analytical frameworks used in the study of higher education globalization, and the history of Chinese higher education. The first section reviews four analytical frameworks used in the study of higher education globalization. These frameworks include: World Systems Theory, the Glonacal Agency Heuristic, World Culture (including New Institutional Theory) and Allomorphism. Allomorphism draws ideas from Glonacal Agency Heuristic and World Culture, and these are therefore included in the review to show how their ideas contribute to Allomorphism. I include World Systems Theory first because it is an important sociological theory that has been used to study higher education globalization and second, to highlight the conceptual weaknesses of World Systems Theory when considering recent literature describing globalization of higher education. World Systems Theory's conceptualization of globalization is not useful for analyzing or explaining the appearance of global patterns in higher education that appear differently in different universities within countries and across countries. By including World Systems Theory in the literature review, I juxtapose the conceptual weaknesses of World Systems Theory with the strengths of Allomorphism as the analytical framework in this study.

Allomorphism combines ideas from the Glonacal Agency Heuristic and Global Culture (including New Institutional Theory), and the organization of the review of literature reflects a progression of ideas regarding how the Glonacal Agency Heuristic and Global Culture contribute

ideas to Allomorphism. I first describe how the Glonacal Agency Heuristic addresses the theoretical shortcomings of the globalization of higher education literature, and then lay out the ideas Allomorphism draws on from Glonacal Agency Heuristic. These are, namely, that globalization studies should focus on three levels: international, national and local; and that globalization studies should include how global pressures are adapted to fit pre-existing education practices and organization. Next, I describe World Culture (including New Institutional Theory) and lay out the main idea Allomorphism draws from World Culture: World Culture offers an explanation for the appearance of global patterns of higher education, meaning that nation-states must adapt their internal structures (like universities) to Global Culture to maintain legitimacy.

I precede the discussion of World Culture with a review of New Institutional Theory. I do this because both World Culture and New Institutional Theory have been strongly influenced by sociologist John Meyer and both are based on similar ideas. New Institutional Theory explains how and why ideas are spread to different organizations, and Global Culture explains how and why ideas are spread to different countries. Also, I use ideas from New Institutional Theory in the history of Chinese higher education section to explain the idea of *pre-existing institutions* (pre-existing ideas about higher education organization and practice) and how Chinese higher education has changed and has been resistant to change over time.

The last section of the analytical frameworks section reviews Allomorphism and how ideas from the Glonacal Agency Heuristic and World Culture are combined into Allomorphism to create a framework that considers how and why higher education institutions diverge and converge through the selection and adaptation of globally held ideas. I finish the analytical frameworks section by introducing the five propositions and related hypotheses from

Allomorphism concerning higher education globalization and present my interpretation of the propositions and hypotheses. I include the propositions and hypotheses since this is the first globalization study that uses Allomorphism, as far as I am aware. Since this is the first study to use Allomorphism, I include a third question in my study that asks how well data and analysis from this study support Vaira's hypotheses; this is in order to help refine Allomorphism as an analytical framework for studying higher education globalization.

The second section of the review of literature, the history of Chinese higher education, has a dual purpose: first, to put this study into a historical context by reviewing the history of higher education in China with an emphasis on the years 1949 to 2000; and second, to introduce to the reader the idea from Allomorphism (taken from New Institutional Theory) of *pre-existing institutions*. Pre-existing institutions are the "sedimentation of ideas, structures, resources and practices" (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 293) that work as "layers and conditions" (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 293) influencing how universities respond to global pressures. Using these ideas, I attempt to identify *pre-existing institutions* from the description of Chinese higher education during the twentieth century.

The history of Chinese higher education section is divided into three main parts. The first is from 1949 to the late 1970s, and reviews the Soviet Model of higher education, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The second section is from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s and includes higher education reforms in the late 1970s, but focuses on the major policy 1985 reform known as "the Decision." The third section spans the mid-1990s to early 2000 and discusses merging universities, the introduction of new university disciplines, the rapid expansion of higher education, and the effect, according to the literature, China's accession into the World Trade Organization will have on Chinese higher education.

After each of the three sections, I discuss the major institutions and organizational structures during each time period. According to Allomorphism, these institutions and organizations act as a “sedimentation of ideas, structures, resources and practices” (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 293), and will influence how global patterns of higher education globalization are selected and adapted by universities and government organizations. I identify pre-existing institutions in order to include them in the analysis.

2.1 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS USED IN THE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION GLOBALIZATION

2.1.1 World Systems Theory

World Systems Theory is a macrosociological theory that seeks to explain the dynamics of the global economy as a total social system (Martinez-Vela, 2001). World Systems Theory posits that capitalism originated in Northwestern Europe sometime between 1450 and 1550 as a replacement for feudalism. Capitalism replaced feudalism as means to maintain inequality, maintain a stratified social structure, and increase the ability of property holders to more effectively and efficiently accumulate wealth (Wallerstein, 1974). According to World Systems Theory, capitalism, which developed in Europe, has spread across the entire world as an economic system that maintains regional inequality

World Systems Theory rose in popularity during the 1970s as an alternative to Modernization Theory (Hopkins & Wallerstein, 1977). The premise of Modernization Theory is that countries will go through similar stages of development. One can predict a country’s

“development trajectory” by looking at its current stage of development and comparing it to other countries that have recently gone through a similar stage. The ability of Modernization Theory to predict the future stages of a country’s development was increasingly questioned, as development did not follow predicted patterns. In particular, Modernization Theory was not able to answer why certain regions of the world did not develop. World Systems Theory gained popularity as an alternative to Modernization Theory because it could explain why certain areas of the world remained chronically underdeveloped (Hopkins, 1979).

The premise of World Systems Theory is the idea that the world is maintained as regions, or areas, with varying levels of economic activity (Hopkins & Wallerstein, 1982). *Core areas*, centers of economic activity with many economic relational sequences leading to and from them, tend to accumulate capital. *Peripheral areas* have less economic activity, fewer economic relational sequences, and less capital. *Core states* have the means to develop the necessary infrastructure within the state to accumulate large amounts of capital, and *core states* also have the ability to maintain *peripheral states* as underdeveloped through transnational organizations (i.e. the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization). *Semi-peripheral states* are adjacent to both *core* and *peripheral* states, creating a buffer between the two.

The system of *core*, *semi-peripheral* and *peripheral* areas is maintained by *hegemony* and *rivalry*. Through *rivalry*, strong *core* states and weaker *semi-peripheral* states align themselves, not so much to deter war, but to wage war (Hopkins, 1979). When one group of states creates an alignment to wage war or expand their jurisdiction over *core* area processes, another group of states will align themselves to prevent the expansion, thereby forming a balance of power. No state is able to mobilize the force or allies to subjugate all other states to its will. This process

preserves the state system and the global economy and prevents the conversion of the state system into a world empire. Occasionally, a state will rise to economically dominate other states. The influence a dominant state has over other states is called *hegemony*. Three core states have risen to become hegemonic states during the history of the global economy: the Netherlands, Great Britain, and most recently the United States (Wallerstein, 1983).

Scholars in comparative education have adapted concepts from World Systems Theory (WST) rather than applying the entire sociological-historical framework of WST to education and development (Arnove, 1980; Clayton, 2004). The ideas of *hegemony*, *core* areas, *peripheral* areas, and the development of state apparatus by *core* areas to maintain the existing world economic structure are used in studies of globalization of higher education (i.e. Mundy & Murphy, 2001; Jones, 2000; Kemper & Jurema, 2002; Ginsburg, Espinoza, Popa & Terano, 2003; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). These studies have focused on the influence of transnational organizations on countries' economic, political and social systems and how economic, political and social changes have affected higher education.

For example, Kemper and Jurema (2002) look at the structural adjustment policies imposed on Brazil by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and draw connections between these policies and decreased government provisions for higher education by the Brazilian government. Torres (2002) concludes that lending organizations like the World Bank play a role in promoting neo-liberal policies in Latin America. The World Bank may support education projects that appear to promote equity and equality, but its technical assistance has the underpinnings of the neo-liberal economic policies of the Washington Consensus supported by the World Bank.

The limitations of World Systems Theory as an analytical framework for the study of globalization of higher education center around its prescriptive assumptions of direction of influence. The concepts of *hegemony*, *core* areas and *peripheral* areas assume that the *core* areas of the global economy influence developing countries by modifying economic and political/social systems that affect higher education and this maintains underdevelopment of non-*core* areas. Globalization of higher education studies that use World Systems Theory assume that globalization is due to the influence of *core* areas on non-*core* areas.

Current research on higher education globalization calls into question the idea of uni-directional flow of influence of globalization on higher education (i.e. Levin, 2004; Musselin, 2004; Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; McBurnie, 2001; Mok, 2000). Recent conceptions of higher education globalization view globalization as the adoption of similar patterns by governments and universities in different countries, but point-out that patterns are modified in each country and institution to fit local pre-existing ideas and organizational forces (i.e. Mok, 2005; Salerno, 2004; Enders, 2004; Vaira, 2004; Astiz, Wiseman & Baker, 2002; Deem, 2001). (Also see the special issue of Higher Education, Rhoades (2002) Issues on global patterns in higher education [Special Issue] Higher Education, 43, (3))

An example of a global pattern of higher education is the recent trend of governments to use a combination of funding in tandem with evaluation to “guide higher education.” Examples of “guiding higher education” are reported in the globalization of higher education literature in countries like Australia (Vidovich, 2002; Devos, 2003), Hong Kong, Taiwan and the Peoples Republic of China (Mok, 2003), Hong Kong (Mok, 2001), Hong Kong and Singapore (Lee & Gopinathan), the United States and Canada (Levin, 2001), Japan and the United States (Miyoshi, 2000) and worldwide (Drew & Bensley, 2001). The pattern of “guiding higher education”

appears in numerous countries around the world, but the exact form of “guiding higher education” varies among countries.

2.1.2 Glonacal Agency Heuristic

The Glonacal Agency Heuristic is an analytical framework designed for the study of higher education globalization (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). It was developed to address theoretical shortcomings of the globalization literature as identified by Marginson and Rhoades. The first shortcoming is that globalization studies tend to foreground nation-states, national markets, and national systems of higher education. Second, the studies tend to map out developments entirely in terms of relationships between national governments and higher education institutions, the impact of government policies on such relationships, the structure of national systems, and the role of market pressures in influencing the relationships. Marginson and Rhoades (2002) argue that discussion of international organizations that influence higher education within countries, and local factors like pre-existing norms within universities that make universities resistant to change, are missing from the analysis of globalization of higher education. Marginson and Rhoades’ (2002) analytical framework for the study of higher education globalization considers pressures from the (glo)bal level, the (na)tional level and the lo(cal) level, thus contributing to the first part of the name “Glo-na-cal Agency Heuristic.”

The concept of agency is also included in the framework. Marginson and Rhoades (2002) consider “agency” in two senses of the word. First, “agency” means “organization,” and includes organizations at the global, national and local levels. Global level agencies include organizations like the World Bank, the OECD and the Ford Foundation. Agencies at the national level primarily consist of national government organizations that create national level higher

education policies. Local level agencies can include universities, departments within universities, and individual actors like professors and students. The second meaning of “agency” is “ability to act.” All levels of agencies, or organizations, have the ability to act and to shape the globalization of institutions. In this sense, globalization is not so much a force as process, by which organizations related to higher education become more globalized through the interaction of agencies at different levels.



Figure 2.1 - Diagram of the Glonacal Agency Heuristic

Note. From “Beyond National States, Markets, and Systems of Higher Education: A Glonacal Agency Heuristic,” by S. Marginson & G. Rhoades, (2002), Higher Education, 43, p. 291.

Visually, the Glonacal Agency Heuristic is represented as a hexagon with six sides indicating the basic building blocks. The sides represent 1) global level agencies (organizations), 2) global level human agency (ability to act), 3) national level agencies (organizations), 4) national level human agency (ability to act), 5) local level agencies (organizations), and 6) local level human agency (ability to act). The different points of the hexagon are connected by flows of influence that are marked with *reciprocity*. The flows of influence generally move in more than one

direction. *Strength* refers to the magnitude of influence and directness of activity as well as resources available to agencies and agents. Links between points of the hexagon can be strong or weak, direct or indirect. Globalization is also influenced by historically embedded structures and norms in higher education systems and in individual universities called *layers and conditions*. *Spheres* refer to the geographical function and scope of an agency's activities.

2.1.2.1 Use of the Glonacal Agency Heuristic in Allomorphism

Marginson and Rhoades (2002) suggest moving beyond focusing solely on nation-states in analyzing the globalization of higher education and including the influence of international agencies and actions of universities in incorporating global patterns of higher education. The Glonacal Agency Heuristic extends the study of higher education globalization by considering how global patterns of higher education are influenced by “nationally and locally embedded layers of structures” (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 299). Allomorphism incorporates the idea from the Glonacal Agency Heuristic of including the global (international), national, and local in the study of higher education globalization. It also incorporates the concept of focusing on patterns of higher education globalization and analyzing how local institutions (universities), national organizations (government agencies), and international organizations (international agencies) incorporate global patterns into pre-existing institutions. The Glonacal Agency Heuristic does not explain where global patterns of higher education come from, nor do Marginson and Rhoades explain how to analyze how local organizations (universities) and national organizations (national governments) incorporate global patterns into pre-existing institutions. World Culture (Meyer et al, 1997; Meyer, 2000) is able to explain the development of global patterns, and ideas from New Institutional Theory, the intellectual forerunner of World Culture, are useful for identifying pre-existing “structures” and institutions of higher education.

2.1.3 New Institutional Theory and World Culture

New Institutional Theory and World Culture have been strongly influenced by sociologist John Meyer, and both are used in this study of higher education globalization. New Institutional Theory considers how organizations are structured around ideas and assumptions, or “taken-for-granted notions.” In the literature review section on the history of Chinese higher education, I use New Institutional Theory to introduce the idea that Chinese higher education in the past was organized around ideas and “taken-for-granted notions.” These pre-existing ideas and notions that structured higher education in the past must be included in the analysis of globalization using Allomorphism, since Allomorphism views global ideas about higher education as being selected and adapted to fit pre-existing ideas about higher education. A review of New Institutional Theory is also useful to understand World Culture, since concepts like institutionalization, isomorphism, and legitimacy are used in both.

2.1.3.1 New Institutional Theory

Meyer and Rowan’s influential 1977 article, “Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony,” views structures and rules in organizations as socially constructed *myths*. For Meyer and Rowan, arguments of rational efficiency do not explain how organizations operate, since organizations are filled with structures and rules that make them inefficient. Rather, organizations and the way they operate are viewed as rationalized societal *myths* called *institutions*. “*Institutions* consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. *Institutions* are transported by various carriers – cultures, structures, and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction” (Scott, 1995, p. 33).

Organizations conform to *institutions* in their environment to gain legitimacy. Organizations that incorporate *institutions* into their structure to enhance their legitimacy increase their access to resources and their ability to survive (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). For example, a university in a developing country that collaborates with prestigious universities in developed countries increases its own prestige. Increased prestige enhances the legitimacy of the university and aids the university through greater access to resources like alumni donations, high-quality students applying for admission, and competitive research grants for faculty.

The institutional environment affects how organizations operate and incorporate elements from the external environment to legitimize their existence through *isomorphism*. *Isomorphism* is a constraining and homogenizing force upon organizations. For example, schools are organizations with similar structures like a principal, teachers, students categorized by age group, and so on. Institutional theorists view schools as responding to pressures to comply with socially shared ideas about how schools should be organized, which ends up making them similar, meaning *isomorphic*. *Isomorphism* explains convergence in Allomorphism (Vaira, 2004). The three types of *isomorphic* pressures are the following: 1) *coercive isomorphism*--more powerful institutions force changes to the institutional operations of other, less powerful institutions (in the case of higher education, coercive isomorphism is most often in the form of government higher education policy); 2) *mimetic isomorphism*--because of uncertainty, institutions may mimic the operations of other institutions; and 3) *normative isomorphism*--related to professionalization and well-accepted institutional norms that are taken-for-granted institutional norms (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

In a brief summary of how New Institutional Theory is relevant to my study, Meyer and Rowan (1997) explain how organizations are structured and operate by conforming to

rationalized societal *myths*, called *institutions*. Organizations, to gain legitimacy, must incorporate *institutions* into their structures. The ideas from New Institutional Theory are similar to the ideas of World Culture, and New Institutional Theory is used in the history of Chinese higher education section to introduce the idea that Chinese higher education was structured around ideas and notions about higher education.

2.1.3.2 World Culture

Similar to the structures and rules in organizations being described as *myth* in New Institutional Theory (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), the institutionalization of worldwide models into national organizations, or globalization, is also viewed as a *myth*. Meyer and Rowan call organizational structure a “myth” because it does not reflect the strategies and actions that improve organizational efficiency; rather it works for organizations by providing legitimacy according to socially shared ideas and expectations. The institutional theorist’s work is to identify how these socially shared ideas and “taken-for-granted notions” influence organizational structures and practices. Taking up this conceptualization, this study regards globalization according in terms of the definition of Meyer et al. (1997), who claim that “world models define and legitimate agendas for local action, shaping the structures and policies of nation-states and other rational and local actors in virtually all domains of rationalized social life--business, politics, education, medicine, science, even the family and religion” (p. 145).

In the context of this study, when discussing global patterns of higher education or World Culture, I mean patterns or world models of institutional *myths* that have been adopted by nation-states around the world (Meyer et al., 1997; Meyer, 2000). I view these as *myths* because they are ideas and conceptions that may not necessarily connect with improving organizational efficiency; rather, they are legitimizing forces if organizations comply with them. Meyer et al.

(1997) and Meyer (2000) provide an account of the origins of global patterns of higher education.

Meyer et al. (1997) list several examples of isomorphic structures related to conceptualizations of the nation-state: responsible actor with territorial boundaries; sovereign authority and self-determination; authoritative law based on a system of control; and policy technologies for the rational means-ends accomplishment of goals. Other isomorphic structures reflect internal state policies: constitutional forms emphasizing both state and individual rights; mass schooling systems organized around a fairly standardized curriculum; rationalized economic and demographic record-keeping; national policies intended to enhance national development; formally equalized status and rights of females; expanded human rights; expansive environmental policies; development-oriented economic policies; universalistic welfare policies; and standard definitions of disease and health care. Nation-states are legitimized when their governments adhere to isomorphic structures.

While developed countries have the organizational capacity and material resources to implement new World Culture models, developing countries often lack resources and the capacity to do so. Developing countries thus undertake symbolic reforms, often in the form of future planning or by developing structures that seem irrational for the local context. “[Developing countries] routinely establish universities producing overqualified personnel, national planning agencies writing unrealistic five-year plans, national airlines that require heavy subsidization, and freeways leading nowhere--forms of ‘development’ that are functionally quite irrational” (Meyer, et al., 1997, p. 156).

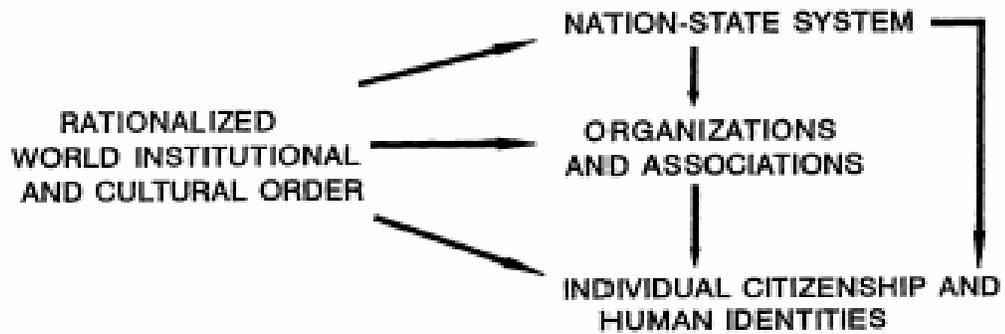


Figure 2.2 - Diagram of World Culture and Nation-State

Note. From “World society and the nation-state,” by J. W. Meyer, J. Boli, G. M. Thomas, & F. O. Ramirez, (1997), *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, p. 151.

Figure 2.2 shows Meyer et al.’s (1997) deliberate simplification of the conceptualization of the influence of World Culture. States, organizations, and individuals all contribute to the content and structure of World Culture, and much World Culture change happens outside the nation-state. A more complete model would have depicted a recursive process with nation-states, organizations, associations and individuals influencing each other and affecting World Culture.

What produces worldwide isomorphism of nation-state structures and functions? Meyer et al. (1997) suggest three factors: 1) the construction of identity and purpose; 2) the systemic maintenance of actor identity; and 3) the legitimation of the actorhood of such subnational units as individuals and organized interests.

- 1) The construction of identity and purpose.

Nation-states must construct an identity and a purpose. The identity most often taken by nation-states is the sovereign, rational, responsible actor defining appropriate goals. Meyer et al. (1997) note that 130 new nation-states have formed since 1945; all adhere to the rational nation-state model and structure for both internal and external affairs.

2) The systemic maintenance of actor identity

The identity of the nation-state is maintained in part through external pressures from other nation-states. “If a specific nation-state is unable to put proper policies in place (because of costs, incompetence, or resistance), the world-society structures will provide help. The process operates more through authoritative external support for the legitimate purposes of states than through authoritarian imposition by dominant powers or interests” (Meyer, et al., 1997, p. 159). An example is the World Bank lending money to countries to achieve universal enrollment in primary and secondary education. If a country has not achieved universal enrollment in basic education, the World Bank is willing to loan money, technical assistance, and advice so the country can achieve the goal of universal enrollment in basic education.

It is difficult for nation-states to resist world models, since by taking the identity of sovereign, rational, and responsible actor, they are formally committed to many of the world models associated with the nation-state, like socioeconomic development, citizen rights, individual self-development, and civil international relations. If a particular government resists world models, activists within the nation-state can draw on world models like democracy or civil rights to legitimate their cause and elicit support from external activists to oppose the government.

3) The legitimation of the actorhood of such subnational units as individuals and organized interests.

Basic tenets of nationhood, such as individual citizenship and sovereignty of the people, legitimate the actions of individuals within the nation-state. Also, structures presumed functionally necessary for the existence of the nation-state like financial markets and organizations promoting individual and collective rights (i.e. Labor, ethnic groups, women) are

legitimated. If a nation-state does not appropriate a particular world-approved policy, actors within the nation-state will try to carry out and enforce conformity.

Spread of World Culture: Transnational Organizations

How is World Culture spread? Meyer et al. (1997) suggest two ways: 1) through the creation of international organizations, and 2) through professionals who create international organizations and affiliations. The impact of World Culture has greatly intensified since World War II with the creation of many new international organizations. The League of Nations (largely for security) was replaced by the United Nations and a system of related international organizations like the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade. These organizations contribute to economic, scientific, medical, and educational development and legitimate World Culture and ideological discussions over a large range of social domains. In addition to international organizations born of the Bretton Woods accords, the creation of thousands of nongovernmental organizations contributes to the adoption of World Culture models. The main areas these groups concentrate on are science, medicine, technical fields and economic endeavors--the main areas of activity for rationalized nation-states.

Spread of World Culture: Sciences and Professions

A second way World Culture is spread is through scientists and professionals. According to the Meyer et al. (1997) article, scientists and professionals play an important role in the spread of World Culture, but in his 2000 article about globalization, Meyer emphasizes that scientists and professionals are central to globalization. In fact, Meyer (2000) argues that globalization does not occur at the national level, but at the individual and organizational level. Many societies have come to use standard international models of accounting practices, information systems,

management systems, organizational training programs, schools, hospitals, businesses and government agencies. These models are spread by organizations, professionals and scientists. Eventually, globalized organizations and agencies “come to see themselves--and to be analyzed by others--as organizations and actors of a generally universalized sort and thus as subject to standardizing rationalization” (Meyer, 2000, p. 235).

Use of World Culture in Allomorphism

Allomorphism takes from World Culture the idea of world-level isomorphism as an explanation for why similar patterns in higher education are developing around the world. Allomorphism’s focus on global patterns of higher education appearing differently in different countries and as well as in different universities within the same country addresses a shortcoming in New Institutional Theory and World Culture. New Institutional Theory and World Culture rarely address why organizations in the same institutional environment respond differently to similar isomorphic pressures (see Astiz, Wiseman, & Baker, 2002; Benveniste, 2002; Wiseman, & Alromi, 2003). Allomorphism addresses this weakness through the idea that pre-existing institutions of higher education influence the selection and adaptation of global patterns of higher education.

How global patterns are used in this study

Global patterns of higher education in this study are identified in the same way Vaira (2004) and Marginson and Rhoades (2002) identify and describe them, through the existing literature on the globalization of higher education. This study focuses on four patterns identified in the existing literature: changes in governance of higher education/organizational restructuring of higher education, accreditation and quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher

education. This description of globalization patterns of higher education from the literature forms the basis for questions used in surveys which guided interviews and the collection of policy documents and related web pages at Chinese universities and the Ministry of Education.

I assume that “global patterns” of higher education are the result of globally held ideas or Global Culture (Meyer et al, 1997; Meyer, 2000). Global Culture refers to ideas about how universities should be organized and what constitute proper university practices (Vaira, 2004). In the globalization of higher education literature, I am looking at university organization and practices that are caused by Global Culture, rather than the ideas themselves. I assume that the descriptions of university organization and practice in the globalization of higher education literature are the result of universities adhering to Global Culture. The “global patterns” of higher education I identify in the literature are descriptions of university organization and practice that adhere to Global Culture. I use these descriptions as the basis of questions which guide interviews and the collection of web pages and documents.

I am interested to find out if Chinese university organization and practice reflect the descriptions of university organization and practice resulting from Global Culture which are presented in the literature. If the organization and practice of a Chinese university reflects the description from the literature, I assume it is because the Chinese university’s organization and practice adhere to Global Culture. But to add a layer of complexity, according to Allomorphism, Global Culture is selected and adapted based on pre-existing institutions. Pre-existing institutions are the “sedimentation of ideas, structures, resources and practices” (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 293). Vaira holds the view that pre-existing institutions work as “layers and conditions” (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 293) which shape how universities take certain organizational structures or adopt particular practices in response to Global Culture. So, two

universities might adhere to Global Culture, but the exact forms Global Culture takes as organization and practice at each university could differ based on how each selects and adapts Global Culture according to pre-existing institutions at each university. I discuss how I attempt to deal with this complexity and how I develop questions based on “global patterns” of higher education in the Methods section.

2.1.4 Allomorphism

Allomorphism is a theoretical framework developed specifically to analyze the globalization of higher education. Allomorphism is a term drawn from the field of linguistics, and means a letter or combination of letters that represent the same grammatical element (for example adding –s or –en to words to make them plural, as in horses and oxen). In globalization of higher education, Allomorphism has the meaning of higher education structures that take on similar forms, but are slightly different. For example, the tendency of universities to develop multiple channels of funding (i.e. competitive research grants, government sponsored research, university fund raising, contract research with industries) is associated with globalization of universities (Clark, 1998; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) and is included as a question in this study. While universities in different countries pursue multiple channels of funding, there will be variation in the exact forms that this practice takes at universities within different countries and within different universities in the same country.

Allomorphism conceptualizes globalization, according to Meyer et al. (1997): “world models define and legitimate agendas for local action, shaping the structures and policies of nation-states and other rational and local actors in virtually all domains of rationalized social life --business, politics, education, medicine, science, even the family and religion” (p. 145). In

Allomorphism and in the context of this study, when we discuss global patterns of higher education, or World Culture, we are discussing patterns or world models of institutional *myths* that have been adopted by nation-states around the world (Meyer et al., 1997; Meyer, 2000). Allomorphism views these patterns as *myths* because they are ideas and conceptions that may not necessarily connect with improving organizational efficiency; rather they constitute a legitimating force if organizations comply with them.

Vaira divides the globalization literature into two conflicting strands, which he calls the *divergence thesis* and the *convergence thesis*. The *convergence thesis* emphasizes the homogenization of economies, politics and culture. “It is founded on a linear, top-down and sometimes deterministic causal explanation” (Vaira, 2004, p. 484) of globalization. World Culture (Meyer et al., 1997; Meyer, 2000) accounts for the *convergence thesis*.

The divergence thesis “emphasizes the heterogeneity of globalization’s effects and outcomes on the local level (national, regional and even organizational)” (Vaira, 2004 p. 484). The Glonacal Agency Heuristic (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002) accounts for the divergence aspect of the literature, which focuses on localized responses to globalization. National governments and individual universities play an active role in the divergence of World Culture through what Vaira (2004) calls “strategic response” and “translation.”

“Strategic response” maintains that isomorphism underestimates the degree of freedom and maneuvering available to an organization in spite of isomorphic pressures. It emphasizes the centrality of agency and thus differential responses to isomorphic pressures. When similar organizations are faced with similar isomorphic pressures, different organizations will respond in different ways. “The way an organization is, behaves and performs depends on the way it strategically responds to environmental pressures and conditions” (Vaira, 2004, p. 495).

“Translation” is the cognitive aspects of individuals and groups within an institution and how they interpret, re-construct and translate isomorphic pressures in the context of their organizational culture and knowledge context of action and purposes. Isomorphic pressures are translated by individuals and groups within an organization. “Hence, even if organizations refer to and draw from a certain institutionalized template to model and structure their action, they do so in an active and creative way. Then we cannot speak of institutional incorporation, but of institutional enactment, selection, and translation” (Vaira, 2004, p. 495).

Vaira combines the *convergence thesis* and *divergence thesis* from the globalization literature to create the allomorphic framework for analyzing higher education globalization. Figure 2.3 shows how government higher education organizations and policy (Nation-state higher education reforming policy) and universities are affected by globalization and the origins and paths of multiple global pressures that affect government higher education organization and policy, as well as individual universities.

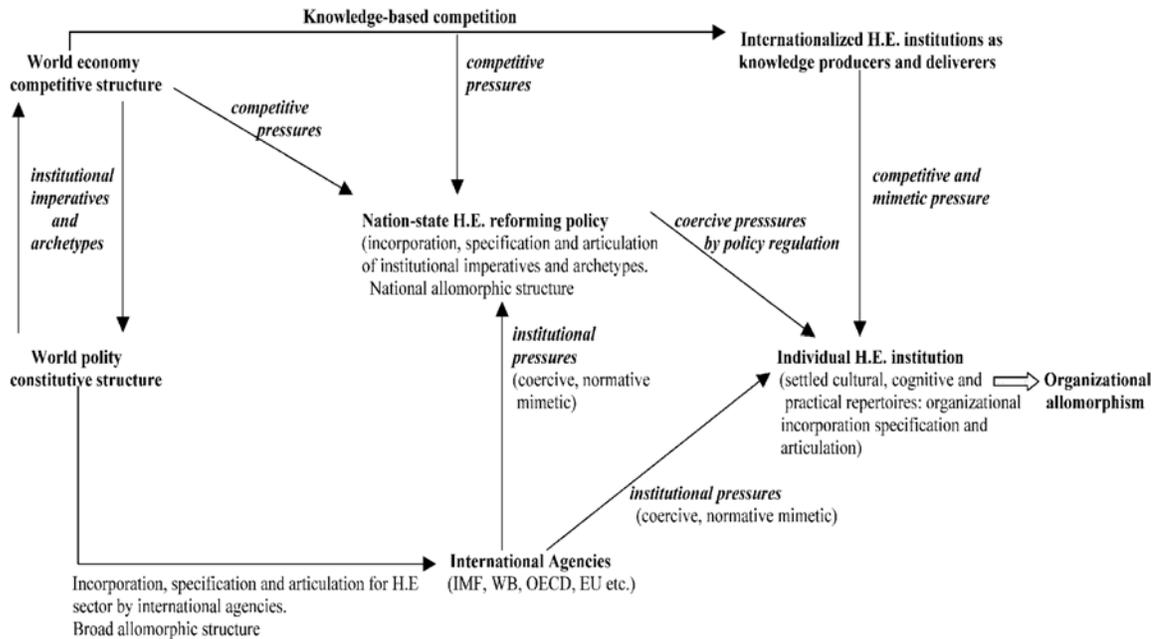


Figure 2.3 - Diagram of Allomorphism

Note. From “Globalization of Higher Education Organizational Change: A Framework for Analysis,” by M. Vaira, (2004), *Higher Education*, 48, p. 503.

According to the diagram of Allomorphism, the world economy competitive structure and world polity competitive structure generate institutional imperatives and global archetypes. Institutional imperatives and global archetypes are incorporated, specified and articulated for higher education by international agencies. Nation-states also incorporate, specify and articulate institutional imperatives and global archetypes, but they also receive pressure from knowledge-based competition. Universities receive global normative and mimetic pressure from knowledge-based competition as international higher education institutions as knowledge producer and deliverer. Global archetypes are specified and articulated for higher education by international agencies in the form of coercive, normative and mimetic isomorphic pressures and global myths specified and articulated for higher education by the nation-state in the form of coercive pressures (higher education policy). Universities respond to the triad of pressures from

global archetypes by adjusting the global archetypes to fit pre-existing institutions, translating the pressure, and responding in strategic ways to benefit from globalization.

2.1.4.1 Vaira's List of Propositions

The next section lists Vaira's (2004) propositions and hypotheses (pp. 499 – 502) reflecting how he thinks globalization at universities happens. I include my commentary on Vaira's propositions and hypotheses, since his meaning is not always evident, and some of his vocabulary is ostensibly unique to his article.

Proposition 1: Organizational change is to be understood within the constitutive framework of wider institutional structure and dynamics.

I interpret Proposition 1 to mean that organizational and institutional changes in the universities in this study and in the Ministry of Education (MOE) should consider the broader institutional environment in which the universities and the MOE exist. The broader institutional environment includes World Culture (Meyer et al, 1997, Meyer, 2000), which is a new institutional pressure on Chinese higher education (specifically the global patterns of higher education globalization identified for this study: changes in governance of higher education/organizational restructuring of higher education, accreditation and quality control, internationalization and transnational higher education) and pre-existing institutions, which are the already existing institutional pressures on Chinese higher education.

The concept of pre-existing institutions is an idea Vaira (2004) draws from Marginson and Rhoades (2002), who refer to pre-existing institutions as the “sedimentation of ideas, structures, resources and practices (p. 293).” Pre-existing institutions work as “layers and conditions” (p. 293) which influence how universities take certain organizational structures or adapt particular practices in response to new institutional pressures, meaning World Culture, in

this case. For example, I assume that the current institutional pressure on universities to conduct research in order to respond to the needs of industry and society, which I view as World Culture, will not be well accepted by all universities in China, because universities in China had previously been organized around the idea of separating research functions from universities, with the university's primary function to be instructing students. This idea originates from the Soviet model of higher education, introduced in the 1950s, which shifted most research activities from universities to the Chinese Academy of Sciences and hundreds of research institutions under related ministries (Law, 1996); it is still strongly held and is reflected in the organizational structures of universities.

Hypothesis 1: The more organizations enter in a globalized, or de-localized organizational field, the more they must contend with wider competitive and institutional pressures, the more they depend on definitions of organizational work elaborated at world economy and world polity structures.

I interpret Hypothesis 1 to mean that the more the MOE officials or a university's professors and administrators are exposed to globalized ideas and practices (this could be through international exchange, collaborative international research projects, study abroad, international conferences, etc), the organizations will incorporate ideas and practices elaborated by the globalized economy and politics.

Proposition 2: Contents of institutional and competitive imperatives, archetypes and pressures are subject to a process of articulation, sectorialization, specification and adaptation, in relation to different organizational fields.

I interpret Proposition 2 to mean that organizations at all levels: international organizations at the international level, the Ministry of Education at the national level, and universities at the local level will respond to World Culture by interpreting and selecting aspects of: accreditation/quality control, change in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization, internationalization and transnational higher education. This

specification and articulation happens in relation to the organizational field in which universities or the MOE exist. For example, it is assumed that private university and public university in China may differently articulate World Culture as they are in different organizational environment.

Hypothesis 2: Institutional carriers' agency while incorporates and re-defines the institutional imperatives and archetypes, also constructs a broad allomorphic institutional structure congruent both to world polity and world economy institutional structure and to organizational field one

I interpret Hypothesis 2 to mean that international organizations like the World Bank and UNESCO at the global level, the Ministry of Education at the national level, and universities at the local level will translate and select World Culture, so that their organizational structure is isomorphic to World Culture, but adapted to their organizational field. This hypothesis suggests that organizations in different organizational fields will differently interpret and articulate institutional and competitive pressures.

Proposition 3: The institutional carriers and competitive global dynamics exert pressures at the national level to make the individual nation-state incorporate the institutional and competitive imperatives and archetypes in their sectorial policy and governance structures

I interpret this proposition to mean that Ministry of Education receives ideas about how higher education should be and how it should be operated from transnational organizations like the World Bank and UNESCO and global economy. In my study, these ideas are divided into four areas: accreditation/quality control, changes in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education globalization, internationalization, and transnational higher education. In response to these flow of ideas, the MOE creates national policy about higher education, which reflects these ideas.

Hypothesis 3a: The combination of broad institutional archetypes with the institutionalized national-sectorial patterns of policy-making and governance structure give rise to a national allomorphic institutional structure.

I interpret Hypothesis 3a to mean that the organizational responses to higher education globalization--accreditation/quality control, changes in governance to higher education globalization, internationalization, and transnational higher education--will be adjusted to fit pre-existing institutions and structures, and will create national structures that conform to the organizational responses to higher education globalization, but are unique to China.

Hypothesis 3b: Organizations operating in a given field are pressed for adapting their structures and actions to the institutionalized archetypes. This occurs under coercive pressures exerted by nation state via policy-making, but also through institutional and competitive pressures exerted by the institutional carriers and by similar organizations populating the field.

I interpret Hypothesis 3b to mean that universities receive pressures to incorporate global patterns of organizational response through three ways: first, through regulatory pressures from national policy; second, through international organizations or the global economy. These pressures tend to be normative, and universities are guided to incorporate global patterns of organizational response because they are the ways to do, or they help universities to survive by improving their work. Hence, universities receive pressures that are about improving efficiency (technical pressure, often come from globalized economy) and pressures that guides how university should be (institutional pressure, often come from international organizations or through regulations) or cognitive, such as the way to do or pressure that come from globalized economy as the way to survive. Third, universities learn about global patterns of organizational change from other universities.

Proposition 4: Institutional and competitive pressures at work in a given organizational field are themselves subject to a process of articulation specification and adaptation through their incorporation in the individual organizational structures

I interpret Proposition 4 to mean the field of higher education itself is subject to the process of articulation and specification as each organization changes. Or, as the Ministry of Education and universities change, the conception of higher education changes too.

Hypothesis 4: Organizations facing institutional and competitive pressures towards change in accordance with the new definitions of organizational work, decline archetypes according both to them and to their organizational features and repertoires, becoming morphological variants of the same institutionalized patterns, i.e. allomorphs.

I interpret Hypothesis 4 to mean that when universities receive two types of pressures, one is competitive pressure (which often require universities to improve efficiency and organizational production) and the other institutional pressure (which often require the universities to take certain forms of organizational structure, or adapt certain goals because it is what society thinks universities should be and do, universities or the MOE incorporate these pressures, but its process is also influenced by the universities or MOE's pre-existing organizational structure and practice.

Proposition 5: Organizational allomorphism lets enough room for the social processes of definition and selection of the low and high performing organizations.

I interpret Proposition 5 to mean that Chinese society will develop definitions of high performing and low performing “globalized universities.” The attributes of high performing “globalized universities” will exert mimetic isomorphic pressures on other universities to adopt the higher performing universities’ institutional and technical work definitions.

Hypothesis 5: The kind of performance of each morphological variant depend on the way the declension of archetypes is internally (organizationally) successful and, above all, externally (socially) evaluated and represented as such, on the basis of institutionalized definitions of organizational effectiveness, efficiency and success.

This hypothesis is not clear to me. First, I do not understand what “declension” means. Second, this hypothesis seems to include two components. First part seems to be saying that performance of each university depends on the degree to which that university is successful declensing internal organizational structure. The second part seems to be saying that universities are evaluated by the definition of organizational effectiveness, efficiency and success (that are institutionalized—so the norm of success in the higher education field). However, it is not clear whether “institutionalized definitions” derives from the higher education field or within the university. Furthermore, this part allows another interpretation that these definitions of success for each university are assigned by the higher education field.

2.1.4.2 Summary of Analytical Frameworks

In summary of the analytical frameworks used in the study of higher education globalization, World Systems Theory is not used because its prescriptive assumptions about the flow of influence from developed countries to developing countries are not appropriate for contemporary conceptions of higher education globalization, which view higher education globalization as the localization of global patterns. Allomorphism combines ideas from the Glonacal Agency Heuristic and World Culture to analyze how global patterns are adapted locally through strategic response and translation to fit pre-existing institutions of higher education. Allomorphism is the analytical framework used in this study. The next section, which is about the history of higher education in China, uses ideas from New Institutional Theory to identify some of the pre-existing institutions of higher education in China.

2.2 HISTORY OF CHINESE HIGHER EDUCATION AS INSTITUTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

This section has a dual purpose. First, it reviews the history of Chinese higher education with an emphasis on the years 1949 to early 2000. In 1949, the Peoples Republic of China became a nation-state, and higher education reforms in China between 1949 and early 2000 have had the greatest influence on the current higher education system in China, therefore making this period of time the most relevant to this study. Second, this section introduces to the reader the idea of pre-existing institutions. As explained above in the section about Allomorphism, Vaira (2004) draws the idea of pre-existing institutions from Marginson and Rhoades (2002), who refer to them as a “sedimentation of ideas, structures, resources and practices” (pg. 293). Pre-existing institutions work as “layers and conditions” (p. 293) that influence how universities adopt certain organizational structures or practices in response to new institutional pressure, meaning World Culture, in this case. Pre-existing institutions are important in the analysis of higher education globalization when using Allomorphism as an analytical framework (Vaira, 2004), since aspects of World Culture are selected and adapted to fit pre-existing institutions. I include the identification of institutions in the history of Chinese higher education section to familiarize the reader with the idea of pre-existing institutions and to identify pre-existing institutions that might be used in the analysis.

New Institutional Theory provides useful concepts for explaining changes in institutions and organizational structures over time (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997). According to Meyer and Rowan (1977), prevailing institutions are reflected in the way organizations are structured:

Vocabularies of structure which are isomorphic with institutional rules provide prudent, rational and legitimate accounts. Organizations described in legitimated vocabularies are assumed to be oriented to collectively, defined and often collectivity mandated,

ends...[r]ationalized institutions create myths and formal structures which shape organizations. Failure to incorporate elements of structure is negligent and irrational; the continued flow of support is threatened and internal dissidents are strengthened.” (p. 349 - 350).

The meaning this quote has for the history of higher education in China is that Chinese universities and supporting government organizations will conform to the prevailing institutions of their time. In this case, institutions are ways of thinking, accepted practices, and policies that shape the way universities are organized and function. Institutions can be identified in the organizational structures of universities and government structures (i.e. higher education policy). Organizations will be isomorphic to rationales that support and legitimize specific structures of higher education, but in addition, past forms shape the current institutions and organizational structure of universities. The section on Chinese higher education is not meant to exhaustively identify all pre-existing institutions of higher education in China, but to identify a few of them and to introduce to the reader the idea of pre-existing institutions.

2.2.1 Organization of the Chinese Higher Education Section

The history of Chinese higher education is introduced with a brief summary of indigenous forms of Chinese higher education and the influence of Western higher education models on Chinese higher education from 1850 to about 1950. Chinese higher education from 1949 to the present is divided into three time periods and organized by subsections. Each subsection represents a major institutional change or a change in ideas about how universities should be organized, what their role is, and who the major actors are. After each sub-section I discuss the major institutions and organizational structures during that time period. The first sub-section discusses the Soviet model of higher education from 1949 to the late 1970s and includes discussion of the Great Leap

Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The second sub-section spans the late 1970s to the mid-1990s and includes higher education reforms of the late 1970s, but focuses on a major policy reform called “The Decision” in 1985; “The Decision” included the creation of the State Education Commission, the dissolution of the Ministry of Education, and the devolution of power from the central government to local governments and universities. The third sub-section spans the mid-1990s to early 2000 and discusses the merging of universities, the introduction of new university disciplines, and the rapid expansion of higher education, but focuses on the commitments of higher education to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the influence China’s accession into the WTO in 2002 has had on higher education policy making in China. I focus on China’s accession into the WTO, since according to the literature; China’s joining of the WTO is predicted to have a major influence on higher education organization and practice.

2.2.2 History of Chinese Higher Education

Formal and informal indigenous forms of higher education in China date back at least 3000 years. As summarized by the preeminent Chinese higher education scholar Weifang Min (2004), official forms of Chinese higher education originated as early as 1100 B.C. One of the earliest, present during the Zhou dynasty, was called *pi-young*. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), higher education institutions were called *tai-xue*. During the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–907), Chinese universities called *guo-zi-jian* educated the children of royal families and senior officials. Informal forms of higher education also developed in China. Confucius (551-497 B.C.) introduced private education in China. Also, institutions called *shu-yuan* began to appear during the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–902). *Shu-yuans* were places for collecting books and developed over time as sites for teaching and learning.

Early Western influence on Chinese higher education

Chinese higher education has also been influenced by Western models of higher education that were spread by the American and European powers under conditions of colonialism and imperialism (Hayhoe, 1999). Western models were spread through three main channels: Western missionary colleges, study abroad programs for Chinese students during the last part of the nineteenth century, and modernization efforts by Chinese reformers (Min, 2004). Brief examples of each of these channels follow.

During the 1850s, Western powers gained rights of entry into China, primarily through military force. As these powers expanded their influence in China, foreign groups such as French Jesuit and American Protestant missionaries, and German industrialists set up higher education institutions (Min, 2004). An example of the second channel of influence of Western models of higher education was the awarding of scholarships to Chinese students for study in the United States. In 1908, the American government decided to remit much of the money due under the terms of the Boxer indemnity, and applied the funds to a scholarship for Chinese students to study at American universities (Spence, 1990). Tsinghua University in Beijing was originally based on the American university model and was set up with American Boxer indemnity funds as a language school for Chinese students who were going to the United States (Hayhoe, 1999). An example of the third channel is the influence of Cai Yuanpei on Peking University. In 1898, the Capital Metropolitan University, the predecessor of Peking University and Beijing Normal University, was set up as the first modern national comprehensive university in China (Min, 2004). Renamed Peking University, in 1902, the university was strongly influenced by president Cai Yuanpei, who introduced the German Humboldtian university model there and focused on university autonomy and academic freedom (Hayhoe, 1999).

Against the backdrop of indigenous Chinese higher education and a century of influence from Western higher education models, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), under the leadership of Mao Zedong, came to power in 1949 after several years of civil war. The initial tasks for the new government were to establish its authority and stabilize the economy (Spence, 1990). The CCP adopted the Soviet model of government, and by the early 1950s had turned its attention to education.

2.2.2.1 The Soviet Model of Higher Education--1952 to late 1970s

In 1952, China adopted the Soviet Model of higher education as the quickest way to reorganize the existing institutions of higher education to best serve the goals of developing a socialist economy and society (Orleans, 1987). The Chinese government nationalized all higher education institutions, including all public, private and missionary universities and colleges. The ownership of all universities was transferred to the state as a means of preventing foreign influence on Chinese educational affairs (Law, 1996).

China adopted a system of higher education similar to the Soviet tripartite system composed of three types of universities: comprehensive universities (responsible for education in the natural sciences, humanities, and social sciences), single faculty institutions, and multi-faculty institutions. The system was highly specialized, separating science and engineering from the liberal arts and humanities (Tang, 1998), and shifting research activities from universities to the Chinese Academy of Sciences and hundreds of research institutions under the jurisdiction of related ministries (Law, 1996). The system remained largely intact until the 1980s, when China had 32 comprehensive universities, 378 institutions of applied sciences (engineering, agriculture, forestry, and medicine), 172 teacher-training institutes, and 93 colleges of other disciplines (Law, 1996).

Reorganization of the higher education sector, under the guidance of the Soviets, was part of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957). Higher education institutions were geographically rationalized. Curriculum planning and graduation planning were all centralized (Fraser & Chang, 1964). A hierarchically centralized and well-organized system was developed to support the planning of higher education to fill the needs of the economy. “The newly nationalized system was organized and structured based on a ‘central model,’ characterized by the direct leadership of the government implementing the unitary institutional plans, course syllabi and textbooks in all the colleges and universities throughout the country. At that time, it was believed that a ‘state control model’ of higher education could best service the centrally planned manpower needs” (Mok, 2005, p. 64).

The Great Leap Forward--1956 to 1961

The Soviet Model of higher education did not produce the social equitability that Mao Zedong, the Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, had hoped for. Mao saw universities as perpetuating inequality and providing preferential treatment to select groups based on class origin (Henze, 1992). In 1956, China diverged from the Soviet Model of higher education with the Great Leap Forward. The Great Leap Forward was aimed primarily at economic development, but also had implications for higher education.

[The Great Leap Forward] was a drive to substitute the muscle and enthusiasm of China’s vast labor resources for scarce capital; in education, the plan was to rapidly increase the number of students with work and peasant background, emphasize local initiative, and integrate education with production. (Orleans, 1987 p. 91).

Lower college admission standards were adopted to allow students with less academic ability (often from peasant or worker backgrounds) into higher education, and emphasis for admittance was placed on correct political ideology rather than academic merit. In addition, standards for

creating institutions of higher education were also lowered, and factories, mines and communes began opening their own “universities.” The number of universities and enrollment rates quickly expanded, although most of the growth was of low academic quality. The influence of the Great Leap Forward on Chinese higher education was short-lived, and “in 1961, political factions favoring traditional academic standards got the upper hand in organizing teaching and research, and most importantly, the enrollment system in favor of ‘academic achievement’ at the expense of ‘political commitment’” (Henze, 1992 pp. 96–97). The return of higher academic standards in higher education remained in place until the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

The Cultural Revolution--1966 to 1976

The Cultural Revolution was a return to Mao’s earlier emphasis on collectivist production, ideological and political conformity, and egalitarianism (Tsang, 2000). Mao believed China was not becoming a socialist state quickly enough, and implemented revolutionary measures to achieve socialism. The Cultural Revolution was more severe in degrading the quality of higher education in China than the Great Leap Forward had been, and nearly destroyed the earlier higher education institutions and organizational structures of higher education. “The Cultural Revolution negated almost everything in the existing higher education system, including Chinese academic traditions, Western academic influences, and the Soviet Academic model” (Min, 2004, p. 62).

Higher education was suspended during the early phase of the Cultural Revolution, from 1966 to 1970. When the universities reopened, schools were directed to apply Mao Zedong’s policy of “education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor” (Ming & Seifman, 1987, p. 30). Universities were turned into soldiers’, workers’, and peasants’ universities, where, as during the Great Leap Forward, students were selected for

admittance less on academic ability, than on their adherence to the Communist party's political ideology. Intellectuals were denounced, sent to the countryside for "re-education," or killed (Lewin, et al., 1994). In 1976, Mao died, and by 1978, Deng Xiaoping had taken a position of primary leadership within the Chinese Communist Party. Deng reversed many of the policy decisions of the Cultural Revolution.

The Cultural Revolution left higher education in ruins and created many challenges for reconstructing higher education in China. It had disrupted education and scientific research in China for over 10 years. The gap between China's level of scientific and technological development with that of developed countries had widened during the Cultural Revolution (Shirk, 1979), and, since all universities had been closed during the Cultural Revolution, it also created a cohort gap in qualified academics, administrators and researchers needed to rebuild the system of higher education. "Schools and colleges had been reduced to shambles in the early years of the Cultural Revolution, with buildings closed for years, students deployed as Red Guards or reassigned to the remote countryside, administrators and teachers humiliated or dismissed, and new books and materials unavailable" (Spence, 1990, p. 637). Despite its degradation due to the Cultural Revolution, the operational framework of higher education after the Cultural Revolution was still based on the Soviet Model of higher education (Min, 2004).

Institutions and organizational forms--1950s to 1970s

The Great Leap Forward (1958-1959) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1977) are important to be included in this analysis of institutions and organizational forms, since higher education organization in China changed dramatically during this time period. My interpretation of this time frame is that higher education organization changed, but that the Soviet Model of higher education, the dominant higher education institution (institution here meaning ideas about how

higher education should be organized, what universities should do, who has control of universities, and so on), somehow remained intact. The Great Leap Forward involved the rapid communization with half-time agricultural work-study (Epstein, 1982) and the expansion of higher education by opening universities in factories and agricultural communes (Lewin, Hui, Little & Jiwei, 1994). Incumbents of the higher education system had been dissatisfied with the Great Leap Forward's reforms, which involved lowering academic standards for higher education and placed the educational emphasis on manual work; however the reforms were not abandoned, but subordinated, and after the Great Leap Forward, the Soviet model of higher education remained largely intact (Kwong, 1979; Henze, 1992). During the Cultural Revolution, higher education in China was destroyed, but soon after the Cultural Revolution ended, the organization of higher education based on the Soviet Model quickly re-emerged (Wang, 2003), albeit with damage to the universities' facilities and human resources from the Culture Revolution; these created great challenges in reconstructing higher education.

Between 1949 and the late 1970s, the Chinese higher education system was highly centralized. The system was based on the Soviet Model of higher education, with institutions for science and technology separate from those for liberal arts and the humanities. The Soviet Model of higher education represents a set of institutions about the role of higher education in China and how higher education should be organized. The prevailing assumption was that very narrow and specified knowledge would best suit the needs of the centrally planned economy, and that the central authority was best at planning and implementing education plans, syllabi, and textbooks. The state was responsible for complete funding of higher education.

2.2.2.2 Chinese Higher Education Reforms--Late 1970s to 1985

The institutions on which the Soviet model was based began to change in the late 1970s with China's adoption of a socialist free-market economy, opening up to the outside world, and experiencing a change in leadership. In 1976 Mao died, and by 1978 Deng Xiaoping had taken a position of primary leadership within the Chinese Communist Party. Deng reversed many of the policy decisions of the Cultural Revolution that pertained to higher education: a national examination for entry to the university was resumed, development of higher education was aligned with economic growth in China, and higher education was decentralized. Also, postgraduate education was reintroduced in 1977, a degree system was established in 1980, and China began sending students abroad for study under the Open Door policy beginning in 1980 (Lewin et al., 1994). These reforms culminated in the principal change in higher education in 1985 known as "The Decision." The next section reviews some of the changes to higher education from the late 1970s until 1985 in the following areas: the reintroduction of the college entrance examination, the reintroduction of post-graduate education, reintroduction of sending students abroad for study, and changes in financing of higher education.

The college entrance exam

The National Examination system was reconstituted in 1977, centralized in 1978, and continues today. The examination covers three areas: politics, mathematics, and Chinese language, as well as two to three other areas depending on the student's planned specialization in higher education. These areas could include mathematics, physics, chemistry, geography, and a foreign language. The student's score largely determines whether and where he or she attends university. Students can select up to five universities they would like to attend, and the score determines which university they are selected to attend. The exams are very competitive and not many students

who take them have the opportunity to attend public universities. In 1978, only 1 in 20 students, or 5% of all students taking the test, were admitted to a public university (Epstein, 1982). In 1998, about 30% of all students taking the test were admitted to public universities (Feng, 1999).

Post-graduate education and sending students abroad reintroduced

In 1978, the Chinese government reinstated post-graduate education and sending students abroad for advanced study was reintroduced. According to MOE documents, China had stopped sending students abroad in 1949, but began again in 1978 to develop science and technology talent in the country. In 1978, 63,000 persons applied for graduate studies in China, but only 10 were admitted, after strict exams. By 1980, 21,000 graduate students had been sent abroad. Since 1978, 700,200 students have studied in foreign countries.

In 1992, the Communist Party of China promulgated guidelines to support students and scholars studying abroad and to encourage them to return to China after completing their degrees or programs. The guidelines guarantee Chinese students the freedom to enter and leave China as they wish, and gives incentives for students and scholars to return to China. Most of the incentives are in the form of funding for research or opportunities to teach and conduct research at top Chinese universities. Examples of such incentives include these: “The Fund for Returnees to Launch Science and Technology Research,” “The Program for Training Talents toward the 21st Century,” “The Changjing Scholarship Incentive Program,” and “The Chunhui Program,” all which gives returnees funding to conduct research in China.

Changes in financing of higher education

During the early 1980s, the Chinese government adjusted the system for financing higher education. Under the Soviet Model of higher education, the Chinese government was

responsible for all funding of higher education, but during the early 1980s, the government introduced a few new channels that allowed some flexibility for universities to raise extra funds. Law (1996) identifies three reforms related to financing higher education: the introduction of the school enterprise model, changes in student tuition, and competitive funding for research.

The first major financial reform was the introduction of the school enterprise model. Since the 1950s, schools had had their own working factories, which had been used for integrating theory and practice (connecting mental and manual work). These factories were changed to the “school enterprise model,” which integrated teaching, research, and production. Factories were still used for teaching, but now schools could earn income from the production of their factories.

The second major reform was charging students tuition for university education, which allowed universities to raise money. The reform created more categories of types of students attending university. Prior to 1983, there was only one type of student: students supported by the state. After 1983, there were several types or groups of students: those supported by the state, those supported by potential employing units, and those supported by themselves and their families.

A third reform was competitive funding for research. Prior to 1980, most basic and applied research projects were conducted at the Chinese Academy of Sciences and associated institutes, and research institutes under related ministries at various levels. After 1980, universities were allowed to compete for some of the funded research that had previously been done at the Chinese Academy of Sciences and other research institutes. Law (1996) attributes the increase in research funding coming to universities beginning in the late 1970s to China’s opening up to Western notions emphasizing interdisciplinary studies in the sciences and

competition among higher education institutions for funding associated with scientific and technological ventures for their school-run enterprises.

2.2.2.3 1985--“The Decision”

The major policy reform of higher education during the late 1970s and 1980s, known simply as “The Decision,” was the coalescence of several higher education reforms and ideas for reforms from the late 1970s and early 1980s (Lewin & Hui, 1989). These higher education reforms reflect the change in institutional environment (institutional environment meaning the set of ideas to which universities must adhere to be considered legitimate) and changes in economic and social policy in China. Chan and Mok (2001) note that three major policy shifts in China since the 1970s had changed the institutional environment of Chinese higher education: first, a policy shift in 1978 to focus on economic construction and the Four Modernizations of industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense; second, an economic shift from labor-intensive industries to reliance on improvement of the labor force qualifications and scientific-technological advances; and third, a shift in policy from a “centrally planned” economy to a “socialist market” economy.

“The Decision” was the first comprehensive reform of the Chinese higher education system since the adoption of the Soviet Model in 1952, and was intended to eliminate the “extreme” control of the Chinese government over the higher education system (Mok, 2005). It was widely recognized by Chinese educators as the crucial policy document for structural reform of education in China for the following decade (Cheng, 1986). “The Decision” can be grouped into five general areas of reform of higher education: reform of the processes of enrollment to higher education and the graduate job placement procedures of the government; reform of the People’s Grant-in-Aid System; adjustment of the ratio of disciplines in higher education to better

suit the free market; reform of course content and teaching methods in higher education, and, most importantly, the elimination of the excessive control of institutions of higher education by the central government. Following is a brief review of the first four reforms with emphasis on the last and most important: elimination of excessive control of higher education by the central government, the reform which had the greatest influence on Chinese higher education.

Reform of enrollment planning and job placement of university graduates

In 1985, China became more flexible with regard to the assignment of graduates from colleges and universities. Previously, the central and provincial governments developed yearly job assignment plans to place all graduates with employers. A problem with this system of allocation was that often too many or too few graduates were produced for a given specialization.

A flexible and efficient system of allocating new graduates was needed for the newly decentralized market. The job assignment system continued after the 1985 reform, but assignment became the responsibility of each university, with much more flexibility for the graduates and perspective employers. Also, the better students among the graduates were allowed to find jobs on their own. The government believed that individual institutions would be better able to allocate graduates to the local regions than a centralized plan would, and that allowing the better students to find their own job would motivate them to excel at school and also would motivate employers to improve the positions offered so as to attract better students (World Bank, 1986).

In addition to reforming the placement of students upon graduation, “The Decision” also reformed enrollment planning. Previous to 1985, enrollment rates were set by the Chinese state plan based on predicted rates for needed manpower in various sectors. The 1985 reform of enrollment was not a drastic departure from the previous system. The state plan still existed, but

now universities could add additional students through commissioning of students by the economic sector, and though accepting self-supporting students (World Bank, 1986).

Reform of the People's Grant-in-Aid System

The process of the reforms of the People's Grant-in-Aid System were to encourage students to fill difficult positions by paying all their costs, provide incentives for them to work hard by granting scholarships based on academic merit, and provide financial aid to students from poorer families. Universities were allowed to enroll self-supporting students, encouraging the universities to take the initiative to recruit students, based on their predictions for graduates needed for the marketplace. Also, universities were encouraged to improve their curricula, educational aims, and teaching methods, since better universities would attract more students (Lewin et al., 1994). The number of self-supporting students was small at first, but by the 1990s, substantially more self-supporting students had started attending universities.

Change of the "irrational distribution" of disciplines in higher education

A redistribution of disciplines to better match the decentralized economy was necessary for continued economic growth in China. Emphasis was placed on developing disciplines that were neglected under China's centralized government and economy: finance, economics, political science, law, and management. Change in the "irrational ratio" of disciplines was also emphasized in advanced professional and graduate schools (Lewin et al., 1994).

Reform of course content and teaching methods

Changes in the curriculum and teaching methods were meant to create students who could succeed in the free market. The changes included the following: new emphasis on problem solving, free thinking, and working independently; along with the new class structure that

emphasized teacher student interaction; and new flexibility of choosing a field of study and classes (Mok, K. & Wat, K., 1997). This reform probably had the least impact of all of the 1985 reforms in higher education because changes to the curriculum and teaching methods were experimental and “tended to be piecemeal and the result of individual efforts rather than a reflection of a systematic government initiative” (Lewin et. al., 1994, p. 138).

Most universities continued to use the existing curricula and teaching methods of lecture-type classes with minimal student participation. Lewin et. al. (1994, pp. 139-140) present a 1993 case study on the typical day of a student at Hangzhou University, which exemplifies the lack of reform in curriculum and teaching methods. To summarize, the student attends lectures from 7:30 to 11:20 a.m. and from 1:30 to 5:00 p.m. During the day the student writes copious notes based on the lectures, and then in the evening, he studies his notes.

Elimination of excessive control by government over higher education

Out of the five reforms associated with “The Decision,” the elimination of excessive control by the Chinese government over institutions of higher education had the largest impact, since it shifted much of decision-making from the central government to local level governments and individual universities. The major administrative reform of “The Decision” was the dissolution of the Ministry of Education (MOE), which had been the primary government body to administer educational affairs since 1949. The MOE was replaced with the State Education Commission (SEC), which reported directly to the State Council. The SEC was responsible for guiding, organizing, and adjusting the Chinese system of education (Wang, 2003). This arrangement continued until 1998, when the Ministry of Education was reinstated.

Interviews with officials involved in meetings related to “The Decision” indicate that “The Decision” was not so much a policy, but rather a set of principles pointing out a direction

for higher education (Cheng, 1986). The document itself points to major problems in the education system, sets out a series of innovations, and announces a number of key measures that could be taken to support innovations in the higher education system. “The Decision” laid down a new set of norms for higher education to which universities must adhere to remain legitimate.

In short, the [Decision] is a public announcement whereby the central government has reviewed and assessed continuing developments and made a kind of “statement of position” (biaotai). The [Decision] sets the norm of the future development of education. Accordingly, local governments are expected to follow the norm and use it as the legitimation for carrying out reforms and moving away from the status quo (Cheng, 1986, p. 269).

“The Decision” represents an institutional and organization change regarding who should control universities and how universities should be controlled. Rather than higher education being totally controlled by the central government, under the terms of “The Decision,” much everyday administrative decision-making devolved to local-level government and individual universities. The central government still maintained a strong role in the higher education system, but its influence worked through the creation of policies and guiding reforms rather than the direct administration of universities.

Subsequent higher education reforms from 1985 to the 1990s can best be described as ad hoc, with the central government providing macro-guidance, and the local governments and universities adjusting in ways that best fit their local situations. The description of Chinese higher education reforms from the 1980s and 1990s should be tempered with some caveats about the Ministry of Education and the Chinese state. First, “China has been a country with centralized state power for thousands of years, and this tradition continues in the way the Ministry of Education functions today” (Wang, 2003, p. 33). Second,

“In many Western countries the power of the state is threefold—executive, legislative and judicial—and administrative power is usually separated from legislative power and

judicial power. Unlike these Western countries, administration in China is a direct action of the state including the lawgivers. Exercising state power to organize, guide, and manage education is the key feature of the Chinese educational administration” (Wang, 2003, p. 27).

The meaning is that despite the devolution in 1985 of decision-making in higher education to local governments and the universities, the Chinese central government continues to have a prominent role in higher education, and the Chinese government guides, organizes, and manages higher education.

2.2.2.4 Institutions and Organizational Forms--Late 1970s to Mid--1980s

“The Decision” of 1985 represented a major organizational and institutional change for higher education in China. Much of the everyday decision-making power devolved to universities and local governments. The Ministry of Education was dissolved and replaced by the State Education Commission, and the central government guided higher education through policy. But despite the organizational change, some of the main institutions remained. Higher education still played a central role in the economy, although the economy had changed from a centrally planned economy to a socialist free market; thus, the organizational arrangement of higher education changed to fit the new economic system. Also, despite the shift of decision-making power to universities, the central government still maintained and continues to maintain strong control over higher education through organizing and managing higher education. The next section highlights some higher education reforms that took place during the 1990s, including the following: university mergers, the introduction of new disciplines, and the rapid expansion of higher education. Also discussed are a few predicted institutional changes to higher education which resulted from China’s accession into the World Trade Organization.

2.2.2.5 Higher Education Reforms of the 1990s and China's Accession into the World Trade Organization

This section reviews some of the higher education reforms in China during the 1990s. Higher education reforms include university mergers, the introduction of new academic disciplines, and the rapid expansion of the number of universities and number of students enrolled in higher education. This section also discusses some of the influences which comparative education scholars predict China's accession into the World Trade Organization will have on higher education in China.

University mergers

During the 1990s, the Chinese government encouraged universities to merge, with the MOE in charge of organizing and managing the process. A principal idea behind encouraging mergers was that the process would create stronger better managed and more efficient academic institutions (Mok, 2005). Many of the universities left over from the Soviet Model of higher education had separated science and engineering from liberal arts and humanities (Tang, 1998), and were small, single-discipline universities. Merging universities was a way to create larger universities with economies of scale, to eliminate duplicated disciplines, and to quickly develop comprehensive universities. Since the beginning of the reforms in 1992, 556 higher education institutions have merged to become 232 institutions.

New disciplines introduced

During the 1990s, disciplines were again reorganized to match the needs of the market economy. In 1996 the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council added several new disciplines that would contribute to the development of the economy and society. These degrees include the

Master's of Business Administration, Bachelor's and Master's Degree of Architecture, Master's of Law, Master's of Engineering, Degrees of Clinical Medicine, Master's of Public Administration, Master's of Agriculture Spreading, and Master's and Doctor's of Veterinary Medicine. In 1997, the Ministry of Education defined new major fields for graduate education including philosophy, economics, law, education, literature, history, natural sciences, engineering and agronomy.

Expansion of higher education

Chinese higher education underwent unprecedented growth in the number of higher education institutions and in student enrollment during the late 1990s and early 2000. Figure 2.4 shows the change in the number of higher education institutions in China from 1949 to 2002, with a rapid increase of the number of institutions at the end of the 1990s. Also shown in Figure 2.4 is the rapid increase in the number of higher education institutions in the 1950s during the Great Leap

Forward and the complete closure of all universities in the 1960s during the Cultural Revolution.

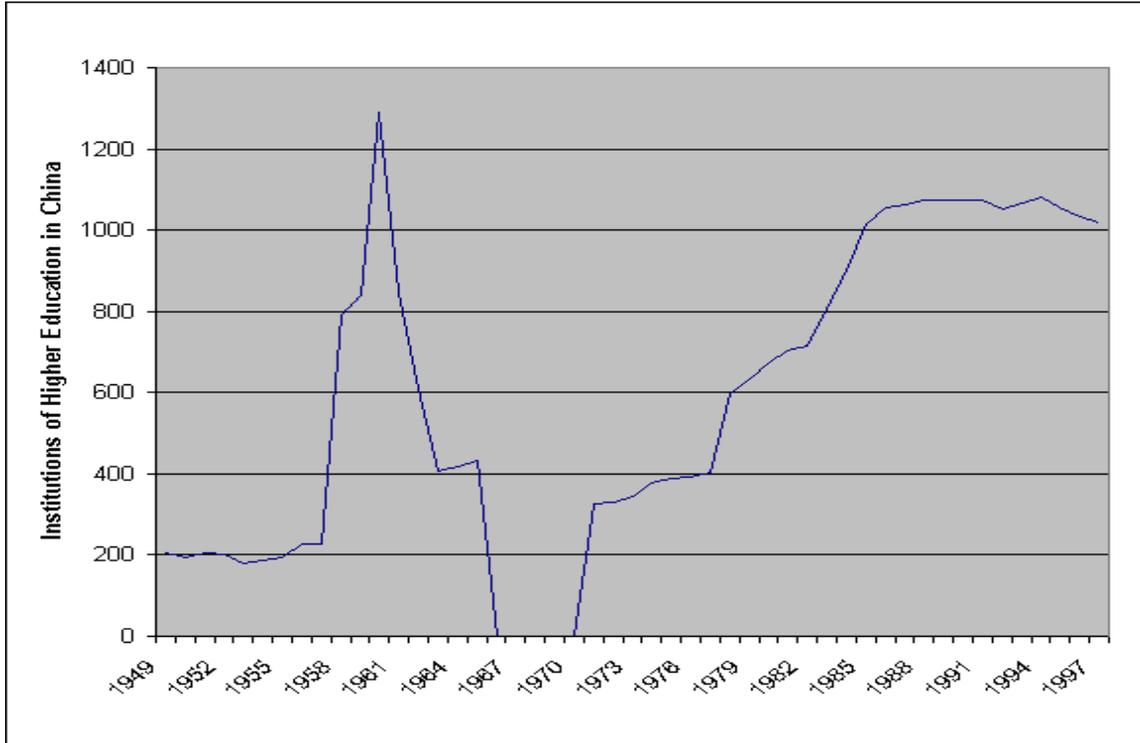


Figure 2.4 - Number of Higher Education Institutions in China (1949-2002)

Note. Data from China Education and Research Network [On-line]. Available: <http://www.edu.cn/HomePage/english/statistics/education/index.shtml>

Figure 2.5 shows changes in university student enrollment rates from 1949 to 2002. The enrollment rate increased rapidly during the 1990s. Since 1978, the enrollment rate has increased from 856,000 to 3.409 million in 1998. In 1999, at the Third National World Conference on Education, China committed to increase the enrollment rate from 9 percent of the college age cohort population to around 15 percent by 2010 (Ding, 2004). Between 1999 and 2002, the enrollment rate increased from 6.42 million to 12.14 million. The rate of growth was largest in vocational technology colleges, or private higher education institutions, which grew 97.7 percent in the three years between 1998 and 2001 (Hu, Chen, & Mao, 2004). Ding's (2004) student enrollment numbers are higher than the enrollment numbers reported in Figure 2.5; Ding

includes both regular higher education students and vocational technology colleges in his numbers, while Figure 2.5 reports only the number of student in regular higher education institutions.

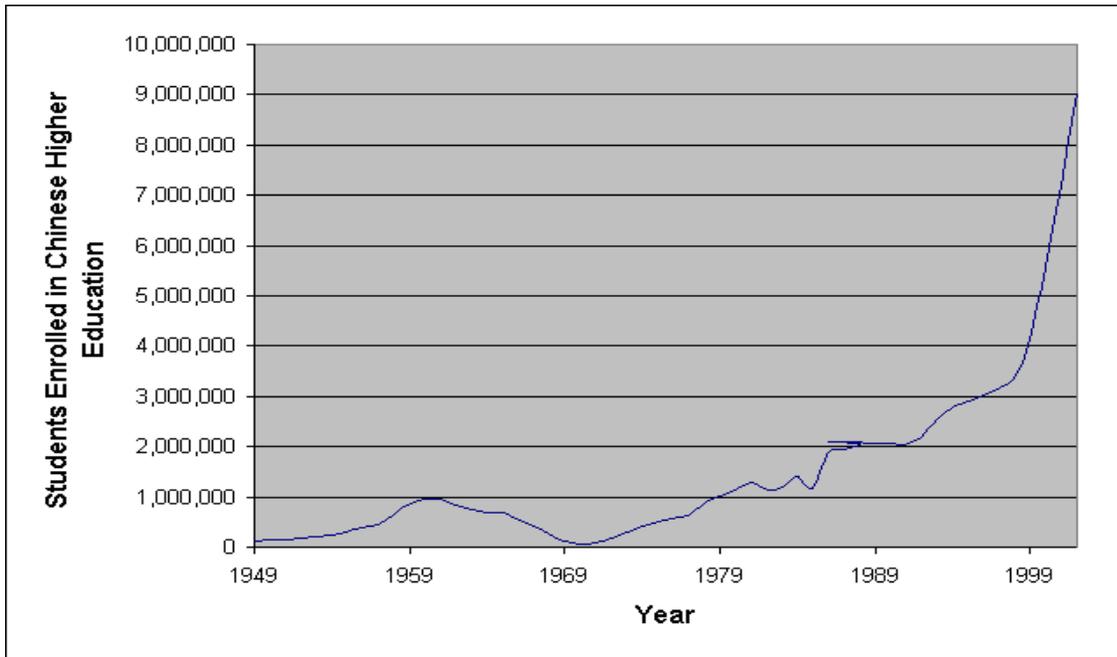


Figure 2.5 - Student Enrollment in Regular Higher Education Institutions (1949 to 2002)

Note. Data from China Education and Research Network [On-line]. Available: <http://www.edu.cn/HomePage/english/statistics/education/index.shtml>

The incredible growth of higher education in China is supported by two factors. First, Chinese higher education is a reservoir for postponing employment and is an area of growth in China (Ding, 2004). Second, higher education is one of the few commodities on which the Chinese are willing to spend money. Bin (2000) estimates that personal savings in China has reached more than five billion yuan, which has put enormous pressure on Chinese banks. Spending on education is the fastest growing sector, with spending by urban residents increasing about 20 percent annually. The average per capita amount spent on education is 250 yuan, and in large cities like Beijing, the figure is as high as 300 yuan (Bin, 2000). Benefits of the expansion of

higher education are an educated workforce and, as Hu et al. (2004) point out, the creation of jobs in services and trades related to higher education like catering services, transportation and communication, and printing and publishing. Hu et al. (2004) estimate that for each 1 million new students enrolled in higher education, 1 million new jobs are created.

Higher education--China and the World Trade Organization

Chinese higher education scholars, predicted that China's accession into the World Trade Organization in 2002 would affect Chinese higher education in two ways. First, the Chinese government will create a transparent legal framework for higher education, and second, foreign organizations will influence Chinese higher education in areas where China has made commitments to the WTO (Lai, 2004; Li & Yuan, 2003; Li & Tang, 2003). The accession will affect the legal framework for higher education; that is, higher education will be administered through legislation, the transparency of higher education administration will be increased, and the increased predictiveness of higher education policy and administration (Lai, 2004). According to this line of thinking, China can no longer reform education as it did in 1985 with "The Decision." In that case, the Chinese government devolved power to the local level government, pointed the general direction for the future of higher education, and left a lot of gray areas where the local governments and universities could enact reforms in broad and general ways, while the central government still retained the ability to modify higher education through organizing and managing it. Perhaps the recent passage of laws related to education is evidence of the influence of the WTO on Chinese higher education system of laws. These laws include the 1995 Education Law of the PRC (which includes provisions of higher education), the 1998 Higher Education Law of the PRC, the 2002 Private Education Law (Articles 16, 53 and 55

relate to higher education.), and the 2003 Regulations of the PRC on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools.

The second way joining the WTO will affect Chinese higher education is through the commitments the nation has made in the area of education services. According to WTO rules, education pertains to the fifth category of Trade in Services, and is subject to the constraints of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Due to different characteristics of trade in services and trade in goods, GATS merely stipulates as general obligations and disciplines such principles as most-favored nation treatment, transparency, and laws within countries; it leaves member nations to negotiate market access and national treatment with each specific country and to make their own commitments in terms of the table of reduced commitments (Li & Yuan, 2003, p. 70).

A distinction is made in the higher education globalization literature between transnational higher education, which the nation-state cannot control, and internationalization, which the nation-state can control. The Chinese government has made no agreements in the WTO to allow types of education which the Chinese government cannot control. These areas include on-line distance education and corporate education, of the type where a company provides education across national boundaries. The aspects of transnational higher education which overlap with internationalization--branch campuses, articulation, and joint programs--are permitted by the Chinese government and are areas which the government can control. The MOE allows agreements at the university level for branch campuses (campuses set up by an institution in another country to provide its educational programs to foreign students), articulation (the systematic recognition by an institution (A) of specific study at an institution (B) in another country as partial credit towards a course program at institution (A), and joint

programs (agreements between institutions in different countries to offer joint programs). The areas in which the Chinese government allows agreements promote internationalization of Chinese universities.

According to the WTO website, the Chinese government allows foreign organizations to provide educational services in higher education and adult education. China will allow foreign individuals to enter China to provide education services when invited or employed by a Chinese school or other educational institution. China will also allow joint schools, which means that foreign universities or organizations can open foreign cooperative schools and education programs in China with a Chinese partner.

Provisions for joint cooperative education

The Chinese government encourages Joint Foreign-Cooperative schools for adult education and vocational education. The intention of the policy is to bring foreign capital into China to expand access to education, particularly in adult and vocational education (Li & Yuan, 2003). The Chinese government maintains strong control over joint cooperative schools; for example, schools must receive approval from the government to enroll students, grant certificates, and so on. Universities may set up branch campuses where a jointly run school can award a foreign degree, and also joint universities where students study in China for a few years and then study in a foreign country for a few years to receive a degree. One of the predicted outcomes of Joint Foreign Cooperative schools is that Chinese adult education and vocational education will benefit from deepened education and teaching reform, enhanced subject instruction, and improved teaching methods from the influence of foreign providers (Yu, 2005).

Institutions and organizational forms--China and the WTO

Regulatory pressure from the World Trade Organization and China's commitment to the WTO are predicted by some Chinese higher education scholars to influence higher education in China. China is developing a legal framework for higher education and for organizations setting up joint adult education and vocational schools that will influence education, management, and curricula and teaching methods.

2.2.3 Summary of the History of Chinese Higher Education as Institution and Organizational Structures

The history of Chinese higher education section provides a historical context for this study by reviewing the history of higher education in China with an emphasis on the years 1949 to early 2000, and introduces the idea from Allomorphism (taken from New Institutional Theory) of *pre-existing institutions* in higher education. *Pre-existing institutions* are a “sedimentation of ideas, structures, resources and practices” (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 293) that work as “layers and conditions” (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 293), which influence how universities respond to global pressures. I introduce ideas from New Institutional Theory in an attempt to identify *pre-existing institutions* in the description of Chinese higher education from the later half of the twentieth century.

This section is divided into three main parts: the first section focused on 1949 to the late 1970s and included discussion of the Soviet Model of higher education, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The second section is from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s and

included higher education reforms in the late 1970s, but focused on the major 1985 policy reform known as “The Decision.” The third section spans the mid-1990s to early 2000 and discussed the merging of universities, the introduction of new university disciplines, the rapid expansion of higher education, and the effect China’s accession into the World Trade Organization is predicted by the literature to have on Chinese higher education. After each of the three sections, I discussed the major institutions and organizational structure during each time period. The institutions are a set of ideas about how higher education should be organized, and the organizational structures are the actual organization and practice of higher education based on the ideas.

The *institution*, as identified in the first section of the history of Chinese higher education section referred to the ideas and beliefs on which the Soviet Model of higher education was premised. The ideas included the view that the system of higher education should be highly centralized and all aspects of the university controlled by the central government, that universities should train students with very narrow and specialized knowledge to suit the needs of the centrally planned economy, and that technology and science should be at separate institutions from the humanities. The second part of the Chinese higher education section is about a change in *institution*, or set of ideas, on which the policy decisions of 1985 known as “The Decision” were based. “The Decision” represents a change in the institutions and beliefs about how higher education should be organized and the role of government in higher education. The changes in ideas are reflected in the outcomes of the “The Decision”; most striking is the devolution of decision-making power from the central government to the local governments and universities. The government was to guide higher education through the creation of policy and organization of higher education reform. Moving into the third period of the Chinese higher

education section and China's accession into the WTO, we see that China recently passed a set of higher education laws, during the late 1990s to early 2000. This has been attributed in the literature to China's accession into the WTO. Scholars have argued that China's accession into the WTO means that the Chinese government will follow clearly established laws pertaining to higher education.

2.2.4 Summary of the Review of the Literature

The review of the literature has two main sections. The first part reviewed analytical frameworks used in the study of higher education globalization. The frameworks reviewed include World Systems Theory, the Glonacal Agency Heuristic, Global Culture (including New Institutional Theory), and Allomorphism. The second part reviewed the history of Chinese higher education, primarily during the latter half of the twentieth century. This section introduced the idea of *pre-existing institutions*. The history of Chinese higher education is divided into three main sections. After each section I discussed the main institutions in higher education from that period.

3.0 CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section describes the five research questions (two sets of questions of two each, and a third question) used in this study. The first two sets of research questions guide data collection and analysis for 1) globalization of Ministry of Education higher education policy, and 2) globalization of Chinese universities. Since this is the first time Allomorphism has been used in a study of higher education globalization, to my knowledge, I included a third question that asks to what extent data and analysis from the first two sets of questions support Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization.

The first set of questions is aimed at data collection and analysis at the Ministry of Education. Allomorphism suggests exploring the following two aspects to describe globalization at the level of national level policy. The first aspect of globalization to explore is from where the Ministry of Education receives global pressure. The second concerns the policies that the Ministry of Education issues to universities.

As a point of clarification, the Ministry of Education does not actually issue higher education policies. Only the State Council issues policies. The Ministry of Education is responsible for guiding, organizing, adjusting and arranging reform of the whole education system (Wang, 2003). I include all the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education in my definition of policy. Also, since the Ministry of Education advises the State Council on higher education policy, I also include official higher education policy in my definition of policy.

Allomorphism assumes that government organizations receive global pressures from three areas: 1) international agencies (i.e. the World Bank, UNESCO), 2) competitive structure of the world economy, and 3) knowledge-based competition. In this study I combined competitive pressures from the world economy's competitive structure and those from knowledge-based competition, since the difference between the two sources is not clear in Vaira's article. Hence, the first question I ask is this: from where does the Ministry of Education receive global pressures? I specifically look at whether international agencies exert the pressures or not.

My first question for the Ministry of Education is thus:

Question 1.1: From where does the Ministry of Education receive globalization pressures (i.e. international agencies or world economy competitive structure and knowledge-based competition)?

The second aspect suggested by Allomorphism to describe globalization is policy regulations by the Ministry of Education issued to universities. Allomorphism assumes that national-level policy and guidance issued by national-level organizations is the outcome of incorporation, specification and articulation of global pressures. Hence, I ask what these policies are, and how national-level organizations translate global level pressure to national level policies.

Therefore, my second research question for the Ministry of Education is:

Question 1.2: What are the policy responses to globalization pressures by the Ministry of Education?

Although Vaira's Allomorphism presents how globalization happens, it does not tell what areas of globalization we should examine in an empirical study. Hence, I developed the four patterns of higher education globalization (see the Methods). In summary, for the Ministry of Education, I examine from where the Ministry of Education receives global pressures, and what policies the MOE has issued in response to global pressures.

The second set of questions guides the data collection and analysis at the university level. Allomorphism suggests two aspects to explore. The first concerns the areas from which the university receives global pressure, i.e., the carriers of global pressure. The second relates to changes in organizational structure and practices in response to the pressure.

According to Allomorphism, universities receive isomorphic global pressures from three distinct areas: 1) knowledge based competition, 2) international agencies, and 3) national level organizations. Processes through which the pressure is carried are different according to these organizations. Universities receive the pressure from knowledge-based competition as normative or mimetic pressure. Knowledge-based competition carries the notion that universities should be “the knowledge producers and deliverers” in the “globalized competitive economy.” According to Vaira, universities change their organizational structures and practices because they see these changes as the way to improve their efficiency and outcomes, or they emulate what other universities are doing. Universities see the pressures that come from international agencies as coercive, normative and mimetic. They could be regulations, professional standards or models that universities emulate. National level organizations carry the pressure through regulations, meaning policies. In order to describe globalization, I explore where these pressures come from and the nature of these pressures. Hence, the first question I ask for globalization of universities is:

Question 2.1: From where do universities receive globalization pressures (i.e. knowledge-based competition, international agencies, or national level organizations)?

The second aspect Allomorphism suggests for exploring globalization at the university level is the universities’ responses to these pressures. Allomorphism assumes that universities’ responses are different and that these differences are the outcome of organizational

incorporation, specification, and articulation. Hence, the second question for university level globalization I ask is:

Question 2.2: How do different types of universities respond to globalization pressures in this study?

Since this is the first time Allomorhism has been used in a study about higher education globalization, as far as I know, I have included a question that asks how well the data and analysis from this study supports Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization. In Vaira's article, he lists five propositions and related hypotheses. I included the propositions and hypotheses, as well as my interpretation of the propositions and hypotheses, in the review of literature. Question 3 asks:

Question 3: To what extent do data and analysis based on answers to Question 1.1, Question 1.2, Question 2.1 and Question 2.2 validate Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization?

3.1 SUMMARY

Research questions of this study are:

Question 1.1: What are the globalization pressures on the Ministry of Education?

Question 1.2: What are the policy responses by the Ministry of Education to globalization pressures?

Question 2.1: What are the globalization pressures on the universities in this study?

Question 2.2: How do different types of universities in this study respond to globalization pressures?

Question 3: To what extent do data and analysis based on answers to Question 1.1, Question 1.2, Question 2.1 and Question 2.2 validate Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization?

The first two sets of research questions guide data collection and analysis for 1) globalization of the Ministry of Education and 2) globalization of Chinese universities. Since this is the first study to use Allomorhism as an analytical framework, the third question asks to what extent data and analysis from the first two sets of questions support Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization.

In the next section, the Methods section, I define the four patterns of higher education globalization from the existing globalization of higher education literature. The four patterns of higher education globalization are the description of responses to globalization pressure and are: change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education, accreditation and quality control, transnational higher education, and internationalization. Based on the descriptions of the four patterns in the literature, I develop questionnaires that form the basis for interviews and the collection of documents and web pages.

4.0 CHAPTER 4 – METHODS

This section presents the methods I used to collect and analyze the data to answer my research questions:

Question 1.1: From where does the Ministry of Education receive globalization pressures (i.e. international agencies or world economy competitive structure and knowledge-based competition)?

Question 1.2: What are the policy responses by the Ministry of Education to globalization pressures?

Question 2.1: From where do universities receive globalization pressures (i.e. knowledge-based competition, international agencies, or national level organizations)?

Question 2.2: How do different types of universities in this study respond to globalization pressures?

Question 3: To what extent do data and analysis based on answers to Question 1.1, Question 1.2, Question 2.1, and Question 2.2 validate Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization?

I collected data from the MOE and universities to find out the sources of the global pressures they receive and how they responded to these pressures. To be clear about what data to collect, I defined the global pressures I examine in this study from a review of literature on globalization of higher education.

Below, I describe how I defined the global pressures examined in this study, how I collected data, and how I analyzed the data. The Methods section is organized in the following way: First, I present how I developed definitions for global pressures and how I used the

definitions to develop interview questions. Second, I present the way in which I collected data. Third, I discuss how I analyzed the data collected for this study.

4.1 IDENTIFYING GLOBAL PATTERNS

Recent research on globalization of higher education suggests the importance of studying how global patterns of higher education are localized into universities, government structures and higher education systems (i.e. Mok, 2005; Salerno, 2004; Enders, 2004; Vaira, 2004; Astiz, Wiseman, and Baker, 2002; Deem, 2001). As analytical frameworks, Allomorphism (Vaira, 2004) and the Glonacal Agency Heuristic (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002) both suggest studying global patterns of higher education identified from the globalization of higher education literature. Vaira (2004) calls the patterns “global archetypes of higher education,” while Marginson and Rhoades (2002) call them “global patterns” or “global trends.” In this study I will refer to global patterns of higher education as “organizational responses to globalization.” My study examines whether or not organizational responses identified in the literature as global patterns are happening in Chinese universities and national level organizations.

I developed the definitions of organizational responses to globalization in a way similar to Vaira’s (2004) and Marginson and Rhoades’ (2002): I drew on descriptions of higher education globalization from the existing literature, albeit, my descriptions are more systematic. My study identified four organizational responses to globalization of higher education. The four organizational responses, i.e. global patterns of organizational responses to globalization, were identified through the University of Pittsburgh’s “zoom” database using the “education” subject option.

I conducted an extensive search of the globalization of higher education literature. I used the search engine “zoom,” and retrieved 178 articles related to the globalization of higher education. I read abstracts of the articles and categorized them by the dominant responses to globalization addressed in each article. Organizational responses clustering around the following four areas were selected. Table 4.1 presents four areas of organizational responses, along with the number of articles and the percent of the total number of articles the response represents.

Table 4.1 - Organizational Responses to Globalization

Area	Number	Percent
Accreditation/Quality Control	15	8%
Change in governance/ Organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization (Includes Academic Capitalism /University Entrepreneurialism)	54	31%
Internationalization	32	18%
Transnational Higher Education	16	9%
Total number of articles that fit into the four organizational responses to globalization from the entire review of the literature	117	66%

As shown in Table 4.1, the most frequently mentioned responses to globalization in the literature include the following: accreditation/quality control, 8% of all articles; change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education related to globalization (includes academic capitalism/university entrepreneurialism), 31% of all articles; internationalization, 18% of all articles; and transnational higher education, 9% of all articles. These four areas of global patterns of organizational response are not completely mutually exclusive. For example, change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education overlaps with accreditation/quality control because the introduction of strategic funding, which I categorized as change of governance, often attaches evaluation of the quality of the academic programs in the

university, which is also categorized as quality control. Also, transnational higher education overlaps with internationalization to some extent. For example, a university opening a branch campus at a university in another country is considered by some scholars to be transnational higher education (Jones, 2001) and internationalization of higher education by others (Knight, 2004).

The four organizational responses were considered separately in this study, however, since this particular combination of responses to globalization has never been studied before, and considering the patterns separately was expected to provide a more nuanced understanding of higher education globalization. In hindsight, though, after the data were collected, it was not necessary to include “accreditation/quality control” separately, since this aspect of globalization is included in “change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education related to globalization,” and was identified in the questions included in “change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education.” From the literature, I take the description of global patterns of organizational responses in the four areas, and describe what these organizational responses entail. I presume them to be the global patterns of organizational responses; hence, universities and the Ministry of Education are exposed to pressures and comply with them. In my data analysis, I ask whether this is the case for universities in China.

I present the definitions of the four areas of global patterns of organizational responses. I present the literature on the four core areas of higher education globalization and explain how and why I selected these ideas from the literature to develop the definitions of globalization pressures for this study. The first pattern of response to higher education globalization reviewed in this section is change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education related to globalization. The second is accreditation/quality control. The third is internationalization of

higher education. The fourth is transnational higher education. I draw the definitions from the literature on higher education globalization after first presenting the definitions of global patterns of organizational responses in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 - Definitions of Global Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1	Universities provide life-long learning.
Definition 2	Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.
Definition 3	The government reduces public funding to universities. The government influences universities by allocating government funds based on performance objectives established by the government, forcing universities to comply with government accountability standards.
Definition 4	Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused (i.e. that work to obtain external research grants, facilitate technology transfers, raise funds from alumni, and facilitate collaboration with industry).
Definition 5	Faculty members and academic departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6	Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7	Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses. Internationalization is any university sanctioned program or initiative that requires a member of the university to visit another country, or someone from another country to visit the university, with the intention of providing education or learning experiences, or developing knowledge.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8	Transnational higher education is any on-line distance education program that spans national boundaries, or any academic program offered by a large corporation that involves accrediting across national borders.

4.1.1 Change in Governance/Organizational Restructuring of Higher Education Related to Globalization

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education is the largest substantive area related to globalization of higher education, according to the review of the globalization literature. Out of all the articles on higher education globalization reviewed, 31% discussed change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education related to globalization. I gave this section the name “change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education related to globalization” to reflect the need to describe the effects of globalization of higher education. The literature indicates that at the national level, globalization has caused a change in the relationship between government and universities, or “change in governance.” At the university level, globalization has caused the universities to “organizationally restructure.”

I have organized the review of the literature on this topic into three parts. The first part presents the causes of the change in global patterns of organizational responses, and why and how globalization has caused a need to restructure higher education. The second section describes the global patterns of organizational responses concerning change in governance reported by the literature. This is the change at national level organizations. The third part looks at the organizational restructuring of universities. I draw upon two often-cited books about university globalization: Slaughter and Leslie’s (1997) Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University and Burton Clark’s (1998) Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organizational Pathways of Transformation to describe the global patterns of universities’ responses.

It should be noted that the articles in this section on change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education related to globalization are primarily premised on the idea of a

causal relationship between economic globalization and resultant government/university adjustments. They assume universities and national organizations change governance or organizational structure to compete and survive in the globalized economy. However, drawing on the assumptions of World Culture (Meyer, et al 1997; Meyer 2000), my study takes the view that organizational change reflects changes in ideas and concepts about how universities should be organized and what role governments should play in defining the role and operation of higher education, rather than assuming change of organization and governance as the simple reflection of economic interests. Hence, my study views the change of organizational and governance structure as isomorphic to global pressures, which is the spread of both change in organizational structure and behavior and also the spread of specific ideas and concepts. I assume that when universities or government organizations decide to change organizational structures or governance systems, they do so not only for the reason of strengthening them economically strong, but also because other organizations are doing the same thing, or that is, they feel that it is the norm to make such changes. My study assumes global pressures, rather than economic pressures, to be reflected in organizational change and practice.

Although my assumptions about the mechanisms of global patterns of organizational responses happen to differ from those indicated by the literature reviewed, I used the literature to identify these patterns of organizational response, that is, the changes happening around the world, and the concepts and ideas underlying these patterns of organizational response. In order to identify such concepts or ideas, I look at the arguments the literature presents about rationales, the “why,” of the patterns of organizational responses. Although in the literature these rationales were given by scholars rather than offered on the basis of empirical evidence, I view them as the indicators of underlying concepts concerning the role of higher education and the role of

government. They act as globally held logics that justify changes to higher education. These global logics include:

- A globally competitive national economy requires a better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills (Hanna & Latchem, 2002).
- Because of economic globalization, more citizens need higher education (called “massification of higher education”) for a country to remain internationally competitive (Bleiklie & Byrkjeflot, 2002).
- Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth, and the university plays a more central role in the economy by educating a larger percentage of the population for the knowledge economy and through producing knowledge relevant to the economy (Peters, 2003).
- Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth (Peters, 2003).

In the following section, I briefly present the literature’s main conceptualizations of economic globalization that affect higher education, and present my definition of globalization from this literature.

4.1.1.1 Economic Globalization and Global Patterns of Higher Education--Change in Governance and Organizational Restructuring

Scholars note the change in the world economy as the cause of the change in governance and organizational structure of higher education. The literature presents the globalized knowledge-based economy as the cause of the following changes in the role of higher education, governance, and organizational structure. First, the globalized knowledge-based economy

requires higher education to play a more important role in providing knowledge so that graduates can compete in that economy (Vidovich & Slee, 2001; Peters, 2003; Hanna & Latchem, 2002). A globally competitive national economy requires a better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills (Hanna & Latchem, 2002), and there is pressure for universities to provide these to students. Hence, the role of the university within the knowledge-based economy is that of producer and provider of knowledge in order to make students competitive in the global economy.

Second, economic globalization means that more citizens need higher education (called “massification of higher education”) for the country to remain internationally competitive (Bleiklie & Byrkjeflot, 2002). The nature of knowledge has changed: in the globalized knowledge-based economy, jobs are quickly created and destroyed, so universities play a role in providing citizens with education and re-education throughout a lifetime (Hanna & Latchem, 2002). The creation and destruction of jobs means that universities provide life-long learning (Hanna & Latchem, 2002). These demands on higher education are based on the concepts that knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and that the university plays a more central role in the economy by educating a larger percentage of the population for the knowledge economy and through producing knowledge relevant to the economy than it did in the past (Peters, 2003).

Third, research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth, and “higher education institutions have been encouraged to develop links with industry and business in a series of new venture partnerships” (Peters, 2003, p. 153). Nowadays, the knowledge-based economy depends on research and development as an important driving force for competitiveness; hence, higher education institutions have an important role to play in ensuring that a nation remains competitive.

Definitions of Global Pressure

The literature lists the following two patterns of global pressures, which are about universities providing life-long learning and developing research partnerships with industry. My first two definitions of global pressures are thus:

Definition of global pressure 1: Universities provide life-long learning.

Definition of global pressure 2: Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.

4.1.1.2 Change in Governance/Organizational Restructuring of Higher Education--the Government Level

The literature discusses how the changes in relationship between governments and universities are the consequence of increased competition in the globalized economy. The most often cited practice reflecting this change of relationship between governments and universities is the change in funding schemes. In the globalized economy, governments around the world have decreased funding to universities and now “steer” higher education through evaluation and strategic funding. The core element of this funding scheme is making universities accountable so that funding will be used efficiently to achieve the goals of higher education which are determined by the government. For example, Vidovich and Slee (2001) consider the increased accountability expectations of higher education institutions that have accompanied deregulation of higher education in Australia and Great Britain. As governments fund specific areas of academic disciplines (usually in applied research and business management rather than basic research) they ask for accountability for the funding Vidovich and Slee (2001). They note that accountability is based on “market ideology,” in-line with which governments have placed

themselves in the position of “market managers.” A government controls funding so that the funding goes to the areas that need research and development for leading the country to succeed in the globalized economy. In the context of budget decreases faced by many universities, governments can influence universities by allocating government funds on the basis of performance, forcing universities to comply with accountability regimes. Vidovich and Slee (2001) argue that the rise of a globalized knowledge-based economy has increased the accountability of universities to governments. Through this accountability system, the universities are positioned in such a way as to contribute to national economic growth. Lee and Gopinathan (2003), in their study of the globalization of higher education in Hong Kong and Singapore, claim that globalization represents a distinct shift in the relationship between governments and universities. Similar to Mok (2003), they see a shift from governments maximizing welfare to promoting enterprise and profitability in the private and public spheres.

This change in the funding stream reflects the change of the role of government. Globalization has weakened the capacity and role of governments to the point such that governments are no longer the providers of welfare and have reinvented themselves through new modes of governance. Mok describes governance changes as a “paradigm shift in the role of government.” Rather than the previous model of the state providing welfare, which Mok describes as a command-and-control society, emerging models of governance emphasize co-arrangements between the state and the society with an emphasis on interaction between them. Rather than providing welfare, the state now builds markets. Mok (2003) argues that the implications of the changing role of government for the public sector are emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness as well as principles of financial accountability.

In addition to the changes in funding schemes, another practice cited by the literature is that universities restructure their organization, and these restructuring practices reflect the idea of business management. The literature views this as happening because of the cuts in funding. I present two empirical studies. In his empirical study of community colleges in British Columbia, John Levin (2003) concludes that globalization has influenced community colleges to restructure in a way that reflects managerialism and corporatism linked to public accountability and efficiency. Levin believes the changes he observed in community colleges in Canada are similar to Slaughter and Leslie's concept of Academic Capitalism, and while the restructuring of different types of higher education institutions is similar, the results of restructuring are variable, leading to increased variation in higher education institutions.

Mok (2003) examined changes in governance of higher education in Hong Kong, Taiwan and the PRC. Mok notes that the effect of globalization on higher education is not uniform, but that universities have adopted similar business-like practices to cope with competition in the global marketplace.

This global pattern of organizational response, i.e. how universities restructure themselves and how this reorganization reflects the business model, is, in part, a response to the decrease of government funding. The change of the role of government is also reflected in the following government-promoted policies: decentralization, privatization and marketization. The literature discusses how higher education policy strategies related to the change in governance include decentralization, privatization, and marketization (Lee & Gopinathan, 2003). This national-level shift of change of governance could have the following consequences. First, coupled with funding strategies, decentralized and privatized universities are subject to greater control by the government, because when they rely on government funding, they have to adhere

more strictly to funding guidelines. These have translated into the decentralization of higher education; this means that universities have more autonomy, but are bounded by centrally determined policy and funding guidelines. Second, the assumption that consumer choice and public accountability will guide higher education, may lead universities to provide programs that seem to be directly connected with industry so that students will be successful in the global economy. Third, because universities have to acquire funds from diverse sources, and these funding schemes are coupled with a strict accountability policy, there arises the possibility that funders will intervene in university operations. When structural adjustment is combined with recent innovations in information technology and the rapid massification of higher education, the resulting change for higher education institutions has been something close to Burton Clark's description of the "entrepreneurial university": closer university-business partnerships, increased responsibility for faculty to find external funding, and a managerial ethos in institutional governance.

Kitagawa (2003) has studied new mechanisms of accountability and incentives for higher education institutions in England; these are related to England's transition from an industrial economy to a knowledge-based economy. He notes that mechanisms of accountability are taking the form of new central "quality control" agencies in England and other OECD countries; these agencies work in tandem with new types of funding streams. Kitagawa argues that higher education institutions are held accountable at the regional level to those who financially support universities: "society" in the form of government grants, the "economy" in the form of joint university-business partnerships, and "students" in the form of tuition fees.

Related reform strategies include quality assurance, performance evaluation, financial auditing, corporate management, and market competition. The literature argues that these areas

of focus result in specific ways of governance, i.e. the result has been governments “guiding higher education at a distance.” Society also plays a role in guiding higher education. Decentralization and marketization of higher education reinforces its role as service provider to individuals who pay tuition for the service. As this rationale goes, individuals will pay money for education and services from which they believe they will receive the most benefit. As individuals collectively believe certain disciplines and types of programs will provide the greatest benefit, they will spend their money at universities that provide those disciplines, programs, education, and services, thus shaping the types of programs and disciplines offered by universities.

Definition of Global Pressure

I identified one new definition of global pressure from this section of the literature. Scholars who examine the changes in the relationship between governments and universities provide a lot of different names like “market ideology,” “market management,” and “corporatization.” The ideas presented in this section differ in the details, but they all share a couple of overlapping ideas, making up the third definition of global pressure. First, public funding to universities is reduced. Second, governments develop some type of university performance objectives and provide funding to universities based on their compliance and success at attaining the objectives. This results in the third definition of global pressure.

Definition of global pressure 3: The government reduces public funding to universities. The government influences universities by allocating government funds based on performance objectives established by the government, forcing universities to comply with government accountability.

The literature of change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education globalization also includes change that happens at the university level. Following is the description of the influence of globalization at universities from the existing literature.

4.1.1.3 Change in Governance/Organizational Restructuring of Higher Education--the University Level

While the literature referred to above briefly described macro-level changes related to globalization and how it affects the role of higher education in society, and changes in the role of government towards higher education, it does not describe university-level changes in detail. Two books written in the late 1990s, often cited in the globalization of higher education literature, provide a description of how globalization has affected universities. The first, by Burton Clark (1998), is Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organizational Pathways of Transformation. This book explores institutional change of innovative universities in Western Europe through five longitudinal case studies of universities in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Finland. His research began in 1980 with interviews of higher education professionals, faculty members, and students, and the collection of policy documents. This process was followed up with a second visit to the universities in 1995. The second book, by Slaughter and Leslie (1997), Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University, studies globalization-related changes to university operations in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada. The authors' research focuses on changes in the nature of academic labor between 1970 and 1995, with an emphasis on the 1980s and 1990s.

Both Slaughter and Leslie, and Clark develop similar terms to describe changes in universities associated with globalization. Slaughter and Leslie use the term "academic capitalism" to describe faculty and universities engaged in market-like behaviors, while Clark

uses the term “entrepreneurial university” to describe universities that actively seek to innovate university structures, develop partnerships with industry, and propagate new sources of funding.

Clark describes four types of pressures economic associated with globalization and university change which are placed upon universities:

1) The massification of higher education whereby more students and different types of students seek access to higher education. The historically elite system of higher education, in which only a small percentage of the population attended university, no longer serves the needs of students or society, and universities and higher education systems must expand their enrollment.

2) Employers and businesses demand that graduates be trained for highly specialized occupations, and also expect that graduates will need retraining throughout their professional lives, creating the need for life-long learning.

3) The expectations placed on universities have changed. Governments reduce funding, expecting universities to do more with less. Industry is now investing in universities, pushing its own expectations on them.

4) The nature of knowledge has changed such a way that no university or national system is able to control knowledge growth.

The four new demands placed on universities have created an “enormous demand overload.” Clark argues that the traditional university did not have the capacity to respond to the new challenges placed on it, and that successful universities have modified their structures and sources of funding. According to Clark, successful universities have reconciled new managerial values with traditional academic values to become quicker, more flexible, and focused on expanding and changing demands. He uses the terms “centralized decentralization” and

“steering core” to describe how a core administration steers the university in finding resources for the institution as a whole, diversifying funding and seeking out, and seeks out infrastructure to more readily link up traditional departments with outside establishments like industrial firms.

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) focused primarily on university funding, and note that an emphasis on external sources of funding has created changes at universities. Certain fields and academic disciplines are better suited for academic capitalism. Well-situated disciplines are more likely to receive greater government funding, and are better positioned to win funds from business and industry. Professional and academic disciplines closer to the market, for example, business services and applied sciences have done well; communications and cultural fields have gained unevenly; and human services professions and disciplines have not fared well. Faculty are focusing more on pursuing prestigious grants, and part-time faculty have been hired to reduce costs of institutional activities. Fewer than half of university departments produce significant self-generated revenues. The humanities and social sciences have generated the least, with a few important exceptions, while information technology, applied natural science, agricultural science, and engineering have generated the most. Similarly, Clark (1998) notes departments and offices are reaching across old university boundaries, and links to outside groups and organizations have increased. These include professional outreach offices that focus on knowledge transfer, industrial contacts, intellectual property, fund-raising and alumni affairs, and outward-reaching centers that span disciplines.

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) observed changes to funding patterns of universities. Tuition for students increased and switched from student grants to loans; national policies strongly preferred departments that were close to the market and could generate money; general public funds per student decreased; and emphasis was placed on alternative forms of funding like

private gifts and grants, as well as sales and services. Institutional patterns of spending were also affected, with a decline in instructional funds and an increase in expenditures on research, public service, and administration. Clark (1998) notes a similar diversified and widening financial base that includes money-raising efforts; attempts to secure funding through grants from research councils and other funding organizations; and “third-stream” income from contracts from industrial firms, local governments, philanthropic campus services, student fees, and alumni fund-raising.

To sum up these trends, universities are being asked to be more financially independent and to be efficient so that they can provide the knowledge needed for competing in the globalized knowledge-based economy. The literature presented the following global pressures and trends in universities’ responses to competitive global economic pressures:

- a) pressure to expand enrollment
- b) pressure to provide life-long learning
- c) pressure to look for funding outside of the government. This could be done through 1) adjusting their academic offerings so as to get more funding (i.e. placing emphasis on applied sciences, engineering, information technology, and agricultural science, which can bring in funding), and 2) change the faculty employment system so that the university will be cost-effective and recruit a better quality of faculty who can obtain funding
- f) pressure to encourage faculty to obtain grants
- g) pressure to establish inter-university, inter-disciplinary networks among professors and university departments
- h) pressure to increase tuition paid by students

i) pressure to spend less money on instruction and more money on research, public service, and administration.

Definitions of Global Pressure

“Massification” of higher education, demands of employers and businesses for highly specialized graduates who will receive retraining throughout their professional lives, the expectation that universities will do more with less funding, and the nature of knowledge all represent changes in response to global pressures. What I focused on were descriptions of university changes that could be operationalized into definitions of global pressures for this study. I created these definitions so that I can observe whether or not they are happening in universities in China. I didn’t include the fact that better positioned disciplines like business and applied sciences have done well, since I am including in my study universities focused on the humanities and social sciences. I do ask whether or not faculty members and academic departments are being encouraged to engage in research and projects that generate revenue. I also ask if universities are developing new sources of funding.

Definition of global pressure 4: Universities have academic departments spanning offices that are externally focused (i.e. work to obtain external research grants, facilitate technology transfers, raise funds from alumni, and facilitate collaboration with industry).

Definition of global pressure 5: Faculty members and academic departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.

4.1.2 Accreditation and Quality Assurance

Accreditation was the fourth largest substantive area in the globalization of higher education literature. Eight percent of articles were about accreditation and quality assurance. As noted above, organizational responses and the rationale for accreditation and quality assurance overlaps with change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education. Global trends of organizational responses to accreditation/quality assurance and global trends of organizational responses to change of governance both reflect assumptions that the quality of universities will be improved by making them accountable for quality. Hence, the policies governments devise regarding accreditation and quality assurance could also reflect ideas and concepts discussed under governance change. But while the literature views change of governance as a direct response to economic globalization, the literature that specifically explores quality assurance does not emphasize this direct connection. Rather, it sees the quality assurance movement as the response to massification of higher education and the increase of transnational education. For example, standards for credit transfer are needed because there is an increase in the number of students who study overseas. In this sense, although the literature categorized in this group identifies the same types of organizational responses as those categorized under change of governance, I view them as qualitatively different because the literature identifies different causes for this policy. In addition to globalization of the economy, increase and diversification of student bodies, diversification of universities, and increase of internationalization and transnationalization (education delivered across national borders) are the contexts in which quality assurance policies came about. However, the literature also suggests that the underlying messages in these policies are the notion of “accountability.” I included this area of globalization since it was the fourth largest substantive area of higher education globalization I found in my

literature review. I thought that including it would contribute to a more nuanced study of higher education globalization.

Vidovich (2004) notes that globalization and discourses of quality of higher education both rose to prominence during the 1990s, suggesting that they might be intertwined. Hodson and Thomas (2003) view higher education quality assurance as being affected by pressures from institutional autonomy of higher education and institutional accountability. During the 1990s, the pressure shifted towards public accountability. In the United Kingdom, Hodson and Thomas note that the “context” of higher education quality assurance pressures changed because of several factors: increased diversity of types of higher education institutions, wider student access, more study diversity, a need for a more diverse curriculum, and a focus on the needs and skills required by the economy. Dill (1997) likens contemporary issues of quality assurance in higher education to the same problems that confront environmental regulations: “both academic programs and students, like air and water, are becoming mobile resources” (p. 40). Because of transnational higher education, quality assurance policies are becoming obsolete, and “the future development of academic quality assurance policies will likely depend upon discovering means of achieving integration of standards and indicators, across states, across nations, and across regions (Dill, 1997 p. 40,). Hodson and Thomas (2003) note

[e]vidently, the process of globalization of higher education is ensuring a degree of isomorphism, with systems mimicking various features of each other. The evidence suggests that accountability is on the agenda of many governments and that the UK approach is seen as taking a lead in setting academic standards. However, the difficulties and dangers of transporting systems between nations with different cultures have begun to be recognized (Hodson & Thomas, 2003, p. 377).

The reasons for increased interest and emphasis on quality and accreditation in higher education at the institutional and national levels in the globalization of higher education literature generally

are centered around the recent massification of higher education, the increase of transnational higher education, and a new managerial model of higher education related to Academic Capitalism and University Entrepreneurialism.

Henry, et al. (2001) note that quality assurance became the dominant management ideology for addressing pressures felt in all OECD countries, in particular, due to the shift from elite to mass higher education. But massification of higher education is also discussed in relation to transnational higher education. Jones (2001) notes that the need for expansion of higher education in East Asia has outstripped the capacity for higher education, creating an opportunity for education providers from other countries to provide higher education in East Asia, but that provisions for quality control in education are needed to ensure that transnational higher education is of adequate quality. Mok (2000) also notes that the massification of higher education increases the need for quality assurance and accreditation, but he attributes the need for accreditation to the expansion of private education rather than to transnational higher education.

Definition of Global Pressure

Although the issue of accreditation and quality control overlaps somewhat with governments using performance objects in conjunction with funding to “guide” universities, this definition focuses on governments’ increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation without funding incentives. The definition of global pressure for this section is the following:

Definition of Global Pressure 6: Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.

4.1.3 Internationalization of Higher Education

Internationalization of higher education was the second largest substantive area related to globalization of higher education. Eighteen per cent of the articles reviewed were about internationalization of higher education. Within the globalization of higher education literature, most scholars view internationalization as distinct from globalization. A few exceptions, like Bartell (2002), view globalization and internationalization as the same. For Bartell, globalization is an advanced stage of internationalization, but Bartell is referring to economic internationalization when he makes this claim.

Most scholars see internationalization as positive, a process which universities and campus communities can control, while globalization of higher education is generally viewed pejoratively. It is tied to economic globalization, which causes changes to universities over which the university has no control or any other choice but to conform. Enders (2004) defines internationalization as greater cooperation between countries and activities that take place across national borders. The term connotes student and staff mobility, cooperative research activities, and foreign language teaching. On the other hand, Enders (2004) defines globalization as the convergence of national economies and liberalization of trade and markets with a strong cultural component--largely Western hegemony.

The literature does not say much about the causes of the spread of international programs besides mentioning that university administrations will pursue international projects on their campuses in the belief that such projects will improve the quality of university programs and students' academic experiences. The literature does not conceptualize the implementation of these programs as a consequence of the spread of a global knowledge-based economy. Rather, the literature focuses on describing different types of programs implemented in various

universities or programs implemented by governments. As discussed above, the scholars in this category share the assumption that universities have a good deal of agency in selecting and implementing international programs, rather than receiving strong pressures from external organizations or the government.

Janet Knight (2004), a preeminent scholar on internationalization of higher education, defines globalization as an “education change process and a holistic view of management at the institutional level” (p. 29), while internationalization is a change process of a national university to an international university. Knight provides a good overview of the internationalization literature and delineates several aspects of internationalization at the university level, including: activity, outcomes, rationales, process, at home, and abroad.

Table 4.3 - Internationalization Approaches at the Institutional (University) Level

Approach at Institutional Level	Description
Activity	Internationalization is described in terms of activities such as study abroad, curriculum and academic programs, institutional linkages and networks, development projects, and branch campuses.
Outcomes	Internationalization is presented in the form of desired outcomes such as student competencies, increased profile, more international agreements, and partners or projects.
Rationales	Internationalization is described with respect to the primary motivations or rationales driving it. This can include academic standards, income generation, cultural diversity, and student and staff development.
Process	Internationalization is considered to be a process where an international dimension is integrated into teaching, learning, and service functions of the institution.
At home	Internationalization is interpreted to be the creation of a culture or climate on campus that promotes and supports international/intercultural understanding and focuses on campus-based activities.
Abroad (cross-border)	Internationalization is seen as the cross-border delivery of education to other countries through a variety of delivery modes (face to face, distance, e-learning) and through different administrative arrangements (franchises, twinning, branch campuses, etc).

Note. From “Internationalization remodeled: Definition, approaches, and rationales,” by J. Knight (2004) Journal of Studies in International Education, 8, p. 20.

Definition of Global Pressure

Internationalization is included in this study for two reasons. First, internationalization makes up a substantial percentage of the globalization literature. In my review of the literature, it makes up 18% of all articles. Second, while internationalization is distinguished in the literature from economic globalization, this study views globalization as the global spread of ideas which are selected and adapted to fit pre-existing institutions. Therefore, the ideas of internationalization that universities take the initiative to develop an international component to their curricula, have programs that send students to another country, or encourage faculty to conduct research in another country can be viewed as the spread of ideas about organizational structure and practice.

Definition of global pressure 8: Global pressures to increase emphasis on internationalization on campuses. Internationalization is any university-sanctioned program or initiative that requires a member of the university to visit another country, or someone from another country to visit the university; with the intention of providing education, providing learning experiences, or developing knowledge.

4.1.4 Transnational Higher Education

Transnational higher education was the third largest substantive area in the higher education globalization literature; in fact, it was the primary theme in 9% of all articles on the subject of globalization of higher education articles. Transnational higher education is simply defined as cases in which the provider of education is located in one country and the receiver of the education is located in another (Alderman, 2001). An important distinction between transnational higher education and internationalization concerns the matter of government and university control. Transnational higher education is described in the literature as something

governments and universities have little control over, but internationalization is something universities and governments can control. Six main types of transnational higher education programs are defined in the literature (Jones, 2001; Huang, 2003, Bienefeld et al., 2003).

Table 4.4 shows the six types of transnational higher education from the literature. Four of the types overlap with the descriptions of internationalization of universities because they are different types of agreements between universities to provide education in another country. These types include the following: branch campuses, franchises, articulation, and twinning. In this study, branch campuses, franchises, articulation, and twinning are all considered to be internationalization; since these programs require agreements between governments and universities, governments and universities can therefore control them. The two remaining types, on-line distance education and corporate programs, are considered in this study to be transnational higher education. Education via on-line distance education and corporate programs can be developed in one country and delivered to another, thereby reducing the control governments and universities have on these types of programs.

Table 4.4 - Transnational Higher Education

Type	Definition
On-line distance education programs	Distance education courses delivered across national boundaries through the Internet, web, satellites, computers, correspondence, or other technological means.
Branch campuses	Campuses set up by an institution in another country to provide its educational programs to foreign students.
Franchise	The situation whereby an institution (A) approves an institution (B) in another country as the provider of one or more of A's programs to students in B's country.
Articulation	The systematic recognition by an institution (A) of specific study at an institution (B) in another country as partial credit towards a course program at institution A.
Twinning	Agreement between institutions in different countries to offer joint programs.
Corporate programs	Academic programs offered by larger corporations involving crediting across national borders

Note. From "Bridging the challenges of transnational education and accreditation," by G. Jones (2001), *Higher Education In Europe*, 26, pp. 113 – 114.

Definition of Global Pressure

Transnational higher education is included in this study for reasons similar internationalization of higher education was included. First, transnational higher education made up a substantial portion of this review of the literature. Second, the idea to provide or allow higher education across national boundaries could be viewed as a global idea or a global pressure.

Definition of global pressure 9: Governments allow transnational higher education from other countries, or they export transnational higher education to other countries. Transnational higher education is any on-line distance education program that spans national boundaries, or any academic programs offered by a large corporation that involves crediting across national borders.

4.2 LINKS BETWEEN GLOBAL PATTERNS, QUESTIONNAIRE QUESTIONS, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Following are three tables that present the eight global patterns of higher education organizational responses, the questionnaire questions used to assess whether and how the global patterns appear in higher education policy in China and at different types of Chinese universities, the research question that each questionnaire question addresses, and commentary I add when the questionnaire link between the global patterns and questionnaire question is not obvious. I use three tables since I could not fit all the questions into one table.

Table 4.5 - Links between Global Patterns, Questionnaire Questions, and Research Questions

Global patterns of organizational responses	Questionnaire questions	Research Questions	Commentary
1. Universities provide life-long learning.	Does the Ministry of Education have any policies that promote life-long learning or adult education at universities?	Question 1.1 Question 1.2	
	Does your university provide continuing education for adult learners?	Question 2.1 Question 2.2	
2. Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	(I didn't include a question for this global pattern of organizations response, since this can be answered by looking at the percentage of funding from collaboration with industry in the question below about types of funding).	Question 2.1 Question 2.2	
3. The government reduces public funding to universities. The government influences universities by allocating government funds based on performance objectives established by the government, forcing universities to comply with government accountability.	What are the revenue sources of the university?	Question 1.1	I can provide evidence of the second global pressure and identify part of the third global pressure in by asking about percentages of funding.
	What are the percentages of funding at your university from the following items listed below, and how have they changed over time? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government funding - Student tuition - University initiated fundraising - Funding from research grants - Collaboration with industry - Revenue from consulting services - Other funding sources? 	Question 1.2 Question 2.1 Question 2.2	

Table 4.5 - Continued

Global patterns of organizational responses	Questionnaire questions	Research Questions	Commentary
<p>3. The government reduces public funding to universities. The government influences universities by allocating government funds based on performance objectives established by the government, forcing universities to comply with government accountability.</p>	<p>Does the MOE fund universities (universities under the Ministry of Education, universities under the control of Central Ministries, universities under the provincial-level government, and private universities) through “block-funding,” or does the MOE strategically use funding through funding schemes or funding mechanisms (i.e. connecting university appropriations from the government to the university passing a government-created evaluation of the university) to influence universities?</p>	<p>Question 2.1 Question 2.2</p>	
<p>4. University have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused (i.e. work to obtain external research grants, facilitate technology transfers, raise funds from alumni, facilitate collaboration with industry).</p>	<p>Does your university have discipline-/department-spanning offices that are externally focused (i.e. work to obtain external research grants, facilitate technology transfer, raise funds from alumni, facilitate collaboration with industry)?</p>	<p>Question 2.1 Question 2.2</p>	
<p>5. Faculty members and academic departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.</p>	<p>Are faculty members and academic departments encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university?</p>	<p>Question 2.1 Question 2.2</p>	

Table 4.5 - Continued

Global patterns of organizational responses	Questionnaire questions	Research Questions	Commentary
6. Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	Has the Ministry of Education increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation during the pervious decade?	Question 1.1 Question 1.2	
	Do the same higher education quality assurance policies apply to all types of universities in this study (universities under the Ministry of Education, universities under the control of Central Ministries, universities under the provincial-level government, and private universities), or are there different quality assurance policies for the different types of universities?	Question 2.1 Question 2.2 And Question 1.1 Question 1.2	
	To what type(s) of quality assurance standards does the university adhere?	Question 2.1 Question 2.2	
7. Internationalization is any university sanctioned program or initiative that requires a member of the university to visit another country, or someone from another country to visit the university, with the intention of providing education, learning experiences, or developing knowledge.	In terms of policy, does the MOE apply the same internationalization approaches to all types of universities?	Question 1.1 Question 1.2	
	In terms of policy, does the MOE apply the same internationalization approaches to all types of universities?	Question 2.1 Question 2.2	
8. Transnational higher education is any on-line distance education program that spans national boundaries, or any academic program offered by a large corporation that involves crediting across national borders.	What polices does the Ministry of Education have related to transnational higher education?	Question 1.1 Question 1.2	
	What type(s) of transnational higher education exist on campus? (Error! Reference source not found.)	Question 2.1 Question 2.2	

4.3 DATA COLLECTION

The questionnaires based on the four organizational responses to globalization (change in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization, accreditation/quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher education) presented in the previous section guided data collection at the Ministry of Education (MOE) and at individual universities. Data were gathered in the form of semi-structured interviews, policy documents, and information from Chinese government websites and university websites. Data were collected during two trips to Beijing.

The first trip was in the summer of 2005 and lasted for seven weeks. I received funding from the National Science Foundation's East Asia and Pacific Program for Graduate Students in China. I lived in a guesthouse in the Haidian district of Beijing, where many universities are located, with about twenty other graduate students from the United States who were conducting research projects at various universities in Beijing. I was hosted by Professor Wang Rong, the department Chair of Education Economics at Peking University. Professor Wang, as well as faculty and staff at the Education Economics Department and the Graduate School of Education, helped me arrange contacts and interviews at the universities in this study and at the Ministry of Education. Professor Wang gave me guidance in gathering documents at universities.

It was not possible to complete data collection during the summer. Universities in China close during the summer months, making it difficult and sometimes impossible to arrange

interviews, since faculty and staff are on vacation. I conducted as many interviews as I could during the summer and made arrangements with Professor Wang to return to Beijing in the fall of 2005 for six weeks to complete data collection. I was advised by Professor Wang to return to Beijing after the week of National Day on October 7th, the holiday to celebrate the founding of the Peoples Republic of China in 1949. Universities in China are closed during that week, so I could not conduct interviews then. After the week-long holiday of October 7th, universities are in session, and professors and administrators are less busy than they are at the beginning of the semester in September, making it easier to arrange interviews.

4.3.1 Beijing, China - Location of this Study

The Beijing metropolitan area was the site for data collection. Beijing is home to many universities, making it possible to collect data from all four different types of universities in this study without long-distance travel. Also, by using only universities in Beijing in this study, I avoided regional differences in universities. For example, as was brought up in interviews for this research, private universities in Beijing have an easier time obtaining funding than private universities in less urban areas of China. Access to funding influences the quality of facilities on campus, the quality of professors, and whether or not the university can confer degrees, among other differences.

Eight universities from the Beijing area (two each of four types of universities) were selected for this study. The reason for selecting different types of universities was to study how different types of universities respond differently to global pressures. Different types of

universities operate under different policies and rules, have different missions and different sources of funding; which could influence how a university selects and adapts a global pressure. Since this study investigates variances in respond differently to globalization pressures, I wanted to include a great diversity of types of universities in my study. By including different types of universities, it is possible to compare them to see how the different types of universities respond differently to the four patterns of higher education globalization (changes in governance of higher education/organizational restructuring of higher education, accreditation and quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher education). The purpose of including two universities of each type is to make sure the differences are due to the type of university, and not other university-specific reasons. Hence, I had two universities of each type, one as a replicating case (Yin, 1994). The four types of universities in this study include these: 1) universities under the Ministry of Education, 2) universities under the control of central ministries, 3) universities under the provincial-level government, and 4) private universities. The specific universities in this study are the following: universities under the Ministry of Education--Peking University and Beijing Normal University; universities under the control of central ministries--Foreign Affairs College and Central University for Nationalities; universities under the provincial-level government--Capital Normal University and Beijing Education College; and private universities--United Adult Workers University and Beijing Geely University. (See Appendix B for a description of the different types of universities and a brief description of each university).

All attempts were made to pair universities that were non-technical and emphasized the social sciences and humanities. I wanted to try to control for university-specific differences that might affect university structure, organization, funding, etc. For example, universities that focus

on the hard sciences tend to obtain research funding more easily than those focused on the social sciences and humanities (Clark, 1998; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Since changes in funding for research is an area attributed in the literature to globalization, and is an area explored in this study, I wanted to make sure the universities had the same focus and were comparable in ability to obtain funding for research.

I created a list of matched universities prior to arriving in China in the summer of 2005, but it was not possible to use all the universities on my list. Contacts at universities were arranged through my host, a process which in China is done through *guanxi*, or personal connections. My host did not have personal connections with all the universities on my list, so I had to select alternate ones in some cases. The alternate universities did not deviate from my selection criterion (a focus on social sciences and humanities).

4.3.2 Reasons for Using Qualitative Data in this Study

I chose to use qualitative data for this study because it allows me to capture detailed descriptions of university change. As I reviewed in the literature, the concept of globalization is not well specified, yet. Furthermore, the literature on globalization in Chinese university is scarce. It was difficult to conduct “variance study” (Scott, 1994) with pre-determined variables to examine how four types of universities are responding to global pressures. I defined the concept of globalization from the literature as institutional change in four areas (change in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization, accreditation/quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher education), but I do

not know whether the areas of globalization I defined from the literature are really happening in China. Hence, I decided to use qualitative data collection and analysis because it provided me with detailed descriptions about what are the changes and how these changes are happening. My study describes, by connecting with existing literature, how universities in China are “globalizing.”

Second, there is a need to crystallize the concepts used in Allomorphism. Until today, there are no empirical studies that used Allomorphism as an analytical framework, hence there is a need to examine what the concepts used in Allomorphism entails. Qualitative study allows me to acquire detailed descriptions, hence, it allows me to explicate, elaborate, and refine the concepts used in Allomorphism. I took up this task in my third research question. To do so, it is necessary to collect data that describe changes at universities rather than eliminating possible variables.

I prepared an interview protocol that includes the semi-structured questions to acquire detailed descriptions related to the four areas of globalization pressures and global patterns of organizational responses. I created interview questions so that I could acquire concrete descriptions about changes around the four aspects of global patterns of organizational response. I encouraged interviewees to elaborate the description with follow up questions. During the summer I had both the university interview protocol and the MOE interview protocol translated into Chinese by a Chinese student at a local foreign languages university. Whenever possible, I would send the questionnaire via e-mail to the person I was going to interview prior to the interview to allow him or her time to review the questionnaire. In addition to the questionnaire I would send by email, I would give a paper copy of the translated interview to the person I was

interviewing at the beginning of the interview so they could read the questions as I asked them.

After a few interviews, I found that I had to expand the scope of the questions on the interview protocol as new aspects of the changes the university or MOE experienced were reported by interviewees. For example, from initial interviews, it quickly became apparent that I needed to ask specific questions related to the influence of Project 985 and Project 211 on universities, as respondents suggested that it influenced various aspects of university mission and emphasis as a university moved from primarily teaching to research. Emphasis on research falls under change in governance/organizational change related to globalization on my interview protocol, but I wanted to explore other possible changes at universities due to Project 211 and Project 985.

The goal of the data collection in China was to conduct as many interviews as I could and gather as many relevant documents from universities and the MOE. Table 4.6 shows that the number of interviews at each university varied between six interviews and one interview. Since I had to rely on my Chinese contacts to arrange interviews, if a particular contact was unable or unwilling to arrange them, I was not able to conduct any more. For example, one time after interviewing a university administrator, I asked the administrator if he would contact other professors and administrators at his university to ask them if I could interview them. He called about a dozen colleagues, but no one agreed to be interviewed.

4.4 SOURCES OF DATA

Data for this study comes from three sources: 1) interviews with university administrators, professors, and Ministry of Education officials; 2) information from university websites and Chinese government websites related to higher education; and 3) relevant university and government documents. Data from web pages and documents were considered to be accurate, since they are official sources of information. Because of issues of validity with interviews, I triangulated all interview data with other interviews, web pages, and documents.

Since I was investigating changes of university's organizational structure and practices, I used interviews as my primary source of data. Interviews provided a description of changes that had occurred at universities, description of the university prior to the change, and sometimes, how the change happened. Web pages and documents generally could provide only information about the current state of the university.

Table 4.6 - Data Collected by University

University type	University	Number of interviews	Web pages	Documents
Universities under the control of the MOE	Peking University	6	Yes	Yes
	Beijing Normal University	6	Yes	Yes
Universities under the control of central ministries	Foreign Affairs College	1--one 1.5 hour interview	Yes	Yes
	Central University for Nationalities	4	Yes	Yes
Universities under the provincial-level government	Capital Normal University	6	Yes	Yes
	Beijing Education College	1--one 3-hour	Yes	Yes
Private universities	United Adult Workers University	1--one interview, but with three administrators	Yes	No
	Beijing Geely University	2	Yes	Yes
	Ministry of Education*	4: 2 university professors and 2 MOE officials	Yes	Yes

4.4.1 Interviews

The goal of the interviews was to obtain information about changes of organizational structure and practice at each university and the MOE related to the four patterns of higher education

globalization (change in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization, accreditation/quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher education) that could not be obtained through documents and web pages. Interviews can provide information about how and why changes happened. For example, in interviews I could follow up with clarifying questions like: What caused the change? or Why did the change happen? or What was the university organization or practice prior to a particular change?

Most interviews were conducted in English. Whenever an interview was conducted in Chinese, I used an interpreter arranged either by myself or through the university where I was conducting the interview. I conducted a couple of interviews in Chinese because of miscommunication about who would make arrangements for an interpreter. I avoided conducting interviews myself in Chinese to prevent possible misunderstandings.

I recruited respondents with the help of my host and administrators at Peking University. I attempted to interview several persons at each university holding different positions (i.e. financial director, international students department director, director of research) to collect information from persons who were experts in the areas covered in my questionnaires. I found that after about five interviews at a university, general information was repeated, although I could still get more details in response to particular questions. I assume that the response to the question “What has changed?” was saturated, but I could get more details about university changes based on the interviewees’ specialized knowledge about their university. The details are used in the analysis to explain how universities were Allomorphs. The universities took on similar changes, but the changes were slightly different. Besides the arrangement made by my host and administrators at Peking University, I recruited respondents through snowball methods.

I asked the first person I interviewed for help in finding other professors and administrators at the university to interview. My host had also previously asked my contact to help me arrange other interviews at their university. Through this snowball method, I was able to interview people at the university who were knowledgeable about university changes in the areas outlined in my questions (change in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization, accreditation/quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher education).

The number of the respondents I could recruit varied by universities, which limited the amount of information I could acquire from the interview. To avoid not having enough information from universities regarding four aspects of globalization, I asked all the questions from the questionnaire (change in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization, accreditation/quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher education) and asked about the university's inclusion in Project 211 or Project 985 at the first interview at each university. By doing so, I could collect data on "what changes" at least, which enabled me to conduct cross-university analysis about whether or not change in organizational structure and practice are happening in each university despite there may not be enough information about "how" the change happened.

An unintended consequence of arranging interviews through *guanxi*, or personal connections, was that the professors and administrators interviewed were self-selected, since they had to volunteer to be interviewed for this study. Most of the professors and administrators who agreed to be interviewed had spent time in the United States as a university student, visiting scholar, or in conjunction with work. Self-selection bias is assumed not to be a major factor to

threat the validity of the data in this study, since questions asked respondents to report on organizational change at each university and at the Ministry of Education, rather than asking for respondents' attitudes and opinions. Many of my respondents had experience of studying or working at universities in the United States. I found that persons I interviewed who had spent time in the United States tended to be more knowledgeable about their universities, and I received more complete information from them.

I was curious about why most people I was interviewing had been to the United States. I asked them, and their answers can be summarized under two main reasons. First, professors and administrators who received a Ph.D. from the United States are more aware of the professional expectation in the United States that university staff should help doctoral students with their dissertations. It seems that helping doctoral candidates with their dissertations is not a professional expectation of university staff in China. Second, the Chinese have a stereotype of the Western media as taking answers to questions from interviews and twisting them around to say something negative. Professors and administrators who had not been to the United States were more anxious about answering questions from an American graduate student who might manipulate their answers to say bad things about their university, in contrast to their counterparts who had studied or worked in the United States. As the pool of respondents was willing to talk to me apparently only they understood my role, I assume their descriptions are the most complete I could obtain, given the Chinese conditions of doing research.

4.4.1.1 List of Job Categories/Generic Titles of Persons Interviewed for this Research

As stated above, I attempted to interview a variety of people in different positions at each

university so as to benefit from their specialized knowledge of their university. Below is a list of the job categories/generic titles of people I interviewed:

Table 4.7 - List of Types of Jobs of People I Interviewed

President of University
Vice President of University
University Deputy Director of Finance
University Director of Finance
University Director of International Affairs
University Director of Student Affairs
University Director of Research
University Director of Academic Affairs
Dean of School in a University
Assistant Professor
Associate Professor
Professor
Director of a Department in the Ministry of Education
Ministry of Education Official
Member of the State Education Commission

Asking people about changes to their universities could threaten internal validity because interviewees might have an incorrect memory of the events. In order to constrain this threat, I triangulated the information with documents, web pages, and responses from other interviews (Merriam, 2002). Based on this triangulation, I assume the information provided in interviews is accurate and representative of what is occurring at the universities in this study.

Most of the people I interviewed were professors or administrators with several years of experience. Answers from experienced professors and administrators describing their university were almost always consistent, which adds to the validity of the interview data (Creswell, 2003). I interviewed two new professors, who had only one or two years of experience, and I had doubts their knowledge of their university during the interview because they appeared uncertain at times

when answering my questions.

When I compared the answers of the two inexperienced professors with those of their colleagues, I found that one professor's answers consistently differed from those of more experienced colleagues and were not consistent with information from web pages and documents from the university. The second inexperienced professor's answers were consistent with those of colleagues, web pages and documents from the university. I excluded the entire interview of the inexperienced professor whose answers differed from those of colleagues, university web pages, and documents; but retained the interview of the inexperienced professor whose answers were consistent.

In another instance, I cut part of an interview from an administrator that gave a detailed and interesting account of the origins of Project 985, which no one else in any of the interviews had mentioned. I looked through documents and web pages about Project 985 to triangulate the information, but could not. I tried to triangulate the information by asking about this account of the origins of Project 985 and Project 211 in subsequent interviews, but no one had heard of it. Also, when I was back in the United States and beginning the analysis, I tried again to collaborate the account by sending e-mails to Chinese colleagues, asking them if they had ever come across the information in the administrator's account of Project 985. None of them had, so I excluded the administrator's account from the data analysis. Other information from the interview with the administrator was collaborated with other sources, so I retained the rest of the interview for the analysis. Thus, all interview data I used has been triangulated.

4.4.1.2 Typical Interview

The typical interview began with me taking a taxi to the East Gate of the university. The East Gate is normally the main gate, and most taxi drivers knew how to get there. I always arrived early, since I did not want to be late for an interview, and traffic in Beijing can sometimes be extremely slow. If it was my first time at the university I would send my contact person there a text message by mobile phone, as is the custom in China, to say I had arrived. If I had been to the university before, I would send a text message announcing my arrival and would then go to a predetermined location.

If it was my first time at the university, I was escorted to the office of the person I was interviewing by my contact at the university or a student arranged by my contact. If I was familiar with the university, I would go directly to the office of the person I was interviewing. Interviews began with me introducing myself. If the interview was in English, I would do this myself; if the interview was in Chinese, my translator would translate my introduction. I explained to the interviewee that I was a doctoral student from the United States conducting interviews at universities in China to learn about how Chinese universities' organization and practices are changing because of global pressures. I explained that the information they provided would be used in my dissertation and possibly in publications. I also informed them that I will use the names of the universities, however, I will not disclose the names of the individuals I interviewed.

I would ask the person I was interviewing to introduce himself or herself and to tell me about the type of work he or she did at the university. I took notes of this information and used it to decide from which section of the interview protocol to begin my questions, if the interview is

not the first interview at each university. This was to make the best use of time in the interview. Often, time was limited. I wanted to be sure to ask questions in areas the person I was interviewing had the most expertise in case time ran out for the interview. If I had been in e-mail contact prior to the interview, I had sent the interviewee a copy of the translated questionnaire. Regardless of whether I had e-mailed the questionnaire or not, I would give a paper copy of my translated questionnaire to the interviewee and allow time to review the questions. I asked if there were any questions about points they did not understand. A common response to this question was a request for clarification about accreditation. Accreditation is a new concept in China, and some professors and administrators were not familiar with the idea.

I would answer any questions the interviewee had about the questionnaire, about my research, and about how their answers would be used. After this, I would ask if it would be acceptable for me to use a digital voice recorder to record the interview. I explained that the recording was for my own use, to type up a transcription of the interview. This request was always granted. I would begin the interview with the section from the protocol that was most relevant to the job of the person I was interviewing. Interviews usually ranged between twenty minutes and one hour, depending on how much time the interviewee had.

Some of the social norms of meeting with someone for an interview in China were different from those in the United States. For example, at times I was asked to wait in someone's office for over an hour because he or she was attending meetings on campus, or I was asked to meet with someone at 8:00 or 9:00 pm for an interview. I found that these interviews tended to be the best, since the person I was interviewing seemed to really want to help me and provided me with detailed information.

4.4.2 Web pages

During the time between my summer and fall trips to Beijing, I downloaded every web page from each of the university websites and from the Ministry of Education. Each of the sites had web pages in Chinese and in English. Chinese web pages were translated into English using translation programs available on the Internet from yahoo.com, google.com. or babelfish.altavista.com. The quality of translations varied and sometimes translations contained several syntactical and grammatical errors.

Since I had collected over 1500 web pages, I needed some way to organize them so I could access them when needed. Web pages for each university and the Ministry of Education were saved to my computer and organized using computer folders. The web pages were organized around definitions of global pressure. For example, I have a folder called “International programs,” for web pages about internationalization approaches taken by the university. Or, since universities pursuing multiple channels of funding was one of the aspects addressed in the definition of global pressure, I also created a folder called “Funding.” Since I downloaded all the available web pages from the MOE website and each university website, I had many that were not relevant to my definitions of global pressures, for example, pages concerning political activities on campus, campus intramural basketball schedules, and information on the safety of campus cafeteria food. I put web pages that did not fit my questionnaire questions into a folder called “Other.”

Each web page in each folder was numbered and indexed in a list of other web pages from the same folder with a brief description of each. Once I had the index and folders

completed, it was easy to find information from the web pages. I used the web pages in three ways. First, I went through the questionnaire to find any relevant information for each question that might be contained in the web pages. For example, if the question was about department-spanning research centers, I looked in the index under “Research” for a particular university to see if any web pages contained information about such research centers. Or, if the question was about internationalization efforts at a university, I looked in the index for “International programs” at a particular university to find the relevant web pages. If I found any details in the web pages that did not come out in interviews, I added them to the analysis.

The second way I used the web pages was to find important dates. For example, I used the web pages to find out when a university began accepting large numbers of international students. I also found dates when certain departments opened, and when a university was accepted into Project 211 or Project 985. I wanted to know when certain changes related to globalization had occurred at universities so I could compare them with when changes happened at different universities.

The third way I used the web pages was to collaborate information from the interviews. Often, interviews from professors and administrators at the same university were in agreement. I used the web pages as a source to collaborate information from the interviews to triangulate information. I did not find any information in the web pages that contradicted information collaborated by the interviews with two or more people.

4.4.3 Documents

I used documents, which I collected from universities and the MOE to supplement the information from interviews. The primary document from universities was the *nianjian*, or yearbook, which reviewed accomplishments, occurrences, and developments at the university for each year. My host in China, Dr. Wang, suggested that I use the yearbook as another source of data. Relevant sections of the yearbooks were photocopied and given to Chinese students at a local foreign language university who agreed to translate documents in return for monetary compensation. English versions of the documents were sent to me as MS Word documents via e-mail, and I indexed each file and saved them in the folder for that university.

A few Ministry of Education documents that are available to the public, but not available on the MOE website, were given to me by a MOE official who authorizes the release of information from the MOE. The official was new to the MOE and was concerned that she could not answer my questions well. In granting my request for an interview, she asked me to send her a short list of questions that I wanted answered rather than the entire questionnaire.

I honored her request and sent a short list of a few questions about how the MOE encourages and promotes internationalization at Chinese universities, and how the MOE influences universities through Project 985 and Project 211. I wanted to know what the MOE hoped to achieve through these policies, because I learned from the interviews with professors and university administrators that these policies impacted university's operation. This MOE official interviewed some colleagues about internationalization and also collected some available documents about Project 211 and Project 985.

Since I was leaving to return to the United States the following week of the interview with the MOE official, I gave the documents to a student from the local foreign language university with the understanding that they were to be translated and sent to me in the United States. The student became ill and was unable to translate the documents in time for me to include them in this dissertation. However, I have partial documents translated that pertained to Project 985 which the MOE official verbally translated the document in our interview. Hence, in this dissertation, I used a part of official document regarding Project 985 I acquired from the MOE. I supplemented the information about Project 985 and 211 and official policy regarding internationalization by interviews, university yearbooks, and web pages. Similar to the web pages, all translated documents were saved in computer folders by university and indexed with a description of the contents of each document.

I had about forty documents, most of which were from the *nianjian* (university yearbooks). I categorized the documents by using descriptors similar to those I used for the web pages, with terms like “Finance,” “International Projects,” or “Research.” The documents were used to collaborate information from web pages and interviews. I did not find any conflicting information from official policy about the nature of official policies with the information I got from interviews and web pages. However, the documents gave details about research endeavors at the universities and how money was allocated to different university projects. This description provided me with concrete description of what informants described about change of funding.

4.5 HOW DATA WERE ANALYZED

Allomorphism assumes that globalization of higher education is the spread of globally shared logics and ideas related to higher education that are translated and adapted at the national level as well as at the local level. In the process of this spread, Allomorphism assumes global pressure of new ideas and logics interact with pre-existing organization structure and practices. The data analysis presents how parts of the four patterns of higher education globalization: a) change in higher education governance/organizational structure, b) accreditation/quality control, c) internationalization, and d) transnational higher education, are translated and adapted at both the national level (MOE) and local level (universities) in China. I analyzed the data to describe how this process is happening by focusing on translation and strategic response at both the national and university level. Although I identified global patterns of change from the literature, interviews revealed that not all aspects of globalization are happening in China. I analyzed the data in the following way.

Allomorphism follows two points where translation and adaptation of global pressures are observed: a) the MOE's response to global pressure, and b) universities' responses to the pressures coming from the global level and national level (MOE). All interviews, documents, and web pages were translated into English and organized around globalization patterns. Text from the Ministry of Education and the universities was considered separately, since Allomorphism views globalization as affecting both government policy and individual universities. Official documents from the universities, the Ministry of Education websites, and official Chinese government websites were assumed to be accurate with dates and assumed to

present government's official policy and rationales for higher education reforms.

Error! Reference source not found. shows the diagram of Allomorphism, which includes the Ministry of Education and the different universities in this study. The diagram shows what types of global pressures influence the different organizations (the MOE and Chinese universities) in this study. Allomorphism assumes that there are two types of globalization pressures on the Ministry of Education: competitive pressure from the world economy and institutional pressure from international agencies. These pressures are mediated by the MOE, which are reflected in MOE policy. Each university receives both global pressures that come from outside of China and MOE. I assume different types of universities are differently influenced by both global pressures and MOE policy, and will select and adapt globalization pressures from the world economy in different ways.

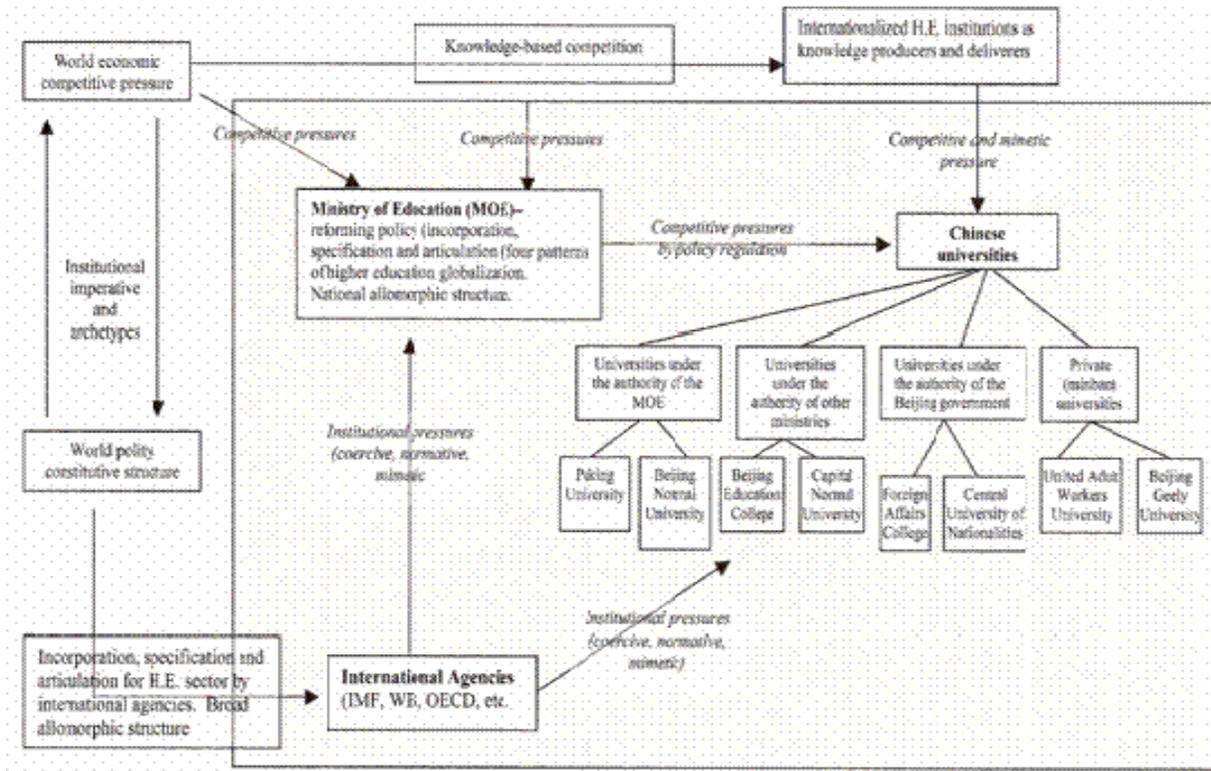


Figure 4.1 - Diagram of Allomorphism – as Applied in this study

During the interviews in which I asked about the change regarding globalization, many interviewees mentioned and described in detail the following issues: 1) changes of promotion requirements for professors and 2) Project 211 and Project 985, which provide competitive funding to selected universities. These issues were not anticipated as the change in response to globalization pressure when I made the protocol. Furthermore, these incidents seem to reflect two areas of globalization patterns. I categorized change of promotion requirements for professors with “change of governance,” but also noted that it has elements of accreditation and quality control because tenure of professors is most closely related to issues of quality out of the four pressures identified for this study. I categorized Project 211 and Project 985 into “change in

governance” too because university professors described how funding from these projects influence universities’ operation and they are specialized funding; in other words, it was used as strategic funding. Hence, the nature of the funding is similar to the government allocating funding on the basis of universities achieving certain performance objectives as described in the literature. Below I describe the procedure of data analysis for the MOE and university separately.

All interviews were transcribed and translated to English. All other documents, policy documents, documents from universities, and web pages, were translated to English. I triangulated all information. I read through data and I categorized the data around the four areas of globalization so that I could have the description of MOE policies in each of the four areas of globalization. As I categorize the data, I took memos to record my initial thoughts about the data. For example, I found that the MOE provided special treatment to Peking University over other universities in the policies about funding. Peking University was one of the first universities to receive funding from Project 985 and Project 211. As this finding is in line with my assumption that types of university may influence the way in which globalization of universities happen, I reviewed the data again to check what policies are in line with this case and if there are any associations with the patterns of globalization. I referred to this memo when I analyzed the data at university level to see whether universities are receiving these different treatments from the MOE. I read the data in each category, and wrote up a report about MOE policies in each area of globalization. My report for MOE covers the following aspects:

Case Report 1. Change in Governance/Organizational Restructuring Related to Higher Education Globalization

- What are the pressures the MOE is receiving?
- From where do these pressures come?
- How did the MOE respond to these pressures?
- What shaped this process of translation/adaptation? And how do pre-existing institutions shape this process, if at all?

Case Report 2. Transnational Higher Education

- What are the pressures the MOE is receiving?
- From where do these pressures come?
- How did the MOE respond to these pressures?
- What shaped this process of translation/adaptation? And how do pre-existing institutions shape this process, if at all?

Case Report 3. Internationalization

- What are the pressures the MOE is receiving?
- From where do these pressures come?
- How did the MOE respond to these pressures?
- What shaped this process of translation/adaptation? And how do pre-existing institutions shape this process, if at all?

Case Report 4 Accreditation/Quality Control

- What are the pressures the MOE is receiving?

- From where do these pressures come?
- How did the MOE respond to these pressures?
- What shaped this process of translation/adaptation? And how do pre-existing institutions shape this process, if at all?

Pre-existing institutions work as “layers and conditions” (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002, p. 293) that influence how universities adopt certain organizational structures or practices in response to new institutional pressure, meaning World Culture, in this case. Pre-existing institutions are important in the analysis of higher education globalization when using Allomorphism as an analytical framework (Vaira, 2004), since aspects of global patterns are selected and adapted to fit pre-existing institutions. Data to identify pre-existing institutions included the history of the Ministry of Education, like the role of the Ministry of Education related to universities during the 1950s to 1980s when China was influenced by the Soviet model of higher education, obtained through interviews and web pages, as well as through published articles. For the Ministry of Education I obtained plenty of data, particularly from published articles, describing the role of Ministry of Education in the past. From these types of articles I identified pre-existing institutions as well established higher education norms from China’s recent past repeatedly discussed in interviews, documents, and articles that examined these organizational structures and norms of authority of MOE over universities. The two pre-existing institutions that I considered in my analysis are the Soviet model of higher education and the long tradition of the Chinese government maintaining centralized control over higher education.

The case report about the MOE for each types of globalization pressure informs me about the descriptions regarding research question one, which includes two components:

Question 1.1: From where does the Ministry of Education receive globalization pressures (i.e. international agencies, or world economy competitive structure and knowledge-based competition)?

Question 1.2: What are the policy responses to globalization pressures by the Ministry of Education?

In addition, the case reports indicate the extent to which the concepts proposed by Vaira are valid in comparison to the data I have.

Question 3: To what extent do data and analysis based on answers to Question 1.1, Question 1.2, Question 2.1 and Question 2.2 validate Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization?

As for the data analysis to understand globalization at the university level, I used the following procedures. All interviews were transcribed and all data were translated into English. After I triangulated all the information from the interview with documents or web pages, I read all the data. I categorized data from interviews, documents and web pages by the areas of globalizations, and further I coded them by questions I asked in the interview. During this process, I also took memos about my observation from the data. For example, I found that many universities had begun to develop various international programs in the late 1990s. I checked to see when each university began various types of international programs. From the texts categorized under each category, I wrote case reports for each university by each type of globalization pressure. In total, I had 32 case reports (eight universities by four areas of global pressures). Case reports include the following aspects that reflect the concepts and processes addressed by Allomorhism.

Case report 1 -8 for universities (8 universities) : Change in Governance/Organizational Restructuring Related to Higher Education Globalization

- What are the pressures the university is receiving?
- Where have these pressures come from?
- How did the university respond to these pressures?
- What shaped this process of translation/adaptation? And how did pre-existing institutions shape this process, if at all?

Case report 2-16, for universities (8 universities) Transnational Higher Education

- What are the pressures the organization (MOE or university) is receiving?
- From where do these pressure come?
- How did the university respond to these pressures?
- What shaped this process of translation/adaptation? And how did pre-existing institutions shape this process, if at all?

Case Report 17-24 (for eight universities) Internationalization

- What are the pressures the organization (MOE or university) is receiving?
- From where do these pressure come?
- How did the university respond to these pressures?
- What shaped this process of translation/adaptation? And how did pre-existing institutions shape this process, if at all?

Case Report 25-32 (for eight universities) Accreditation/Quality Control

- What are the pressures the organization (MOE or university) is receiving?

- From where do these pressure come?
- How did the university respond to these pressures?
- What shaped this process of translation/adaptation? And how did pre-existing institutions shape this process, if any did?

Pre-existing institutions included the history of the university (obtained from the web site); the mission of the university; and (from interviews) information about how the university was funded in the past, its previous organizational structure, and previous internationalization projects at the university. Pre-existing institutions work as “layers and conditions” (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002, p. 293) that influence how universities adopt certain organizational structures or practices in response to new institutional pressures, meaning World Culture, in this case. Pre-existing institutions are important in the analysis of higher education globalization when using Allomorphism as an analytical framework (Vaira, 2004), since aspects of global patterns are selected and adapted to fit pre-existing institutions. I also consulted articles written about the university, when available. The data for the different universities varies in quality. For example, at some universities I had information about how the university was structured in the parts of the data gleaned from interviews and documents such as those in the school yearbook; but for other universities, no articles were written, and I was not able to collect much other information in interviews about the university’s past. I was able to include pre-existing institutions in my analysis for Peking University and, to some extent, for Beijing Normal University and Capital Normal University. For the other universities, I did not have enough data, which limited my data analysis

As I wrote the case reports, I paid attention to whether the universities perceive the same pressures as those the MOE reported they are placing on universities. Based on the case report for each university, I specified the carriers of global pressures and the changes. I was able to write about selection and adaptation at the universities for which I had enough data about pre-existing institution: Peking University and Beijing Normal University. These responses answer the following research questions:

Question 2.1: From where do universities receive globalization pressures (i.e. knowledge-based competition, international agencies, or national-level organizations)?

Question 2.2: How do different types of universities respond to globalization pressures in this study?

Question 3: To what extent do data and analysis based on answers to Question 1.1, Question 1.2, Question 2.1 and Question 2.2 validate Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization?

Fifth, based on the 32 case reports for each university, I cross analyzed to see whether or not types of university shape university's change in organizational structure and practices. I reviewed the case report with the question of "why" types of university shape these changes. By doing so, I could limit the intervention of third variables (Eisenhardt, 2002). I also looked for the differences of the changes that could not be explained by the type of the university. Furthermore, I reviewed the case reports to explore if there are any other patterns across universities about the change in organizational structure and practices. I created a matrix that includes possible factors and all universities to explicate the patterns across universities.

4.5.1 Summary

In summary, the methods section described how the questionnaires for data collection were developed, how the questionnaire interviews were used, and how data was collected and analyzed. This section was divided into three main parts. The first part reviewed the literature on higher education globalization organized around the four organizational responses to globalization. Descriptions of globalization from the literature formed the basis of the questionnaires used in this study. The second part describes how I collected the data. The third part presents how I analyzed the data.

5.0 CHAPTER 5 – FINDINGS

In this section I present my findings based on the analysis of the data. The organization of the Findings Section follows the order of my research questions. First I respond to the two sets of research questions. The first set of research questions asks about globalization of MOE policy:

Question 1.1: What are the globalization pressures on the Ministry of Education?

Question 1.2: What are the policy responses to globalization pressures by the Ministry of Education?

The second set of research questions asks about globalization of universities:

Question 2.1: What are the globalization pressures on the universities in this study?

Question 2.2: How do different types of universities respond to globalization pressures in this study?

Allomorphism conceptualizes globalization as globally spreading ideas and logics that legitimate and shape actions, organizational structures and policies. I identified actions, organizational structures and policies that reflect global ideas and logics from the literature as my definitions of global pressures (see Table 4.2). Allomorphism views organizations as having agency to select and adapt global pressures, thus creating variation, or Allomorphs of global patterns of higher education. When developing the definitions of global pressures, I wrote them

to be broad enough to cover the range of possible Allomorphs, or the actions, organizational structures and policies that might develop.

In the findings section, I describe the global pressures and the responses of the Ministry of Education and then universities. I organized each section in the order of the four areas of global pressures I identified from the literature: change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education, accreditation and quality control, transnational higher education, and internationalization. At the beginning of each of the sections I present the definitions of global pressures identified from the literature.

I include a cross-case analysis of the universities after the description of university responses to global pressures. In this section I take up the issue of university Allomorphs, or why different universities select and adapt global pressures differently. I consider commonalities among groups of universities that can explain why different universities select and adapt global pressures in different ways. These commonalities include: policy pressure from the Chinese government on particular universities in the form of Project 211 and Project 985, length of time of internationalization at each university, and the university model on which a university was originally set up—Soviet university model vs. German and French university models.

In the first two sections, the Ministry of Education and university responses to global pressures, I have included two levels of analysis. The first level is organizational responses to global pressures. I examine whether or not, and how global patterns I identified in the literature are enacted in China. I do this by describing MOE policy and university organization and practice in-line with the definitions of globalization pressures from the literature.

The second level of analysis is Global Culture, or logics and ideas about higher education

that underlie the global patterns. The logics associated with “accreditation/quality control,” “transnational higher education,” and “internationalization” are not so clear from the literature, because the literature did not discuss globally held assumptions of the policies and programs and how these policies view the role of universities. Instead of comparing the logics identified from the literature for the global patterns “accreditation/quality control,” “transnational higher education,” and “internationalization;” I discuss the patterns of logic underlying “accreditation/quality control,” “transnational higher education,” and “internationalization” that I identified in my data.

Global logics were identified in the definitions of global patterns identified for change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education. For example, global logics are ideas that:

- knowledge is a key driver of economic growth in a globalized economy (Peters, 2003), and
- globalization requires more citizens to need higher education for a country to remain internationally competitive (Bleiklie & Byrkjeflot, 2002),

and underlie the global pattern that:

- Universities play a role in providing citizens with education and re-education throughout a lifetime (Hanna & Latchem, 2002), which is the basis for the first definition of global pressure: Universities provide life-long learning.

The global logics related to “change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education” include:

- A globally competitive national economy requires a better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills (Hanna & Latchem, 2002).
- Because of economic globalization, more citizens need higher education (called “massification of higher education”) for a country to remain internationally competitive (Bleiklie & Byrkjeflot, 2002).
- Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth, and the university plays a more central role in the economy by educating a larger percentage of the population for the knowledge economy and through producing knowledge relevant to the (Peters, 2003).
- Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth (Peters, 2003).

In the third part of the findings section, I answer my third research question, which states:

Question 3: To what extent do data and analysis based on answers to Question 1.1, Question 1.2, Question 2.1 and Question 2.2 validate Vaira’s hypotheses about higher education globalization?

In this section I compare my findings with Vaira’s hypotheses of higher education globalization and discuss how my findings refine and elaborate his hypotheses.

5.1 GLOBALIZATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL - MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Allomorphism assumes that national level organizations are exposed to Global Culture, or logics and ideas about higher education from international agencies and the world economy. The global ideas act as global pressures since national level organizations create policy that reflect

these ideas to receive legitimacy. Allomorphism assumes that national level government organizations will select and adapt global pressures, and these global pressures will be incorporated into higher education policy. According to Allomorphism, national level policies reflect global pressures, but policies are also a modification of global pressures.

In an overview of the findings for this section, the global pressure for universities to provide life-long learning is adapted by the Ministry of Education to a pre-existing system of life-long learning administered by the MOE at public universities and through the expansion of vocational technical universities. When it comes to the global pressure for increased government emphasis on accreditation and quality assurance, the State Education Commission evaluates universities and departments to decide which can confer degrees. The Ministry of Education continues a long-standing audit of university facilities every four to six years, and has recently begun to evaluate teaching quality. The MOE allows a form of transnational higher education through joint foreign-Chinese schools. Contrary to the literature, the MOE does not consider the other aspect of transnational higher education, distance education across its national borders, as a threat, since the MOE provides higher quality distance education to its citizens, which is nationally recognized.

The Ministry of Education has not incorporated all global pressures into national policy. The Ministry of Education has not developed policy related to universities developing academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused, although this was identified in the literature as a global pressure.

Not all global pressures selected and adapted by the Ministry of Education into higher education policy affects universities equally. For example, the MOE encourages

internationalization at universities, but prohibits private universities from hosting international students or sending student abroad, which influences how private universities internationalize their campuses. Also, the Ministry of Education creates policy to influence organizational change at selected universities. The Ministry of Education pushes some universities through Project 211 and Project 985, which provides extra funding to universities to become research oriented and to self-generate funds. The use of funding to encourage organizational change at universities is an adaptation of the global pressure identified in the literature for governments to cut funding to universities and allocate funding based on the universities reaching certain performance objectives.

The Ministry of Education policy conforms to the global logics that a better-educated work force is needed and more citizens need higher education through the expansion of public and private higher education as well as expanded continuing education. The Chinese government pushes selected universities to become research oriented and knowledge producers through Project 211 and Project 985; which is in line with the global logic that knowledge, research and development are key drivers to economic growth and universities should play a more central role in economic growth.

5.1.1 Change in Governance/Organizational Restructuring of Higher Education

Within change of governance/organizational restructuring of higher education, global patterns of organizational response identified in the literature are:

- a) Universities provide life-long learning.

- b) Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.
- c) Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused (i.e. that work to obtain external research grants, facilitate technology transfers, raise funds from alumni, and facilitate collaboration with industry).
- d) The government reduces public funding to universities. The government influences universities by allocating government funds based on performance objectives established by the government, forcing universities to comply with government accountability standards.
- e) Faculty members and academic departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.

In an overview of findings for change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education at the national level, the Ministry of Education selects and adapts only some of the global pressures. The MOE has adapted global pressures for life-long learning, to provide life-long learning through the expansion of vocational-technical higher education and life-long learning provided at universities, but administered by the MOE. The global pressure that universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused was not incorporated into higher education policy. The global pressure that public funding for universities is reduced and funding is allocated based on performance objects was adapted through Project 211 and Project 985. In the cases of Project 211 and Project 985, public funding is not reduced, but expanded, and the MOE pushes selected universities to become research oriented, to self-generate funds and to develop into “world-class” or “world-known” universities. The goals of individual universities for Project 211 and Project 985 appear to be established

through dialogue between the MOE and the university, rather than the government establishing the same performance objectives for each university. The MOE pushing universities in Project 211 and Project 985 to become research oriented and to self-generate funds is a transitional step between the Soviet model of higher education where universities focused on teaching and all funds came from the state, to the global pressures where the state cuts funding to universities and allocates funding based on achieving performance objectives, and professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.

Universities provide life-long learning

The literature suggests life-long learning is the global phenomena, and it carries the idea that in order to keep abreast with a continuously changing economy, people need to be trained frequently – throughout a lifetime, and this function is placed at universities. According to government documents, the Chinese government recognized adult education as an important component of education in the late 1980s, and stressed that adult education was necessary for Chinese social, economic, scientific and technological development. Ideas expressed in government documents justify adult education, and reflect the global logics that more citizens need higher education and a better educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills is needed for a country to be competitive in the global economy. Adult education plays an important role for life-long learning in China and has quickly expanded. In 2002 a total of 5,428,200 students were enrolled in higher education including undergraduate students. About 40% of all the students, or 2,223,200 were adult education students (Ministry of Education, 2003).

The expansion of life-long learning reflects global logics; however, because of the pre-existing regulations that limit the age of university students, provisions for continuing adult education are not incorporated into regular universities, but are accommodated through pre-existing adult education institutions that have existed since the 1950s. The Chinese government has age restrictions on entrance into regular higher education, which limits to some extent, access to regular universities for adults. A student must be under the age of 25 to take the National Entrance Exam to enter regular university for a Bachelor's program; a student must be under the age of 40 years to begin a Master's program; and a student must be under the age of 45 to begin a Doctoral program. While much of the globalization literature suggests life-long learning happens at universities and people are free to pursue degrees at any time of their life, in China, life-long learning is specified as continuing education, which happens outside of regular universities.

In China, life-long learning is administered by the MOE at universities or provided through private vocational technical institutions. Universities offer adult education on campus and have adult education departments, however, adult education departments are under the unified administration of the Department of Adult Education and Technical Education in the Ministry of Education. Although universities, often top research universities, are asked to create curriculum and teaching materials; the MOE has the authority to approve and administer the programs.

Global pressures to select universities – Project 985 and Project 211

In interviews, professors and Ministry of Education officials said that the Chinese government does not use funding to force university compliance with government performance objectives, as is one of the global pressures specified in this study. For the most part, this is accurate. The MOE does not link funding with compliance to government performance objectives. Funding to universities from the MOE is based on the number of students at the university and a few other factors; but the goals of two funding programs called Project 985 and Project 211 conform to the idea that the government provides funding to universities with the expectation that the universities will enact changes to the university's organizational structure and practice. This goal is similar to the third globalization pressure identified for this study – “The government reduces public funding to universities; and the government influences universities by allocating government funds based on performance objectives established by the government, forcing universities to comply with government accountability standards.” The differences between this globalization pressure and Project 985 and 211 goals are 1) the global pressure specifies reduced funding to universities, but money from Project 985 and Project 211 are extra funding on top of regular government allocations to universities, 2) the government has not set established performance objectives, rather, university changes are established through dialogue between the MOE and the university, and 3) only selected universities are included in the projects, rather than all universities.

The pathway of this global pressure was not clear. In interviews, Project 985 and Project 211 often came up, and I would explicitly ask professors and MOE officials, Did any

international organizations influence the development of Project 211 and Project 985? The answer was consistent: international organizations might have influenced the projects a little, but the projects were developed by the Chinese government.

The expectations for the universities and the funding provided through Project 211 and Project 985 is worked out at the individual university level between the government and the university. The common reforms of both projects include emphasis on research and universities need to generate funds themselves. The goals of Project 985 also include the expectation that universities will develop into a “world-class” or “world-known” university. The meaning of world-class university was developed based on qualities of world-class universities in developed countries like: university leaders should make significant contributions to the university and society, academic freedom and theory innovation is encouraged, teamwork in research is emphasized, and classes are to be dialectic where students participate in discussions rather than sit through lectures (interview with MOE official, 11/13/05). The Ministry of Education would like universities in Project 985 to develop the qualities of world-class universities as described above, but the connection between the specific projects funded at individual universities and how they contribute to the development of world-class universities, as specified, are not clear.

In the case of Project 985 and Project 211, the government specifies the global pressure to certain universities to focus on research and self-generate funds. These were not identified in the globalization literature, but are world-wide held ideas about higher education and represent the transition Chinese universities must go through, as an extra step, to fully adopt global patterns of higher education. For example, Chinese universities under the Soviet model of higher education, which has strongly influenced universities in China, stressed teaching and not

research. Chinese universities must first become research-focused universities before professors can be encouraged to generate funding for the university through research. The expectation for universities to self-generate funds creates the opportunity for the government to reduce funding to universities in the future, without leaving universities in a position where they are not able to finance themselves. Specific details about Project 211 and Project 985 follow.

Project 211 began in 1995 as part of the 9th 5-year plan. It is administered by a coordinating group of the State Council, the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Education. The coordinating group is responsible for the project implementation, management, review and evaluation.

Funds are to be provided to universities from 1995 to 2010. The funding goes to “key universities” to develop key programs. Project 211 has provided funds to 1000 projects for 107 universities across China. The government distributes the funds equally to three types of universities. One third of the universities are under the MOE, one third of the universities are under other central ministries, and one third of the universities are under provincial level governments.

The goal of the project is located within the national economic policy: the general goal is to promote the development of higher education and economic development in China by improving the overall education quality and management of key universities so that key universities become bases for training high quality students (Interview with MOE official, 11/20/05). The specific goals of the project are: training highly talented people for economic and social development; raise the level of higher education in China; increase the pace of national economic development; promote scientific, technological and cultural development; and increase

China's international competitiveness. Funds are provided to specific departments at a university and the requirements to receive funding is that the department must be of high quality, the discipline is closely related to national development priorities, and the university has the ability to self-generate funds. The percentage of academic areas that received Project 211 funding are as follows: humanities and social science account for 10 % of disciplines, economic and law account for 10 %, basic science accounts for 15 %, environment resources account for 7%, engineering and technology account for 42%, medicine accounts for 11 %, and agriculture accounts for 5% (Ministry of Education, 2005a).

Key universities are pre-selected by the MOE. Rather than allowing all universities to apply for funding, the MOE pre-determines which universities are eligible for funding. The general selection criteria for the Project 211 are universities with strong research bases that are expected to have a significant impact of the advancement of science and make contributions to society. Project 211 differs from Project 985 in the amount of money it provides to universities, the number of universities included, and the expectations on universities.

Project 985 was initiated by the President of China, Jian Zemin, in a speech at the 100th year anniversary of Peking University in May 1998. The project gets its name from the date of the speech – May, the fifth month of the year 1998, or 98-5. President Jian advocated for China to develop “world-class” universities. Originally, extra funding was only given to Peking University and Tsinghua University, considered to be the two top universities in China. They received funds to make improvements to their facilities. Soon after, seven more universities were added to the list of universities in Project 985. Currently, the project has a total of 37 universities.

According to interviews, the total amount of funds distributed by Project 985 is about the same as Project 211, but funds given to each university in Project 985 is more, reflecting the smaller number of universities in Project 985. Some universities have received more funds than other universities. For example, Peking University and Beijing Normal University received substantial funds from Project 985, while some universities did not receive funding, but their names were on the list as being included in Project 985. Receiving the name of Project 985 is important for universities, since “it shows that the university has reached a certain high level of academic quality and makes it easier to attract good professors and students” (Interview with university professor, 7/24/05).

Similar with Project 211, the selection of universities that receive funding is pre-determined by the government. The process, as based on interviews, seems to be that the government will give a university some guidelines about how the university should reform, and then the university creates a proposal based on those guidelines. The proposal must be approved by the government. Each university and the MOE must come to an agreement about the use of the funding. For example, the funds at Beijing Normal University were used to improve international education, improve curriculum, improve teaching, and increase the number of publications produced by faculty. At Peking University, money was spent to improve facilities (this means buying books, computers, and other equipment for certain disciplines), to give bonuses to faculty members based on their research accomplishments, and to repair and improve buildings and facilities.

Each university that receives Project 985 funding has a different mission on how they should develop into a world-class or a well-known university. For example, professors reported

that Peking University will become a “world-class” university, while Beijing Normal University will become a “world-known” university. Although both Peking University and Beijing Normal University are under the administration of the Ministry of Education; the government is guiding Peking University to become a “world-class” university, and is guiding Beijing Normal Universities to become a “world-known” universities. Even the project itself does not specifically define these terms, but the meaning of the differences seems to be understood by university professors.

A professor at a university under the administration of the MOE reported:

Universities have individual targets—Tsinghua and Peking Universities have the mission to build world-class universities in maybe 20 to 25 years and they have specific targets. But universities like Beijing Normal University and Remin University cannot say their mission is to build a world-class university—they can just say world well known university...Beijing Normal is to build a comprehensive research oriented university with the characteristics of teacher education and a world-known university of high quality—but not first class—the government has some restrictions—you cannot say whatever you want. Different universities have different missions. (interview with professor, 7/24/05).

The MOE’s vision of how “world-class” and “world-known” universities indicates that the MOE is incorporating examples of universities from other countries and applies them to Chinese universities. An MOE document presents the definition of “world-class” university as “universities that are [world]-class should have some strong academic departments,” and list the following examples:

Cambridge is physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, economics; Harvard-economics, biology, physics, MIT-physics, computer science; Stanford-psychology and education; Berkeley-electronic engineering. And in China, some of the top universities also have strong academic department—Tsinghua University-computer science and architecture; Peking University-Chinese literature, history, philosophy and physics (interview with MOE official, 11/13/05).

The document also notes “70% of Nobel Prize achievement comes from [world]-class universities” (interview with MOE official, 11/13/05). Also, in these world-class universities, “students and faculty should publish in top journals like Nature and Science.” And in line with global logics identified for this study, these universities should produce knowledge for economic development. The document states:

[World]-class universities should do knowledge innovation. The university originates knowledge. Such universities should contribute to economic and social development—like Stanford contributing to Silicon Valley (interview with MOE official, 11/13/05).

The government policies and guidelines in the Project 985 and 211 indicate that the government specifies the global pressures to reduce funding to universities by encouraging universities to develop other sources of revenue. The government also specifies that universities should focus on research. The Ministry of Education specifies these pressures through national policy by determining which university should be allowed to develop to become like universities that are considered to be top in the world. In general, the policy reflects the global patterns of organizational change, such as emphasis on specific academic disciplines or employing a strong accountability system for funded project. However, to a large extent, how much universities will be exposed to these global pressures and whether or not they are given and allowed to pursue these directions are determined by the MOE.

MOE officials report that the government did not consult with international organizations to develop Project 211 and 985. Carriers of global pressure do not appear to be from international organizations, but through other sources such as the government actively seeking models of how universities should operate or through attending international conferences. However, the MOE uses international experts to monitor whether universities use funds

efficiently.

University collaboration with business and industry

A global pressure specified from the literature is that universities will develop partnerships with businesses and industry. The MOE has selected this global pressure and has codified it in the Higher Education Law to encourage universities to develop collaborations with “enterprises, institutions, societies and other social organizations in scientific research, technological development and extension” (Higher Education Law of the People's Republic of China – Article 35, 1998). Only Peking University reported collaboration with businesses and industry, but the form it takes is different than what is described in the literature, as will be discussed in the analysis of the different types of universities. Professors and administrators at other universities reported that China does not have a well-developed concept of private industry outside of the government, so not much collaboration takes place with private industry and business since large private industry and businesses are still developing in China.

Global pressures not selected by the Ministry of Education

The global pressure of “universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused (i.e. that work to obtain external research grants, facilitate technology transfers, raise funds from alumni, and facilitate collaboration with industry)” did not come up in interviews with MOE officials or in policy documents. I assume the Ministry of Education is not selecting or adapting this global pressure for universities in the form of policy at the time of collecting data for this study.

5.1.1.1 Summary of Governance/Organizational Restructuring of Higher Education - MOE

In summary of how the Ministry of Education selects and adapts global pressures associated with change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education, the MOE selects and adapts only some of the associated global pressures. For example, the MOE has selected and adapted global pressures for life-long learning, but not the global pressure that universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.

The global pressure that public funding from the government for universities is reduced and funding is allocated based on performance objectives was adapted in MOE policy. In the cases of Project 211 and Project 985, public funding is not reduced, but extra funding is given to universities and the MOE pushes universities to become more research oriented, to self-generate funding, and to develop into “world-class” or “world-known” universities. These university changes were not identified as global pressures in the literature, but are an extra step for Chinese universities to fully adapt global patterns of higher education identified in the literature, like professors and departments engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.

5.1.2 Accreditation and Quality Assurance

The literature suggests that there is a global pressure on governments to emphasize quality assurance and accreditation of higher education institutions. The expansion of higher education puts pressure on governments to assure quality through evaluating universities. Globally, as the number of students in higher education expands and the number of universities increases,

governments have taken responsibility to assure quality of universities through inspection. While higher education has expanded some in other countries, the number of the students in higher education in China has quadrupled from 1998 to 2004, from one million to four millions intakes. The increase of student population puts strong pressure on the government to pay attention to university quality of education. Most of the university quality assurance initiatives in China were developed by the government, but accreditation pressure also comes from internationalization of higher education, with bi-lateral agreements with other countries so Chinese students that studied overseas can transfer credits. The Chinese government has signed a joint compact with more than twenty countries. This requires the Chinese government to meet the quality requirements set by their counterparts and has influenced university quality measures in China to some extent (Interview with MOE official, 11/20/05).

Professors, university administrators and Ministry of Education officials described three main types of evaluations by the Chinese government: the State Education Commission (SEC) evaluating programs and universities on conferring degrees, an annual university inspection, and a relatively new inspection of teaching quality that provides positive incentives for universities.

One way the government assures quality of higher education is to decide which university programs and universities can confer degrees, based on the quality of the programs and universities. As reported in interviews, China does not have an official system of accreditation (Interview with MOE official, 11/20/05), but the MOE and State Education Commission (SEC) have responsibility for assessing the quality of universities and deciding which universities can officially confer degrees (Interview with university administrator, 8/18/05). Out of the 1000 minban (private) universities in China, only about 10 % can

officially confer a Bachelor's degree. Evaluation from the government for universities and programs to confer degrees puts pressures on programs and universities to create and maintain high levels of quality, since students will choose to attend programs and universities that can officially confer degrees (Interview with university administrator, 8/18/05). The evaluation by the SEC has created problems for private universities, since universities that confer Bachelor's degrees attract students and the initial investment costs by private universities to achieve levels of quality to pass the inspections are great.

In addition to program and university inspection to confer degrees, the MOE continues to evaluate universities and other higher education institutions periodically to assure that universities are meeting MOE standards. This type of evaluation has continued since the 1950s. The evaluation occurs every four to six years. The evaluation is largely an audit and checks such things as the number of professors that have degrees; existence of certain facilities, such as laboratories and dormitories; library resources and classroom size. Although the MOE has been placing more weight on inspecting quality, at this moment, input measurements largely determine whether a university can remain open. Every year a few institutions receive a warning and fewer universities are closed. The reason for closing a university is mostly about not meeting input criteria, such as not having basic teaching resources. The warning elicits public accountability because when this is advertised publicly, quality students will not choose universities that receive warnings.

Recently, there has been a shift in what the government views as important measurements for accrediting universities to "teaching quality for graduate and undergraduate education" (Interview with university administrator, 8/18/05). It was not clear from the interviews and

available documents what criteria are used for assessing quality teaching. In 2004 the Department of Higher Education started the Quality Project in Higher Education. This project uses money as an incentive for universities to improve quality of teaching. Universities are provided money if they meet with the quality specified by the MOE. This evaluation has two steps: regional evaluation and national evaluation. Peking University received the most awards among all universities to receive this award.

The literature rarely discusses what “quality” entails, although it discusses a global pressure to pursue quality assurance, but identifies a global pressure for the government to inspect universities to assure quality. Pressure on the government to assure quality of universities is sometimes linked to the recent rapid expansion of higher education (Hanna & Latchem, 2002; Bleiklie & Byrkjeflot, 2002). In the case of China, there is a strong emphasis on quality assurance by the government by putting more emphasis on “quality of teaching.” Previous evaluations by the MOE has focused more on the types and quality of facilities at universities and were more like audits, like assuring adequate library resources, classroom size, adequate dormitories to list a few. The MOE still uses the audit like evaluations and administrators reported that they take the evaluations very seriously, but the MOE has started to emphasize the evaluation of teaching.

5.1.3 Internationalization of Higher Education

The globalization literature indicates that there is an increase importance of international programs and activities at universities. The literature does not identify a global rationale for

internationalization; but various rationales for internationalizing universities include improving academic standards, income generation, cultural diversity, and student and staff development (Knight, 2004). Much of the globalization literature focuses on describing various programs rather than discussing the causes of the increase of international programs.

In the case of China, the Chinese government has played a strong role in the internationalization of universities. As noted in the review of literature, beginning in 1978, the Chinese government encouraged graduate students to study at foreign universities to benefit from the advanced training in other countries, and then to use their education to help China's technological, scientific and economic development. Since 1978 700,200 students have studied in foreign countries (Ministry of Education, 2005).

In 1992, the Communist Party of China promulgated guidelines to support students and scholars studying abroad and to encourage them to return to China after they completed their degrees. The guidelines guarantee Chinese students the freedom to enter and leave China as they wish, and gives incentives for students and scholars to return to China. Most of the incentives are in the form of funding for research or opportunities to teach and conduct research at top Chinese universities.

More recently, the government issued a law in 1998 that states that the MOE should encourage internationalization of higher education. According to Article 12 "The state encourages and shall support international exchange and cooperation in the cause of higher education" (Law on Higher Education in the People's Republic of China, 1998). The MOE provides funds to send Chinese scholars overseas and to bring foreign scholars to Chinese universities. At the same time, the MOE expects universities to take the initiative to create

various types of international programs on their campuses. However, the government checks any type of international program between Chinese universities and foreign universities, and the MOE retains the right to reject any type of international program at any university. It was not clear from my data what types of international programs would not be allowed, only that the Chinese government retains the right to reject any international program not fitting with the goals of Chinese higher education. The MOE rationale for encouraging internationalization at universities is to improve academic quality at universities and was expressed in multiple interviews, but was not found in official policy documents from the MOE.

According to MOE officials, no international organization encouraged the Chinese government to promote the internationalization of universities. It is not clear from my data where the idea to encourage internationalization of universities came from, but Article 12 of the Higher Education Law has encouraged universities to develop international programs. At some of the universities in this study, an increase in international programs and number of international students on campus coincides with the promulgation of the law in 1997.

While the MOE does not provide a lot of guidance for the exact types of international programs universities should pursue, the MOE does prohibit private universities from hosting international students. This policy differentiates the types of international programs permissible by type of university. For example, private universities cannot provide courses for international students, hence, private universities do not have international programs such as exchanging students with partner universities or inviting international students to study at their university.

5.1.4 Transnational Higher Education

The literature indicated the expansion of transnational higher education is driven by the need for expanding higher education more quickly than resources within the country allows on the one hand, and the opportunity for universities and private organizations to gain economically by providing higher education across national borders on the other (Jones, 2001). Transnational higher education in this study includes the following activities: any on-line distance education programs that span national boundaries, or any academic programs offered by a large corporation that involves crediting across national borders. In some countries, transnational higher education is justified because of the lack of national resources to provide education; hence governments allow foreign providers to provide education. Transnational higher education is viewed as a foreign education provider for those countries.

The literature provides implications of transnational higher education as decreasing a country's control over higher education and loss in the country's ability to assure the quality of education; however, the literature does not provide empirical evidence to support these claims. For example, Alderman (2001) claims that through transnational higher education, education becomes a commodity sold by a company overseas that overlooks the nation building aspect of higher education like the creation and preservation of culture, national identity, and national direction. Also, van der Wande (2003) argues that transnational higher education is culturally insensitive and governments lose control over higher education because of the definition of higher education as a "service" in World Trade Organization trade schedules. Governments must treat domestic and "higher education service providers" from other countries with the same

considerations (van der Wende, 2003).

The Chinese government permits a variation of transnational higher education which allows foreign groups to provide education within China and allows the Chinese government to maintain control over higher education within its national boundaries. Foreign organizations are legally permitted to enter China to provide education, but all education must be provided through a joint partnership with a Chinese organization or a Chinese school. These types of partnerships provide adult education, technical education and continuing education; types of education most often provided by private higher education in China. The stipulation of organizations providing education in China through partnership allows China to benefit from the expansion of higher education with resources from outside the country, but China remains firmly in control of education since the joint partnership schools must adhere to Chinese law and the Chinese government has the right to reject any joint-partnership it deems not fitting with the goals of Chinese higher education.

As for the on-line education, a company in an organization outside of China providing education over the internet to Chinese citizens, the Chinese government does not have laws to regulate this movement because the provider of the education is outside of China's jurisdiction. The Chinese government does not concern itself with this type of transnational education and MOE officials interviewed gave two main reasons. First, the MOE provides distance education and believes that its distance education is superior. Second, the MOE's distance education is officially recognized, and it is possible to earn a degree after completing the appropriate tests. Employers in China are legally obligated to recognize MOE distance education degrees, but do not recognize on-line education from other countries, thus decreasing the incentive of pursuing

distance education from other countries. Because of these reasons, according to an MOE official, Chinese citizens are not interested in distance education from foreign countries.

Contrary to the literature's argument that transnational higher education is a threat to government autonomy; the Chinese government does not view it as a threat. China is able to benefit from the expansion of adult technical and continuing education from foreign organizations, but controls this education through the stipulation that foreign organizations must partner with a Chinese organization and that all joint foreign-Chinese schools must follow Chinese laws. The Chinese government has the right to reject any joint-partnership it deems not fitting with the goals of Chinese higher education. The Chinese government is not concerned with on-line distance education since the Chinese government provides superior distance education that is officially recognized in China.

5.1.5 Summary

The Ministry of Education selected and adapted some of the global pressures and not others. Appendix E summarizes the selection and adaptation of global-pressures by the MOE into higher education policy. In summary of the global pressures, the MOE promotes life-long learning and the development of partnerships between universities and businesses. The MOE is pushing some universities to become research oriented and to self-generate funds through Project 211 and Project 985. The Ministry of Education has put increased emphasis on quality assurance. The MOE has encouraged universities to internationalize their campuses, but prohibits private universities from hosting or sending international students abroad. The MOE allows a form of

transnational higher education through joint foreign-Chinese schools. The Ministry of Education has not incorporated all global pressures identified in the literature into national policy. The Ministry of Education has not created policy related to universities developing academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.

Ministry of Education policy conforms to the global logics that a better educated work force is needed and more citizens need higher education through the expansion of public and private higher education as well as continuing education. The Chinese government has pushed selected universities to become research universities and knowledge producers through Project 211 and Project 985, which is in line with the global logics that knowledge, research and development are a key driver to economic growth and the university plays a more central role in economic growth.

5.2 GLOBALIZATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL – INDIVIDUAL UNIVERSITIES

Allomorphism assumes universities are exposed to the global pressures that come through international agencies, the world economy and national policies. Allomorphism assumes that universities respond differently to these pressures. In some cases, universities will receive different global pressures specified through international organizations and national policy. The analysis of how the MOE selects and adapts global pressures provides examples of how universities receive different globalization pressures from national policy. For example, Project 985 and Project 211 encouraged selected universities to become research oriented and to self-

generate revenue. Also, the MOE encourages internationalization at Chinese universities, but does not allow private universities to host international students or send students abroad. This influences how private universities internationalize their campuses.

I organize my findings by type of globalization pressure: (change in governance/organizational restructuring related to higher education globalization, accreditation and quality control, internationalization and transnational higher education) and I contrast the responses of different types of universities to global pressures. The sections of global pressures are broken down by type of universities: universities under the administration of the Ministry of Education (Peking University and Beijing Normal University), universities under the administration of other ministries (Central University for Nationalities and Foreign Affairs University), university under the Beijing provincial government (Beijing Education College and Capital Normal University) and private universities (Beijing Geely University and United Adult Workers University).

I present the profile of these universities in a separate table (see Appendix B), which provides the size of schools, which organization governs the university, when the university began, and a brief description of the focus of the university. I found these organizational contexts sometimes shape the differences among universities in their responses to global pressures. For example, the university model of each, the Soviet university model vs. French and German models, influences how early universities became research oriented. For a summary of each university's response to globalization pressure, see Appendix B.

I begin each of the four sections of globalization pressures with the definitions of globalization drawn from the literature (see Table 4.2). Similar to the findings for the Ministry

of Education, I include two levels of analysis. The first level describes what has happened at different types of Chinese universities as compared to the definitions of globalization pressures. The second level of analysis is to describe the global logics or global ideas about higher education that shape organization and practices at universities. I identified the logics from the globalization of higher education literature. I've included a cross-case analysis of universities in this section to make explicit how different universities select and adapt global pressures.

5.2.1 Overview of Findings

Allomorphism views organizations as having agency to select and adapt global pressures, thus creating variation, or Allomorphs of global patterns of higher education. My findings show that universities did not select and adapt the same global pressures. For example, Peking University selected the most global pressures, meaning the university's organization, structure and practice are becoming more like the global patterns identified in the literature than other universities in this study. Other universities, like Beijing Education College and the Foreign Affairs University, had selected and adapted few global pressures. These universities have largely retained the same organization, structure and practice. The type of university was not as important in how a university selects and adapts global pressures, but other factors, which are discussed in the cross-case analysis, proved to be more important. Factors identified in this study include Ministry of Education policy, length of time a university has had internationalization activities and pre-existing institutional structure.

Another finding is that pathways for the same globalization patterns are different for

different universities. Take for example universities becoming research oriented. Peking University and Beijing Normal University started to become research oriented universities prior to their selection into Project 211 and Project 985. These universities were influenced by the German and French models of higher education, which work as pre-existing institutions, and made it easier for them to become research oriented universities. Other universities like Central University of Nationalities and Capital Normal University didn't become research oriented until their selection into Project 211 and Project 985. The pathway for Peking University and Beijing Normal University, as will be discussed in the analysis is likely internationalization, while the pathway for Central University of Nationalities and Capital Normal University was national policy.

The global logics identified in this study were found associated with only some of the universities in this study. Changes in universities selected for Project 211 and Project 985 were in line with the global logics that knowledge is a key driver of economic growth, that the university plays a more central role in the economy. Universities in Project 211 and Project 985 are becoming research oriented and are expected to contribute to economic and technological development. The global logics that more citizens need higher education and a better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills were found in the mission of United Adult Workers University and Capital Normal University government initiated reform that the university should become a comprehensive university and contribute to the training needs, outside of teacher education, for the Beijing economy.

5.2.2 Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education

Global pressures from the literature associated with change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education include:

- Universities provide life-long learning.
- Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.
- The government reduces public funding to universities. The government influences universities by allocating government funds based on performance objectives established by the government, forcing universities to comply with government accountability.
- Universities have academic department spanning offices that are externally focused (i.e. work to obtain external research grants, facilitate technology transfers, raise funds from alumni, facilitate collaboration with industry).
- Faculty members and academic departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.

This organizational restructuring reflects the following ideas, or global logics about the role of university:

- a) A globally competitive national economy requires a better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills (Hanna & Latchem, 2002).
- b) Because of economic globalization, more citizens need higher education (called “massification of higher education”) for the country to remain internationally competitive (Bleiklie & Byrkjeflot, 2002).
- c) Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central

role in the economy by educating a larger percentage of the population for the knowledge economy and through producing knowledge relevant to the economy (Peters, 2003).

- d) Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth (Peters, 2003).

5.2.2.1 Overview of findings – Change in Governance Organizational Restructuring

The data show that different universities select and adapt global pressures related to change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education in different ways. An example is how universities select and adapt the global pressures of life-long learning. Beijing Normal University provides life-long learning on campus, but it is administered through the Ministry of Education. Capital Normal University provides life-long learning in Beijing over the internet as a means of generating funding to satisfy the self-generating revenue requirement of the Beijing municipal Project 211. The Capital Workers University provides life-long learning, because it is the mission of the university.

Some universities select and adapt more global pressures than others. For example, Peking University was the most globalized university in this study. It had adapted the most global pressures associated with change in governance/organizational restructuring. Other universities were not influenced much by global pressure associated with change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education. For example, Beijing Education College and the Foreign Affairs University had not selected or adapted any global pressures. Beijing Geely and United Adult Workers University had selected and adapted one global pressure each. Universities in Project 211 and Project 985, were encouraged by the Chinese

government to become research oriented and to self-generate funds, which pushed them in the direction of the global pressure that professors and departments engaged in research and other projects that generate funding for the university.

5.2.2.2 Universities under the Ministry of Education

Two universities, Peking University and Beijing Normal University, have more than a century of history and are under the administration of the Ministry of Education. They are among 45 universities run by MOE and considered to be prestigious universities because of their long history and students that score at the top of the national examination go these universities. These universities have changed organizational structures that reflects global trends of organizational change, however, the MOE has control over the extent to which they become similar to universities overseas. In contrast with universities run by the municipal government and other ministries, these two universities have large funding sources other than from the government. They receive funding from research projects and university enterprises, while other public universities rely heavily on funding from the government.

Peking University

During the 1980s the Chinese government began to encourage universities to develop ways to generate revenues for the university outside state allocations to universities. Peking University, as other universities, owned factories and farms since the 1950s, primarily for instructional purposes and for students to conduct experiments; but in the late 1980s, Peking University

started to use the factories to generate income. From these factories, Peking University currently has four company groups, the largest is called the Founder Group. One administrator estimated that the Founder Group earns about 25 billion Yuan per year.

Seemingly unique to Peking University, since this did not come up in interviews at other universities, during the 1990s professors in the university started to establish their own companies as a means of making money for themselves. The university leadership felt that the companies were distracting professors from their primary responsibilities of teaching and conducting research, and were degrading the academic quality at the university. University leadership stepped in, took over the most profitable companies and put an end to all professor owned companies. Professors are able to develop a company if they wish, but they must first resign from the position of professor.

Peking University has developed partnerships with business and industry, although the development of some of the partnerships is different from what is described in the literature. In the literature, universities actively seek out partnerships with business and industry (Clark, 1998). This is the case at Peking University too, but Peking University has also cultivated factories and businesses that have been part of the university since the 1950s and faculty developed businesses in the 1990s. In fact, recently, Peking University sold some stock in some of its companies to external shareholders to help distribute the risk of running large corporations.

Faculty members identified multi-disciplinary research centers on campus, but they were not sure when they had started, except to say they had started in the last 15 years. Peking University, traditionally known for strength in the humanities and arts, has recently been emphasizing technology and technology development. The university's emphasis on technology

development conforms to the global logics that knowledge is a key driver of economic growth. One Peking University professor explained that because the nation has put emphasis on technology development, Peking University has focused on the development of technology, to the extent that Peking University has an office called the National Technology Imparting Research Development Office (literal translation), which helps to impart technology developed at Peking University into businesses. Sometimes governments from Chinese cities or provinces will fund or co-fund technology projects with Peking University. Peking University professors reported having cooperative projects with companies from around the world that generate revenue for the university.

Peking University was one of the first universities accepted into Project 211 and Project 985. It was accepted into Project 211 in 1995 and Project 985 in 1998. The government assigns Peking University to be “world-class” university. According to an MOE official, Peking University is supposed to become a world-class university like Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard or Stanford. This seems to be accelerating the movement for more emphasis on research. Professors report that faculty members are pressed to do more research. Project 985 at Peking University allocated a monetary bonus to the faculty, so, outstanding faculty could receive money in addition to the uniform salary that comes from the government. Prior to the bonus from Project 985, professors received uniform salaries based on their position and years of experience. The bonus is to encourage faculty to “become more outstanding” and encourage faculty to conduct more research and publish more. Similar to other universities in Project 211 and Project 985, financial compensation and promotion of professors are increasingly linked to a quality and quantity of research.

Professors reported growth in the number of research centers at the university. This is partly because it is easier to establish a research center than it is to establish new programs that involve instruction. The MOE has more control over setting up programs that involve teaching rather than research centers, which promotes setting up research centers at Peking University. When asked, professors and administrators at other universities were not aware of anything similar occurring at their university.

Peking University's revenue source is more diversified than other schools. 30% comes from the government, 20% comes from tuition and fees, 20% comes from research projects, and 30% comes from university run enterprises. While university generated revenue started in other universities around the time they received 985 or 211 funding; Peking University started earlier, during the 1980s.

Out of all universities in this study, Peking University's organization and practice was the most similar to the description of global pressures from the literature. Funding from the government to Peking University is the least of all universities in the proportion of funding from the government compared to overall funding. This is because Peking University has actively developed alternative channels of funding, and it started earlier than other universities. Although Peking University does not provide life-long learning, the university has developed partnerships with business and industry, has academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused, and professors and departments work on research and projects that bring in funding for the university.

Beijing Normal University

Similar to Peking University, Beijing Normal University was in the first group to receive funding from Project 211. The designation of being a university selected in the first group of Project 211 is prestigious. Professors at Beijing Normal University explained that being in the first group meant the university had a high level of academic quality. It received funding from the national government and the Beijing municipal government to become a “globally influential university.”

Project 985 requires Beijing Normal University to become a “world-known” university. The MOE provides a general description of what “world-class” university means, and professors interpret Beijing Normal University should have the characteristics of the universities that are not “world-class,” but “world-known.” An example of a “world-known” university given by a professor was the University of Michigan. To become “world-known,” Beijing Normal University is building a comprehensive research oriented university with characteristics of teacher education, a specification that comes from the government. The funds from Project 211 and 985 are used to recruit more degree holders from overseas universities, improve quality of teaching, “Americanize” the curriculum, have more full professors provide classes to undergraduates and improve teaching facilities.

Beijing Normal University has incorporated more global pressures into its organization and practice than the other universities, but less than Peking University. This seems to stem from the fact that Beijing Normal University has traditionally been a teachers college and the inclusion of “having characteristics of teacher education” in its goal for Project 985 limits some of the global pressures that Beijing Normal University can incorporate. For example, Beijing

Normal University has not developed collaboration with business and industry. Although Beijing Normal University is a top research university, its emphasis on education and psychology limits potential collaboration with business and industry, which are more interested in science and technology research. Also, Beijing Normal University apparently did not have factories connected to it during the 1950s. Beijing Normal University has not developed corporations and businesses from pre-existing factories as Peking University has, although it does generate revenue from renting properties.

Similar to Peking University, Beijing Normal University has diversified revenue sources: 53% comes from the government, and 47 % comes from university raised revenue (25% from tuition, 5% from research income and 17% from management income such as renting university owned property). It was not clear from interviews or documents when the university began collecting tuition and generating income from conducting research or renting property. Beijing Normal University has life-long learning programs on campus that are administered by the MOE.

5.2.2.3 Universities under other Ministries

Central ministries have universities and colleges that provide the ministries' required education and training programs, done according to prescribed principles and development plans. The Central University of Nationalities was founded in 1951 by the Department of Minorities (Nationalities) which deals with the fifty-five ethnic minorities in China and is responsible for providing education for them. The Foreign Affairs University is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education. It was originally founded in 1955 to educate students for foreign services. Although these universities have specific missions and funding

sources, there is a strong contrast between these two universities in the change of organizational structure. The Central University of Nationalities, which has received funding from Project 211 and Project 985, has adopted more globalization pressures, similar to other universities that are in the projects – focus on research and self-generation of funds. The Foreign Affairs University which hasn't received project funding continues to retain its organizational structures and practices.

Central University of Nationalities

In 2001 the Central University of Nationalities was assigned the goal by the MOE to develop into a top-tier university in the world for ethnic education. In 2002, the State Ethnic Commission, the MOE and the Beijing municipal government signed a collaborative agreement on jointly constructing the Central University of Nationalities. According to interviews with professors, the agreement made by these three groups put pressure on the Department of Minorities to pay more attention to the university and allocated more money to the university.

The Central University of Nationalities was selected into Project 211 in 1999, which was not discussed much in interviews. The university was selected into Project 985 in 2004, which brought changes. According to one professor, inclusion of Project 985 has meant that the university is supposed to internationalize its campus and the university has recruited Chinese scholars who received their graduate education at top universities in the United States and Europe.

A guideline that came with Project 985 funding is the university has to put an emphasis on research. In response to this requirement, the university has focused resources on a new

biology department, and math and physics despite the university's original humanities focus. The university started to receive competitive research funding from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Science and Technology, the National Natural Science Foundation and the local government. Funding from Project 985 in 2004 and Project 211 in 1999 are intended to upgrade teaching, staff, management and to turn the university into a research university. The university began collecting student tuition prior to the university receiving funding from Project 985. No other global pressures of change in governance/organizational restructuring like providing life-long learning, developing partnerships with business and industry, and academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused were identified.

Foreign Affairs University

The Foreign Affairs University is not a part of Project 985 nor Project 211. Although the university started a committee of trustees that raises money, the committee has not yet been set up. The primary source of funding comes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education. It collects tuition, donations and contributions. There are no changes in the focus of the university, such as providing more resources to hard sciences departments, as observed at the Central University of Nationalities. The focus of university has remained on preparing students for foreign service, international studies, and international business and law. None of the global pressures identified with change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education were identified.

5.2.2.4 Universities under the Municipal Government

Similar to universities under the authority to central ministries, one university under the Beijing municipal government receives special funding and the other does not. Capital Normal University receives funding from the Beijing municipal Project 211 which influences the organizational structure and practices of the university. Capital Normal University has become research focused and is encouraged to self-generate revenue. Beijing Education College is not part of the Beijing municipal Project 211 and hasn't changed organizational structure and practice.

Capital Normal University

Capital Normal University was selected into the Beijing municipal Project 211 in 2000. This project is providing funding to the university with similar guidelines to Project 211. Selection in the Beijing municipal Project 211 has encouraged the university to emphasize research. Revenue generating activities started around 1998 in this university, but it was not clear if revenue generation was a pre-requirement for inclusion of Beijing municipal Project 211, or if Capital Normal University began revenue-generating activities independently. It was not clear from interviews and documents if the Beijing municipal Project 211 provides funds to certain academic disciplines, as does the national Project 211. Descriptions of projects of the Beijing municipal Project 211 appeared to provide more general improvements for the university, like buying new computers and office furniture, or improving classrooms.

Since Capital Normal University has traditionally been a teachers college, in response to the requirement of Beijing municipal Project 211 that the university start income generating

activities, the university has recently started to provide services to experimental schools and providing teacher training in remote areas, such as Zhejiang and Anhui.

Interviews clearly indicated that the university shifted its emphasis from teaching to research around the year 2000. The university assessment of professors now emphasizes research and publication. Research and publication became key to professional advancement, beginning in 2000, and teaching is not as important. The salary scale for professors also changed in 2000. While professors were paid on the salary scale that was based on years of experience, degree, and academic ranking, the new scale also considers the quality and quantity of the professor's own research as well as the quality and quantity of the research from the professor's department. Capital Normal University provides on-line education. People in the Beijing area can log on a website and view classes being taught over the internet for a small fee. The Capital Normal University began this service in response to the requirement from the Beijing municipal Project 211 that the university begins to self-generate funds.

Professors reported that the change in mission for the university came from the Beijing Government. Capital Normal University was producing enough teachers, so the Beijing Government changed the mission of the university to become more research oriented and more comprehensive, adding areas that were needed for the Beijing work force. As Capital Normal University expands its mission from teacher education to providing education for the Beijing economy, the shift is a reflection of the change of ideas about the role of education to contribute to economic growth. In the case of Capital Normal University, the Beijing Government decided that the university was able to produce a sufficient number of teachers for Beijing, but that training in other areas were needed to contribute to the Beijing economy.

Beijing Educational College

Beijing Educational College did not report organizational changes as happened in Capital Normal University. While both universities are under the Beijing municipal government, and while the Beijing municipal government recently doubled the budget to improve teaching quality in Beijing, Beijing Educational College did not receive Beijing municipal Project 211 funding. Although Beijing Educational College has a research office, which was established during the 1950s, funding from research is less than 0.3 % of total revenue. The university did not have changes in the sources of revenue, nor did it have any change in department composition or emphasis of professor's work. No changes in organizational structure or practice were identified.

5.2.2.5 Private Universities

Although private universities do not receive funds from the government, the Ministry of Education is responsible for inspecting the quality of private universities as degree offering institutions. Although there are about 1000 private higher education institutions, less than 10% of the universities can officially offer a Bachelor's degree. This has created problems for private universities, since universities that cannot confer a Bachelor's degree have trouble attracting students.

I studied two different types of private universities. United Adult Workers University offers an Associate's degree and Beijing Geely University offers a Bachelor's degree. These universities receive funding from private sources, and their organizational change indicates that they are responding to the pressures that come from the market rather than guidance from the

government. The pressures they receive and the change of organizational structures of these universities indicate that they incorporate pressures that come from economic structures, such as the feedback from industry and satisfaction of students (i.e., customers). These universities were established recently in response to the increased demand for higher education institutions by students and corporations.

United Adult Workers University

Established in 1988, the United Adult Workers University offers classes on Thursday evenings and weekends and offers an Associate's degree. Funding for this university comes from loans, donations, investments and student tuition. The university aligns education with skills students will need in the work place once they graduate, and producing research knowledge is not the focus of the university. This goal has not changed since the university was established. School officials see the reputation of job placement of students as important for attracting good students. To do so, the university requires professors to provide and develop curriculum and instruction that are in-line with job requirements. The United Adult Workers University has not adopted any of the organizational restructuring and practices identified in the globalization literature, but the goal of the university reflects the global idea that a better educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills, and more citizens need higher education for a country to be globally competitive.

Beijing Geely University

Established in 2000, Beijing Geely University can officially confer Bachelor's degrees. Funding

for the university comes from corporations, loans and student fees. The university was founded by the Chinese automobile manufacturer, the Geely Holding Group, to provide education to the students who did not score high enough on the College Entrance Exam to get into a public university. The university aligns with global pressure, not through the government line, because they do not receive funding, but through the demands from business and industry.

An administrator explained how Beijing Geely is unique from traditional Chinese universities. The system of education is based on a system called 3:1:1, apparently developed by the university's president. The 3 stands for three areas of practical education needed for China's economy: Chinese language, practical computer skills, and English language skills. The first 1 represents personality-based education, or education that fits with the job the student is prepared to do after graduation. The second 1 is for Marx's Philosophy and Deng XiaoPing Philosophy. The curriculum emphasizes providing practical experiences and it requires two years of study on campus and two years of internships where students receive practical training.

The evaluation of student performance at Beijing Geely differs from public (traditional) universities, which have stressed doing well on tests that require memorization. Beijing Geely allows students to take open-book exams, where student can have their book with them. The tests require the student to apply their knowledge creatively which, the university staff believes, is more in-line with what students will need to do in the work place, rather than memorizing facts. The evaluation of students is in-line with the universities educational philosophy that stresses real life situations.

The university officials view the education at Beijing Geely as more in-line with international standards of higher education than public Chinese universities. The practical

education of the university is legitimated by professors and administrators as being more like American and British education than traditional Chinese education. While the Chinese government requires some of the public universities to develop into world-class universities and research universities through Project 211 and Project 985, the model of world-class universities and research universities are top universities in the United States and Europe. Beijing Geely University looks to the United States and Europe for its model of higher education too, but Beijing Geely, as a private university, is unable to compete with public universities for top quality students, so its model of education stresses practical education that is well aligned with the needs of the economy and student job placement.

5.2.2.6 Summary of findings related to organizational restructuring

Universities selected and adapted global pressures associated with change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education in different ways for different reasons. For example, universities select and adapt the global pressures of life-long learning in different ways. Beijing Normal University provides life-long learning on campus, but it is administered through the Ministry of Education. Capital Normal University provides life-long learning in Beijing over the internet as a means of generating funding to satisfy self-generating revenue requirement of the Beijing municipal Project 211. The Capital Workers University provides life-long learning, because it is the mission of the university.

Different universities select and adapt different globalization pressures associated with organization restructuring. Some universities select and adapt more global pressures than others. The universities in Project 211 and Project 985, which included Peking University, Beijing

Normal University, Capital Normal University and Central University of Nationalities were encouraged by the Chinese government to become research oriented and to self-generate funds, which pushed them in the direction of the global pressure for professors and departments to engage in research and other projects that generate funding for the university. Other universities, not in Project 211 and Project 985, have not selected or adapted these global pressures. Some universities, like Beijing Education College and Foreign Affairs University, did not select or adapt any of the global pressures associated with change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education.

5.2.3 Quality Assurance, Accreditation

The literature indicated that the government is taking an increased role in assuring quality of universities. The government continues an audit-like inspection of universities every 4 to 6 years that evaluates the quality of facilities. For example, the government will check the adequacy of campus libraries, laboratories, dormitories and the size of classrooms. A newer government evaluation is the inspection of teaching quality at universities. Hence the universities are receiving pressure of assuring quality not only for the input, but also the teaching quality.

In response to these pressures, besides aligning to the government evaluations, universities have developed their own evaluations to assure quality in addition to prior forms of quality assurance at the universities. In most cases, new forms of quality assurance reflect the university's own efforts at developing a new system of quality assurance. However, there are variances in the aspects the universities view as important for quality, meaning the professors

and administrators at different universities hold different levels of importance on different aspects of their university's mission. This section describes the internal evaluations of each university and the global pressures that have influenced them.

5.2.3.1 Universities under the Ministry of Education

Professors and administrators at Peking University and Beijing Normal University expressed different ideas about university evaluations. Professors at Peking University said the university has internal evaluations, but said that quality is maintained through high achieving students studying at Peking University. The highest scoring students on the National Entrance Exam choose to study at Peking University. Beijing Normal University professors reported internal evaluations of teaching quality and a new faculty tenure evaluation.

Peking University

Professors noted that having top students at the university assured quality and maintained Peking University as a top university. Professors and administrators at Peking University were surprisingly vague about other issues of quality assurance at their university. The evaluation and inspection of teaching and professors was not as important as at other universities. The quality of teaching and professors is also assumed to be high and not discussed. This reflects the idea that Peking University is the top and most prestigious university in China. The MOE evaluation of inputs such as number of classrooms do not seem to be viewed as important, which may derive from the fact that Peking university already has passed these standards.

Professors mentioned that internal evaluations are conducted by the university, but didn't

go into much detail. Rather, professors discussed how the best students in China attend Peking University. Admission to public schools is controlled by the government based on a student's scores on the College Entrance Exam. A student's score of the test determines where the student can go to university, and top-scoring students go to Peking University.

Beijing Normal University

Besides the MOE evaluation, which includes inputs (basic facility, teaching facility), Beijing Normal University developed its own faculty evaluation. Prior to the late 1990s, the university didn't have a method of officially evaluating faculty members for tenure. According to an administrator, the old system of tenure was not based on a systematic review of accomplishments; "you just take the [faculty] position and do whatever you like. You need not publish any papers maybe...at least you think, well, I'm okay" (interview with university administrator – 7/22/05). But now all faculty members must apply for a faculty position and they are graded every few years on three specific areas. The first area is research and publications. This includes the quality and quantity of a professor's research as well as the professor's ability to obtain research funds. The evaluation considers the number of papers a professor has published and the quality of journals in which they were published. The second area is the quality of the professor's teaching. The third area is community service. The university has not yet developed a good definition and criteria for service. The university included the category since universities in the United States use service as a criterion for tenure.

Beijing Normal University also has a teaching evaluation by students. If a professor's class instruction is rated low by students, the professor must go to a university center to receive

instruction on how to improve their teaching. The center has been in existence since 2003.

The university views quality assurance as improving teaching quality and faculty productivity. This is reflected in the internal evaluations as well as faculty compensation. Faculty salary at Beijing Normal University now also considers the number of publications and the quality of journals in which a professor publishes. Faculty salary based on publication and research is supposed to improve the overall academic quality at the university.

5.2.3.2 Universities under other Ministries

Both universities have internal evaluations that focus on teaching quality. The evaluations have not changed since the 1950s. Neither university has developed a system to evaluate professors' research and publication as Beijing Normal University and Capital Normal University have.

Central University of Nationalities

The Central University of Nationalities has an internal evaluation system which has existed since the 1950s. The university has an office which is responsible for internal evaluations. The main focus of the evaluation is quality of teaching. The evaluation office organizes evaluators to attend classes and evaluate teaching. The evaluators used are most often senior professors, administrators and sometimes accomplished professors from other universities. The university also has student evaluations of teaching at the end of each term and just after students graduate. In the latter evaluation, students evaluate all classes they took at the Central University of Nationalities. The results of the evaluation are used to make adjustments to teaching within departments.

I did not find any tangible effects on the university internal evaluation system based on its inclusion into Project 211 and Project 985. Evaluations at the Central University of Nationalities continue to focus on teaching, as they have since the 1950s.

Foreign Affairs University

The Foreign Affairs University has an internal system of evaluation that has existed since 1955. The evaluation focuses on the inspection of professors' credentials and teaching. Various university committees evaluate teaching qualifications. Professors' teaching is evaluated by students. If a professor receives a low teaching evaluation, the professor is informed that they must improve their teaching.

5.2.3.3 Universities under Municipal Government

The universities under the administration of the Beijing municipal government reported evaluations by the Beijing municipal Ministry of Education as well as the national Ministry of Education. The Beijing Education College evaluates quality through written reports from different departments and through program evaluation of funded projects at the college, which seems to have been in place since the beginning of the university. Capital Normal University evaluates teaching and has developed a new system of faculty evaluation that focuses on research and publication.

Capital Normal University

At Capital Normal University students evaluate teaching. This evaluation is used by the

university to determine the quality of the teaching at the university and to make decisions about which professors will teach what classes. Recently, the student evaluations of teaching were put on the internet, which puts pressure on professors to maintain high quality teaching. In addition to student evaluations, sometimes other professors will sit in a class to evaluate teaching.

A new evaluation similar to the evaluation of professors at Beijing Normal University was added around 1996 or 1997. The focus of the evaluation is a professor's publication and research. Since research and publication have become important for career advancement, professors now spend more time and effort on research than teaching. This seems to have been one of the causes of Capital Normal University shifting from a teaching university to a research university.

I could not get information about the factors that made the university shift the focus of evaluation to professors' research and publication. My interviewees were almost all professors, rather than administrators. These professors were aware of the change of criteria for evaluating professors, and how it affected them and their university; however, they did not know why this change happened and from where the university learned these new ways of evaluation.

Beijing Education College

Besides external evaluations by the national Ministry of Education and the Beijing Ministry of Education, the Beijing Education College has internal evaluations that differ from other universities. Several years ago, Beijing Education College noticed that the opinions of the government, society, and teachers and principals who attended classes at Beijing Education College mattered. The university developed an evaluation system where different departments

submit reports on how the department is managed. This report is distributed within the university and presented to inspecting Beijing Ministry of Education officials when they visit the university for a yearly inspection. Contrary to Capital Normal University, faculty publication is not evaluated. Although the university has an office of research, which manages all the research programs at the university and encourages faculty to engage in research; doing research is not important to faculty evaluation.

5.2.3.4 Private Universities

The government issued laws in 1985 and 2003 regarding private higher education. These laws were intended to promote private higher education. The law in 1985 merely mentions that education provided by society (minban) schools, outside of the existing state education system, is permissible. The law passed in 2003 codified some of the rules and regulations surrounding private education.

The government has a department that conducts evaluations of private universities. This is supported by Article 40 in the Private Education Law:

Article 40: the education administrative departments and other related departments should, according to law, supervise non-governmental schools to improve school quality. They should organize or entrust social intermediary organizations to evaluate school level and quality, and announce the evaluation results to the public (Law on the Promotion of Non-government Education in China, 2003).

According to interviews, the evaluation measures include teaching quality, curriculum, payments, equipment (i.e. quality of laboratory facilities) and size of classroom. As the government evaluations are made public and determine whether a private university is to continue to serve as a diploma offering institution, the universities take these evaluations

seriously. Besides government evaluation, private universities have their own evaluation system to maintain quality, which reflects what they perceive as important for a quality university.

United Adult Workers University

Besides the government's evaluation, not much data were collected on the internal evaluation of the United Adult Workers University. An administrator emphasized that the school reputation is very important. If the school has a bad reputation, it will not attract students and will not survive. Attention is placed at the university on quality of teaching, although it was not explained how teaching quality is evaluated at the university.

Beijing Geely University

Besides the MOE's evaluation, the university has the following internal evaluation system to maintain quality. First, the university requires a minimum of a Master's Degree and working experience from the professors, because the university views that professors should be able to teach knowledge that is grounded in real work situations. Second, the university invites companies to provide professional development for professors. Through seminars and short-term classes by companies during the summer, the professors learn new trends and updated knowledge in their field. Third, the university shapes their courses based on the feedback from companies. These feedback sessions are held at least once a year and the university is quick to change curriculum based on the feedback. The university views these measures as ways to make their education focused on practical skills and shapes the curriculum to reflect the most recent developments in business and industry. The university views quality as the usability of learning

when students go into the work force.

The university views the MOE evaluations as important because passing the evaluations and being granted permission to confer Bachelor's degrees attracts more students to the university. However, aligning with MOE requirement sometimes conflicts with the university's practice and what the university views as important for assuring the quality. The MOE assigns some textbooks and the university found that these textbooks are sometimes outdated. Textbooks and other teaching materials appointed by the MOE create gaps between teaching materials and what the university views as quality. The university receives the globalization pressure from both the economy and the MOE, however, Beijing Geely University views complying with the pressure from the economy as the way to survive. Quality assurance based on company feedback reflects pressure from the economy.

5.2.4 Internationalization

The literature suggests the increase of international education programs at universities is a global pattern, although the literature does not present a common rationale for internationalization. Rather, the literature on this topic tends to describe various programs (see Table 4.3). In the case of Chinese universities, whether they could have international programs or not, especially whether they can host international students, is regulated by the government. Public universities are encouraged to develop international partnerships and exchanges on their own within the regulations of the state, but private universities have prohibitions against student exchanges. Furthermore, universities are different in the degree of the frequency of having international

exposure, partly based on the ability of professors' English language proficiency and availability of funding. A commonality among universities is the view that internationalization provides beneficial experiences and knowledge to improve the quality of universities because it provides professors, administrators and students with advanced knowledge from universities in developed Western country.

5.2.4.1 Universities under the Ministry of Education

Peking University and Beijing Normal University increased the number of international students and international programs earlier than other universities. These are the only two universities that discussed plans to open branch campus at universities overseas among the universities I studied.

Peking University

A focus for Peking University during the past decade has been to internationalize their faculty by hiring Chinese scholars who studied at top foreign universities. For example, all the faculty members in the department of Economic of Education, where I was hosted for my research, were reported to have had experience at top universities in the United States. In this way, professors and administrators believe Peking University will increase scholarship and academic standards at the university. The university also encourages schools and departments to invite well-known scholars to campus for a year by providing funding. For example, the Graduate School of Education can invite one top professor from Japan, the United States or France to come and teach, and the university will pay the professor's salary. Without university funding, the

Graduate School of Education would not be able to afford a professor who receives a salary comparable to what they would receive in their home country.

Student exchanges have played an important role in internationalizing Peking University, since at least the late 1980s. Departments, schools, and the university have the authority to develop international student exchanges. For example, the Graduate School of Education has an arrangement with the University of Pennsylvania so that their Ph.D. students study for the first several years at Peking University and they continue their study at the University of Pennsylvania for a few years to complete their degree. As noted by a Peking University administrator, despite developing international programs with universities in the United States, currently most of the international students studying at Peking University are from South Korea. This was not always the case “in 1989 there were a lot of foreigners from the United States, Europe, and Japan at Peking University. But now most of the students are from South Korea, and American students are much less” (Interview – PU administrator 11/17/05). A majority of South Korean students are self-paying students and study Chinese history, culture, or language.

The MOE has encouraged universities to open branch campuses. The idea of opening branch campuses in other countries has been discussed at Peking University. Presently, Peking University has not opened any branch campuses in other countries, although universities have opened branch campuses at Peking University (for example, University of California system in 2005, Berkeley in 2006, Cornell University in 2007). Faculty members hold the belief that opening branch campuses in other countries is very expensive and the university doesn't have adequate financial resources. They want to focus on quality education at Peking University in China.

Beijing Normal University

Similar to other universities in China, Beijing Normal University professors and administrators believed that internationalizing Beijing Normal University will improve the academic quality of the university. As noted by a Beijing Normal University administrator, Beijing Normal University is pushing hard to internationalize their campus, but they don't want to push too hard. They consider how United States universities like Harvard, Princeton and Yale have internationalized their campuses. Their understanding is that top universities in the United States don't make internationalization a top priority; their priority is academic strength and internationalization can add to that strength. The administrator noted that Beijing Normal University follows the example of prestigious universities in the United States

Beijing Normal University has formal agreements with several universities since the early 1990s to have Chinese language training programs on campus, including: Princeton, the University of California, the United States Department of Defense language school, Rome University and Waseda University in Japan. The programs provide Chinese language instruction to international students at the Beijing Normal University campus, but operate separately from the university.

Beijing Normal University would like to increase the number of international students studying on campus from currently less than 10% of the whole student population to more than 15%. One professor noted that if they can accomplish this goal, they will not need to internationalize the curriculum. Beijing Normal University is also encouraging their students to study abroad. Within five years, they would like 30% of their students to have some type of

international experience while studying at Beijing Normal University.

Beijing Normal University is encouraging faculty to go abroad to international conferences, conduct joint research programs and apply for international projects. Beijing Normal University has extra funding to which faculty can apply to go abroad. The university encourages faculty to teach abroad and would like to increase the number of high quality international professors for long-term and short-term visits to Beijing Normal University to about four hundred a year. Another strategy, which seemed unique to Beijing Normal University, was to encourage university administrators to visit universities (primarily the United States) and “shadow train” (follow around university administrators of a similar position to ones own) for one to three weeks and to reflect on their work in China. As practiced by Peking University for years, Beijing Normal University is beginning to recruit Chinese scholars who studied at top foreign universities, which is encouraged by Project 985.

Also, unique to Beijing Normal University, the university has opened a branch campus to teach Chinese in Singapore and signed an agreement to open another Chinese language education center called a Confucius School at the University of Manchester in England. An administrator explained that more branch campuses have been built in China by universities and organizations from the other counties than China has in other countries. In the view of a Beijing Normal University professor, this, in a way, creates an education trade deficient in which China should do more to provide education in other countries. To address the education trade deficit, the Chinese government is encouraging universities to open branch campuses in other countries, and this is why Beijing Normal University is opening branch campuses.

5.2.4.2 Universities under other Ministries

Both the Central University of Nationalities and Foreign Affairs University have recently increased the international programs and number of foreign students who study at the universities. Government Project 211 and 985 accelerated this movement at the Central University of Nationalities, but this does not seem to be the sole factor. The “Higher Education Law” promulgated in 1997 and passed into law in 1998 has provisions that encourage universities to develop joint partnerships with universities and organizations in other countries. Internationalization is happening regardless of whether the university has funds or not.

Central University of Nationalities

The Central University of Nationalities has hosted international students for short-term study since the late 1980s. The university recently began attracting self-financed students who take regular classes. Most of these students are from South Korea or Japan. Also, the Bureau of Foreign Experts in the MOE allocates foreign scholars to the university. Each year they give the campus a quota of two or three foreign scholars. The scholars usually study a minority language for a semester or a year. There are no permanent foreign professor teaching positions yet. At Central University of Nationalities, the Fulbright scholarship was the only mentioned source for professors to conduct research overseas. Usually one or two professors receive a Fulbright scholarship each year to conduct research abroad. The university does not provide funding for professors to conduct research overseas.

Project 985 for Central University of Nationalities has encouraged university departments to recruit Chinese scholars who received a Ph.D. in Western developed countries. The MOE has

an indicator that shows the level of school quality that includes the number of faculty with foreign Ph.Ds. Having more faculty members with a foreign Ph.D. increases the university's standing. The professor believed that the ranking was important, since a high ranking means the university is able to attract high quality faculty and students and makes it easier for the university to attract research funds.

Foreign Affairs University

In 1998 the Foreign Affairs University began construction on an International Exchange Center, which was completed in 2000. The Exchange Center is where international faculty and students stay during their visit to the university. Prior to the Exchange Center, the university had few international faculty or international students. The university currently invites about twenty foreign scholars to teach; most come from the United States. It also invites diplomats from other regions like Africa, Latin America and South Asia to campus so that students have the opportunity to talk with and learn from them. The number of international students recently increased. Five years ago the university had only one or two international students, however, international students now make up 10 % of the student population (about 100 students). Most of the self-funded international students come from Asian countries like Mongolia, South Korea and Japan.

5.2.4.3 Universities under the Municipal Government

Both universities recently increased their spending on international programs. They increased the number of programs to send students and professors abroad, especially to the United States,

Japan and European countries. Same with other types of universities, both universities view these international programs as beneficial for improving teaching skills, but professors at Capital Normal University also include the rationales for professors to learn research techniques from developed countries and bring back teaching materials. International programs are viewed as a way for professors and universities to acquire knowledge from overseas.

Capital Normal University

The university recently began investing more funds for improving international exchange programs. The focus of internationalization efforts at Capital Normal University is on faculty going abroad to research or teach. Motivation among faculty members interviewed at Capital Normal University to go abroad is to benefit from advanced knowledge from the United States, Japan and Western Europe. Faculty members learn from conducting research abroad and they bring back materials to be used in their classes to teach their students. Professors that go abroad develop relationships at foreign universities that other faculty members can use to go aboard in the future. Also, the university has recently increased the number of visiting foreign professors that teach and conduct research on the campus of Capital Normal University.

The number of professors going abroad has increased dramatically in the last few years. In year 2000, only one or two faculty members went abroad for long-term projects and another ten faculty members would go abroad for short-term projects. However, as of 2006, about ten faculty members go for long-term research overseas and many more for short-term projects. Lack of English language proficiency is a barrier for some faculty members to go abroad. Professors need a high level of English language proficiency to teach and conduct research, but

at Capital Normal University, many of the professors' English language ability was considered poor, as reported in interviews.

A recent symbol of internationalization on the Capital Normal University campus is the International Culture Building, a very large building completed in 2004. At the same time, Capital Normal University has increased the number of programs for students at Capital Normal University to study abroad. The number of international students studying at Capital Normal University has increased during the past few years. Most of the international students are self-funded and come from South Korea and Japan to study the Chinese language.

Beijing Education College

The university Office of International Cooperation opened in 1997. Prior to the opening of the office, the university had a few international programs, but currently, they have several more. At present, the Office of International Cooperation administers fifteen projects. For example, the office has a contract with an organization in New York that sends college students to Beijing to study Chinese language, history and culture. The office organizes their classes in China and places for the students to stay, but the students do not study at Beijing Education College. The office also has university faculty and staff exchanges with universities in other countries, sends Beijing middle school teachers and principals aboard, and brings foreign scholars to the Beijing Education College to give lectures related to education. The number of international programs increased around 1997, similar to other universities, ostensibly because of the passage of the Higher Education Law in China which encouraged universities to create partnerships with universities in other countries.

5.2.4.4 Private Universities

In China, only state run universities, meaning all universities except for private universities, can host international students. Hence, private universities have developed other types of international programs.

United Adult Workers University

The university does not have any kinds of international programs identified from the literature. According to an administrator, it is very hard for private universities to get permission from the government to host international students. An administrator at the university reported the university having agreements with universities in South East Asia like Malaysia, Korea and Japan; but didn't discuss the nature of the agreements. The university has taken the initiative to develop international linkages, although the types of international programs possible at the university are limited by government policy.

Beijing Geely University

As private universities are not allowed to host international students, the university does not have international students studying on campus. However, the university emphasizes that it is international because it teaches foreign languages, especially English. The university has a Foreign Language Department and a European/American Studies Department, which teaches English and other European languages. The university has a total twenty foreign teachers who teach language.

Although there are currently prohibitions against private universities having student

exchange programs, Beijing Geely University is working on programs to send students abroad and bring foreign students to the university. The university is working on developing an agreement with a British car manufacture to hire Beijing Geely students after they graduate. The university views these programs as important because they equip their students with the ability to communicate in English, which is an important asset for their students to be competitive in the job market. The university views that through the international programs it can acquire the newest international developments in the fields of business and industry.

5.2.4.5 Transnational Higher Education

The definition of transnational higher education in this study includes distance education courses delivered across national boundaries through the Internet, web, satellites, computers, correspondence, or other technological means; and academic programs offered by large corporations that involve crediting across national borders. While distance education delivered across national borders and academic programs offered by large corporations might influence universities in other countries, I found no mention of the influence by these transnational education programs on Chinese universities. I did not find any instances in my data of pressure from distance education across national borders or foreign organizations opening joint Chinese-foreign schools at any university.

5.2.4.6 Summary of Findings for Universities

Allomorphism assumes that different universities will select and adapt global pressures in different ways. The type of university was not as important in how a university selects and

adapts global pressures, but other factors proved to be important. These factors include Ministry of Education policy, pre-existing institutional structures and length of time of internationalization at a university. These factors are discussed in more detail in the following cross-case analysis. I've included a series of tables in Appendix E that summarize the global pressures each university selects and if possible, I identify the global pathway of the pressures.

In summary of the findings, Peking University was the most globalized university in this study. Peking University had selected and adapted all forms of global pressure with the exception of providing life-long learning and transnational higher education. Peking University was the only university in this study to develop partnerships with businesses and industry to make money, and for professors and departments to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue.

Government policy influences which university selects global pressures. Universities in Project 211 and Project 985, including: Peking University, Beijing Normal University, Central University of Nationalities and Capital Normal University were becoming research oriented university and were self-generating funds. Pressure from the MOE to universities through Project 211 and Project 985 pushes these universities in the direction of the global pressure that professors and departments are expected to generate revenue through funded research and other projects. All universities have some form of teaching evaluation with the exceptions of Beijing Education College and the United Adult Workers University. All universities were pursuing some form of internationalization except for the United Adult Workers University. Capital Normal University and Beijing Normal University have recently started faculty tenure evaluations that emphasis research and publication.

The global logics identified in this study were found associated with only some of the universities in this study. Changes in universities selected for Project 211 and Project 985 were in line with the global logics that knowledge is a key driver of economic growth, and research and development promote economic growth. Universities in Project 211 and Project 985 are becoming research oriented and are expected to contribute to economic and technological development. The global logics that more citizens need higher education and a better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills are needed for a country to be competitive in a globalized economy were found in the mission of the United Adult Workers University and the government initiated reform of Capital Normal University that the university should become a comprehensive university and contribute to training needed for the Beijing economy.

5.2.5 Cross-University Analysis

The individual university cases show that universities respond differently to global pressures. In this section, I describe a few dimensions around which these differences are shaped based on cross-university analysis. I designed the study with the assumption that types of university may shape a university's responses to global pressures. Different types of universities operate under different government rules and they are governed by different types of organizations, such as the Ministry of Education and municipal governments. These different types of universities have different missions, and they have different sources of funding. According to Allomorphism, these differences could affect how a university selects and adapts global pressures. My study examines how the different types of universities respond to the four patterns of higher education

globalization (changes in governance of higher education/organizational restructuring, accreditation and quality control, internationalization, and transnational higher education). The data indicate that the type of university does matter; but the following factors appeared to be more important than the type of university: 1) Ministry of Education's policy, 2) the length of time a university has had international programs on campus, and 3) pre-existing institutions. These dimensions, or factors, do not always fall along the line of types of universities, therefore, my data show that for the same types of university, organizational change varies.

Based on these observations, I first discuss ways in which the Ministry of Education's Project 211 and Project 985 shape universities' responses to global pressures. Second, I discuss how the length of time a university has had international programs influences the ways in which a university adopts global pressures. Third, I discuss how a university's pre-existing institutions that are shaped by history and reflected in the mission and focus of the university; shape a university's responses to global pressure. Throughout this section, I describe the extent to which these dimensions shape universities' responses as well as how other factors may interact with these pressures.

I've included two tables that compare the universities by the factors that influence universities' responses to the different global pressures to provide specific information. The first table (Table 5.1) shows the organizational responses of the universities that were selected into Project 211 or Project 985; since as MOE policy Project 211 and Project 985 proved to be an important factor for if and how a university selects certain globalization pressures. The second table (Table 5.2) shows the universities not selected into Project 211 and Project 985. I've included information about when each university began to internationalize and pre-existing

institutions in these tables, since these are also important factors in how universities globalize. The pre-existing institutions and when a university began to internationalize are under the column named “History of university / Internationalization”

5.2.5.1 Ministry of Education Policy

Throughout my data collection, Project 211 and 985 were mentioned as important policies that changed organizational structure and practice at universities. Project 211 and 985 aim at promoting the development of higher education, society, and economy in China by improving the overall education quality and management of key universities. The specific goals of the project are: training highly talented people for economic and social development; raising the level of higher education in China; increasing the pace of national economic development; promoting scientific, technological and cultural development; and increasing China’s international competitiveness.

As I presented before, the Ministry of Education selects universities to receive funding. The exact projects appear to be decided through negotiations between each university and the MOE. Selection into the projects creates or accelerates the university to transform into a research oriented university and a university that self-generates funds. Project 985 also creates specific goals for each university. For example, Peking University is to become a “world-class” university, Beijing Normal University is to become a “world-known” university, and Central University of Nationalities is to become of “world-class” university of nationalities. From the interviews, it seems that the process through which specific goals are identified is that the MOE provides some guidelines to the university as to how money should be spent and how the

university should develop. The university develops a proposal based on these guidelines which must be approved by the MOE. The MOE monitors how money is spent.

Among eight universities I studied, three (Peking University, Beijing Normal University and Central University of Nationalities) received Project 211 and 985 funding from the central government; and one (Capital Normal University) received Project 211 funding from the Beijing municipal government. The difference in the organizational structure and practice between universities that received funding and universities that did not receive funding were clear. Universities that received funding incorporated more aspects of global pressures than universities that did not receive it. For example, universities that received funding encourage faculty to conduct research and explore the opportunities to acquire external research funding.

However, this does not mean that funding equally influenced universities to change their organizational structures and practices. Rather, the impact of funding for changing organizational structure and practice is strong for the universities, such as Central University of Nationalities and Capital Normal University. As for Peking University and Beijing Normal Universities, incorporation of global patterns of changes in organizational structure and practice were already in place, hence the funding seems to have accelerated and reaffirmed these movements. It is very difficult to claim that the funding caused all these changes from my data because I did not have access to enough data that inform the process through which these organizational changes are decided, such as project proposals or observation of meetings between MOE officials and university administrators. However, at least my data indicate that these specific changes are attached to the funding policy. My data suggest that in order to receive the funding, the university must have the prerequisites, such as shifting its emphasis from

teaching to research or having a plan to diversify funding sources.

Table 5.1 - Cross-case Analysis – Universities in Project 211 and 985

Name of the University (governing body)	History of university / Internationalization	Globalization patterns	Mission under Project 985 and changes happening around the time of Project 985 and or 211
Peking University (MOE)	<p>-Influenced by German and French academic patterns from Tokyo University. German Humboldtian university model introduced by university president Cai Yuanpei during the early part of the 20th century.</p> <p>-Internationalization began in early 1980s.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partnership with industry (early 1990s) -Selling shares in university owned company - Diversification of funding (late 1980s) -Multi disciplinary research centers - Increased emphasis on research and publishing - International students - Hiring foreign educated faculty 	<p>Mission: Become a “world-class” university</p> <p>Changes: Emphasis on research and publishing increased</p>
Beijing Normal University (MOE)	<p>University modeled on Tokyo University, which had been influenced by German and French academic patterns.</p> <p>-Internationalization began in the early/mid-1990s</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Diversified funding (early 1990s) -Internal evaluation system focus on faculty research, publishing and public service. - International students - Opening branch campus - Focus on Research -No collaboration with industry 	<p>Mission: Become a “comprehensive research oriented universities with the characteristics of teacher education and a world-known university of high quality.”</p> <p>Changes: - Hiring foreign educated faculty. - Change of faculty salary system (based on research and publication). - Emphasis on research and publishing increased.</p>

Table 5.1 – Continued

Name of the University (governing body)	History of university / Internationalization	Globalization patterns	Mission under Project 985 and changes happening around the time of Project 985 and or 211
Central University of Nationalities (Other ministry)	1951 – modeled on the Soviet Model of higher education. Internationalization began 1997/1998	-Have internal evaluation system -Recruiting foreign educated scholars -Research oriented university	Mission: Become a “world-class” university of nationalities Changes: - Start collecting student tuition (diversification of funding) - Start receive competitive research funds
Capital Normal University (Municipal government)	1954 - modeled on the Soviet Model of higher education. Internationalization began 1997/1998	-Having internal evaluation system -Evaluation of professors publication and research added in 1996-7 -Diversification of funding (started in 1998)	Mission: Become a comprehensive research- oriented university Changes: - Emphasis on more research than teaching. - Introduction of new pay scale that puts emphasis on research

Table 5.2 - Cross-case Analysis – Universities not Included in Project 211 and 985

Name of the University (governing body)	History of university / Internationalization	Globalization patterns
Foreign Affairs University (Other Ministries)	1955 - modeled on the Soviet Model of higher education. -Internationalization began 1997/1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diversification of funding is not happening yet, - No collaborative projects with industry or non-university organizations - No change in academic programs - Have internal evaluation system since 1955. Focus is on teaching - Built exchange center in 2000---increased the number of international students
Beijing Educational College (Municipal Government)	1953 - modeled on the Soviet Model of higher education. -Internationalization began 1997/1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not developing collaborative projects with non-university organizations to conduct research - No change in academic program - No diversification of funding - Have internal evaluation system. Faculty publication or research is not substantial portion of faculty evaluation - Built office of international corporation (1997) –increased international students studying in the college, also started program to send faculty,
United Adult Workers University (Private)	1988 – model of university is not certain. -Internationalization of university not clear from data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No developing collaboration with industry - No emphasis on research - Does not have international programs
Beijing Geely University	2000 – American and British higher education model with stress on practical education. -Internationalization began in 2000. No international students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developed partnership with industry - Provides programs that reflects pressure from the business community (English, etc.) - No emphasis on research - Internal evaluation system exists. Feedback from industry

5.2.5.2 Internationalization

The cross university analysis indicates that the longer a university has had internationalization activities at the university, the more the university has adopted global patterns. As Chinese universities internationalize their campuses, they develop collaborations and partnerships with universities in other countries through internationalization activities. Internationalization activities reported in interviews included hosting foreign scholars, student exchanges, short-term faculty visits to foreign universities, collaborative international research projects, sending university administrators to “shadow train” with administrators at foreign universities, and hiring Chinese scholars who went to graduate school at top universities in developed countries. University faculty, administrators and MOE officials consistently reported the belief that internationalization activities will improve the quality of education at Chinese universities.

Internationalization works at the cognitive level, and exposes professors and administrators to ideas about university organization and structure from other countries, as well as global models of higher education. Professors and administrators act as carriers of global ideas and spread these ideas to Chinese universities; similar to scientists and professionals that act as carriers of Global Culture (Meyer, et al., 1997; Meyer, 2000). As Chinese universities are increasingly exposed to global models of higher education, overtime these models are seen as standard models (the way universities should be organized and the way universities should do) are adapted for the Chinese universities.

The data show that the longer a university has had global activities on campus, the more the university has adopted global patterns. For example, Peking University and Beijing Normal University have had international activities on their campuses longer than other universities in

this study. Peking University began internationalization activities in the early 1980s and Beijing Normal University in the early 1990s. Peking University and Beijing Normal University have adapted the most globalization pressures. In contrast, universities like Beijing Education College and the Foreign Affairs University, did not begin to internationalize their campuses until 1997 or 1998. These universities, with a short time of internationalizing their campuses, have adopted the least global patterns.

5.2.5.3 Role of Pre-existing Institutions, Resources, and Networks in Shaping Globalization of Universities

Allomorphism assumes that pre-existing institutions shape how universities respond to global pressures. Cross-university analysis suggests that although universities adopt similar global patterns, their globalization began at different times, which created differences in amount and nature of resources and capacity the university can utilize to respond to global pressures. The cross-university analysis suggests that universities that have a history with European models of higher education seem to be more capable of incorporating global pressures.

Although Project 985 and 211 are strong driving forces to change a university's practice and structure, historical examination suggests that a university's organizational structure in the past, resources, and networks with other universities and professional communities also shape how universities incorporate global pressures. The grain size of my analysis is large because most of the data I have is about approximately when and what changes in organizational structure and practices happened. I do not have enough data that provides a detailed description about the process of decision making. However, cross-university analysis about the time when globalization pressures were incorporated (see **Error! Reference source not found.**) and their pre-existing institutions suggest that the original model on which the university was developed,

availability of resources, and networks the university has, seem to have shaped how early and in what ways they incorporated global pressures.

Peking University and Beijing Normal University were established on Western models of higher education. Both were part of the Metropolitan University founded in 1898, and modeled on Tokyo University that had been influenced by French and German higher education models (Hayhoe, 1999). Beijing Normal University grew out of the faculty of Education of the Metropolitan University and became a separate institution in 1902. The Metropolitan University was renamed as Peking University in 1912. Peking University was strongly influenced by president Cai Yuanpei who introduced the German Humboldtian university model to Peking University (Hayhoe, 1999). The German Humboldtian model stresses university autonomy, academic freedom and faculty research.

Table 5.3 - Timeframe when Universities Adapted Globalization Pressures

Name of the University (governing body)	History of university / Internationalization	Globalization patterns
Peking University (MOE)	1898 - University modeled on Tokyo University which had been influenced by German and French academic patterns from Tokyo University. German Humboldtian university model introduced by university president Cai Yuanpei during the early part of the 20 th century.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partnership with industry (early 1990s) -Selling shares in university owned company - Diversification of funding (late 1980s?) -Multi disciplinary research centers at least 15 years - Increased emphasis on research and publishing - Hiring foreign educated faculty for at least 10 years <p>-Internationalization began in early 1980s</p>
Beijing Normal University (MOE)	1902 - University modeled on Tokyo University, which had been influenced by German and French academic patterns.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Diversified funding (early 1990s) -Internal evaluation system focus on faculty research, publishing and public service. (mid-1990s) - Opening branch campus (after 2000) - Focus on Research (early 1990s) -No collaboration with industry (reason – education focus of university) <p>Internationalization began in late 1980s</p>
Central University of Nationalities (Other Ministries)	1951 – modeled on the Soviet Model of higher education.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Have internal evaluation system -Recruiting foreign educated scholars (around 2005 – when selected into Project 985) -Research oriented university (after 2000) <p>- Internationalization began 1997/1998</p>
Foreign Affairs University (Other Ministries)	1955 - modeled on the Soviet Model of higher education.	<p>-Internationalization began 1997/1998</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diversification of funding is not happening yet, - No collaborative projects with industry or non-university organizations - No change in academic programs - Have internal evaluation system since 1955. Focus is on teaching - Built exchange center in 2000--increased the number of international students

Table 5.4 Continued

Capital Normal University (Municipal government)	1954 - modeled on the Soviet Model of higher education.	-Has internal evaluation system -Evaluation of professors publication and research added in 1996-7 -Diversification of funding (started in 1998) - Internationalization began 1997/1998
Beijing Educational College (Municipal Government)	1953 - modeled on the Soviet Model of higher education.	-Internationalization began 1997/1998 - Not developing collaborative projects with non-university organizations to conduct research - No change in academic program - No diversification of funding - Have internal evaluation system. Faculty publication or research is not substantial portion of faculty evaluation - Built office of international corporation (1997) –increased international programs,
United Adult Workers University (Private)	1988 – model of university is not certain. -Internationalization of university not clear from data.	- Not developing collaboration with industry - No emphasis on research - Does not have internationalization activities
Beijing Geely University	2000 – American and British higher education model with stress on practical education.	-Internationalization began in 2000. No international students - Developed partnership with industry - Provides programs that reflects pressure from the business community (English, etc.) - No emphasis on research - Internal evaluation system exists. Feedback from industry

Organizational structure and practices of Peking University and Beijing Normal University reflect patterns of globalization more than any other university in this study. They have diversified funding and a strong focus on research. For example, Peking University has conducted joint research projects with companies around the world and Chinese municipalities for years. Beijing Normal University has been strong in psychological research for years. Focus of research was not new for these universities when they were included in Project 211 and Project 985.

Capital Normal University, the Central University of Nationalities, Beijing Education College and the Foreign Affairs University were established in the 1950s and based on the Soviet model of higher education. Hence, while all universities in China were influenced by the Soviet model of higher education from the 1950s to the early 1980s, ideas about the role of the university conducting research, which is held in the German and French models of higher education, persisted at Peking University and Beijing Normal University. Universities based on the Soviet model of higher education were organized as teaching institutions with little or no capacity for research. Peking University and Beijing Normal University began to focus on research in the 1990s, earlier than the other universities and prior to their inclusion into Project 985 and 211.

The Chinese government is using Project 985 and Project 211 to push universities to become research oriented. Universities included in Project 985 and Project 211 that were based on the Soviet model of higher education like Capital Normal University and the Central University of Nationalities started to become research oriented around the time they were included in projects. Beijing Education College and Foreign Affairs University, based on the Soviet model of higher education, but not selected into Project 985 or 211, remain teaching-focused universities. The Chinese government uses Project 985 and Project 211 to create research universities, a transition away from Soviet model of higher education. The influences of Project 985 and 211 are different between these universities. For universities established on the Soviet model, Project 985 and 211 encouraged them to first establish research focused departments and an emphasis on research, while for Peking University and Beijing Normal University, these conditions were pre-existing.

5.3 DATA AND ANALYSIS THAT SUPPORT AND REFINE VAIRA'S HYPOTHESES

My third research question is:

Question 3: To what extent do data and analysis based on answers to Question 1.1, Question 1.2, Question 2.1 and Question 2.2 validate Vaira's hypotheses about higher education globalization?

After presenting Vaira's proposition and hypotheses, I discuss my interpretation of them, and how my data and analysis support or refine the concepts used in Vaira's hypotheses. I found answering my third question challenging because I do not have enough data to explore all parts of Vaira's hypotheses, and some of Vaira's hypotheses are difficult to understand. First, while Vaira's propositions cover isomorphism of organizational structures and practices across countries in accordance with World Culture, my study focused on only one country's change. Hence, it is impossible from my data to determine to what extent my data support Vaira's proposition that isomorphism is happening in relation to other countries.

Second, it is not possible to examine the hypotheses regarding the selection and adaptation of World Culture by international organizations, because data were not collected at international organizations. Hypothesis 2 and hypothesis 3 include the role of international organizations, however, as I do not have enough data about their activities over time, I cannot examine these hypotheses. Furthermore, Vaira's hypotheses include analysis of ideas created or specified by international organizations spread to countries or universities; my interviews with university professors, administrators, and government officials did not allow me to acquire the role of international organizations in creating and changing taken-for-granted ideas and practices. When I asked about the influence of international organizations, interviewees immediately said none. This answer means that they did not see officials from an international organizations

coming to their office and providing technical support or guidance. However, Vaira's hypotheses cover the cognitive level of change, for example, conceptions about how to categorize higher educational institutions and what constitutes faculty productivity. My data collection methods do not allow me to explore the role of international organizations as the carriers of ideas, classifications, and concepts. I cannot deny the possibility that ideas from international organizations have spread through international meetings and conferences which MOE officials and other Chinese officials attended. To observe the influence of international organizations in changing ideas, interviews are not the best way. Rather, document analysis over a long period of time is needed.

Finally, Vaira's hypotheses are sometimes not clear. He uses terms that are not easy to understand, and he sometimes does not define them. For example, in hypothesis 5, Vaira uses the term "declension," but he does not define this term. I give my interpretation of what I think Vaira means, but I'm not certain about his meaning. I indicate this difficulty in my discussion below.

Proposition 1

Proposition 1: Organizational change is to be understood within the constitutive framework of wider institutional structure and dynamics.

I interpret Proposition 1 to mean that organizational changes at the universities and the Ministry of Education (MOE) should be explored by examining the role of organizational environment and pre-existing practices, ideas and structures within these organizations. The organizational environment includes World Culture (Meyer et al, 1997, Meyer, 2000) which is reflected in the global patterns of higher education globalization, i.e., changes in governance of

higher education/organizational restructuring, accreditation and quality control, internationalization and transnational higher education.

Hypothesis 1: The more organizations enter in a globalized, or de-localized organizational field, the more they must contend with wider competitive and institutional pressures, the more they depend on definitions of organizational work elaborated at world economy and world polity structures.

I interpret Hypothesis 1 to mean that the more the MOE officials or a university professors and administrators are exposed to globalized ideas and practices (i.e., through international exchange, collaborative international research projects, study abroad, international conferences, etc.), the more organizations will incorporate ideas and practices elaborated by the globalized economy and politics. Since this study does not include government organizations in other countries it is not possible to examine the extent to which Hypothesis 1 is valid for government level organizations in comparison to other countries.

The data from universities provides support to this hypothesis. Peking University, which has had the most international activities (i.e., student exchanges, faculty educated at universities overseas, international collaborative research projects) for longer than other universities, has incorporated the most globalization pressures out of all universities in this study. Universities that began to internationalize their campuses in 1997/1998 and have fewer internationalization activities for a shorter time than Peking University (i.e., Foreign Affairs University and Beijing Education College) have not incorporated any globalization pressures related to organizational restructuring of higher education.

Proposition 2

Proposition 2: Contents of institutional and competitive imperatives, archetypes and pressures are subject to a process of articulation, sectorialization, specification and adaptation, in relation to different organizational fields.

I interpret Proposition 2 to mean that organizations at all levels (i.e., international organizations at the international level, the Ministry of Education at the national level, and universities at the local level) will respond to World Culture by interpreting and selecting aspects of: accreditation/quality control, change in governance/organizational restructuring, internationalization and transnational higher education. This specification and articulation happens in relation to the organizational field in which universities or the MOE exist. For example, it is assumed that private universities and public universities differently articulate World Culture as they are in different organizational environments.

Hypothesis 2: Institutional carriers' agency while incorporates and re-defines the institutional imperatives and archetypes, also constructs a broad allomorphic institutional structure congruent both to world polity and world economy institutional structure and to organizational field one.

I interpret Hypothesis 2 to mean that international organizations like the World Bank and UNESCO at the global level, the Ministry of Education at the national level, and universities at the local level will translate and select World Culture so that their organizational structure is isomorphic to World Culture but adapted according to their organizational field. This hypothesis suggests that organizations in the different organizational fields differently interpret and articulate institutional and competitive pressures. This study only considers international organizations as a global pressure to government organizations and universities so I cannot

examine how international organization's specification may differentiate according to the organizational environment they are in. I cannot use data from the MOE to examine this hypothesis since I do not have a comparative case from another country which is assumed to be in a different organizational field.

To examine the extent to which my data are in line with this hypothesis, I use only university data. The eight universities are in slightly different organizational fields. While public universities are in an organizational field in which the government's direction plays an important role in how they globalize, private universities tend to respond to demands from the business community. For example, Beijing Geely University changes its curriculum in response to feedback from companies and businesses, while they symbolically incorporate MOE's requirements of using specific textbooks. Beijing Geely University's organizational change happens according to demands from the business community, while for public universities, whether or not the universities have Project 211 and 985 funding influences how organizational change happens for them.

Proposition 3

Proposition 3: The institutional carriers and competitive global dynamics exert pressures at the national level to make the individual nation-state incorporate the institutional and competitive imperatives and archetypes in their sectorial policy and governance structures.

I interpret this proposition to mean that the Ministry of Education receives ideas about how higher education should be and how it should be operated from international organizations like the World Bank and UNESCO, and the global economy. In my study, these ideas are divided into four areas: accreditation/quality control, changes in governance/organizational

restructuring, internationalization, and transnational higher education. In response to these flows of ideas, the MOE creates national policy about higher education which reflects these ideas.

Hypothesis 3a: The combination of broad institutional archetypes with the institutionalized national-sectorial patterns of policy-making and governance structure give rise to a national allomorphic institutional structure.

I interpret Hypothesis 3a to mean that the organizational responses to higher education globalization: accreditation/quality control, changes in governance/organizational restructuring, internationalization and transnational higher education will be adjusted to fit pre-existing institutions and structures, and will create national structures that conform to the organizational responses to higher education globalization, but are unique to China.

My data about the Ministry of Education shows examples of this process. Policy MOE developed regarding adult education programs indicates that global pressure of expanding education to adults, is operationalized in a way that fits with pre-existing structures of adult educational provisions in China. Continuing education has been provided at universities, but the MOE is responsible for its administration. In China continuing education is accommodated through the pre-existing system of adult education administered by the MOE, instead of continuing education being provided at universities, administered by universities, as is described in the globalization literature. Other examples of “national allomorphic institutional structure” are Project 211 and Project 985. The nature of these policies suggest that the movement of globalization pressures was mediated by the long held practice that only selected key universities receive a large share of funding. Globalization pressure took a specific form according to pre-existing policymaking norms in China.

Hypothesis 3b: Organizations operating in a given field are pressed for adapting their structures and actions to the institutionalized archetypes. This occurs under coercive pressures exerted by nation state via policy-making, but also through institutional and competitive pressures exerted by the institutional carriers and by similar organizations populating the field.

I interpret Hypothesis 3b to mean that universities receive pressures to incorporate global patterns of organizational response in three ways: (1) through regulatory pressures from national policy, (2) through international organizations or the global economy, and (3) universities learn about global patterns of organizational change from other universities. Pressures that come through the second way tend to be normative, and universities are guided to incorporate global patterns of organizational response because they are the ways to improve efficiency or quality of their work.

Among the three pathways through which global pressures are delivered to universities, my data show that regulatory pressure plays a role in how universities incorporate global patterns of organizational change. For example, Project 211 and Project 985 presented what organizational structure and role universities should play, and universities that received funding from these projects tended to incorporate these global patterns. However, as I discussed in the previous section, the extent to which regulatory pressure shapes the globalization of universities differ by the nature of globalization pressure. While the focus of a university's academic offerings and change of faculty's work, which I categorized as change of organizational structure, have been influenced by government policy, internationalization is observed regardless of the existence of government's regulatory pressure except for private universities. All public universities accepted international students because of the demands from students that came primarily from South Korea and Japan.

Pressures that come from the global economy are more visible for private universities than public universities. Beijing Geely University incorporated demands from the business community, such as providing English, providing practical education and defining its role as similar to universities in the West.

The spread of different globalization pressures takes different pathways for different universities. For example, Peking University and Beijing Normal University were developing into research oriented universities prior to their inclusion into Project 211 and Project 985. This is partly because of their pre-existing institution of the French and German higher education models which stresses research and faculty autonomy as compared to the Soviet Model which stressed teaching and no research. They also embraced internationalization, which includes collaborative research, visiting scholars, and participation in international conferences. On the other hand, the pressure of developing into a research oriented university at Central University of Nationalities and at Capital Normal University came from the Chinese government through Project 211 and Project 985.

Universities develop practices and procedures to support organizational change in response to globalization pressures, and these strategies sometimes travel to other universities. For example, Beijing Normal University developed a new system of faculty evaluation that stresses faculty research, publication and community service. This system of evaluation and faculty tenure supports Beijing Normal University's organizational change of becoming a research oriented university, since faculty must conduct research and publish to advance their careers. The faculty evaluation was developed at Beijing Normal University from ideas that came from American higher education journals. A similar evaluation system of faculty is being used at Capital Normal University which encourages faculty to conduct more research.

Proposition 4

Proposition 4: Institutional and competitive pressures at work in a given organizational field are themselves subject to a process of articulation specification and adaptation through their incorporation in the individual organizational structures.

I interpret Proposition 4 to mean the field of higher education itself is subject to the process of articulation and specification as each organization changes. For example, as universities' organizational structure and practice change, the logic governing the field of higher education changes too.

Hypothesis 4: Organizations facing institutional and competitive pressures towards change in accordance with the new definitions of organizational work, decline archetypes according both to them and to their organizational features and repertoires, becoming morphological variants of the same institutionalized patterns, i.e. allomorphs.

I interpret Hypothesis 4 to mean that when universities receive two types of pressures, competitive pressure (which often requires universities to improve efficiency and organizational production) and institutional pressure (which often requires universities to take certain forms of organizational structure, or adapt certain goals because it is what society thinks universities should be and do), universities or the MOE incorporate these pressures. This process is, however, also influenced by the universities or MOE's pre-existing organizational structure and practice (ways of doing things).

An example of this is the new idea in China that universities should focus on research and produce knowledge. Peking University, Capital Normal University, and Central University of Nationalities are adjusting their organizational structure and practice to fit these ideas, but their

pre-existing organizational structure and practices influenced when and how they adapted these pressures.

As noted in the cross-university analysis, the idea that universities should focus on research and produce knowledge existed at Peking University as early as 1990, and faculty and departments focused on research and production of knowledge earlier than other universities. Peking University is based on the French and German models of higher education, which stresses faculty research, thus Peking University had pre-existing institutions, or ideas that faculty should focus on research. This pre-existing institution made Peking University, as an organization, more adaptive to the idea of focus on research. In addition, international programs began at Peking University in the early 1980s. As students and faculty went abroad and foreign scholars and students came to Peking University; faculty, administrators and students were exposed to the ideas that universities should focus on research and produce knowledge.

The Chinese government began to promote the idea that universities should focus on research and produce knowledge through Project 211 and Project 985, starting in 1995. Capital Normal University and the Central University of Nationalities have begun to change their practice and organizational structure from focus on teaching to focus on research around the year 2000. These two universities, based on the Soviet model of higher education that stressed teaching over research, changed because of pressure from the Chinese government. The pre-existing institutions influenced when each university adapted the idea that they should focus on research and produce knowledge.

Proposition 5

Proposition 5: Organizational allomorphism lets enough room for the social processes of definition and selection of the low and high performing organizations.

I interpret Proposition 5 to mean that Chinese society will develop definitions of high performing and low performing “globalized universities.”

Hypothesis 5: The kind of performance of each morphological variant depend on the way the declension of archetypes is internally (organizationally) successful and, above all, externally (socially) evaluated and represented as such, on the basis of institutionalized definitions of organizational effectiveness, efficiency and success.

This hypothesis is not clear to me. First, I do not understand what “declension” means. Second, this hypothesis seems to include two components. The first part seems to say that performance of each university depends on the degree to which that university is successful declensing (I do not understand the meaning of “declensing”) internal organizational structure. The second part seems to say that universities’ performances are evaluated by the definition of organizational effectiveness, efficiency and success that are institutionalized. That is, universities are evaluated on the norms of success in the higher education field. From the hypothesis, it is not clear whether “institutionalized definitions” derive from the higher education field or from within the university. Furthermore, this second part of the hypothesis allows an alternative interpretation that definitions of success for each university are assigned by the higher education field.

If the first part of the hypothesis is saying that a university’s success depends on whether or not a university could get rid of its old organizational structures and practices; my data do not provide examples or conflicting evidences for the latter part of the hypothesis. I do not have enough data about what indicates “success” or “efficiency” to each university or the higher education field. Although the spread of ideas and organizational structure and practices that are in line with global pressure indicates that the idea about what higher education should do may

change over time, and there may be the spread of the idea in China that universities that produce research and publications reflects on the success of the university, I do not have enough data to make this claim. Another possible example of university success is the government's evaluation that includes the number of Ph.D. holders from overseas universities. However, I am not clear when this requirement was added to the government's evaluation.

Beijing Geely University has a specific measurement of success, which is producing students who are well equipped with knowledge and skills that are useful for business and industry. However, this university was established recently (2000), and I cannot see the change of the conception of success in the university from my data. As it is, with my data, I can neither support nor deny this hypothesis.

5.3.1 Summary

Although I lack some data to examine Vaira's hypotheses, my data provide the supporting evidence regarding the following aspects of the hypotheses:

- a) global patterns of organizational structures and practices spread over time
- b) pre-existing institutions and organizational fields in which universities are in, influence how globalization pressures are specified and adapted.

6.0 CHAPTER 6 – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research extends our knowledge of globalization of higher education by investigating how international, national, and local pressures affect changes of organizational structure and practice of universities in China. Allomorphism allows us to explore how globalization pressures are specified and carried to different organizations. It allows us to understand why universities are different in their change of organizational structure and practice despite their existence in a globalized society. Guided by Vaira's analytical framework, my study contributes to the description of the allomorphic process of globalization by providing empirical evidence that shows ways in which these two types of actors (i.e., the Ministry of Education and universities) and different types of global pressures shape universities' change of organizational structure and practices.

My study of eight universities in China found that changes of organizational structure and practice vary by university, and government policy plays an important part in determining the extent to which universities can incorporate globalization pressures. Although in general, a university's organizational structures and practices incorporated global patterns (e.g., emphasis on research and diversification of funding) the degree to which a university incorporates and changes its organizational structure and practice varies according to whether or not it receives funding from the government in the form of Project 211 and Project 985. This government intervention appears to be the most powerful for the change of overall university focus,

diversification of funding, and improving quality of the university. Global pressure for internationalization is incorporated by universities regardless of government funding.

The comparison of public and private universities indicates that the organizational environment in which they exist shapes how universities incorporate global pressures about organizational structure and practice. A university's pre-existing organizational structure, resources, and capacity also play parts in how early and to what extent universities adapted global pressures. For example, Peking University and Beijing Normal University, with a pre-existing organizational structure modeled on French and German academic patterns, older history, and access to more resources; adapted global patterns of higher education earlier than other universities. In contrast, universities that were established on the Soviet model of higher education, with less resources and shorter history have only recently started to change organizational structure and practices. The universities under the administration of the MOE had the resources and capacity so they were able to be globalized earlier and other universities.

This study highlights the need for more globalization studies in developing countries. In China, globalization included changing the mission of universities from a focus on teaching to a focus on research. The description of this structural change is missing from the globalization literature. In China, teaching is the sole activity of many universities, however, this is not the case in most of the countries where much of the globalization of higher education literature has been developed. In these countries, mostly Western developed countries, many universities are already research oriented.

6.1 IMPLICATION OF RESEARCH

In this section I discuss the implications my study has for, first, globalization of higher education research and, second, research in how organizations respond strategically to institutional pressures. Third, I discuss what further conceptualizations are needed for Allomorphism.

My study challenges the image of higher education institutions as passive recipients of global pressures by presenting evidence that national level interventions, resources, capacity, and active search for collaboration within organizational environments influence how universities are globalized. The Ministry of Education and Chinese universities actively influence how globalization pressures influence universities. For example, the Ministry of Education influences which universities receive pressure to develop into research oriented universities and to self-generate funds through Project 211 and Project 985. Project 985 also pushes selected universities to develop into “world-class” and “world-known” universities. Universities strategically use internationalization. For example, Peking University, Beijing Normal University and Central University of Nationalities all actively recruit Chinese scholars who studied at top universities in the United States and Europe with the intention that these scholars will bring changes (global models) to university practice and organization.

My study challenges the idea of higher education globalization as solely from economic globalization. Much of the globalization literature that focuses on organizational changes of higher education link these changes to pressures from the global economy. Scholars have coined terms like “entrepreneurial university” (Clark, 1998), “academic capitalism” (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), “marketization” of higher education (Lee & Gopinathan, 2003) or “market ideology” (Vidovich & Slee, 2001) to describe how universities have developed new organization and practices to deal with economic globalization pressures. My data indicate that

not all university responses are in line with economic globalization pressures. The focus on economic pressures as an explanation for university change overlooks some of the changes occurring at universities in my study.

For example, faculty members publishing in prestigious journals is not necessarily in line with making a university's education a commodity or improving the economic efficiency of a university. Rather, my study shows global pressures are multiple, and some of them are about promoting the social status of universities. Changes that happen in universities reflect pressures to improve academic quality that seems to be the shared norm in the professional communities (i.e., publishing in prestigious journals). In this sense, universities seem to be responding to institutional pressures about how a university should be structured, rather than economic pressures.

My study explored the institutional logic underlying globalization. Drawing from World Culture, I assumed change in organizational structure and practice carries the ideas about what the university's role should be and how a university should operate. From the literature review, I could identify "global logics" for the change of governance/organizational restructuring of higher education, however, existing studies did not provide other areas of globalization movement. As studies in New Institutional Theory identified the importance of this conceptualization, there is a need to expand research to identify institutional logics in other areas of globalization pressure and explore the mechanisms through which change of institutional logics influence the change of organizational structure and practice. For example, I found in my data that professors and administrators view internationalization activities as playing a role in improving the quality of their education.

My study has implications for the study of organization's strategic response to institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991; Alexander, 1996; D'Aunno, Sutton & Price, 1991). My study examined the impact of institutional and technical pressures that come from multiple channels that have different governance systems. It viewed global pressures as coming from the globalized economy and national policy. My study found that for some institutional pressures, legal systems and government policies play a strong role for changing a university's organizational structure and practice. Project 211 and 985 is an example. This is in line with Oliver's hypothesis about organizational response.

Hypothesis 7: The lower the degree of legal coercion behind institutional norms and requirements, the greater the likelihood of organizational resistance to institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991, p. 167-8).

However, as for the internationalization pressure, the legal framework did not appear to be a strong lever for changing a university's organizational structure and practice. My study suggests that the content of global pressure and organizational environment play a role in this process. This finding suggests that there is a need to study the interaction among these different factors that shaped organizational responses, such as carriers of institutional pressure, governance system, content of institutional pressure, and role of organizational environment. I argue that studies of organizational responses need to go beyond identifying factors so that they provide in what context and how different factors shape an organization's strategic response. My study provides a beginning for this line of study.

Although my study presented the importance of exploring various forms of globalization pressure, I discuss some concepts in Allomorphism that need to be refined. First, the concept of pressure that comes from competitive economic pressure needs to be delineated into carriers and content of pressure. Although Allomorphism defines pressure that comes from the government

as national level policy (regulative institutional pressure), it does not provide much description about the pressure that derives from the competitive global economic structure. In this study, I defined any pressure that does not come from international organizations or national policy as pressure that comes from the global competitive economy structure. This broad conceptualization in my study resulted in including pressures of various content, such as ideas, practices, and organizational structures, carried through things, such as regulative and normative pressures.

Studies of new institutional theory started to examine the role of carriers (Scott, 2001, Oliver, 1991). If the present study had been done by distinguishing carriers and content of institutional pressure, it may have provided a more detailed description about how certain areas of globalization pressure are spread through certain channels. This approach may provide the answer to the question, for example, of why internationalization is widely spread without MOE's intervention.

Second, there is a need to refine the concept of "efficiency" in Allomorphism. Vaira's Hypothesis 5 mentioned "efficiency" as defined by institutional environment; however, Vaira did not specify what efficiency entails. New institutional theorists defined efficiency as coming from technical pressures to increase productivity, so that organizations will survive. However, in the case of universities, this conceptualization of efficiency may not be enough. There are several aspects that may influence the university's survival. In the case of China, diversifying funding seems to be the new pressure, but at the same time, improvement of professor productivity and quality of teaching are also viewed as important aspects for a university to survive because the government inspects and encourages universities to do so. As it is, it seems there are multiple attributes of "efficiency" for universities. There is a need to refine how these

multiple aspects of efficiency are shaped by different types of pressures, and how the idea of efficiency becomes institutionalized.

6.2 FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on the results of this study, I suggest a few additional studies, either to expand this research or to fill in areas not adequately addressed in this study.

6.2.1 International Organizations

This research asked university professors, administrators and MOE officials about the influence of international organizations on Chinese higher education, but I didn't conduct interviews at international organizations. Interviews could be conducted at international organizations (e.g., World Bank, Asian Development Bank, European Union, UNESCO, etc.) to compare the answers of officials in these organizations with Chinese professors, administrators, and MOE officials. Furthermore, studies on the role of international organizations as actors in spreading the logic of higher education, using Allomorphism, need to be done.

6.2.2 Internationalization

There appears to be a relationship between internationalization of universities and universities' isomorphism to World Culture. The more a campus is internationalized through student exchange programs, international collaborative research projects, faculty going abroad for

research and teaching, and foreign scholars coming to campus to teach and conduct research, the more isomorphic the university is with World Culture. More research could be done in this area to explore the relationship between the level of internationalization of a university and isomorphism to World Culture. Literature on internationalization of universities rarely focuses on the aspect of how human networks make knowledge, ideas and practices travel cross-nationally. My study found that professors play important roles in carrying ideas, knowledge and practices. Hence, I propose that studies of internationalization could benefit by incorporating the role of networks in the process of a university's globalization.

A possible approach could be to develop a quantitative index, indicating the level of internationalization and existence and range of human networks. Since the concepts of higher education internationalization is well developed by Janet Knight (2002) it may be possible to assign numeric values to different types of internationalization projects to develop a quantitative index of university internationalization. The study could explore the relationship between the quantitative level of internationalization and the qualitative isomorphism to World Culture. Through this type of research, it might be possible to figure out if a particular type or types of internationalization activities at a university has more influence on university isomorphism to World Culture.

6.2.3 Research in different countries

This study found that Chinese universities and the Chinese government play an active role in globalization. The Chinese government influences how universities are globalized through strategic funding (Project 211 and Project 985). Based on Allomorphism, we assume that each country, with a unique history and pre-existing ideas about higher education and its organization,

will adapt and select World Culture differently. Studies in other countries, using the same patterns of higher education identified for this study, would broaden our understanding of how globalization affects higher education and identify possible trends of similarity across groups of countries.

APPENDIX A

MULTIPLE THEORIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION GLOBALIZATION

Table A.1 presents theories of higher education globalization from articles by three authors: Beerkins (2003), Welch (2002), and McBurnie (2004). The theories about globalization expressed by the authors do not always pertain directly to higher education, but in the articles from which these theories are summarized, the authors explain how higher education is influenced according to these conceptions of globalization. The different types of globalization theories summarized in this table highlight the eclectic nature of definitions and theories of globalization from the literature.

Table A.1 – Theories of Higher Education Globalization

Beerkens, E. (2003). Globalisation and higher education research. <u>Journal of Studies in International Education</u> , 7, 128-148.	
Theory of Globalization	Description
Geographical	Geographical globalization emphasizes increased movements of people and goods during the last century. Throughout history people and goods have moved to different areas, but time and distance had posed barriers to substantial movement. During the early part of the 19 th century, transport technology improved both land and maritime transportation allowing for a world economic system to develop. What is different from the past is the intensification of transportation and its transformation to the global system of nation states.
Authority	This theory of globalization considers recent changes of the nation-state. A commonly discussed change in nation-state authority is the decrease in the states' role in providing welfare to citizens and nation-states taking on more of a role in "guiding" or "steering from a distance" organizations traditionally funded by the state like public higher education. The changes of nation-state authority are enacted because they are more suitable for the nation-states to compete internationally.
Cultural	Globalization is theorized as the mixing of cultures and its consequences. Beerkens (2003) identifies pessimistic and positivistic outcomes to cultural mixing. The pessimistic "clash of civilizations" (Huntington, 1996) predicts inevitable conflicts between the East and West, and between modern societies and traditional Islamic societies; while Friedman (1999) optimistically predicts a modern global culture will triumph without loss of important aspects of local culture.
Institutional	Institutional globalization views the globe as an institution where national identity, national commitment, and national citizenship are replaced by a cosmopolitan identity, cosmopolitan commitment and cosmopolitan citizenship. Social cohesion is no longer embedded in national institutions but is being substituted for some form of cosmopolitan solidarity

Table A.1 Continued

Welch, A. (2002). Going global? Internationalizing Australian universities in a time of global crisis. <i>Comparative Education Review</i> , 46, 433 – 72.	
World Systems Theory	World Systems Theory is based largely on the ideas of Immanuel Wallerstein that the world is an economic system that consists of countries that are either core, semi-peripheral, or peripheral. The different areas constitute divisions of world labor. Core areas, having the most control over the system, are able to accumulate wealth from semi-peripheral and peripheral areas through the development of structural arrangements of the system.
Global culture	Global culture is similar to world systems theory in its ideas of structure, but views culture as the most important globalizing force rather than the economy. In global culture, images and text are developed in core areas and distributed (sometime instantaneously) throughout the world to other core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral areas. Since most material originates in core areas and flows to non-core areas, the influence of core cultures on non-core cultures is greater.
Global society	Globalization is a unique stage of world development which has changed our sense of space and time. This theory of globalization is often associated with David Harvey, who describes globalization as a compressing of sense of space-time and Anthony Giddens who uses the phrase “action at a distance” to describe globalization. Advances in transportation technologies as well as advances in communication technologies allow for greater influences of distant individuals/groups/organizations on the local.
Global capitalism	Global capitalism, which breaks out of the state-centrist approach to understanding globalization and attributes globalization to transnational elites who are pushing for the free flow of global capital. Proponents of this model note that half of the one-hundred largest economies are companies rather than states. Within the transnational elite are media owners, bureaucrats and politicians who have influence within nation states to enact reforms to facilitate the spread of global capital. Global capitalism is often associated with the end of Keynesian economics and the decrease of welfare within developed countries since the late 1970s, and reforms that has made it easier for global capital to flow across national borders; but also free trade agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Free Trade Agreement of the America (FTAA) and Asia Pacific Economic Council (APEC) which are agreed upon to political leaders but citizens have no voice in the matter.

Table A.1 Continued

McBurnie, G. (2001) Globalization: A new paradigm for higher education policy. <i>Higher Education in Europe</i> , 1, 11 – 26.	
Economic	Economic expansion is often considered by scholars to be the key driver of globalization. Economic activity is highly visible with flows of international capital, the movement of goods worldwide and the multi-nation locations for manufacturing and marketing. Education (particularly higher education) is becoming a tradable commodity. The development of a “knowledge economy” is viewed as an important source of wealth, and those with international qualifications and skills received through higher education are able to participate.
Political	Political globalization is concerned with the broadest sense of governance, policymaking, and policy implementation with supranational organizations that make policy beyond the national scope. This includes non-governmental organizations, interest groups, and consultancies that may participate in the creation of policy or the implementation of policy. Examples of supranational organizations related to higher education include the professional group the International Network of quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE) and recently privatized Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE), but also international organizations like the United Nations, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) contribute to global governance.
Cultural	Cultural globalization is the flow of cultural images and information about cultural practices around the world. Cultural globalization is related to economic globalization, as often-traded goods are imbedded within a cultural context as in Disney movies or MacDonald’s. In higher education, transnational higher education (education produced in one country being delivered to another country) contains aspects of cultural globalization.
Technological	Technological globalization views globalization as advances in information and communication technology (ICT) and the development of ICT infrastructures that have allowed for near instant transmission of data, communication and information around the globe. ICT has created the potential for more opportunities in and forms of transnational higher education.

APPENDIX B

GENERAL INFORMATION ON UNIVERSITIES IN THIS STUDY

Universities under the Authority of the Ministry of Education (MOE)

Forty-five universities are under the direct administration of the MOE. Among the forty-five universities, Peking University, Beijing Normal University, Tsinghua University and Remin University (all in Beijing) are directly under the control of the MOE. Presidents of these universities are appointed by the State Council. The position is equal to the post and rank of deputy minister in the central ministries. The universities represent the top level of government and are given priority to obtain government funding for higher education. The universities act as “think tanks” in the central government’s policymaking process (Wang, 2003).

University	Number of faculty/students	Year opened	Brief description
Peking University	Peking University has 4500 faculty and about 28,700 students: 15,000 undergraduates, 12,000 graduates, and 1700 international students	1898	<p>Peking University, formerly the Metropolitan University, was opened in 1898. In 1912 it was renamed “Peking University.” By 1919 the university had become the largest in China with 14 departments and more than 2000 students. Currently, the university consists of 30 colleges and 12 departments, 216 research institutes and centers, 2 national engineering research center, 81 key national disciplines and 12 national key laboratories.</p> <p>The university is considered to be one of the most prestigious universities in China. Peking University, along with Tsinghua University were the first two universities selected into Project 985 in 1998. General consensus among persons interviewed for this study is that Peking University will be one of the first Chinese universities to become a “world-class” university.</p>
Beijing Normal University	1280 faculty and about 19,500 students: 8000 undergraduates, 8000 graduates, and 1500 international students.	1902	<p>Beijing Normal University was the earliest established teacher-training university in China in 1902. It grew out of the Faculty of Education of the Metropolitan University. It was named Beijing Normal University in 1923. Beijing Normal University has 27 schools and departments and 12 institutes. The motto is “studying to teach and acting to example.” Beijing Normal University is considered to be one of the top 10 universities in China. Beijing Normal University was selected into the Project 985 in 2002.</p>

University Under the Authority of Other Ministries

Central ministries have universities and colleges that provide the ministries' required education and training programs, done according to prescribed principles and development plans. The ministries are responsible for financing the universities and appointing and dismissing university leaders (Wang, 2003).

University	Number of faculty/students	Year opened	Brief description
Central University for Nationalities (State Ethnic Affairs Commission)	CNU has about 400 professors, 12,500 Chinese students and 200 international students.	1951	The Central University of Nationalities forerunner was founded in 1941 under the name of the Institute of Ethnic Minorities in Yan'an. In 1951 the Central Institute for Nationalities was founded in Beijing. In 1993, the university changed its name to the Central University of Nationalities. In 2001, the government gave CUN the goal to develop into on the top-tier universities in the world for ethnic education. In 2002, the State Ethnic Commission, the Ministry of Education and the Beijing Municipal Government signed a collaborative agreement to jointly contribute funding to the Central University of Nationalities. In 2004, CNU was selected into Project 985. The university has 21 schools and departments, primarily in the humanities and social sciences. 70% of the students are Chinese minorities.
Foreign Affairs University (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)	The university has about 200 full-time professors, 1200 Chinese students and 100 international students.	1955	The university aims at preparing high caliber personnel fluent in foreign languages for foreign service, international studies, and international business and law. Foreign Affairs University was founded in 1955 as the Department of Diplomacy of the Chinese People's University at the suggestion of Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. The Foreign Affairs College has 10 departments and institutes.

Universities under the authority of Beijing Government

Beijing is unique in China since the municipality of Beijing is also the province of Beijing. In China, universities can be under the jurisdiction of provincial governments and city governments. The universities in this study should be considered as universities under the provincial government. Most universities under city governments opened in the 1990s, developed to serve the immediate economic needs of the city, but Capital Normal University and Beijing Education College both have histories longer than 50 years.

University	Number of faculty/students	Year opened	Brief description
Capital Normal University	Capital Normal University has 685 professors, 14,200 students on campus – 9500 are full-time four- and three-year undergraduates, 1,300 graduate students and about 400 international students.	1954	Capital Normal University was founded in 1954 and is currently a comprehensive university focused on teacher education with specialties in the liberal arts, science, foreign language and arts. Capital Normal University was selected in 2000 as one of two universities under the Beijing Municipal Project 211. Capital Normal University consists of 17 colleges and departments.
Beijing Education College	Beijing Education College has about 150 professional teachers and about 4000 part-time students.	1953	Beijing Education College is a branch of the Beijing Education Committee. There are three branches all together. The first branch is in charge of research and is called the Beijing Academic and Education Research Center. The second branch is in charge of examinations, called the Beijing Education Examination Academy. The third branch is the Beijing Education College, responsible for principle and teacher training in Beijing. Beijing Education College provides in-service training for Beijing primary and secondary school teachers.

Private Universities

Private universities in China are relatively new. The term for private university in Mandarin Chinese is “Minban Daxue,” which literally means, “person-run university,” but a more appropriate translation is “university run by social forces.” Private universities had existed in China prior to the early 1950s when all universities were taken over by the Chinese government and made into public universities or closed. Provisions for private universities were reestablished in 1985 in Article 25 of the Education Law of the People Republic of China which states, “The State shall encourage enterprises, institutions, public organizations and other social groups as well as individual citizens to operate schools or other types of educational institutions in accordance with the law.” According to an administrator at the United Adult Workers University, the quality of the initial private universities had been good, but over time, as more and more private universities were opened, the quality decreased, causing the government to pass subsequent laws to clarify rules for the creation and running of private universities.

University	Number of faculty/students	Year opened	Brief description
Beijing Geely University	Beijing Geely University has 700 full and part-time professors. It has about 17,000 students with between 13,000 and 14,000 living on campus.	2000	Beijing Geely University was opened in 2000 with investment from the Chinese automotive manufacturer, Geely Holding Group. The university is located in the suburbs of Beijing. It has 14 different departments. Beijing Geely University emphasizes practical education. Generally, students who attend Beijing Geely University are students who did not score high enough on the national exams to attend public university.
United Adult Workers University	The United Adult Workers University has 125 teachers and about 2800 students.	1988	The United Adult Workers University has a main campus and nine branch campuses throughout Beijing. Its mission is to make a contribution to the economic development of Beijing by training students in areas where talent is needed, so the curriculum focuses on the economic needs of Beijing. The United Adult Workers University provides continuing education, with diplomas after two to four years of study. Classes are normally held on Thursday evening and on the weekend. The United Adult Workers University has 21 departments.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES

C.1 INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Purpose

Purpose for interviews with MOE officials is to acquire information to respond to my research questions 1.1 and 1.2.

Question 1.1: From where does the Ministry of Education receive globalization pressures (i.e. international agencies or world economy competitive structure and knowledge-based competition)?

Question 1.2: What are the policy responses by the Ministry of Education to globalization pressures?

The interviews aim at acquiring information about the following issues:

- For where does the Ministry of Education receive globalization pressures,
- What are the policy responses to these pressures, and
- How does national policy differently influence different types of universities.

Throughout the interviews I used follow-up questions to encourage interviewees to provide concrete descriptions. I asked questions that covered the following aspects: a) when a policy was issued, with what reason (rationale), b) role of international organizations in creating a policy, and c) if there is any differences in the application of the policy among different types of universities.

A. For Globalization pressure related to Changes in Governance/Organizational Restructuring of Higher Education

1. What are the policies related to funding to universities?

Probe A-1-1 What are the policies related to funding universities? (follow-up question to acquire the description of the funding strategy, such as block funding or strategic funding, application process, and evaluation process)

Probe A-1-2 When did these policies come about? Why? With what goals? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about intention of the policies, who were involved in creating policy, and how these policies are different from previous policies)

Probe A-1-3 Do the funding policies apply to all universities? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about how these policies apply to different types of universities and what is the

intentions for doing or not doing so. Follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about requirements to acquire funding and how they differ by universities)

Probe A-1-4 What role did international organizations (i.e. UNESCO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.) play in creating these policies? (follow-up questions about what ideas, guidance, suggestions were incorporated or not, and why)

2. What are the policies related to distance education?

Probe A-2-1 What are the policies related to distance education?

Probe A-2-2 When did these policies come about? Why? With what goals?

Probe A-2-3 What role did international organizations (i.e. UNESCO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.) play in creating these policies? (follow-up questions about what ideas, guidance, suggestions were incorporated or not, and why)

3. What are the policies related to life long learning?

Probe A-3-1 What are the policies related to life-long learning?

Probe A-3-2 When did these policies come about? Why? With what goals?

Probe A-3-3 How is life-long learning offered? What is the role of universities? (follow-up questions to acquire description about differences among universities)

Probe A-3-4 What role did international organizations (i.e. UNESCO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.) play in creating policies? (follow-up questions about what ideas, guidance, suggestions were incorporated or not, and why)

B. For Globalization pressure related to Accreditation/Quality Control

1. What are the policies related to higher education quality assurance?

Probe B-1-1 What are the policies related to higher education quality assurance? (follow-up question to acquire descriptions about the policy, such as incentive system and items to be evaluated)

Probe B-1-2 When did these policies come about? Why? With what goals? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about intention of the policies, who were involved in creating the policy, how these policies are different from previous policies, and implications and consequences of these policies)

Probe B-1-3 Do the policies apply to all universities? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about how the policy applies to different types of universities and what is the

intention for doing or not doing so. Follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about consequences of the policies to universities, including what were intended and what happened)

Probe B-1-4 What role did international organizations (i.e. UNESCO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.) play in creating higher education quality assurance policies? (follow-up questions about what ideas, guidance, suggestions were incorporated or not, and why)

C. For Globalization pressure related to Internationalization

1. What are the policies related to internationalization of universities?

Probe C-1-1 What are the policies related to internationalization of universities? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about the policy)

Probe C-1-2 When did these policies come about? Why? With what goals? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about intention of the policies, who were involved in creating the policies, how these policies are different from previous policies, and implications and consequences of these policies to universities)

Probe C-1-3 Do the policies apply to all universities? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about how policy applies to different types of universities and what is the intentions for doing or not doing so. Follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about consequences of the policies to universities, including what were intended and what happened)

Probe C-1-4 What role did international organizations (i.e. UNESCO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.) play in creating these policies? (follow-up questions about what ideas, guidance, suggestions were incorporated or not, and why)

D. For Globalization pressure related to Transnational Higher Education

1. What are the policies regarding transnational higher education?

Probe D-1-1 What are the policies related to transnational higher education? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about the policies)

Probe D-1-2 When did these policies come about? Why? With what goals? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about intention of the policies, who were involved in creating the policies, how these policies are different from previous policies, and implications and consequences of these policies to both universities and MOE)

Probe D-1-3 Do the policies apply to all universities? (follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about how the policies apply to different types of universities and what is the intentions for doing or not doing so. Follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about consequences of the policies to universities, including what were intended and what actually happened)

Probe D-1-4 What role did international organizations (i.e. UNESCO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.) play in creating these policies? (follow-up questions about what ideas, guidance, suggestions were incorporated or not, and why)

C.2 INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR UNIVERSITIES

Purpose

Purpose of interviews with university professors and administrators is to acquire information to respond to research questions 2.1 and 2.2.

Question 2.1: From where do universities receive globalization pressures (i.e. knowledge-based competition, international agencies, or national level organizations)?

Question 2.2: How do different types of universities in this study respond to globalization pressures?

The interviews aimed at acquiring information about the following issues:

- What changes in organizational structure and practices do universities experience in the four globalization pressures,
- How these changes are different or similar among universities, and
- From where universities receive the globalization pressures

Throughout the interviews I used follow-up questions to encourage interviewees to provide concrete descriptions. I asked questions that cover the following aspects: a) when organizational structure and practices changed, with what reason (rationale), b) role of international organizations and national policies for changing organizational structure and practices, and c) how these changes take up or not take up existing organizational structures and practices.

A. For Globalization pressure related to Changes in Higher Education Governance

1. What are the revenue sources of the university?

Probe A-1-1: What are the revenue sources of the university? (Follow-up question to acquire concrete description, by providing the following aspects. Government funding, student tuition, university initiated fundraising, funding from research grants, collaboration with industry, revenue from consulting service, other, with proportion)

Probe A-1-2: How did revenue sources change? Why? (Follow-up question to acquire description about when and why revenue sources changed, what role national policy played)

2. What is the focus of university? (Primarily used with documents and web pages rather than interviews)

Probe A-2-1: What are the focus areas of the university? (Follow-up question to acquire description of mission of the university, areas of focus, such as research, teaching)

Probe A-2-1: How did areas of focus change? Why? (Follow-up question to acquire description about when and why focus shifted)

3. What is the organizational structure of the university?

Probe A-3-1: What is the organizational structure of the university? (Follow-up questions about the role of departments, especially ask about the research office, if not mentioned)

Probe A-3-2: How did organizational structure change? (Follow-up question to acquire description of when and why organizational structure changed, including change of roles)

4. What is the expectation to faculty?

Probe A-4-1: What are the expectations to faculty? (Follow-up questions to acquire description about what is the expectation about research, teaching, acquiring funding, and publication)

Probe A-4-2: Did the expectations change? (Follow-up question to acquire description about when and why faculty's role changed. Acquire both intention and actually how faculty's tasks changed)

5. What role does the university play in the area of distance education?

Probe A-5-1: What role does the university play in the area of distance education? (Follow-up question to acquire description about specific role, such as planning curriculum, teaching, or recruiting students. Also acquire description about the role of MOE)

Probe A-5-2: How does the role change? (Follow-up questions to acquire description about when and why role changed. Also acquire information about university policy and actual practice)

6. What role does the university play in the area of life long education?

Probe A-6-1: What role does the university play in the area of life long education? (Follow-up questions to acquire description about specific role, such as planning curriculum, teaching, or recruiting students. Also acquire description about the role of MOE)

Probe A-6-2: How has the role changed? (Follow-up questions to acquire description about when and why role changed. Also acquire information about university policy and actual practice)

B. For Globalization pressure related to Accreditation/Quality Control

1. What quality assurance does the university adhere to?

Probe B-1-1: What quality assurance does the university adhere to? (Follow-up questions to acquire description of the content, where the standards come from, the system of evaluation, and consequence to universities)

Probe B-1-2: Did the quality assurance standards to which the university adheres, change? (Follow-up questions to acquire descriptions of when and why change happened, and consequences to universities)

Probe B-1-3: Does the university have internal quality assurance system? (Follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about when and why they employed the system, what role MOE and other organizations play, goals of the system, evaluation, consequence to the university, faculty, and students)

C. For Globalization pressure related to Internationalization

1. What internationalization approach does the university take?

Probe C-1-1: What internationalization approach does the university take? (Follow-up questions to acquire the description of the programs, number of participants, goals of the program)

Probe C-1-2: Why does the university take these programs? (Follow-up questions to acquire when and how university decided to take these programs, intentions, role of MOE and other organizations in creating these programs)

D. For Globalization pressure related to Transnational Higher Education

1. What transnational higher education programs exist on campus?

Probe D-1-1: What transnational higher education programs does the university have? (Follow-up questions to acquire descriptions about programs, both on campus and in other countries, number of participants, goals of the programs, role of professors, administrators, MOE or other organizations)

Probe D-1-2: Why does the university take these programs? (Follow-up questions to acquire when and how university decided to take these programs, intentions, role of MOE and other organizations in creating these programs)

APPENDIX D

TRANSLATED QUESTIONNAIRE

For Research by Brian Yoder • University of Pittsburgh

高等教育全球化 - 大学层次 核心领域的相关问题. 下面是基于高等教育全球化四个核心领域(官方认可质量控制, 由于国际化高等教育广泛的变化国际化和跨国高等教育)问题的列表。这些问题成为在梅所大学进行书据收集和分析的基础。数据是通过有关大学的政策文件或每所大学高等教育专家进行采访获得的。数据会一直被分析与收集。直到收集到所有相关问题的信息。

表1 - 每所大学的背景/一般信息		
	数据类型	分析类型
大学开始日期	政策文件/与大学行政专家的使用拟定草稿的半截钩采访	分析类型对文件和采访的定性分析。
大学的简要历史。	(同上)	(同上)
大学的任务/ 任务说明。	(同上)	(同上)
大学系和类型的数量。	(同上)	(同上)
大学教学人员数目(总数)。	(同上)	(同上)
一个系的教学人员数量。	(同上)	(同上)
学生的数目。	(同上)	(同上)
一个系的学生的学生的数量。	(同上)	(同上)

表 2 - 在打大学层次上的官方认可/质量控制和高等教育全球的相关问题。

问题	数据类型	分析类型
大学遵守什么类型的质量保证标准?	政策文件/与大学行政专家的使用拟定草稿的半截钩采访。	分析类型对文件和采访的定性分析。
质量保证标准是由大学选择, 还是教育部强加的或是外部组织强加的?	(同上)	(同上)
是否有机制鼓励大学达到特殊的质量标准?	(同上)	(同上)
如果有特殊机制, 是什么机制?	(同上)	(同上)

表 3 - 由于大学的全球化所引起的高等教育管理变化的相关问题		
问题	数据类型	分析类型
大学有多少资金来源(比如资金来自政府, 研究经费, 学费等)?	政策文件/与大学行政专家的使用拟定草稿的半截钩采访	分析类型对文件和采访的定性分析。
来自一下项目资金的百分比是多少?	(同上)	(同上)
- 政府资助	(同上)	(同上)
- 学生学费	(同上)	(同上)
- 大学创始的筹款	(同上)	(同上)
- 资金来自研究经费	(同上)	(同上)
- 与产业的合作	(同上)	(同上)
- 收支来自咨询服务	(同上)	(同上)
- 其它资金来源.	(同上)	(同上)
重点或焦点(即额外资助) 是否放在可能引起外在收支的学或科系上?	(同上)	(同上)
在大学最近的十年有没有新建校外观注的跨办公事的新学科或系? (如工作为了获得外在研究经费, 促进技术转让, 从校友俦集资金, 促进与产业的合作)	(同上)	(同上)
如果有, 这些办公室是什么?	(同上)	(同上)
如果有, 这些办公室为什么发展?	(同上)	(同上)
大学教学人员和学术部门是否被鼓励参与可以为大学生收支的研究和其它项目?	(同上)	(同上)

表 4 - 大学层次的高等教育的国际化与全球化的相关问题		
问题	数据类型	分析类型
如果有的话，大学采取哪种(或哪些种)国际化方式?	政策文件/与大学行政专家的使用拟定草稿的半截钩采访	分析类型对文件和采访的定性分析。
如果大学采取了一种(或几种)特殊的国际化方式，哪门这所大学为什么采取这种方式?	(同上)	(同上)

表 5 - 在些会水平上的方法	
在些会水平上的方法	描述
活动	国际化用这样的活动来描述，如果外研究，课程与学术活动计划，协会联系和网络，开发项目，分校。
结果	国际化以望的结果形式表现出来如学生能力，提高知名度，更多的国际协议，伙伴和项目。
理论基础	国际化用主要动机或驾驭它的理论基础来描绘，它包括学术标准，产生收入，文化多样性，学生和教职员的发展。
过程	国际化被人为是一个过程，在这个过程中里，国际的维度被整合于教，学，和机构的服务中。
国内	国际化被解释为是一种校园文化或校园风气的创造，它促进了也支持者不同国家间不同文化间的相互理解，它的重点在予以校内为基础的活动
国外(跨国界)	国际化被看作是一种跨边界对其它国家的教育，它通过多种传授方式进行(面对面，远距离，使用互联网学习，它也通过不同的行政安排(特权，成对，分校区等等)。
来源：(Knight, 2004 年, 20页)	

问题	数据类型	分析类型
在校园里存在什么类型的跨国高等教育?	政策文件/与大学行政专家的使用拟定草稿的半截钩采访.	分析类型对文件和采访的定性分析。
在校园里为什么存在这种(这些种)特殊类型的跨国高等教育?	(同上)	(同上)
一所大学在其它国家的其它大学里有跨国高等教育项目吗?	(同上)	(同上)

类型	定义
网上远程教育节目	跨国界的远程教育课程通过互联网，网，卫星，计算机，书信，或其它科技手段传送。
分校区	在其它国家由一机构建立校区给外国学生提供教育安排。
特权	机构A同意在另一国家的机构B把机构A的一个或多个计划提供给机构B国家的学生们的情况。
接合	机构A在另一国家机构B处具体学习，这被系统地承认是机构A一课程计划的部分学分。
成对	不同国家机构之间协议提供共同的计划。
公司计划	由校大公司提供的学术计划，包括了跨国界提供学校和课程。
从 (Jones, 113页· 114页, 2001年).	

APPENDIX E

SUMMARY OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION PRESSURES

Following is the summary of the Ministry of Education responses to globalization pressures and summaries each of the universities' responses to globalization pressures.

Table E.1 - Summary of Ministry of Education Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	-Life-long learning provided at universities and vocational technical schools. The MOE administers life-long learning at universities.
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	Encouraged by the MOE
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, funds allocated based on performance objectives.	-Project 211 and Project 985 provides extra funding to universities. MOE expects universities to become research oriented and self-generate funds. Different from the description in the literature, since it doesn't cut funding; but similar since universities are expected to make changes to receive funding.
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	Not identified in data.
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	-Project 211 and Project 985 encourage universities to self-generate funds. Guides university to become research oriented, which is a stage Chinese universities must go through before faculty can engage in research that generates revenue for the university.
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	-State Education Commission decides which departments and universities can confer degrees. MOE has annual university evaluations (audits) and have begun to evaluate teaching quality.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	-The MOE encourages universities to develop international programs – Higher Education Law in 1997. -Private universities are prohibited from hosting international students or sending students abroad.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	-Foreign organizations allowed to provide education in China through Joint Foreign-Cooperative. Cross-boarder education is not a concern for the MOE; MOE has superior distance education that is officially recognized.
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	Yes – expansion of higher education, expansion of public and private higher education
More citizens need higher education	Yes – expansion of higher education, expansion of public and private higher education
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	Project 211 and Project 985 encourages universities to be research-oriented (producers of knowledge).
Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth	Project 211 and Project 985 encourages universities to be research-oriented (producers of knowledge).

Table E.2 - Summary Peking University Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	Not identified
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	Not identified as described in literature, but found in Project 211 and Project 985 – different from the description in the literature since MOE doesn't cut funding; but similar since university is expected to make changes to receive funding.
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, fund allocated based on performance objectives	Not identified as described in literature, but found from Project 211 and Project 985 – funding given to universities – universities become research oriented and self-generate funds.
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	Identified on campus, developed within the last 15 years. Not many details given.
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	-Not identified as described in literature, but found from the Beijing municipal Project 211– funding given to universities – universities become research oriented and self-generate funds. Transition step from Soviet model of higher education to adopting this global pressure. -During the 1990s Peking University professors began developing corporations. University leadership interceded – professors who want to develop a corporation must first resign from being a professor, but can continue to work for the university. Most promising companies were taken over by the university and developed.
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	Quality maintained by high quality students attending the university. Formal evaluation and inspection is not considered important by the professors, since quality is assumed to be high.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	-began hosting international students in the 1980s -international exchanges can be set up by the school, departments or university -branch campuses set up by prestigious universities in the United States on Peking University's campus. -strategy to bring more international student to campus, so students are exposed to other cultures. -Peking University has been recruiting scholars who received their PhDs at top United States and European Universities for years. Peking University has discussed opening branch campuses in other countries, but decided against it because it is too expensive.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	n/a
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	Not identified
More citizens need higher education	Not identified
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	Since China has emphasized science and technology development, so has the university.
Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth	Since China has emphasized science and technology development, so has the university.

Table E.3 - Summary of Beijing Normal University Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	Yes – administered by the MOE
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	No – because of psychology and education focus the university, not much interest for business and industry.
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, fund allocated based on performance objectives	Not identified as described in literature, but found in Project 211 and Project 985 – different from the description in the literature since MOE doesn't cut funding; but similar since university is expected to make changes to receive funding.
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	No
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	Not identified as described in literature, but found from the Beijing municipal Project 211– funding given to universities – universities become research oriented and self-generate funds. Transition step from Soviet model of higher education to adopting this global pressure.
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	Evaluation of teaching quality New professor evaluation that focuses on faculty publication, research and community service.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	-university is pushing hard to internationalize campus, but not too hard, since they look to the example of prestigious universities in the United States about how to internationalize. -plan for 30% of university students to study abroad in the next 5 years; plan to increase the number international students to 15% -encourage faculty to go aboard to conferences, conduct joint research, teach – university provides funds for this. -plan to increase the number of visiting professors to Beijing Normal University to 400. -want more administrators to go abroad for three weeks to universities (primarily the U.S), shadow train, and reflect on their own work. -university is opening branch campuses overseas. -university is beginning to recruit scholars who have received PhDs from top Western universities because of Project 985
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	n/a
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	Not found
More citizens need higher education	Not found
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	University is becoming research oriented because of pressure from 211 and 985

Table E.4 - Summary of Central University of Nationalities Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	None
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	None
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, fund allocated based on performance objectives	Not identified as described in literature, but found in Project 211 and Project 985 – different from the description in the literature since MOE doesn’t cut funding; but similar since university is expected to make changes to receive funding.
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	None
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	Not identified as described in literature, but found from Project 211 and Project 985 – funding given to universities – universities become research oriented and self-generate funds. Transition step from Soviet model of higher education to adopting this global pressure.
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	Evaluation of teaching quality by peer inspection and student evaluation.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	-university is beginning to recruit scholars who have their PhDs from top Western universities – influence of Project 985. -university has a few programs for international students -the Bureau of Foreign Experts in the MOE allocates two to three foreign experts to the university each year -one or two professors at the university will receive a Fulbright scholarship to study or conduct research abroad.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	n/a
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	Not found
More citizens need higher education	Not found
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	University is becoming research oriented because of pressure from Project 211 and Project 985
Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth	University is becoming research oriented because of pressure from Project 211 and Project 985

Table E.5 - Summary of Foreign Affairs University Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	Not found
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	Not found
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, fund allocated based on performance objectives	Not found
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	Not found
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	Not found
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	Evaluation focuses on inspection of teacher credentials and student evaluation of teaching.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the number of international students studying at university increased over the last 5 to 6 years from one or two to over 100 (about 10% of student population). -constructed International Exchange Center in 1998. -has some exchange programs with universities in other countries. -University invites international faculty (mostly from the U.S.) to teach at university. Invites diplomats from all over the work to come to campus so student will have exposure to international persons.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	n/a
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	None
More citizens need higher education	None
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	None
Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth	None

Table E.6 - Summary of Capital Normal University Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	Yes – provided through the internet for Beijing city – way to self-generate funding, as required by Beijing municipal Project 211.
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	No
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, fund allocated based on performance objectives	Not identified as described in literature, but found in Project 211 and Project 985 – different from the description in the literature since MOE doesn't cut funding; but similar since university is expected to make changes to receive funding.
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	Not found
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	Not identified as described in literature, but found from the Beijing municipal Project 211– funding given to universities – universities become research oriented and self-generate funds. Transition step from Soviet model of higher education to adopting this global pressure.
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	-Evaluation of teaching quality by students -Evaluation of teaching results are put on line -New evaluation of professor research and publication – began in the late 1990s.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	-number of international students studying on campus increased in the past few years. -Recently completed the International Culture Building in 2004 – a symbol of internationalization on campus -has some programs to send students abroad -More faculty (about 10 times as many than 10 years ago) go abroad to teach and conduct research. Funding is provided by the university to faculty to do research abroad.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	n/a
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	Relates to mission of the university from the Beijing government to produce students needed for the Beijing economy.
More citizens need higher education	Relates to mission of the university from the Beijing government to produce students needed for the Beijing economy.
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	University is becoming research oriented because of pressure from Project 211 and Project 985.
Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth	University is becoming research oriented because of pressure from Project 211 and Project 985.

Table E.7 - Summary of Beijing Education College Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	Not found
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	Not found
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, fund allocated based on performance objectives	Not found
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	Not found
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	Not found
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	Reports created by departments about how the departments are managed. Reports are distributed internally and to Beijing MOE officials at their yearly inspection of the school.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	-College began to internationalize in 1997 when Office of International Cooperation opened -programs include sending teachers and principals abroad, programs that bring university students to China, and programs to bring international exchanges (the exchange of ideas) at Beijing Education College.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	Not found
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	Not found
More citizens need higher education	Not found
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	Not found
Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth	Not found

Table E.8 - Summary of Beijing Geely University Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	Not found
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	Yes – - Professional development by companies. - Courses are shaped by input from companies.
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, fund allocated based on performance objectives	Not found
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	Not found
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	Not found
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	- Professors must have an M.A. degree and work experience. - Professional development by companies. - Courses are shaped by input from companies.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	-As a private university, the university is prohibited by law to host international students or send students abroad. -Campus is internationalized through teaching foreign languages, primarily English. Has a foreign language department and European/American department. -university has 20 full and part time foreign faculty.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	n/a
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	Yes, mission of school
More citizens need higher education	Yes, mission of school
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	Not found
Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth	Not found

Table E.9 - Summary of United Adult Workers University Responses to Globalization Pressures

Change in governance/organizational restructuring of higher education	
Definition 1 - Universities provide life-long learning.	Yes – students that attend Capital Workers University are working adults.
Definition 2 - Universities develop partnerships with businesses and industry.	Not found
Definition 3 – Reduced public funding for universities, fund allocated based on performance objectives	Not found
Definition 4 - Universities have academic department-spanning offices that are externally focused.	Not found
Definition 5 - Professors and departments are encouraged to engage in research and other projects that generate revenue for the university.	Not found
Accreditation and quality assurance	
Definition 6 - Government policy places increased emphasis on quality assurance and accreditation.	Not adequate information to report on internal university evaluation.
Internationalization of higher education	
Definition 7 Increased emphasis on internationalization on campuses.	-As a private university, prohibited by law to host international students or send students abroad.
Transnational higher education	
Definition 8 - Transnational higher education	n/a
-- Global logics --	
Better-educated workforce with specific knowledge and skills needed	Yes, mission of school
More citizens need higher education	Yes, mission of school
Knowledge is a key driver of economic growth and the university plays a more central role in the economy	Not found
Research and development are now viewed as the driving force of economic growth	Not found

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