University of Alberta

Exploring international student mobility: neoliberal globalization, higher education policies and Chinese graduate student perspectives on pursuing higher education in Canada

by

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Dedication

To my parents, with love and gratitude. Your open-mindedness towards my education and endless encouragement and support for my overseas studies have always been my motivation to move forward.

Abstract

With the advent of neoliberal globalization in the 1980s, international student mobility (ISM) has become a significant social and educational phenomenon. Given the increasing magnitude of international student flows from "developing countries" to the "developed" or major member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), this research explores major OECD policy positions on international students, related priorities in higher education, and the influence of the GATT, the WTO and the GATS on higher education in these countries. Chinese graduate student perspectives are also drawn upon to understand Chinese student migrations to Canada in pursuit of higher education.

The research considers ISM as a social and educational phenomenon of student migration across borders for higher education. Given the focus on exploration, meanings and understandings, an interpretive approach and qualitative case study strategy have been utilized to examine relative policy positions and to understand the experiences of Chinese graduate students who study at the University of Alberta (U of A) with the view to contribute towards qualitative studies of ISM.

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List of Abbreviations

ACE   American Council on Education

CAS   Chinese Academy of Sciences

CASS   Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

CEMC   Council of Ministers of Education, Canada

CSA   China Scholarship Council

CSSA   Chinese Students and Scholars Association

DAAD   Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (German Academic

            Exchange Service)

EC   European Commission

EEA   European Economic Area

EU   European Union

GATS   General Agreement on Trade in Services

GATT   General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GPA   Grade Point Average

GSM   General Skilled Migration

ICT   Information and Communication Technology

IHE   Internationalization of Higher Education

IMF   International Monetary Fund

IMHE   Institutional Management in Higher Education

ISM   International Student Mobility

ISS   International Student Service

LDCs   Less Developed Countries

NRC   National Research Council

OECD   Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PMI   Prime Minister's Initiative for International Education

P.R.C.   People's Republic of China

RA   Research assistantship

R & D   Research and Development

SEVIS	Student and Exchange Visitor Information System
SEVP	Student and Exchange Visitor Program
SSHRCC	Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada
TA	Teaching assistantship
TESL	Teaching English as a Second Language
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
U of A	University of Alberta
U of C	University of Calgary
USTC	University of Science and Technology of China
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter One: Introduction

Born in the 1980s, I happened to witness the impact of the "reform and opening-up" national policy on the country and the changes in political, economic, diplomatic and cultural arenas together with the on-going education reforms in China. In particular, my role as a student in China made me take notice of the increasing tide of students' going overseas for studies. My university was famous for its science disciplines. Each year, a handful of seniors in Electronic Engineering, Computer Science, Biological Engineering, Mathematics and so on, moved to continue their studies in some prestigious universities in the United States, where financial support was guaranteed through scholarships and awards. I happened to know some of those students through the social activities on campus, and until today I cannot forget their joy and pride when they shared their success in applying to the universities in the United States and talked about their efforts to maintain a competitive GPA, and prepare and obtain a high mark for TOEFL and GRE. Studying abroad with the financial support of the universities in the United States was considered the biggest success and the number one choice for undergraduates in China at that time.

The same is still true today except for a slight change that I noticed when I was a senior. Some of my classmates without a very competitive GPA (less than 80%) but with strong financial support from their families began to apply to universities in the United Kingdom and Australia, where they thought admission could be more easily obtained when compared to the United States or Canada. For them, the purpose of further study abroad was to satisfy the high expectations of their families as opposed to improving themselves. Then in 2006, three years after my graduation, I made a decision to pursue further studies in Canada. I quit my high-paying job and took the entrance examination for graduate students in China. I gave up admission to a famous university in China and instead decided to start a new academic program in education in Canada. My choice was motivated by my research interest in

international and cultural studies in education and was greatly supported by my parents and my university instructors.

Different motivations for overseas studies can already be discerned from the experience of my seniors and that of my own. My research interest in student mobility was further stimulated after I interacted with international students in Canada. Subsequently, I began to formulate an interest in researching the social and educational phenomenon of ISM, specifically with respect to Chinese graduate student mobility to Canada.

Being an international student and having majored in theoretical, cultural and international studies in education, I believe my experiential knowledge and theoretical foundation together enable me to conduct research on ISM and I have subsequently decided to make this the theme of my research.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of the research is to explore and understand the social and educational phenomenon of student migrations from China to Canada and other major OECD countries in pursuit of higher education. Specifically in relation to this broad objective, the research attempts to answer the following questions:

1) How might higher education policies in China and Canada (and some OECD countries) be playing a part in influencing ISM between these countries?

2) What are the perspectives of Chinese graduate students concerning their decisions to pursue higher education in Canada and other major OECD countries? Have these understandings and assessments regarding the decision to move remained the same, given their experiences at these institutions?

3) How might Chinese graduate student perspectives regarding their experiences with higher education in Canada inform policy and practice in higher education in Canada?

Methodological Approach

Given the focus on exploration, meanings and understandings, I have adopted an interpretivist approach in an attempt to ascertain student perceptions and constructions pertaining to the decisions/experiences around migration for higher education.

The case study is bounded by the focus on a specific group (Chinese graduate students in higher education in Alberta) and specific country-related experiences/policies concerning higher education migrations of Chinese students (China and Canada with possible extensions to other OECD countries). The case study strategy is taken because focusing on the study of a concrete discourse will be more fruitful and meaningful than providing pale generalizations. Specifically, document analysis, which includes web-based policy documents and policy discussions or literature, is used to analyze policy positions pertaining to ISM. Individual interviews, focus group interviewing, key informant interviews and the occasional use of participant observation were adopted to gain insights into Chinese graduate student perspectives concerning their decisions to move to Canada for further studies and their thoughts on how they now feel given that they are studying in a Canadian university.

Significance of the Proposed Research

My literature review on ISM reveals that researchers and scholars usually focus on national and institutional policies for and practices of ISM, as well as on comparative and quantitative studies of ISM, while qualitative studies of ISM are very rare. There is a need to study international student perspectives and experiences, as students are the subject of ISM. In that sense, this thesis not only undertakes policy-related analysis to understand ISM, but also looks into individual perspectives and examines motivations. It combines policy studies and qualitative studies of ISM, thereby addressing a gap in the study of ISM.

It is anticipated that this study could make a contribution to the

research in the areas of neo-liberalism and higher education, specific discussions pertain to "brain drain," human resource development and economic growth imperatives in China and in the Canadian/Euro-American regions, and sheds light on international student migrations or international student experiences and understanding regarding their choice to leave their countries to pursue higher education abroad.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Research

The limitations of doing this qualitative research mainly pertain to student un/willingness to share thoughts or assess their experiences. Only Chinese graduate students at the U of A were included. Some participants in research areas other than education did not have enough knowledge about ISM and could not give insightful feedback on questions around higher education policies. The feedback also varied according to participants' own experiences and the situation differed from department to department. Participants from different departments can enrich data collection, but on the other hand this also proves challenging for data analysis. As for language of communication, three participants insisted on speaking only in English during the interviews and this could be responsible for some semantic ambiguity. The interview data were also affected by the availability of the participants. Because of the heavy pressure from the studies and TA or RA commitments, some potential respondents who were contacted several times could not make time for an individual interview. Gender balance in perspectives should be given consideration, but due to issues of access, fewer female participants were included. Thus the research does not address gender differences in perspectives on ISM.

Originally the research was to be conducted at the University of Alberta (the U of A) and the University of Calgary (the U of C) to enhance the richness of data. However, since the pilot study proceeded smoothly and more participants were found at the U of A, the plan to set up another case study on ISM at the U of C was given up. Only Chinese students who are doing

graduate studies at the U of A with a post-secondary degree from a Chinese university were bounded because of my assumptions that my own identity would make it possible to obtain data by interviewing international students from China. It was assumed that graduate students at the U of A with a previous post-secondary degree in a Chinese university would be more capable of deeper reflection on their learning and living experience abroad when compared to undergraduates.

Organization of the Thesis

As the introductory section, Chapter One illustrates the purpose, methodology, significance, and limitations and delimitations of the research. It also offers an overview of the organization of the thesis, and defines some key terms.

Neoliberalism as an ideology has prevailed since the 1980s and is deeply embedded in the process of globalization. Based on the assumption that ISM has been influenced by neoliberal globalization, Chapter Two reviews literature on neoliberal globalization and its impact on higher education in major OECD countries. Cultural globalization is examined because culture-education-knowledge globalization is implicated in ISM and student perspectives. Then, the IHE is studied, as some scholars suggest that ISM is but one aspect of IHE. Finally, cultural factors exclusive to Chinese society which actuate ISM are explored in relation to ISM.

Chapter Three discuss the research methodology. Given the focus on exploration, meanings and understandings, an interpretivist approach is adopted in order to ascertain student perceptions and constructions pertaining to the decisions around migration for higher education. The case study strategy is applied because focusing on the study of a concrete discourse will be more fruitful and meaningful than providing pale generalizations. In particular, document analysis is utilized to collect and analyze major OECD countries' general policies towards international student flows. Focus group interviews, individual interviews, key informant interviewing and participant observations

are methods of data collection that have been employed to learn about Chinese graduate perspectives on ISM.

Chapter Four conceptualizes ISM as a flow because it has caused some global social and educational effects. UNESCO's definition of international students - "Students who have crossed a national or territorial border for the purposes of education and are now enrolled outside their country of origin" (2006, p.178) - is adopted in the research. The major OECD countries' policy positions on international students and higher education priorities and official positions on attracting students from abroad to study are the subject of this chapter. Then with respect to the Chinese-Canadian context, government policies and attitudes towards ISM are specifically examined.

Chinese graduate student perspectives on pursuing higher education in Canada are presented in Chapter Five. Data from interviews and observations are analyzed, and key findings are highlighted. For instance, Chinese students pursuing graduate studies abroad depend heavily on scholarships provided by overseas higher education institutions and though family background and parents' social-economic status still influenced students' decisions regarding further study abroad, students from both high-income family and low-income families often stressed their own efforts to win an offer from overseas universities.

In conclusion, Chapter Six revisits the major research questions, discusses the influence of neoliberal globalization on ISM, and cultural globalization's impact on ISM, and reflects on this qualitative case study.

Definitions

In this study, I use some key terms, such as globalization, neoliberalism, neoliberal globalization, ISM, IHE, international student. The definitions of these key terms are given here.

Globalization: Jones (2006) notes that a number of scholars, among them David Held, Anthony McGrew, Anthony Giddens, David Harvey, and Manuel Castells, argue or agree that globalization "…can be usefully

conceived as a process or a set of processes that embody a transformation of social relations and transactions which generate transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and power" (p.112-113).

Neoliberalism appeared as a distinctive strand of liberal ideology. It first emerged in the 1940s with major influence dating from the 1970 (Gamble, 2007). For neoliberals, economic rationality dwarfs other forms of rationalities. "Efficiency and an 'ethic' of cost-benefit analysis are the dominant norms" (Apple, 2000, p. 59). As an economic doctrine, neoliberalism persists in "…reducing the role of government in the management of the economy as much as possible, giving primacy to markets and the free play of competition" (Gamble, 2007). As a political doctrine, "neoliberalism sees the state as a necessary evil, which has vital functions to perform in respect of the market order, but which has always to be watched" (Gamble, 2007).

Neoliberal globalization: A number of scholars have suggested that the ideology of neoliberalism has embedded in the process of globalization and become a leading principle or doctrine for globalization.

IHE: "the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (Knight, 1993, p.21).

International student: "students who have crossed a national or territorial border for the purposes of education and are now enrolled outside their country of origin" (UNESCO, 2006, p.178).

ISM: "refers to students studying in a foreign country. It is just one component of transnational higher education, but one with the greatest socioeconomic, cultural, and political implications" (Gürüz, 2008, p. 16). In this research, it is defined as the social and educational phenomenon of student migration across borders for higher education.

[1]Chapter Two: Neoliberal Globalization, Internationalization of Higher Education and International Student Mobility

Based on the assumption that international student mobility (ISM) has been influenced by neoliberal globalization, this review of literature begins with a discussion of neoliberalism and globalization. It includes a brief introduction to neoliberalism, neoliberal globalization and the influence of neoliberalism-doctrined public institutions, such as GATT/WTO/GATS, on higher education. However, the influence of neoliberalism is not enough to fully interpret ISM; the cultural dimension of ISM must be given consideration in order to understand international student migration across borders for higher education. Thus cultural globalization is incorporated in the discussion. Finally, the internationalization of higher education (IHE) is looked into, as some scholars believe ISM is but one aspect of IHE.

Neoliberal Globalization and Internationalization of Higher Education

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism first appeared as a distinctive strand of liberal ideology in the 1940s with a major influence dating from the 1970s (Gamble, 2007). It

> *…is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. (Harvey, 2005, p.2)*

As an ideology, its key principles can be summarized as "free-market individualism, private property, constitutional order, and the minimal state" (Robertson & Scholte, 2007, p. 865). The scope of neoliberalism is not confined to the economic domain but has been expanded to the political,

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cultural and ideological spheres. When discussing the rise of neoliberalism, Campbell and Pederson (2001) comment that the period of the last two decades of the twentieth century was described as the time of neoliberalism, "a time of market deregulation, state decentralization, and reduced state intervention into economic affairs in general"(as cited in Campbell & Pederson, 2001, p. 1), which was

> *marked by the election of conservative governments in North America and Western Europe, the pursuit of austere stabilization polices in Latin America, and the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and their movement toward market economies. (p. 1)*

Likewise, Scholte (2000) argues that "neoliberalism has enjoyed very powerful backing: from commercial circles, including big capital in particular; from official circles, including economic and financial policymakers in particular, and from academic circles, including mainstream social scientists in particular" (p. 307). She also pinpoints that "neoliberalism has generally prevailed as the reigning policy framework in contemporary globalization" (2000, p.35) and most governments in the major states have promoted neoliberal policies towards globalization and multilateral institutions such as the IMF, the WTO and the OECD, which have continually linked globalization with liberalization. Therefore, "the term neoliberalism has subsequently become synonymous with a particular interpretation of globalization and a particular set of policies for global governance" (Robertson & Scholte, p. 865).

Neoliberal Globalization

Like an on-going subject of debate, globalization has become a widespread phenomenon to be studied from different angles since the 20th century. Some scholars have focused on the historical and social context of globalization and explored the historical origins and waves of globalization. Robertson (2003), for example denies that globalization is simply "a modern strategy for power" (p.3), but thinks that "globalization as a human dynamic

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has always been with us, even if we have been unaware of its embrace until recently" (2003). Hence he draws three waves of globalization: "the first, after 1500, centered on the globalization of regional trade; the second, after 1800, gained impetus from industrialization; the third derived from the architecture of a new world order after 1945" (2003, p.4). Some scholars consider globalization to be an economic phenomenon and exclusively draw on the study of economic globalization. For instance, Bhagwati (2004) notes, "economic globalization constitutes integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, direct foreign investment (by corporations and multinationals), short-term capital flows, international flows of workers and humanity generally, and flows of technology" (p. 3). Some reflect on the impact of globalization on culture, politics and ideology, and critique globalization as cultural imperialism, hegemony or westernization. Others, from a globalist perspective, advocate a global consciousness to call upon the world to respond to global issues, such as pollution, hunger, poverty and development. For its part, this research situates the study of the impact of globalization on higher education policies and international student flows in the third wave of globalization by referring to Robertson's division.

Although having been a buzzword, the term globalization itself has been given different connotations related to various contexts. Just as Scholte (2005) insists, "No conceptualization is normatively and politically neutral" (p. 53), and "every definition is relative to a context" (p. 53), various definitions of globalization exist. For example, Waters (2001) defines globalization as "a social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, political, social and cultural arrangements recede, in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding and in which people act accordingly" (p. 5). Bloom (2004) suggests that globalization "refers to the process whereby countries become more integrated via movements of goods, capital, labor, and ideas. International trade and capital mobility are the main channels through which globalization is occurring" (Bloom, 2004, p.59). And Scholte elaborates

"a fifth notion" (2005) of globalization beyond the existing four redundant conceptions of globalization ("internationalization" (2005), "liberalization" (2005), "universalization" (2005) and "westernization" (2005)). He regards globalization as "the rise of supraterritoriality and, therefore, a relative deterritorialization of social life" (2005, p. 50). This study regards globalization as an historical process, in which the interconnectedness of the nation-states and regions has been strengthened through the international economic, social and cultural intercourse and flows across borders. The term neoliberal globalization is adopted because neoliberalism has been embedded in globalization since the 1950s. The proposition of free market and free trade were widely propagated by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan after 1980 and still deeply influences today's political, economic and cultural systems. Under the guise of globalization, neoliberalism has become the dominant ideology and has been popularized by western countries all over the world. Thus some scholars critique economic globalization as being the global expansion of the capitalist mode of production.

Recently, it has become evident that neoliberal globalization did not bring about the real free trade or free market among nations as its advocates promised, but has resulted in greater divergence between the "developed countries" and the "developing countries". For instance, the "developed countries" by way of their advanced technology and modernization attract talented people from all over of the world and are always the greatest beneficiaries when it comes to global human capital flows, whilst "developing countries" suffer from "brain drain". As Robertson and Scholte elaborate, "brain drain" "combines elements of the global movement of labor and capital (via the flow of highly skilled and talented workers) with investment in human capital" (2007, p. 104). It mainly affects knowledge-intensive direct services, such as health care and accounting, the production of high-technology goods, such as computers, semiconductor manufacturing and software, and the generation of new knowledge, such as research and development (2007). In

relation to higher education and ISM,

> *The dominance of Western higher education in scientific, engineering, and medical fields plays a key role in creating a mobile global labor force, both by shaping the curriculum in LDCs [less developed countries] and by training foreign students enrolled in Western universities. (Robertson & Scholte, 2007, p.105)*

The other influence from neoliberal globalization on higher education and ISM is "a vision of students as human capital" (2000, Apple, p. 60). In the study of human capital theory, Marginson presents the popular understandings of the market liberal human capital theory (1980s-1990s) in the following: "educational investment and its financing are an individual responsibility: individualized investment (private schools, home computing, postgraduate courses) maximizes relative advantage" (1997, p. 116). This vision and theory of human capital undoubtedly stimulate international student migration from developing countries to developed countries for a better education in order to strengthen themselves in the competitive labor market.

Neoliberal Globalization and Higher Education

In terms of impact of globalization on higher education, Torres and Rhoads argue, the agenda of the neoliberal globalization promoted by those multilateral or bilateral agencies, such as the World Bank and perhaps the OECD

> *…includes a push toward privatization and decentralization of public forms of education, a movement toward educational standards, a strong emphasis on testing, and a focus on accountability. Specific to higher education, neoliberal versions of globalization suggest four primary reforms for universities related to efficiency and accountability, accreditation and universalization, international competitiveness, and privatization. (2006, p. 10)*

This section draws on the analysis and review of the influence of GATT/WTO/GATS on higher education and IHE in order to find out how neoliberal globalization of higher education becomes actionable through institutional mechanisms.

The influence of GATT, WTO and GATS on higher education. ISM cross borders cannot be thoroughly discussed without the consideration of the influence of GATT, WTO and GATS on higher education, which propagates the removal of barriers and promotes the liberalization of international trade. As institutional mechanisms, GATT, WTO and GATS play a key role in making the impact of neoliberal globalization on higher education possible. Their implications for IHE and ISM need to be addressed.

As the preexistence of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was established in 1947 and lasted until 1994. Its major objective was reducing the barriers to international trade. As an international treaty, the GATT was always put forward and under discussion through rounds of negotiations. Beginning with the negotiation in Geneva in 1947, there were eight rounds of negotiation before the form of the WTO. The main achievement of the GATT is its contribution to tariff reductions, which were decided upon the early rounds of negotiation. The most progressive round to date, the eighth Uruguay Round which began in 1986, tended to expand the application of the GATT to important new areas, such as services, capital, intellectual property, textiles, and agriculture. Then in 1995, the WTO was established as a replacement and an institutional body which not only succeeded the GATT rules agreed upon by nations, but also expanded the GATT's purview from trade in goods to trade in services, and in traded inventions, creations and designs (intellectual property). As the WTO itself announced,

> *The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business. (http://www.wto.org/)*

And "the system's overriding purpose is to help trade flow as freely as possible — so long as there are no undesirable side-effects — because this is

important for economic development and well-being"(http://www.wto.org/).

Accordingly, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) was created as

> *the first and only set of multilateral rules governing international trade in services. Negotiated in the Uruguay Round, it was developed in response to the huge growth of the services economy over the past 30 years and the greater potential for trading services brought about by the communications revolution. (http://www.wto.org/)*

The three critical elements of the GATS are:

> *the main text containing general obligations and disciplines; annexes dealing with rules for specific sectors; and individual countries' specific commitments to provide access to their markets, including indications of where countries are temporarily not applying the "most-favored-nation" principle of non-discrimination. (http://www.wto.org/)*

The GATS is such an aggressive agreement that covers all internationally-traded services, such as banking, telecommunications, tourism, and professional services.

> *Negotiations to further liberalize international trade in services started in early 2000…The first phase of the negotiations ended successfully in March 2001 when members agreed on the guidelines and procedures for the negotiations, a key element in the negotiating mandate. By agreeing these guidelines, members set the objectives, scope and method for the negotiations in a clear and balanced manner. (http://www.wto.org/)*

Some fundamental principles of GATS were also explicitly endorsed, for example, the overarching principle of flexibility for developing and least-developed countries, which are sensitive to public policy concerns in important sectors such as health-care, public education and cultural industries, while stressing the importance of liberalization in general. "The 2001 Doha Ministerial Declaration incorporated these negotiations into the 'single undertaking' of the Doha Development Agenda. Since July 2002, a process of bilateral negotiations on market access has been underway" (http://www.wto.org/).

The GATS covers all services, with few exceptions. And the sector of educational services covering primary, secondary, post-secondary and adult education services, as well as specialized training such as for sports, has been included in the new services negotiations since January 2000. The marketization of education has been put on the agenda. The GATS' potential influence on education can be analyzed through its four modes of trading services. Mode 1, also known as "cross-border supply," refers to the services supplied from one country to another (e.g. international telephone calls) (refer to http://www.wto.org/). Its application in education could be distance education, on-line education, or commercial franchising of a course (OECD, 2004). Mode 2, namely "consumption abroad," indicates consumers or firms making use of a service in another country (e.g. tourism) (refer to http://www.wto.org/). The application in education can involve the students who migrate from one country to another to study (OECD, 2004). Mode 3, "commercial presence," means a foreign company setting up subsidiaries or branches to provide services in another country (e.g. foreign banks setting up operations in a country) (refer to http://www.wto.org/). In the context of education, there could be "local university or satellite campuses or branch campus, including joint venture with local universities" (OECD, 2004, p.35). Finally, Mode 4, the "presence of natural persons," encompasses individuals traveling from their own country to supply services in another (e.g. fashion models or consultants) (refer to http://www.wto.org/). Visiting scholars, post-doctoral fellows, professors, etc. temporarily working abroad rightly fall into this type of service in education (OECD, 2004). In this regard, the OECD clearly describes the main modes of international supply of education services (see Table 2-1).

Attribution of the main modes of international supply of education services (OECD, 2004, p.35) Table 2-1

Mode	Explanation	Education examples	Correspondence with types of cross-border education means
Cross-border supply	The service crosses the border (does not require the physical movement of the consumer or the provider)	Distance education Online education Commercial franchising of a course	Program mobility
Consumption abroad	Consumer moves to the country of the supplier	Students who go to another country to study	People (student) mobility
Commercial presence	The service provider establishes facilities in another country to provide the service	Local university or satellite campuses Branch campus, including joint venture with local institutions.	Institution mobility
Presence of natural persons	Person traveling to another country on a temporary basis to provide the service	Professors, teachers, researchers working temporarily abroad	People (academic) mobility

Though GATS stresses that members of the WTO are not obliged to open the whole universe of services sectors and a government can opt for keeping certain public services away from liberalization, the influence of GATS is so pervasive and profound that national governments have to confront international pressure and tension in certain fields and even open the domestic market to the world by liberalizing previous public service sectors such as education, health, water and electricity supply in hopes of gaining

gigantic economic benefits.

In relation to ISM, the major OECD countries like the UK and Australia have already treated higher education as an export industry and commercial service. The common measures they are taking to publicize higher education include overseas education exhibitions for targeting international students, and easing visa application procedures and work permit applications. Meanwhile the possibility of free ISM cannot exist without the support or allowance of the country where the international students are from. Here the WTO's impact on the ISM of China is specially examined because China is the largest exporter of international students as well as a member of the WTO. As UNESCO's statistics show, in 2007, "China [sent] the greatest number of students abroad, amounting to almost 421,100" (2009, p.36).

Though China was one of the 23 original signatories of the GATT in 1948, it was not until 2001 that China came back to the WTO owing to complicated political and historical reasons. With the implementation of the "reform and opening-up policy" and a social market economy, China emphasizes the importance of joining WTO for a better participation in the new world economy as a developing country. And as a member of the WTO, China's commitment to educational services could be summed up as follows. In terms of limitations on market access, China is unbound in cross border supply. There are no limitations on market access to consumption abroad. Joint schools are being established, with foreign majority ownership permitted. China is unbound to the presence of natural persons except as indicated in Horizontal Commitments and the following: foreign individual education service suppliers may enter into China to provide education services when invited or employed by Chinese schools and other education institutions. As for limitations on national treatment, China is unbound in cross border supply and commercial presence. And there are no limitations on market access to consumption abroad. Qualifications for the presence of natural persons are as follows: possession of Bachelor's degree or above; and an appropriate

professional title or certificate, with two years' professional experiences (refer to http://tsdb.wto.org/). Abiding by no limitations on consumption abroad, the Chinese government does not impose any barriers on ISM either on sending students abroad for studying or receiving foreign students. Undoubtedly, this commitment further liberalizes ISM.

The analysis of the influences from the GATT/WTO/GATS on ISM shows that the impact of the international organizations on higher education cannot be overlooked. However, it should be pointed out that besides the GATS, the policies of other international organizations also pressure higher education and ISM. For example, Barrow, Didou-Aupetit and Mallea critique,

> *The impact on higher education of World Bank and IMF structural adjustment policies, when coupled to the developing countries' preferential investment in elementary and secondary education, is to institutionalize a global asymmetry in the provision of higher education services and to privilege the developed countries as suppliers of higher education services. In this respect, higher education is becoming an increasingly important service export for the OECD countries, both in terms of exporting educational services directly to foreign countries and by attracting foreign students, scholars, and international research grants to a country's colleges, universities, and research institutes. (2003, p. 13)*

These critiques show us the way that the policies of the international organizations impacted national higher education and made major OECD countries become the exporter of educational services.

The above review of literature tries to build a picture of the influence of neoliberal globalization on higher education. As Gürüz stresses, "with the advent of globalization, higher education worldwide started to 'internationalize,' in both the content and the scope of its activities" (2008, p. 137). Internationalization of higher education as a multi-faceted phenomenon is reviewed in a later section.

Cultural Globalization

As for the pivotal role of culture in a society, researchers of different disciplines, starting from their own focus of interest, manage to use this

perspective to illustrate and explain various phenomena coming forth, especially in the era of globalization. In the exploration of the cultural dimensions of globalization, Appadurai (1996) demonstrates that the complexity of the current global economy has to do with certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics. He proposes an elementary framework for the study of such disjunctures by looking at the relationships between five dimensions of global cultural flows which he calls ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes. Robertson and Scholte (2007) explore the connotation of cultural globalization. They argue that it encompasses three general aspects of globalization: "the diffusion of ideas and other symbolic products across ever-larger areas" (p. 258); the share of norms and knowledge through people's participation in increasingly global activities and "stretched" social relations; and the world culture containing symbolic tools, which includes "principles of human rights and conceptions of how states ought to function, for interpreting social life in a single global space" (p. 258).

Critics of globalization concentrate on its effects on different local cultures as a process of cultural imperialism. The theory of cultural imperialism might be the earliest available theory of cultural globalization, which can be traced to the early decades of the 20th century (Robertson & Scholte, 2007). During the period of cultural hybridity and conflict, cultural imperialism was examined; scholars tried to debunk one culture's dominance over another in some colonial and underdeveloped countries. It has undergone great modifications and revisions to its original meaning and has been gradually replaced by some more innocuous terms like "soft power". However, this theory now still enjoys a renewed interest by researchers because of

> *the quickly increasing global reach and speed of the internet and other forms of information and communication technology (ICT), the phenomenal growth and influence for American-exported cultural industries, and the shifting state of international relations and global politics in the aftermath of 9/11 and the American-led War against Iraq.*

(Smandych, 2004, p. 3)

The impact of cultural globalization on higher education can be perceived from the absolute American and European academic authority, the dissemination of western culture and values, and the English language, which provoke international students from the developing countries to pursue the so-called best higher education in the west.

Internationalization of Higher Education

For higher education in the twenty-first century, Altbach commented,

> *Higher education in the twenty-first century is a multifaceted phenomenon, combining a variety of institutions and systems, as increasing diversity of students, and a range of purposes and functions... and ... higher education is a central enterprise of the twenty-first century and a key part of the knowledge-based economy. (as cited in de Wit, 2002, p. xi)*

Unlike the previous mission to serve the elite class, higher education is nowadays tied to the knowledge-based economy and the interests of the nation-states in most countries. As Gürüz emphasizes,

> *Higher education has always played a key role in the development of national cultural identity and nation building. The importance of an educated citizenry to nation building and a well-trained workforce to economic development has become even more crucial in the global knowledge economy. (2008, p. 141)*

Situated in the historical context of aggressive economic globalization and a new technological revolution featuring the rise of ICT, higher institutions are not isolated entities but interdependent within this prevailing global culture. Impacted by global culture and the knowledge-based economy, higher institutions have now played a critical role in cultivating talent both domestically and abroad, which cannot be viewed in a national purview only. Along with frequent international student mobility, academic staff mobility, foreign campuses and distance education, the international dimension of higher education has been conceptualized so as to describe these phenomena occurring across national borders.

In discussing globalization and higher education, Bloom (2005) perceives that "higher education and globalization have combined to influence the lives of individuals and societies for many centuries" (p. 21) but that "the past few decades… have intensified pressure on universities to respond to global integration. The unprecedented speed of globalization has turned a piercing spotlight onto each country's systems and institutions of higher education" (2005). Overwhelmed by the global culture, globalization of higher education, internationalization of higher education, international education, transnational education, and cross-border education have been used interchangeably to depict the impact of globalization on higher institutions given the international engagement of higher institutions that has emerged. However,

> *The territory of globalization…and in particular its impact on local institutional practices, still remains contested. Indeed, beyond the terms of implying a simple increase in international traffic, the existence of globalization and the nature of its impact, the influence of local context and the likely outcomes of globalization processes remain unclear within the discourse. (Turner & Robson, 2008, p. 3)*

As Turner and Robson state, it is difficult to figure out the extent that globalization has impacted higher education and the understanding of internationalization of higher education is various and quite controversial. Scholars like Altbach consider that academic institutions are international because they share a common historical tradition across international boundaries and are linked by an international knowledge (1987). He uses "new internationalism" (1989) to understand the then emergent mobility of foreign students and scholars and points out the inequalities regarding foreign student movement in an international knowledge system which is dominated by the industrialized nations (1989). Yang (2005) adopts the perspective of "academic capitalism," which was proposed by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) to study the relationship between globalization, internationalization and the higher institution. Barrow, Didou-Aupetit and Mallea think "globalization of the

world economy, the pursuit of competitive advantage, and the investment policies of international organizations are each promoting the internationalization of higher education in the advanced countries" (2003, p. 13). The OECD (2004) takes the term cross-border education and studies it as the "second dimension of internationalization" (p. 19), which "refers to situations where the teacher, student, program, institution/provider or course materials cross national jurisdictional borders" (OECD, p. 19). As such, perspectives on the study of IHE are multi-lensed.

In studying globalization and internationalization of higher education since 1950, Gürüz (2008) finds that the exchange of students and scholars, the teaching of foreign languages, and the inclusion in the curricula of courses on different countries and cultures, and programs in international relations and area studies were major meaning of IHE until the 1980s. And as other international organizations like the OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank and supranational bodies like the EU started to interfere in education in the second half of the twentieth century, the study of comparative education was promoted and higher education started to be studied from an international perspective. He further says, "with the advent of globalization, higher education worldwide started to 'internationalize,' in both the content and the scope of its activities" (Gürüz, 2008, p. 137). Then in the exploration of the dimensions of IHE, Turner and Robson (2008) observe that "international engagement," "mobility," "revenues," "international professionals," "communication," "knowledge-sharing," "language," "programming and curriculum," "academic practices," and "reciprocal internationalization" could contribute to a preliminary qualitative assessment of the ways that internationalization is influencing higher institutions (p. 15-20). Harman (2005) thinks that practically IHE refers to one or a combination of activities such as "the international movement of students between countries," "the international movement of academic staff and researchers," "internationalization of higher education curricula in order to achieve better understandings about other

people and cultures, and competence in foreign languages," "international links between nation states through open learning programs and new technologies," "bi-lateral links between governments and higher education institutions in different countries for collaboration in research, curriculum development, student and staff exchange, and other international activities," "multi-national collaboration such as via international organizations or through consortia such as Universitas Global," and "export education where education services are offered on a commercial basis in other countries, with students studying either in their home country or in the country of the provider" (p. 120-121).

In addition, the OECD (2004) proposes four approaches to cross-border postsecondary education: the mutual understanding approach which "encompasses political, cultural, academic and development aid goals"; the skilled migration approach which "shares the goals of the mutual understanding approach but gives stronger emphasis to the recruitment of selected international students and tries to attract talented students to work in the host country's knowledge economy"; the revenue-generating approach which "shares the rationales of the mutual understanding and skilled migration approaches, but offers higher education services on a full-fee basis, without public subsidies"; and the capacity-building approach which "encourages the use of foreign postsecondary education, however delivered, as a quick way to build an emerging country's capacity" (p. 12-13). However, as the OECD itself states, these four approaches are different but not mutually exclusive. And this division is based on the strategic considerations of the nation-state.

Moreover, approaches to the study of IHE are identified. Knight and de Wit distinguish four approaches to IHE: the "activity approach" which "describes internationalization in terms of categories or types of activities" and "include academic and extracurricular activities, such as curricular development and innovation; scholar, student, and faculty exchange; area studies; technical assistance; intercultural training; international student; a

joint research activities"; the "rational approach" which "defines internationalization in terms of its purposes or intended outcomes" or the "ethos approach" in Knight's words which "focuses on developing an ethos or culture that values and supports intercultural and international perspectives and initiatives"; the "competency approach" which "looks at internationalization in term s of developing new skills, attitudes, and knowledge in students, faculty, and staff with the focus on the human dimension not on academic activities or organizational issues"; and the "process approach" which "frames internationalization as a process that integrates an international dimension or perspective into the major functions of the institution" (de Wit, 2002, p. 116-118).

As for the rationales of IHE, Knight and de Wit consider economic and political rationale, and cultural and educational rationale as the two major ones (Knight & de Wit, 1995; de Wit, 1998). Then Knight further develops the study of the rationales of IHE and proposed political, economic, and social-cultural and academic rationales. Based on this division, de Wit subcategorizes each rationale as:

> *political (foreign policy, national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding, national identity, and regional identity), economic (economic growth and competitiveness, the labor market, national educational demand, and financial incentives for institutions and governments), social-cultural, and academic rationales (providing an international dimension to research and teaching, extension of the academic horizon, institution-building, profile-status, enhancement of quality, and international academic standards). (2002, p. 85)*

However, de Wit points out that the political rationale dominated in the post-Second World War, whereas after the end of the Cold War, the emphasis changed from the political to the economic. As for political rationales, European powers were looking for political, cultural, economic and academic dominance by reproducing the European models of higher education in colonies all over the world. With the rise of the United States, especially after the Second World War, an optimistic view of peace and mutual understanding

was propagated through the internationalization of higher education. Economic rationales were and still are the driving force behind various European programs for cooperation and exchange like ERASMUS. Both political and economic rationales are mainly external factors to push institutions of higher education to become more international (2000).

The IHE, as de Wit commented,

> *…is still a phenomenon with a lot of question marks regarding its historical dimension; its meaning, concept, and strategic aspects; its relationship to developments in society and higher education in general, in particular the movement to globalization and regionalization; and regarding its status as an area of study and analysis. (de Wit, 2002, p. 215)*

In this research, IHE could be regarded as the nation-state's response to the impact of globalization. Although I refer to de Wit and Knight's definition of IHE and consider it as a process of integration, in which an international/intercultural dimension is incorporated into the teaching, research and service functions of the higher institution (Knight, 1997; de Wit, 2002), the motivation of IHE and the problems that emerged in the process of IHE, such as "brain drain," westernization of knowledge system in the process of knowledge transfer, English language industry and loss of culture and identity must be addressed and questioned.

[2]Chapter Three: Research Methodology

The main purpose of this study is to explore understandings and interpretations of Chinese graduate student flows to Canada and other major OECD countries for higher education. An interpretivist approach was employed in order to explore the role of higher education policies in ISM, to understand why Chinese graduate students pursue higher education abroad, and to learn the implications of higher education policies and practices from Chinese graduate students' perspectives and experiences. The case study strategy was utilized because the main thrust of a case study can be descriptive, exploratory or explanatory (Yin, 1984). Specifically, document analysis, interviews and participant observation were utilized in the process of data collection.

Research Design

According to Sarantakos, there are two major stages in the process of research.

> *One is the stage of planning, and the other is the stage of execution. During the first stage, researchers construct a design, a plan of the research, and during the second they collect and analyze the data. The former is conducted in the researcher's office, the latter in the field. (2005, p.105)*

To me, research design should not restrict our flexibility in dealing with other issues that emerge. Instead, it is a guideline, that provides direction. The conceptualization of research topic, the choice of methodology, the methodological construction of the research topic, the sampling procedures, the data collection, and the data analysis were fully considered and planned.

Specifically, the proposed research aims at understanding the social

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and educational phenomenon of Chinese student migrations in pursuit of higher education in the west by exploring Chinese graduate student perspectives and experiences pertaining to their decision to seek higher education in Canada and examining Chinese government policies and official positions on higher education abroad for Chinese students. It considers these foci in conjunction with exploring Canadian and other major OECD countries' policy positions on international students and higher education priorities and official positions on attracting students from abroad to study in these countries. It is anticipated that this study could make a contribution towards research in the area of globalization and higher education, specific discussions pertaining to "brain drain" and human resource development and economic growth imperatives in China and in Canada and other major OECD countries. It will enrich literature and empirical research concerning student migrations and international student experiences and understanding regarding their choice to leave their country to pursue an education.

The broad objective of this study is to explore and understand the social and educational phenomenon of student migrations from China to Canada and other major OECD countries in pursuit of higher education. Specifically and in relation to this broad objective, the research tries to answer the following questions: Why do students from China come to Canada and other major OECD countries in pursuit of higher education? Have the reasons for this decision remained the same once they have entered the higher education system in Canada? What are their perspectives on their experience in relation to the decision to change countries and educational systems? How have Chinese higher education policies and Canadian/OECD policies played a part in helping to explain and understand these student migrations?

Given the focus on exploration, meanings and understandings, I adopted an interpretivist approach where the attempt has been to ascertain student perceptions and constructions pertaining to the decisions/experiences around migration for higher education.

Case Study Strategy

The case study strategy is taken because focusing on the study of a concrete discourse or aspect will be more fruitful and meaningful than giving vague generalizations.

There are three types of case studies, as Stake (2005) classified. One is an intrinsic case study, which is undertaken because of an intrinsic interest in certain phenomena without the purpose of understanding some abstract construct or generic phenomenon or theory building. One is an instrumental case study, which plays a supportive role and facilitates our understanding of something else. The third is a multiple case study, in which a number of cases may be studied jointly in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or general condition. My research could be classified as instrumental type, because the case is looked at in depth and used to advance understanding.

Bogdan and Biklen define a case study as "a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event" (1982, p. 58). Reflecting on their definition, I located my case in understanding Chinese graduate students who were pursuing higher education in Canada. More specifically, the case study strategy is employed to understand student perspectives. It is a case study that is bounded by its focus on a specific group -- Chinese students at the U of A and specific country-related experiences or policies on higher education migrations of Chinese students (China and Canada with extensions to other OECD countries). My focus on graduate students from China at the U of A emanated from the following assumptions: This research is about student mobility across borders; therefore, international students are the pertinent interviewees. Second, as an international student from China at the U of A, my own identity makes it possible and accessible to obtain data by interviewing international students from China. In addition, graduate students at the U of A with a previous post-secondary degree in a Chinese university are supposed to have a deeper reflection on their learning and living experience abroad compared to

undergraduates (research assumption).

The qualitative case study was developed by utilizing the following methods of data collection:

Document Analysis

When discussing the study of documents, Sarantakos (2005) notes, "Documentary methods are a very useful tool of social research and an indispensable one, particularly when the research is focused on past events. In such cases documentary methods are the only way of collecting data on this issue" (p. 299). Also "the significance of the documents may be located in the historical circumstances of production, in their circulation and reception of the items and also the social functions, interpretations, effects and uses that may be associated with them" (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005, p. 79).

With regard to the notable international student migration, especially Chinese student mobility, to OECD countries, an analytical review of policy documents of the major OECD countries towards ISM was conducted in order to determine how policies might play a part in influencing ISM, why the major OECD countries recruit international students and how marketing for recruitment of the best or brightest students from developing countries make "brain drain" a reality from South to North. Thereafter, Chinese government policies and positions on the overseas study were explored in order to investigate the involvement of policy in Chinese students' overseas studies.

Two steps were adopted to collect data. The first is doing on-line searching on OECD countries' general policies towards international flows or cross boarder education, from which attitudes and rationales of host countries can be obtained. The second step is to look at Chinese graduate student mobility to Canada by looking for China's educational policy towards overseas study and Canada's policy and position on ISM. However, both English and Chinese literature on Chinese government policy and positions are quite limited. Therefore, in order to establish and develop a policy-based perspective on Chinese student higher education migrations, the domain of

searching is expanded to China's "reform and opening-up policy" and diplomatic policy for a better understanding of this issue.

Interviews

Interviewing, also called verbal questioning is employed for data collection. The benefits of interviewing can be gleaned from Wellington's words,

> *…interviewing allows a researcher to investigate and prompt things that we cannot observe. We can probe an interviewee's thoughts, values, prejudices, perceptions, views, feelings and perspectives. We can also elicit their version or their account of situations which they may have lived or taught through: his-or her-story. (2000, p.71)*

As for this research, I designed a focus group interview and individual interviews with the purpose of learning students' perspectives and ensuring the richness of data.

Focus group interviewing. According to Khan and Manderson (1992), a focus group interview is "a qualitative method with the primary aim of describing and understanding perceptions, interpretations, and beliefs of a select population to gain understanding of a particular issue from the perspective of the group's participants" (as cited in Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005, p. 78). In view of this, I invited three graduate students from China in the Faculty of Education at the U of A to participate in my research. The justification for this inclusion is that all of them have received higher education in China and got either a bachelor's or a master's degree from a Chinese university. Being graduate students, they are mature and able to express their opinions when compared to undergraduates; and their educational experience in China and Canada will probably enable them to adopt a comparative perspective to evaluate both domestic and overseas studies. One graduate student in a department other than education was invited to participate in the focus group discussion because of his special situation. He is funded by both the Chinese government and the U of A. Another purpose for doing focus group interviewing is that it could be a pilot run to verify my

questions for individual interviews.

Individual interviews and key informant interviewing. In terms of individual interviewing, I tried to figure out who were my key informants. In defining key informants, Woods thinks, "key informants are people, with whom, over the course of the research, one comes to form an especially close relationship" (as cited in Wellington, p.73). This research tried to avoid any bias when selecting key informants. The only selection standard was to look for those who are open and glad to share their perspectives and experiences with me. Also I extended the scope of looking for a potential interviewee from the Faculty of Education to all the faculties and departments of the U of A. That is because I believe students in different academic areas may have distinctive ideas about student mobility, which will contribute to the students' perspectives on ISM.

The interviews were designed in a semi-structured format. There were sample questions for interviewing, but the order and the content of questions could be changed or adjusted as the dialogue developed. Nevertheless, the interview was more controlled by me as the interviewer. The sample interview questions are listed in the appendix.

Participant Observation

"Observation can study all observable social phenomena, as long as they are accessible" (Sarantakos, p. 220). And "in participant observation, researchers join the group they intend to study and observe it from the inside" (as cited in Sarantakos, p. 220). My purpose of doing participant observation at Chinese Student and Scholar Association (CSSA) meetings at the U of A is to look at how student support groups or reputation might also enhance or explain why Chinese students move. I expect to gain additional insights on student migrations or experiences in relation to why students have made the decision to migrate.

Research Process

Research Participants and Identifiers

The major research participants are interviewees of the focus group interviewing and individual interviews. They are identified as Chinese students who obtained a bachelor's degree from a university in China and then have been in a graduate program at the U of A under study permit for one year and/or above. The reasons why I defined those identifiers are as follows: this research focuses on the student mobility across borders, thus international students would be the proper respondents; Chinese students who are studying under the study permit in the U of A could be accessible because of my own identity as an international student from China. Furthermore, Chinese students who are taking graduate studies in the U of A for at least one year with a bachelor's degree from a university in China are the pertinent participants. My assumption is that they are mature enough to provide insightful thoughts about ISM based on their higher education experiences in China and Canada as opposed to undergraduate students. The attached form in the appendix shows the main identifiers of the participants of interviews. Considering confidentiality, the real name of all participants is replaced with Student * (S*).

Focus Group Interviewing

Through the e-mail contact, I sent the information letter to the selected Chinese students in the Faculty of Education and one Chinese student in Faculty of Engineering. The reason why I tried to contact Chinese graduate students in the Faculty of Education is based on my consideration that graduate students in education are professional and may have more insights on ISM. And later three students in education joined my focus group interviewing. One student in the Faculty of Engineering was also invited because of his special status. Supported by the China's government and the U of A, he wanted to comment on ISM in the Chinese-Canada context. Thus a total of four students responded to my invitation and participated in the focus group discussion. Six questions were raised by me and answered by the participants in turn. The conversation was recorded by a tape recorder. Anonymity was

emphasized to keep confidentiality. The successful completion of focus group interviewing encouraged me to look for more potential respondents for the individual interviews.

Individual Interviews

Based on the six research questions used for focus group interviewing, I added five questions in order to have an in-depth communication with individual participants. In view of the richness of data, I opened individual interviews to the qualified Chinese students in all faculties and departments of the U of A. A total of eleven participants took part in the interviews and each of them spent about one hour sharing their ideas with me. Important information was obtained from those in-depth interviews.

Participant Observation

After contacting and introducing my research background to the president of CSSA, I was told that there would not be monthly CSSA meetings due to the members' unavailability. Then I had to rethink the research design and eventually slightly adjusted the design. I looked for other participant observation opportunities and fortunately got the chance to sit on the welcome session for international students in the Faculty of Education and participated in the International Center focus group discussion about international graduate students from China held by the U of A. Every year there is a welcome session for international students in the Faculty of Education, which is held by the Faculty of Education's International Office. As an international student from China, I was invited to that session. I listened to other students' discussions about their life and study at the U of A and shared my own ideas with them as well.

The other participant observation I took part in was at the International Center of the U of A. With the yearly increase of international students from China, the International Student Service (ISS) of the U of A wants to learn the current Chinese students' experiences in the U of A for their better service for the prospective international students. I was contacted by the ISS to join the

discussion. Field notes were taken during these two observations, through which, some common problems or difficulties were found from international students from China.

Key Informant Interviewing

Doing key informant interviewing is to look into how student support groups might also enhance or explain why Chinese students move and/or to gain additional insights on student migrations or experiences in relation to why students have made the decision to migrate. At the U of A, CSSA is the major support group for all Chinese students. My former idea of doing participant observation at the CSSA monthly meeting was given up because the chairman informed me that there are no monthly meetings because of the tight time schedule of the members. The chairman was a very kind and warm-hearted person. He expressed his willingness to answer all the questions about the CSSA after I introduced my research background and topic to him. Then I interviewed the chairman of CSSA as a key informant.

<center>**Pilot Studies**</center>

The goals of pilot studies were summed up by Sarantakos (2005). For instance, "to estimate the costs and duration of the main study" (p.256), "to test the suitability of the research methods and instruments" (p.256), and "to familiarize researchers with the research environment" (p.256). But to me, the most significance of doing pilot studies was "to discover possible weaknesses, inadequacies, ambiguities and problems in all aspects of the research, so that they can be corrected before actual data collection takes place" (p.256). In fact, from my pilot interviews, I did discover the inadequacy of my sample questions when I interviewed certain participants. Then I came up with the idea of adding a series of specific questions in the later formal interviews in order to make sure that the participants can fully engage in the conversation.

<center>**Data Analysis**</center>

Unlike quantitative research, where analysis is conducted after data collection, in qualitative research the timing of analysis varies. In

some cases it follows the same path as in quantitative research, but in most cases it is conducted during data collection. A combination of both models is also possible. (Sarantakos, 2005, p.344)

My data analysis is merged with data collection because I chose analyzing data during and after data collection.

In a number of cases, analysis during data collection serves to guide research in the right direction, and to facilitate a more effective treatment and coverage of the research topic. The actual analysis is conducted after data gathering is completed. (Sarantakos, 2005, p.346)

Specifically, my data was analyzed utilizing the following procedures. In terms of the timing of data analysis, analysis during data collection (conducting some basic analysis in order to guide research in the right direction and cover the research topic effectively), and analysis after data collection (intensifying the analysis with focus on more specific aspects of the research question) were conducted. As for analytical methods, iterative qualitative analysis was adopted and the approach construction and deconstruction were used. In addition, conversation analysis was taken to analyze the data from interviews.

Confidentiality and Trustworthiness

As a researcher, I firmly abide by the principle "the maximum of benefits but minimum of risks" during the process of focus group interviewing and individual or key informant interviewing. In order to minimize the discomforts, the main purpose of the study, research questions and methodology were clarified to all participants at the beginning of the interview. Pseudonyms were used and that anonymity will be maintained in all publications. Particularly, as for focus group interviewing, participants' identity was protected by anonymity when doing tape recording in order to achieve confidentiality. And the participants were reminded that they would have to maintain as confidential matters discussed in the group. The collection of participants information like full name and e-mail address is for the convenience of mutual contact, such as fixing an interview date and place. As

long as the study is completed, the identifiers such as signature on the returned consent forms and other personal information written down on the field notes will be destructed at once, thus no identifiers will be retained. All personal data will be made public only behind a shield of anonymity.

Additionally, in regard to participant observations, my role is a participant as observer. The purpose of doing those observations is to learn the international graduate student perspective on their lives and studies at the U of A. My research background was introduced to the host. And as a participant, I also shared my experience of being an international student at the U of A with them.

During the whole process of research, trust and rapport with the respondents were established and maintained through effective communication. In addition, participants were notified at the very beginning of interview that they can withdraw at any time. Participants' decision to withdraw from the research were fully respected and understood. Aborted interviews were stopped at once and the data already obtained was destroyed.

For data storage, qualitative data from documents and interviews and participant observation were maintained in the following format: academic journal for documents, annotated bibliography for literature review, tape recording and note taking for interviews and participant observation. All gathered data were locked in the cabinet of the personal office and laptop with an encrypted password thus increasing security.

Trustworthiness of data and interpretations are addressed by the adherence to ethical guideline symbolized in informed consent, protection of privacy and non-deception; triangulation of sources of data (multiple types of interviews, documents and participant observation) and of participants (students from different departments and faculties).

[3]Chapter Four: Policies on Higher Education in the OECD Countries (including Canada) and China and International Student Mobility

In terms of the significant and frequent ISM, I consider the plurality of countries' rationales and motivations towards this phenomenon in a global context. Through the analysis of policy and practice on higher education and ISM, the factors in the arenas of policy influence, which stimulated a large number of students to migrate from one country to the other or from one region to the other in pursuit of higher education, are identified. The study begins with the review of major OECD countries' policies towards international student migration. Then within the Canadian-Chinese context, I explore Chinese students' migration to Canada. In particular, the Chinese government and Canadian government's policy and position on this phenomenon are analyzed.

When discussing the social theory of space and the theory of the space of flows, Castells argue that:

> *...our society if constructed around flows: flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interaction, flows of images, sounds, and symbols. Flows are not just one element of the social organization: they are the expression of processes dominating our economic, political, and symbolic life. (1996, p.411-412)*

Then Marginson & Sawir further explore the concepts of 'flows' and 'network' which "has become central to our understanding of cross-border relations and effect" (p.281) as well as the concept of global flows. They point out that,

> *More than effects of globalization, 'flows' are carriers of global effects and creators of global effects that keep on circulating in continuous feedback loops, so that in a sense the glows flows are globalization and we begin to free ourselves from the notion of an invisible essence.*

Related to the above discussions about flows and global flows, ISM is regarded as a flow in this research because it bears the specific social and educational meaning and has caused some global effects as an increasing number of international students cross borders for higher education every year.

Concerning the definition of the mobility of students from one country to the other, a different understanding is given by each country. For example, Australia defines foreign students based on the foreign nationality, including permanent residents, while the United States deems foreign citizenship, excluding permanent residents and refugees (Tremblay, 2002). "Foreign" students and "international" students are obviously the most common terms used to label students from other countries. However, as Verbik & Lasanowski point out, "Terminology used in one country often has little or no equivalent in another, and for this reason, countries report enrolment statistics in different capacities as they relate to their own national contexts" (2007, p.3). Also slight differences exist in understanding the concept of international students and statistics about international student number among international organizations. For example, the OECD defines foreign students as "persons admitted by a country other than their own, usually under special permits or visas, for the specific purpose of following a particular course of study in an accredited institution of the receiving country" (http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/). And "foreign students are students who do not hold the citizenship of the country for which the data are collected" (http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/). UNESCO thinks internationally mobile students who leave their country or territory of origin and move to another country or territory with the objective of studying can be defined by citizenship, permanent residence and prior education, which typically refers to upper secondary education for students enrolled in tertiary program (2006). The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) defines mobile students based on their permanent residency status. And in the Global Education Digest (2006), international (or internationally mobile) students

were first introduced as "students who have crossed a national or territorial border for the purposes of education and are now enrolled outside their country of origin" (UNESCO, 2006, p.178).

In this research, the definition of "international student" by UNESCO is adopted. Moreover, the term "host countries" is used to indicate the places where international students head for and countries of origin the places where international students come from. Unless specifically stated, the research is confined to the international/foreign/overseas students who attend higher education institution abroad.

The large numbers of international students who cross borders for the pursuit of higher education in recent years has been addressed and described by scholars and researchers and statistics are well recorded to analyze the ISM phenomenon. According to UNESCO,

> *In 2007, over 2.8 million students were enrolled in educational institutions outside of their country of origin. This presents 123,400 more students than in 2006, an increase of 4.6%. And the global number of mobile students has grown by 53% since 1999 (with an average annual increase of 5.5%) and by 2.5 times since 1975 with an average annual increase of 11.7% throughout this period (2009, p.36)*

Verbik and Lasanowski (2007) articulate in *The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education*,

> *International student mobility has over the past 10-15 years become an increasingly important part of the global higher education landscape. The total number of mobile tertiary education students was estimated to have reached more than 2.7 million in 2005, a nearly 61% increase since 1999. Traditionally, more than 90% of international students have enrolled in institutions in countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) with the main destinations (the US, the UK, Germany, France and Australia) recruiting over 70% of them. Significant year-on year growth was recorded in the late 1990s and early 2000s in most of the main English-language destinations with major sources countries such as China and India providing a large number of enrolments each year. (p.1)*

Also the International Organization for Migration's report in 2008 points out,

"between 1998 and 2004, the number of foreign students enrolled worldwide rose by 52 per cent to 2.7 million, with the OECD countries hosting 85 per cent of the total" (p. 105). And from the OECD's four-year statistics on foreign/international student enrolled in the total 30 member countries of OECD from 2004 to 2007, the United States ranked the top one in terms of international mobile students with non-resident status at the level of tertiary education, followed by the United Kingdom, Australia, Japan, Canada and New Zealand. Moreover, in 2007, the number of non-resident student has arrived at 595,874 in the United States, 351,470 in the UK, 211,526 in Australia, 115,106 in Japan, 68,520 in Canada and 33.047 in New Zealand (refer to http://www.oecd.org/statsportal/). The large number of international students in the West in recent years has become a striking phenomenon for research. Different from academic exchanges between countries centuries ago, the rationales and motivations of today's ISM are quite diverse.

With regard to such prominent international student migration to the major OECD countries, two questions are raised to explore this phenomenon from the vantage point of policy studies:

Why are major OECD countries actively recruiting international students?

What are policies of the major OECD countries concerning ISM that could be encouraging and influencing students (especially from developing countries) to consider pursuing higher education in OECD countries?

In order to do a policy study to construe this phenomenon, the general policy of the OECD in higher education is examined first. Then in light of the significant student flows from developing countries to major OECD countries, the study begins with the examination of the policy of the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Australia towards student mobility. Finally, by focusing on Chinese student migration to Canada, in particular, Chinese government and Canadian government's policy and position on this phenomenon are looked into.

Recent OECD Policies in Higher Education

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development is

a unique forum where the governments of 30 market democracies work together to address the economic, social and governance challenges of globalization as well as to exploit its opportunities....[It] provides a setting where governments can compare policy experiences, seek answers to common problems, identify good practice, and coordinate domestic and international policies. (OECD, 2008, p. 7)

And the OECD member countries are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States. In the field of higher education, it has the Program Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE), which is

a membership forum serving policy-makers in national and regional authorities, managers of higher education institutions, and researchers. IMHE provides strategic analysis and advice on institutional leadership, management, research and innovation in a global knowledge economy, and reform and governance in higher education (http://www.oecd.org/about).

The OECD fully recognizes the role of higher education in the society and emphasizes its contribution to the economy. As the Secretary-General of the OECD Angel Gurria states,

The economic significance of higher education is great, and it is growing. Throughout the world, it is now understood that a high-quality system of higher education is central to the ability of nations to participate successfully in the global knowledge economy. This common conviction is well-founded. (OECD, 2006, p.13)

Referring to the key documents from the meeting of the OECD Education Ministers of 2006, migration and internationalization were discussed. Member countries are called on to look at immigration policies, as well as higher education policy itself, to develop coherent responses by coordinating the

policies at the national level, such as student visas, financial support and language of instruction (OECD, 2006).

Educational Policies concerning ISM in Major OECD Countries

The statistics from UNESCO show that in 2007,

The United States hosts the largest number and share of the world's mobile students at 595,900 and 21.3% respectively. It is followed by the United Kingdom (351,500), France (246,600), Australia (211,500), Germany (206,900), Japan (125,900), Canada (68,500), South Africa (60,600), the Russian Federation (60,300) and Italy (57,300). These 11 countries host 71% of the world's mobile students, with 62% of them studying in the top six countries. (2009, p.36-37)

In light of the different situation of member countries of the OECD, a selective exploration on the national policy towards international student flows is conducted in this research. Four member countries of the OECD, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Australia are selected because of their special and representative characters as the successful educational service exporters. The research reviews their national policies on international student flows in the historical and social background in order to put the factors that influence the policy making in perspective. Moreover, the national rationale of supporting international education is examined to unveil the reason why the host country actively promotes recruitment of international students.

International student recruitment in the United States. The promotion of international education program can be traced to the post-war period especially the Cold War between the then two confronted super powers in the world, the United States and the Soviet Union. This confrontation, which presented the conflict between the West and the East in the political systems, economic systems and cultural and ideological field resulted in the complexion that "during the 1945–90 period, the United States and Soviet Union employed various cultural and informational and educational tools to establish and maintain friendly political regimes in foreign states"(Tsvetkova, 2008, p.199). And education, under such circumstances,

> *…became one of the powerful vehicles, through which both superpowers produced or reproduced the loyalty of foreign dominant groups, who in their turn maintained the belief in their societies that imposed models of political institutions, economic arrangements, and cultural values were the most appropriate. (2008)*

"In this context international education programs became a major part of their strategy to win the "minds" and "allegiance" and to reproduce or transform foreign dominant groups" (2008). If the promotion of international education had a strong political rationale, then with the emergence of knowledge economy, higher education gradually becomes the frontier of talent competition and closely ties to economy at the end of the Cold War. While it should be indicated that the purpose of targeting international students in post-graduate studies is different from that in undergraduate studies in the United States.

Additionally, economic situations always affect the government's investment in higher education and educational policy towards the recruitment of international students.

> *Because higher education is the largest discretionary item in states' budgets, state funding for higher education tends to rise when the economy and resulting state revenues are good and to drop during recessions. Even during boom times, funding may be less than it appears once inflation and rising enrollments are taken into account. (Zusman, 2005, p.117)*

As the state funding for higher education shrank and the privatization of public colleges and universities became popular in the United States since 1990s, recruiting international undergraduate students who meet certain admission criterion and can pay the full education cost without public subsides is a way of revenue-generating. However, in terms of postgraduate education, the American higher institutions attract and target talent worldwide by offering high scholarships and want to retain those talented people in consideration of the foreign students' contributions to the United States' research and development.

International graduate students continue to make up almost half of total enrollment in the science and engineering fields (NSB, 2006). The total number of applicants to graduate in programs in these fields dropped in 2003–04 and 2004–05, but recovered in 2005–06. (as cited in ACE issue brief, 2006)

Visa application is the critical step for foreign students to pursue higher education in the United States.

An applicant for a student visa to the US must first demonstrate that s/he is a bona-fide student qualified to pursue a full course of study. The applicant must also demonstrate that s/he is seeking to enter the U.S. temporarily and solely for the purpose of pursuing such a course of study at an established academic institution. Lastly, the applicant must demonstrate their ability to pay for tuition and living expenses for the course of their studies. (http://beijing.usembassy-china.org.cn)

However, the visa acceptance rate is always fluctuating and considered together with the security of the United States. It is quite common that students fail to get the visa even though they hold an offer from a higher institution in the United States. The student visa application becomes more complicated alongside the aftermaths of the terrorist attacks of 9/11. New regulations and procedures for foreign visitors to the United States have been implemented.

Beginning in 2003, educational institutions and other hosts of foreign students coming to the United States on academic (F-1), vocational (M-1), or exchange (J-1) visas are required to be certified to receive such visitors via the Student and Exchange Visitor Program (SEVP) and its SEVIS database. (http://www.ed.gov/)

Applicants for U.S. visas are also subject to more rigorous background checks than in the past, and applicants may also be subject to special processing and registration procedures. All visa applicants must be interviewed by a consular official and certain vital data recorded, including photographs and digital fingerprints. Major efforts are being made to publicize and explain these new procedures and to help potential students and other visitors, as well as hosts, navigate them. (http://www.ed.gov/)

The policy change has directly influenced ISM to the United States, which can be perceived from the enrollment number of international students.

"International student enrollment in the United States peaked in 2002–03, and then declined in the following two years, by 2.4 percent and 1.3 percent, falling from 586,323 students in 2002–03 to 565,039 in 2004–05" (as cited in ACE issue brief, 2006).

The recent discussion on a series of questions like "should the government be encouraging or discouraging international graduate students from studying science and engineering in this country?" was proceeded by a National Academies panel, exploring issues related to the presence of foreign graduate students and postdoctoral scholars in the United States. Then on July 21, 2009, a related bill (S. 2715) was introduced by Sen. Norm Coleman (R-MN) to "improve access to graduate schools in the United States for international students and scholars". The bill finds that "openness to international students and exchange visitors serves longstanding and important United States foreign policy, educational, and economic interests," and that "the erosion of such exchanges is contrary to United States national security interests" (refer to http://www.aip.org). These actions are expected to be helpful to further improve the student visa pass rate.

As for employment, international students in the United States can apply to the Service for authorization for temporary employment for optional practical training directly related to the student's major area of study up to 20 hours a week while school is in session or after the completion of the course of study (refer to http://www.ice.gov/).

International student recruitment in the United Kingdom (UK) and Germany. For a better discussion of the situation in the UK and Germany, the European Union's policy on higher education and rationale concerning international student recruitment is explored first.

The European Union (EU) and its policy in higher education. The aftermath of World War II is profound. The war destroyed major Fascist countries as well as damaged major powers in Europe, such as the United Kingdom and France which symbolized the collapse of the old world order.

Meanwhile, it provoked the world to consider the future of human being and the orientation of development. Far away from the battleground and being the ammunition provider to the fighting countries, the United States maintained its strength, accumulated national wealth through the war and became the sole power in the world from World War II to the late 1960s. However, with the resurrection of Europe and Japan, a tripartite world order of confrontation came into being in the 1970s. The old imperialist powers such as the United Kingdom, France and Germany realized that it is far enough to fully participate in the world affairs by their own power. Then the appeal for Europe as an entity occurs. From the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952, European Economy Community and European Atomic Energy Community in 1957, European Communities in 1967 to the European Union in 2007, Europe tries to keep a unanimous voice and an integrated power in the world affairs. And the mission of Europe in the 21st century is to

> *provide peace, prosperity and stability for its peoples; overcome the divisions on the continent; ensure that its people can live in safety; promote balanced economic and social development; meet the challenges of globalization and preserve the diversity of the peoples of Europe; uphold the values that Europeans share, such as sustainable development and a sound environment, respect for human rights and the social market economy. (http://europa.eu/)*

Alongside the advent of knowledge economy, the EU launched the Lisbon Agenda, which aims to make the EU "the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion, and respect for the environment by 2010" (Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March Presidency Conclusion, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/). And in higher education, the Bologna process is exerted to "create a European Higher Education Area by 2010, in which students can choose from a wide and transparent range of high quality courses and benefit from smooth recognition procedures" (http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education). As early as in

the Bologna Declaration of June 1999, a series of reforms has been put in motion for making European Higher Education more compatible and comparable, more competitive and more attractive for Europeans and for students and scholars from other continents (refer to http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education). Echoing Bologna process and Lisbon strategy, the Erasmus Mundus program, a cooperation and mobility program in the field of higher education, as a policy instrument was firstly introduced by the European Commission (EC) in 2001 with the aim of "[enhancing] the quality of European higher education and [promoting] dialogue and understanding between people and cultures through cooperation with Third-Countries" (http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/). It "coincides with the Lisbon Strategy, a commitment to making the European Union the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world and a reference for high quality and excellence in education" (http://ec.europa.eu/education/). A total budget of 296.1m Euros is available for the Erasmus Mundus programming period 2004-2008 (Center for Strategy & Evaluation Services LLP, 2007, p. i). And "the expected budget for Erasmus Mundus will be an indicative amount of €950 million from 2009 to 2013" (http://ec.europa.eu/). The funds are used to provide financial support for institutions and offer scholarships to individuals based on three Actions:

> *Erasmus Mundus joint programs of outstanding quality at masters (Action 1 A) and doctoral (Action 1 B) levels including scholarships/fellowships to participate in these programs; Erasmus Mundus Partnerships between European and Third Country higher education institutions including scholarships and fellowships for mobility at all academic levels; Promotion of European higher education through projects to enhance the attractiveness of Europe as an educational destination and a centre of excellence at world level. (http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/)*

This new scheme is intended to strengthen international links in higher education, by encouraging the mobility of European students and scholars from all over the world to engage in postgraduate study at European

universities, as well as by promoting the mobility of European students and scholars. (OECD, 2004)

With the above background and consideration, the EU utilizes higher education as a platform to target talent all over the world, to disseminate the influence of the Europe and to compete for the market shares in terms of international education export with the United States and other competitors. However, in the EU, the situation varies from country to country; the UK and Germany are examined as the top winners in the global international student market.

International student recruitment in the UK. The UK is the most popular destination of international students following the United States, which occupies a privileged position in the market of foreign students. Nevertheless, the UK's policy towards international students has been changed as time advances.

> *International students in the UK grew from 28,000 in 1955–1956 to 64,000 in 1962–1963 and in this period they were seen as contributors to international relations and development, as an enrichment of student life, a source of students for vacant places, and 'lastly' a source of revenue. (as cited in Bolsmann & Miller, 2008, P.75)*

Prior to 1967, international students in the UK paid the same fees as home students and were subsidized by public funds (Williams, P. 1984; Williams, L. 1987). However, the differential fee was first introduced to international students after 1967 which meant international students paid higher fees than home students (Woodhall, 1987; Bolsmann & Miller, 2008). The rapid increase of international students in the 1970s caused the British government great concern of the cost of public subsidies for overseas students and the imbalances of recruitment of home students and international students. New policies were implemented pertaining to recruiting international students, such as student quota limit was introduced in 1977 to regulate numbers through numerical, institutional quota and to reduce the subsidization of foreign students (Woodhall, 1987; Bolsmann & Miller, 2008). Thereafter, since

neoliberalism became the dominant ideology of the British government in 1980s, the economic benefit gained from international students is highly evaluated and the economic rationale dwarfs other rationales.

> *In the 1980s, 'full cost' overseas fees were introduced, immigration and visa issues became a major feature, a network of international student advisers developed, the FCO Chevening Scholarship scheme was launched and universities and colleges–and the British Council–established large scale marketing operations overseas. Competition had begun. (Stiasny, 2008, p.8)*

The emphasis on the internationalization of higher education and recruitment of international students are reflected in the Prime Minister's Initiative for International Education (PMI) 1 and 2. The first PMI which was launched in 1999 aimed to "increase the number of international students pursuing a UK education, in recognition of their importance in fostering international relations and bringing long-term political and economic benefits to the UK" (http://www.britishcouncil.org/). Then in 2006, PMI2 was launched by Prime Minister Tony Blair "in consultation with the education sector to build on the success of the first PMI, which had come to an end having achieved its targets in 2005" (http://www.britishcouncil.org/). PMI2 is "a five-year strategy, which aims to secure the UK's leading position in international education and sustain the growth of United Kingdom international education delivered in the UK and overseas" (http://www.britishcouncil.org/). Beyond the general expectations of promoting the benefits of a United Kingdom education to international students, diversifying and consolidating markets, and so on, PMI2 in particular sets the targets for 2011. It aims to

> *attract an additional 70,000 international students to United Kingdom Higher Education, and an additional 30,000 international students to United Kingdom Further Education; achieve demonstrable improvements to student satisfaction ratings in the UK; achieve significant growth in the number of partnerships between the UK and other countries; double the number of countries sending more than 10,000 students per annum to the UK. (http://www.britishcouncil.org/)*

The significant shifts in government's policy towards international

students from attracting human capital to generating economic benefits certify that higher education in the UK has been turned into an export industry. And the successful marketing strategy and operation in higher education have targeted a great amount of international students all over the world every year. For example, the one-year masters program indeed attracts international students who care about the study time line and cost.

In regard to the immigration and entry policy, different from the United States, the UK does not highly stress national security factor into issuing visa but weighs more on the economic status of the applicants. The current policy of a general student visa is that the applicants who are coming to study in the UK over six months must pass a points-based assessment and score 40 points before they are able to travel to the UK. 30 points of the 40 is for a visa letter from a licensed sponsor and the 10 points for maintenance which the applicants should certify they have enough money to cover course fees and monthly living costs for up to 9 months and the bank statements must confirm the money has a history of at least 29 days. In terms of retaining the international students, students are allowed to work in the UK if they are EEA national, not an EEA national or have a "restriction on working" in the passport or not an EEA national and have a "prohibition on working" in the passport. And "At the time of writing (April 2009) international students can work up to 20 hours a week during term time and full-time during vacations"(British Council, 2009, p. 4). In addition, the spouse, married or unmarried partner of children of the international student who are given permission to be in the UK to study for 12 months or more can also be given permission to work.

International student recruitment in Germany. The policy towards international students of the German government distinguishes from the UK's because of the special national situation. As an aging society, there is always a demand for the fresh human resources who can contribute to the nation-state's knowledge economy (OECD, 2006). Nonetheless, the policy in Germany is

also adjusted as the situation changes. Such as "West Germany feared that in some cases increased flows of foreign students represented 'disguised immigration,' which caused concern at a time of growing unemployment" (Woodhall, 1987, p. 120). Not through quotas or differential fees, West Germany regulated admission through stringent test of language proficiency. After the reunion of East Germany and West Germany and participation in Bologna process, Germany still insists on free tuition for both home and foreign students and adopts a "skilled migration approach" for targeting talent. Today, "students from all over the world study and research at one of the more than 300 universities in Germany. Nearly one tenth of 1.8 million students worldwide who intend to study abroad choose to come to Germany" (http://www.ottawa.diplo.de/). "Apart from semester fees, which generally do not exceed 100 Euro, studying at higher institutions of education in Germany is free, that means, no tuition fees are charged" (http://www.ottawa.diplo.de/). For students who lack sufficient funds for living and study in Germany, a scholarship could be a solution. There are several organizations which offer financial support for a course of study in Germany to promote talented students. Foreign students may work in Germany, even without a work permit, although students who are not citizens of the European Union may work only for a limited period per year. They are allowed to work for 90 days or 180 half-days every year. In many Federal States working is only allowed during the summer vacations. The DAAD (namely the German Academic Exchange Service) as one of the world's largest intermediary plays a key role in the recruitment of international students. It "funds the development and introduction of high-quality, internationally competitive study and research programmes for qualified foreign students, (post)graduates, academics and researchers who, for their part, contribute to the outstanding teaching and research offered in Germany"(http://www.daad.de/).

> *Since the mid-1990s and the conception of two 'Action Programmes,'*
> *the DAAD has developed a number of institutional structure-building*

programmes which aim to make German higher education, science and research more attractive to the international students and academics. These programmes serve to improve the content of study and research offerings, to make 'customer-oriented' improvements to the legislative frameworks for foreign guests and, finally, to professionalize the information and marketing activities of Germany's higher education institutions. (http://www.daad.de/)

International student recruitment in Australia.

The promotion of higher education as an export industry is, however, a relatively recent phenomenon. The international higher education trade has been growing strongly and is now estimated to be worth some USD 40 billion. Education is the seventh largest export sector in Australia with a total value in 2005 of more than USD 5 billion. (OECD, 2006, P. 26)

On the one hand, Australia totally aligned to the UK's market operation of higher education for realizing the economic value from recruiting international students. On the other hand, "like most other economically developed countries, Australia is experiencing a steadily aging population driven by declining fertility and mortality rates" (Ziguras & Law, 2006, p. 61). ISM in Australia is linked with skilled migration.

Similar to Britain, considering the increasing number of international students, an overall limit on the number of overseas students was imposed in 1972 and an overseas student charge was introduced to foreign student in 1980 (Woodhall, 1987). "The Australian government began to market Australian university program internationally in 1985-1988" (OECD, 2006, p. 2) and a new policy was introduced in 1985 in order to limit the number of subsidized students by combining an increased overseas student charge with numerical quotas (Woodhall, 1987). Hence, higher education was promoted as an export industry by the government up until now.

The current immigration and entry policy of the Australian government encourages targeting and retaining international students. According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship of Australia, more than 320,368 student visas were granted in the 2008-09 program year, presenting more than

15 per cent growth in the student visa program in one year. Student visas are issued based on different assessment levels. And most student visas allow the international students to bring their family members to Australia by applying for a dependant member, a student guardian visa, or student visa in their own right. Being granted a student visa before 26 April 2008, international students and their dependent family members may only apply for Permission to Work after starting the course in Australia. However, being granted a student visa on or after 26 April 2008, students and their dependent family members will already have Permission to Work automatically included with their visa. International students can work a maximum of 20 hours weekly during the term and unlimited hours when the course is not in session. And the family members can work a maximum of 20 hours per week throughout the year. In some exceptions they can even apply to work unlimited hours once the student starts their main course (refer to http://www.immi.gov.au/).

Though the government says it is important to note that student visas are aimed at achieving an educational outcome, General Skilled Migration (GSM) on the other hand is predominantly driven by the labor market needs of Australia (refer to http://www.immi.gov.au/students/students-gsm.htm). The reality is that many overseas students make a decision to apply for permanent residence upon completing their studies. International student are welcomed for their contribution to the academy and the communities in Australia. Such as Verbik and Lasanowski think,

> *Australia is perhaps the best example of a country using visa and immigration policies to become more attractive to international students. In addition to its points system encouraging skilled immigration, Australian regulations allow all international students completing an Australian degree to remain in the country for 18 months upon graduating. In 2006, the Government was additionally reported to have been considering allowing students to apply for visas of an even longer duration. Students can earn 'bonus points' for skilled work experience and English-language proficiency in addition to those already earned for Australian qualifications, under amendments to the General Skilled Migration Program (GSM). (2007, p.25)*

The sound and very open government policy towards international students becomes a striking point for international students when they choose a destination for overseas studies. And according to the OECD's statistics by 2006, Australia has become the top four education service exporter in the global market of international students.

The above is a tentative exploration of the rationales of international student recruitment in four major OECD countries. While countries like Germany tend to encourage skilled migration through international student recruitment because of its aging society, countries like the UK, Australia and the United States are obviously adopting a revenue-generating approach in terms of recruiting international students. However, rationales overlap in some countries. Besides generating revenue from the international students, Australia also treats international students as potential skilled immigrants. The different way of attracting international students in the graduate studies shows the United States' enthusiasm in importing talent for its own capacity building. While beyond economic benefit, political rationales to enhance the country's international influence through promoting internationalization of higher education can also be observed from the EU's guideline.

Student Migration from China to Canada

In order to do a thorough analysis of the policy of host countries and countries of origin, this research focuses on the ISM in the Chinese-Canadian context.

In *the Report Foreign Students in Canada 1980-2001*, Iturralde and Calvert (2003) point out,

> *Canada has experienced unprecedented growth in the number of foreign students in recent years. At the end of 2001, there were over 130, 000 foreign students in Canada, rising from almost 57, 000 in 1990 and 37, 000 in 1980. (p.3)*

Countries like South Korea, China and Japan in the East Asia became the major source countries of foreign students. "In 2001, these countries

accounted for 43 percent of foreign students studying in Canada" (2003). "Among top source countries, student numbers from China have grown at the fastest rate in recent years. In 2001, Chinese student stocks were 20, 160-an increase of nearly ten-fold over 1997 stocks" (2003). And students from China arrived at 17,913 & 12,279 in Canada in 2005 and 2006 respectively according to UNESCO, far more than the number of students from other countries. In view of such a significant student migration from China to Canada, the policy on the student migration from China to Canada in higher education is studied. Therefore, China's policies towards overseas studies together with Canada's policy pertaining to recruiting international students are explored in the following part.

A Brief Historical Review of China's Policy towards Overseas Studies

In China's context, studying abroad is absolutely not a pure educational phenomenon. The educational policy in that respect is highly affected by the social development as well as the historical background. Only located in such diverse dimensions can the national or governmental policy of and motivation to supporting overseas study be better understood. Although the systematic review of Chinese overseas studies is quite rare in both English and Chinese literature, I try to reveal China's rationale and policy towards overseas studies in a chronological way.

Before the establishment of the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.). As Tian (2004) addresses, in the long history of Sino-foreign educational exchange, the large scale of Chinese student mobility abroad can be traced to Qing Dynasty (1636-1912). In order to popularize Christianity in China, the western missionaries selected the appropriate students in China and sent them to European countries to study religion and western culture. The dispatched Chinese students were expected to take on a religious position in China after they finished their overseas studies. During this period, Qing government did not interfere in the Chinese student overseas studies, let alone establish educational policies or regulations on studying abroad. This kind of overseas

studies happened between the early Qing Dynasty (1636-1912) and the mid of Qing Dynasty with the feature of studying theology in Europe. Strictly speaking, China's modern history of overseas studies started from the late Qing Dynasty. Because of the ruling class's blind arrogance, the "closed-door policy", which meant cutting off the country from the outside world and closing the country to external world, was implemented by the emperors of Qing Dynasty. This policy caused a sharp decrease in the diplomatic, cultural, scientific and technological communication between China and foreign countries. When industrial revolution swept across the European and American continents, China still stagnated in the feudal society and knew little about the rapid advancement in science and technology abroad. The backwardness of feudal production mode and the declined national integrity became an inducement, which made China targeted by the Western invaders. Finally China's door was opened by western invaders' firm battleship and hard bombardment in the late part of the 19th century. Defeated in the Opium War and suffering from the invasion of other western countries, the whole nation of China was in an abyss of suffering. At the critical time of the existence of a country and people, some patriotic officials and scholars propounded "*Shi Yi Chang Ji Yi Zhi Yi*", which means learning from foreigners to compete with foreigners. Tortured by domestic conflicts and foreign invasions, Qing government ultimately accepted that proposal and decided to dispatch students to Western countries for studying. Though it was not out of the willingness of the ruling class, several batches of students were dispatched to Western countries in succession for learning advanced technologies in order to revitalize the nation.

Song (2004) does show us the history of Chinese overseas studies in the last one hundred years. He refers to the Chinese historian Dai Yi's classification and used ten generations to define Chinese students abroad in different historical stage, from which the variety of rationales of sending students or scholars abroad can be discovered. According to Song's description,

the first overseas students, financially supported by the Qing government were composed of kids at the age from 12 to 15 through a national selection. They were divided into four groups and came to the United States successively from 1872 to 1875, started from high school and then studied in universities. Though this dispatch came to an end and all kids were sent back to China in 1881 because of the then tight relationship between China and the United States,

> *the plan of sending kids to the United States created the new era of Chinese going abroad for learning in western counties directly, shook the then depressive Chinese society especially in the aspects of educational ideology, social psychology, customs and fashion. (Tian, 2004, p. 187, trans. by author)*

Then in order to build a strong navy, around one hundred students were sent to European countries with a focus on naval studies with the support of the Qing government. Those students were described as the second generation of China's overseas students (Song, 2004). According to Tian (2004), a total of 81 were sent by Qing government to the Europe for learning the technology and skill of shipbuilding and navigation. Most of them were assigned as naval officials in the sea wars against Western invaders after they came back and played a key role in the establishment of Chinese navy. The domestic state of China at the beginning of the 20th century was getting worse after losing the War of Jia-Wu (1895) between China and Japan, the failure of domestic reform *Wu Xu Bian Fa* (namely the Reform Movement of 1898), the invasion of the eight-power allied forces, and the sign of the totally unfair Treaty of 1901, known as the Xinchou Treaty intensified China's social conflicts. In the front of the paralysis of national defense, the extreme poverty of civilians and the rising social complaints, the real ruler Queen Cixi had to take some measures to lessen the social conflicts, which included reforming education system by stopping *ke ju*, "which aimed exclusively at the selection and placement of children rather than their guidance and counseling"(Chan, 2007, p. 49), eradicating Ba Gu, a Manchu civil-service test which "had no content

at all but had to conform to very strict rules of form and rhetoric"
(http://www.time.com/time/magazine/), studying Japan's development
experience, encouraging overseas studies, and selecting officials from the
returned overseas students. Especially, after the announcement and carrying
out of *Jiang Li You Xue Bi Ye Sheng Zhang Cheng* (The Statue of Awarding
Overseas Graduate) by the Qing government in 1903, overseas studies in
Japan sprang up. The number of Chinese students in Japan rose up to 10, 000.
And the total number during the first ten years of the 20th century is at least 50,
000. However, out of the ruler's expectation, the majority of those overseas
students finally became the pioneer and backbone of the Revolution of 1911,
which was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and overthrew the Qing Dynasty; they
played a key role in the democratic revolution in the late Qing dynasty (Song,
2003). And teacher's education, military studies and law became the favorite
educational pursuit of the Chinese students in Japan during this period (Tian,
2004).

     Students later studied in the United States, France, Russia, the UK and
West Europe depending on the aspirations of China's public, the influence of
the overseas situation and the consideration of the domestic government. For
instance, since 1915, studying in France was advocated by some keynotes in
China's intelligentsia. With the purpose of studying from the West and
reviving China's science and technology, by 1920, around 1,600 went to
France (Song, 2004; Tian, 2004), most of whom later became the pillar of
China in politics, science and technology, culture and arts. Also in the 1920s,
influenced by the victory of the October Revolution (Russian Revolution
1917), a considerable number of young people went to Moscow and studied in
the universities there. Again, most of the returning students became the great
revolutionists, artists, and the mainstay of leading China's democratic
revolution to the socialist victory.

     After Kuomintang settled down in Nanjing in 1927, they continued
dispatching students at the yearly number of 100 to the United States, the UK

and Western Europe (Song, 2004). Many measures were taken to regulate the public-funded and self-funded overseas studies, such as the enacted *Gong Fei Pai Chu Liu Xue An (Regulations for Public-funded Overseas Studies)* in 1928, in which the applicant's qualification of overseas studies has been identified and *Fa Gei Liu Xue Zheng Shu Gui Cheng (Regulations for Conferring Overseas Study Certificate)* in 1928, in which the qualification of applying for self-funded overseas studies was clarified. This good situation continued before the China's War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945) broke out (Tian, 2004). Overseas studies were affected by the eight-year War of Resistance against Japan and even were stopped by the Kuomingtang government in order to save foreign currency. Under such circumstance, the student number of studying abroad decreased sharply (Tian, 2004). However, after the victory in the war of again Japanese invasion and colonization, the overseas study was revived. On the one hand, Kuomingtang government encouraged overseas students to come back to participate in the reconstruction of the war-wounded China, on the other hand, sending student abroad for studying was rescheduled, such as, *Zi Fei Liu Xue Sheng Kao Shi Zhang Cheng (Regulations for Self-funded Overseas Studies Examination)* and *Liu Xue Gong Fei Sheng Kao Shi Zhang Cheng (Regulations for Public-funded Overseas Studies Examination)* were published in May 1946 and November 1946 successively (Tian, 2004) in order to organize overseas studies.

It should be indicated that students dispatched by the government before the establishment of the P.R.C. shouldered an important responsibility to change the status quo of the society and revitalize the country. The students who came back to China after World War II became either proficient scientists or engineers in modern technology and played an implacable role in the formation of China's science systems and industrial foundations.

After the Establishment of the P.R.C. The significance of overseas students is illustrated in the remarks of China's previous vice-premier Li Lanqing:

During the early days of the People's Republic, when the nation had just begun large-scale economic reconstruction from the awful mess left over by the Kuomingtang. We were, as the saying goes, 'undertaking the neglected tasks all at once.' Two contingents of people played a major role. One involved some 2,500 people who had begun studying in North American and European universities before liberation and who returned to China between 1949, the year New China was founded, and the end of the 1950s. The other comprised more than 18,000 students who had been sent to study in universities in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries during the 1950s and 1960s. These people played a vital role in China's economic construction and in laying the groundwork for China's scientific and technological development. Of the 23 scientists who won medals for the meritorious service in creating China's first atom bomb and hydrogen bomb and manmade satellite, 21 were students who had returned from studying abroad. (2004, p.189)

Overseas studies were given great consideration by the new communist government before the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Especially, because of the common belief in socialism and China's urgent domestic demand for modernization construction in industry, science and technology, in 1950s and 1960s, China quickened her pace to dispatch students to the Soviet Union and East Europe for studying and obtained great help of cultivating talent in sophisticated technology for China's scientific frontier from the Soviet Union.

Dispatching Chinese students abroad for studies was seriously affected by the Cultural Revolution. The ten-year chaos paralyzed the domestic education system and school education was at a standstill, let lone the government supported overseas studies. Nevertheless, according to Tian (2004), dispatching Chinese student abroad got certain revival after 1972, such as the science and education group of the State Council decided to dispatch twenty Chinese students to France with a main purpose of studying French on September 15, 1972. And between 1972 and 1976, China dispatched a total of 1,629 students to 49 countries including the UK and France.

After the termination of Cultural Revolution in 1976, a series of government actions were taken to set things right. In terms of overseas studies, specific regulations were made, such as *Guan Yu 1977 Nian Xuan Pai Chu*

Guo Liu Xue Sheng De Tong Zhi (Notice of the Selection of Chinese Student for Overseas Studies in 1977). It should be highlighted that China's policies towards overseas study were deeply influenced by the Chinese Communist Party leader's perspectives and diplomatic factors. Different from Qing Dynasty's blind arrogance, the leaders of the P.R.C are quite open-minded and fully realized the importance of international academic exchange.

> *In the early days of reform, Deng Xiaoping paid great attention to sending students abroad to study. On June 23, 1978, when hearing a Ministry of Education report on issues concerning Tsinghua University, he issued an important instruction, 'I am in favor of sending more students to study abroad. We must send them by tens of thousands rather than by tens.' In his capacity as vice minister of education in charge of foreign affairs, Li Qi did a great deal to carry out this important instruction. (Li, 2004, p. 189)*

And with the resurrection of legal membership in the United Nations and the improvement of diplomatic relationships with the United States and Europe,

> *In late 1978, a Chinese education delegation arrived in the United States for negotiations on sending Chinese scientists and engineers to advance their studies at American universities. That event was the milestone marking the point when China started to send large numbers of students to European and American universities. Deng Xiaoping again highlighted this issue in remarks he made during a 1992 inspection tour of south China. On November 14, 1993, the Third Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee endorsed the Decisions on Several Issues Concerning the Building of a Socialist Market Economic System. Among other things, this document established a principle of 'supporting students to study abroad, encouraging them to return after they have finished, and allowing them to come and go of their own accord'. (p. 189-190)*

In the literature review of China's policy towards overseas studies from 1978 to 1989, Chan (1990) indicates the composition of government-sponsored overseas students. "They were continuing learners, graduate students and undergraduates" (p.38, trans. by author). There was a significant increase in dispatching students abroad for masters study since 1982, however, as the domestic higher education system have been on the

track and the ability of cultivating graduate students were enhanced, the number of dispatched students for masters and undergraduate studies abroad decreased. But students pursuing doctoral studies abroad increased (Chan, 1990).

Different from studying abroad supported by the Chinese government, studying abroad at a student's own expense was allowed in the year of 1980. But at the beginning, the review of qualification of applicants was quite strict. For instance, current college students and current master's students were not given consideration. Graduates from universities could only apply for studying abroad after they served their work unit for two years. And applicants for doctoral studies abroad did not fall into the self-supported overseas studies review but needed to be selected by the country. The policy towards self-supported overseas studies became stricter owing to the official consideration of "brain drain". As Chan figures out, without the binds of the government's support, self-supported overseas students are tended to stay abroad after they graduate, which will cause China's "brain drain" (1990).

Whilst since the 1990s, the adoption of a socialist market economy improves China's economic situation and citizens' income. Science and education obtained unprecedented emphasis in the country and by the people. The number of students studying abroad at their own expense has risen rapidly in this environment. As time advances, the Ministry of Education simplified the review process of applications for self-supported overseas studies in 2002. Since November 1, 2002, no higher education cultivation fee is paid by students who wish to study abroad. And the process of reviewing applicant's qualification was cancelled. Besides, in response to the problems, which have cropped up in self-supported overseas studies, such as some students were defrauded by the overseas educational agency, because they paid expensive processing fees to those agencies without receiving official admission from overseas higher institutions, China's government enacted new regulations to provide positive assistance to those who want to study abroad. Specifically, the

Foreign Information Guardian Network of Ministry of Education has become

the exclusive website to announce all kinds of foreign educational activities,

and to provide the integrated information about overseas studies, mainly

serving self-funded overseas studies.

Figures from the British Council indicate that "…in 2005, over

350,000 Chinese were studying abroad at the tertiary level alone. Japan

currently heads the list of overseas destinations for Chinese students, followed

closely by the US, the UK and Australia" (2008, p.10). Also according to the

Ministry of Education of China, the latest statistics by 2008 show, the total

number of studying abroad in 2008 is 179,800, 161,600 of which are

self-funded, 11,400 are supported by the government and 6,800 are sent by the

unit. Compare to the data of 2007, the number of studying abroad increased

35,200 at 24.43%. And it should also be pointed out that in 2008 the total

returning number is 69,300, which reflects an increase of 24,900 at 55.95%

compared to that of 2007.

Canada's Policy towards International Students

Though as an important member of OECD, Canada is not as

enthusiastic as the UK or Australia to propagate marketization of higher

education to international students. "International higher educational exchange

and international student flows are not significant concerns for most

post-secondary institutions" (Tillman, 1989, p.1). In Canada, there isn't a

coherent national policy towards higher education. And "Internationalization

at Canadian universities has traditionally been institutionally driven and taken

a bottom-up approach" (OECD, 2004, p.47). However, the impact of current

economic situation should be considered in regards to Canada's higher

education in particular in the recruitment of international students. In

discussion with the influence of global recession of 2009 on the Canadian

post-secondary education, Usher & Dunn depict the most immediate

challenges facing the system, such as the decrease of institutional revenues,

the increase of institutional costs. (2009). They further suggest that one of the

measures taken by governments to help institutions survive the worst of the crisis could be increasing income from commercialization of activities in order to find new sources of revenues. "By far the more lucrative pot to chase is international students" (2009, p.28). In such a period of recession, economic pressure may result in the government's policy adjustment towards the higher education export services by recruiting more international students.

Besides, being an immigrant country, there is always a domestic demand for human resources. In recent years, the Canadian government realized that international students could be an excellent source. By taking new measures like adjusting immigration policy and introducing off-campus work permit, the Canadian government intends to attract more international students and wishes them stay in and contribute to Canada after they complete their studies.

Specifically, certain temporary foreign workers and students can start applying for permanent residence under the Canadian Experience Class starting September 17, 2008. As a new policy, foreign students who graduated from a Canadian higher institution are considered to have the qualities to make a successful transition from temporary to permanent residence. Their familiarity with Canadian society, language proficiency and qualifying work experience are evaluated during their application for permanent residence.

The yearly increasing tuition fees of Canadian universities resulted in international students in developing countries looking for other countries instead of Canada. For example, some Chinese students chose Singapore and Hong Kong instead of Canada to lower the cost of overseas studies. In light of this situation, I think the new off-campus work permit is Canada's countermeasure to maintain a certain number of international students in Canada. According to the official description,

> *The Off-Campus Work Permit Program allows certain foreign students to work off campus while completing their studies. Applicants must be a full-time student enrolled at a participating publicly funded*

post-secondary educational institution or in an approved program at an eligible privately funded institution. And with the work permit, international students can work up to twenty hours per week during regular academic sessions, and full time during scheduled breaks (for example, winter and summer holidays, and spring break). (http://www.cic.gc.ca/)

Chinese-Canadian Context of International Student Mobility

Recent Canadian-Chinese scholarly relations have taken shape within the terms of a memorandum signed by educational leaders of the two sides in June, 1979. This document provided for a special program administered by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) to assist Chinese scholars in being placed within Canadian institutions of higher learning for two-year periods of research and scholarly upgrading. In addition it was agreed that Chinese undergraduates and graduate students should seek places within Canadian institutions through normal channels and that Chinese institutions would equally be open to Canadian students and scholars. Direct university-level links between Chinese and Canadian institutions were also to be promoted. (Hayhoe, 1984, p. 221)

As Hayhoe recognizes, the main bodies administering scholarly exchange with China have been the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CEMC), the National Research Council (NRC) and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC), which relates to the Chinese Ministry of Education, the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) respectively (1984).

Nowadays, after China joined WTO and reduced the restrictions of self-funded overseas studies, studying further in Canada has become an ideal choice of Chinese students. There are several reasons.

The first is the characteristics of the country. As the second largest country in the world, Canada has the vast territory, which stretches from the Atlantic in the east to the Pacific in the west while is sparsely populated. The harmonious and beautiful natural environment ever makes Canada the best country for living in the world. This point indeed attracts Chinese students who are from a populous country and care much about life quality. Besides, the multi-cultural and a typical English-spoken linguistic environment

fascinate Chinese students who want to experience a different culture and improve English.

Another reason is the lower costs and good quality of higher education in Canada. Normally, tuition fees of Canadian universities are about half of that of American universities. Thus Canada provides Chinese students who are not from a wealthy family with a moderate chance to study further in North America. Also in Canada, "Most of the universities are established through provincial legislation and are therefore public and 'recognized'. The term 'recognized' indicates that they meet governmental requirements and standards" (OECD, 2004, p. 42). Hence Canada's public education system with quality assurance created a convincing image to Chinese students in contrast to the already occurred quality issue in some private universities and colleges in the UK and Australia. Also that the great amount of awards and scholarships particularly in the disciplines of science are available to international students is an important factor for Chinese students to compete for the admission of Canadian universities. Besides, the off-campus work permit and Canadian experience class immigration policy attract Chinese students who want to live and work in a developed country as well.

The third reason is the aftermath of 9/11. Before 9/11, studying further abroad with the financial support from the universities in the United States was considered the biggest success and number one choice for undergraduates in China. However, the aftermath of 9/11 made the American government adjust the policy of visa applications, which led a certain number of excellent Chinese students fail to obtain a visa for the United States. On second thought, they went to Canada first and then look for other chances to study in the United States.

Discussion

Through reviewing the major OECD countries policy positions on ISM, the rationales of recruiting international students should be given more reflection. As above policy analysis shows, the major OECD countries

experienced policy changes towards international students, such as introducing quota limits, charging international differential fees and later promoting internationalization of higher education and targeting international students. From these policy changes, the shifting rationales of recruiting international students in the major OECD countries can be observed. And political, economic and social-cultural and academic rationales are the major considerations of promoting IHE and ISM in the major OECD countries.

Different from the main rationale of supporting international academic exchange and cultural communication in the Middle Ages, new rationales of government's promoting IHE and ISM came into being after World War II in the major OECD countries. Starting from the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, education "[has become] one of the powerful vehicles through which both superpowers produced or reproduced the loyalty of foreign dominant groups" (Tsvetkova, 2008, p. 199). The promotion of international education programs became a major part of their strategy to win the "minds" and "allegiance" for each superpower (Tsvetkova, 2008). It should be noted that political considerations of encouraging ISM and recruiting international student still exist nowadays. For instance, the policies and measures that the EU is taking now, such as the Lisbon Agenda, Bologna process and the Erasmus Mundus program especially reflect its expectations for disseminating the influence of the Europe through its international education export in addition to targeting global talent and competing in global international student market. As Robertson (2008) argues, oriented by its globally-competitive knowledge-based economy, higher education has been endowed with the role in the mediation and constitution of Europe-Asia social relations and the realization of social transformations in the world order by the EU through the mobilization of higher education encompassing encouraging international student mobility. In this sense, promoting IHE and ISM has become one of the national or regional strategies to realize the nation-states' or regional bloc's political goals.

However, with the end of the Cold War and the adoption of neoliberal policies, the major OECD countries promote marketization and free trade in a new era of globalization. In terms of recruiting international students, they reduce funding in support of international students but introduce international differential fees to international students for the profits from recruiting international students. Economic values are emphasized and economic rationale towards recruiting international students dwarfs other considerations in the major OECD countries. The UK and Australia are the representatives of marketization of higher education. The UK has become the second most popular destination of international students in the world, while it is still active in targeting more international students. And the plan of recruiting international students is clearly stated by the Prime Minister in PMI1 and PMI2. Higher education has become an export industry, which has brought huge economic benefits to the UK. Similarly, education has become the seventh largest export sector in Australia (OECD, 2006).

As for these radical changes in policies on IHE and ISM, the influence of neoliberalism on policy making is evident. As Henry, Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor think, "Educational policy has been reframed by the new policy consensus resulting from the combination of globalization and neo-liberal ideology" (2001, p.30). They further point out that during the post-war period of Keynesiansim, which endured until the mid-seventies, education was central to the pursuit of two policy goals, namely growing economic prosperity and equality of educational opportunity for all. Nonetheless, in the post-Keynesianism era, the impacts of globalization and the dominance of neo-liberal ideology gave rise to the meta-policy within nations of ensuring an internationally competitive economy and with it a new consensus in educational policy (Henry, et al., 2001). Levidow pinpoints, "In North America, many universities have adopted entrepreneurial practices. They act not only as business partners, but also as businesses in themselves. They develop profit-making activities through university resources, faculty and

student labor" (2005, p.157). And "as the vanguard of the neoliberal project in Europe, the UK epitomizes pressure towards marketizing higher education. The government has pressed for a substantial increase in student numbers, while providing little increase in funds" (Levidow, 2005, p.160).

In addition, as the introduction of free trade and marketization to higher education, and the emphasis on economic value of recruiting international students proceed, the so-called "international student market" (Welch, 2002a, p. 440) emerged. In face of the emergence of a market discourse in relation to international students, Welch thinks it "is itself worth noting, as signifying a transition to a logic of economics rather than one based on educational or social, good" (2002, p. 440).

Besides the considerable economic benefits from recruiting international students, the influence of knowledge economy on promoting IHE and ISM must also be addressed. As knowledge economy emerges at the end of the Cold War,

> *in many parts of the world higher education is viewed as a prime 'motor' for the development of a knowledge-based economy. Under the banner of this 'new economy', higher education policies, programs and practices have been increasingly co-opted and shaped by wider geo-strategic political and economic interest. (Robertson & Keeling, 2008, p. 221)*

Since higher education has been closely tied to knowledge-intensive economy in the major OECD countries, targeting global talent for the nation-states' research and development is a big reason for their recruiting international students. As Barrow, Didou-Aupetit and Mallea comment,

> *…government and higher education officials in many of the OECD countries have begun to recognize that higher education is a knowledge-intensive export industry with a positive balance of trade, which simultaneously supports post-industrial development and the global competitiveness of transnational enterprises based in their own countries. (2003, p. 13)*

"And the resulting internationalization of higher education in the OECD countries is also considered increasingly important because of its potential contribution to the competitive advantage of nations" (as cited in Barrow,

Didou-Aupetit and Mallea, 2003. p. 13). This in particular finds its expression in countries for instance, Germany and Australia where skilled migration is promoted by the governments. Being an aging society, these two countries are always pressured by the domestic demand for the fresh human resources for their national capacity building.

Social-cultural and academic rationale of recruiting international students can be observed from ISM from China to Canada. Though Canada is a member of the OECD, it does not promote IHE and marketization of higher education as the UK and Australia are doing now. Series of scholarly exchanges have been initiated and conducted through the cooperation between the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CEMC), the National Research Council (NRC) and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) in Canada and the Chinese Ministry of Education, the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in China.

Underpinned by the above mentioned rationales, different policies concerning targeting international students have been taken by the major OECD countries. First, the procedure of applying for a student visa has been simplified in the major OECD countries. By and large, economic status of the applicant is highly evaluated in the application, which means students from rich families have more opportunities to study abroad compared to those from poor families. Second, high scholarships provided by the governments of the major OECD countries absolutely attract excellent international students and influence the ISM from the developing countries to the developed countries. Third, for their own capacity building and demand for talent, countries such as Germany, Australia and Canada provide attractive immigration policies to international students in order to retain global talent. The benefits of becoming an immigrant indeed encourage ISM from developing countries to the major OECD countries. Fourth, the open application for work permits helps international students, who have financial problems, with finding a part-time

or full-time job while they are studying in a higher institution.

In addition to discussing the major OECD countries' rationales and policies with regard to ISM, China's position on ISM from China to Canada and other major OECD countries should be canvassed. The impact of neoliberal globalization on Chinese society also exists, which influences Chinese official positions on ISM. Willis (2005) points out,

> *By the time of Mao's death in 1976 industrial growth rates were declining and agricultural production was not keeping pace with population growth. Peasants were increasingly allowed to produce and sell their own crops, rather than working within a communal system. The Chinese government also decided to move towards market mechanisms in some sectors by opening up parts of the economy to foreign investment. This was part of what the government termed 'market socialism'. (p. 85)*

Some scholars like Harvey (2005) even use neoliberalism with "Chinese characteristics" in discussion with the implementation of the open-up policy, the introduction of market operation to economic reform and China's entry of WTO. He further indicates that China had to compromise with the neoliberal rules of international trade set up through the WTO. And political demands for liberalization in China also began to emerge.

> *Worker protest surfaced in 1986. A student movement, sympathetic to the workers but also expressive of its own demands fro greater freedoms, climaxed in 1989. The tremendous tension in the political realm that paralleled economic neoliberalization culminated in the massacre of students in Tiananmen Square. Deng's violent crackdown, carried out against the wishes of party reformers, clearly indicated that neoliberalization in the economy was not to be accompanied by any progress in the fields of human, civil, or democratic rights. (Harvey, 2005, p. 123)*

> *…while one of the less well-known effects of the Tiananmen Square was that tens of thousands of university students fled China to study abroad or remained abroad as a result of more liberal student visa policies adopted in the aftermath of the tragedy. (Welch, 2002a, p. 443)*

The official position changes are embodied in the current Chinese policy towards overseas studies of "supporting students to study abroad,

encouraging them to return after they have finished, and allowing them to come and go of their own accord", from which a sense of liberal attitude and position on overseas studies can be observed. But on the other hand, studying further abroad and serving the country are closely related, which was presented from the early overseas studies. Even now, the government still encourages overseas students to return and join the construction of the country. This cannot be explained without speaking of China's emphasis on national solidarity and nationalism.

Finally, this chapter engaged in the discussion of the major OECD countries' policy towards ISM. The policies on overseas studies in China, the largest origin country of international students, and of Canada, one of the most important host countries of Chinese students are examined. Through the analytical review of the policy and position of the selected countries, the role of policies play in influencing ISM has been examined. However, policy making is never a simple decision, and actually involves many complex factors. As previously stated, academic exchange is far from enough to explain the policy making mechanism, but does act as an important factor that affects the decision. In connection with ISM, though some scholars consider mutual understanding, skilled migration, revenue generation and capacity building as the various motivations of host countries and countries of origin, these factors, however, cannot account for a complete picture of the policy study of ISM.

A tentative policy study on ISM has been presented, while the outcomes of the policy towards ISM and in-depth theoretical consideration behind the policy making need to be pursued further. More so, ISM cannot exist without the subject - international students. This is the focus of the next chapter.

[4]**Chapter Five: Emergent Themes: Chinese Graduate Student**

Perspectives on Pursuing Higher Education in Canada

In the previous chapter, I did a selective study on the major OECD countries' policy towards ISM in order to figure out the nation-states' motivation pertaining to ISM. Nonetheless, policy study is far from enough to present a whole picture of ISM. As the subject of ISM, international students themselves are a vital part that should be studied to further reflect the influence of policy on ISM and to explore the reasons of their choice of overseas studies in Canada. However, it is impossible to include all international students in my research. Thus, I insist it will be more significant to ground this study in a concrete context. Hence, the Chinese graduate students' perspectives on pursuing higher education at the U of A are specifically investigated in order to understand and explain the phenomenon of ISM. In particular, Chinese graduate students' experiences at a foreign university can explain in detail their motivations of pursuing overseas studies, and further shed light on the policy and practice in higher education in both China and Canada.

Research methods as indicated in the above chapter have been deployed and related data collected from: one focus group interview, eleven individual interviews, one key informant interview and two participant observations. These data reveal the practices and personal experiences of the participants, from which emergent themes regarding ISM are discussed.

General Perspectives on Pursuing Further Study Abroad

Due to different individual background and personal experience, the respondents gave various answers about their motivations for studying abroad. But in general, it can be classified into two categories: individual motivations

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and extrinsic motivations.

Individual Motivations

      Cultural influence and personal worldviews. As the dominant culture in the traditional Chinese society, Confucianism still deeply influences contemporary Chinese people. In particular, some participants are encouraged by the "self-improvement" propounded by the Confucians and have the aspiration to enrich and strengthen themselves through further study abroad. Even with a well-paid and steady job in China, they still would like to give up what they have had but to develop themselves through foreign studies. Just as Student 6 (S6) said,

> *I had a high-paying job in a big city of the south of China, but I dissatisfied with the success I've already achieved. A strong idea of self-improvement always haunted on me. Finally my quest for knowledge made me decide to study further though I have worked there for one and a half years. (interview, December 22, 2008)*

      S8 and S9 who were instructors in Chinese universities talked of their thoughts about further study abroad. Both of them feel great pressure, because they only had a master's degree. They realized the necessity of self-improvement and their decisions to go abroad were influenced by their attitudes towards learning.

> *I want to see the outside world. A number of people around me went abroad. It seems that it is necessary to go abroad. With the opening-up policy, more and more people will go abroad. I had frequent contact with those who have already been abroad. There are certain influences from them, but I myself want to take a look at the outside world, which is fresh to me. (S8, interview, December 22, 2008)*

Similarly, S9 said,

> *Simply speaking, I was working in the university, but only had a master's degree. However, there are deep considerations, such as, Eastern people take self-improvement and morality cultivation into high consideration. And ancient Chinese propounded "self-cultivation, family harmony, state governing and world peace" and "it is never too old to learn". From this angle, going to the origins of western educational theories to learn theorists like Dewey is meaningful to me. (interview, December 22, 2008)*

Also cultural influence on personal worldview and philosophy can be perceived from interviewing S7. The unity of knowledge and practice, a philosophy advocated by Wang Yang Ming, a philosopher in ancient China still prevails today as evidenced by an old Chinese saying "read ten thousand books, travel ten thousand miles". When sharing the reason of pursuing further study abroad, S7 stated,

> *I purely want to see the world. My major was English education. If I don't go abroad, I will always feel pale. My decision of going abroad is really influenced by my worldview, disposition and philosophy. I want to experience a different life, touch different people, feel different culture and refine my English. As a Chinese old saying conveyed, "read ten thousand books, travel ten thousand miles". (interview, December 22, 2008)*

It should be noted that contemporary Chinese people are adopting a more open attitude towards the outside world. While centuries ago, people in Qing Dynasty were confined to the "closed-door policy" and blindly followed the ruling class's self-arrogance and ignorance; they knew nothing about foreign affairs, let alone study in a foreign institute. Compared to that, the open social environment of China today provides the possibility to those who want to study further abroad. The current trends in pursuing further study abroad are a big progress in China's higher education history.

Personal academic interest in North American higher institutions. Different from the above motivations, two students emphasized that it was their strong personal academic interests that urged them to look for a better education abroad. And it is interesting to read that participants deeply believe in the quality of postsecondary education in North America and think their quest for knowledge will be met there.

> *I grew up in Hefei, Anhui province, graduated from the best Middle school in Hefei and studied in the University of Science and Technology of China (USTC), a top university in China. Every year many a students at the USTC pursue further study abroad. We are welcomed by higher institutions abroad because of our excellent undergraduate education. I personally think the quality of*

postgraduate education in North America is generally higher than that in China and want to receive the best education in my research area there. (S4, interview, March 12, 2009)

S11 also detailed her experiences as following,

I grew up in Yantai, a city of Shandong province and finished my primary, junior and senior high education there. After that, I left my hometown and spent 7 years in Beijing for my undergraduate and master's studies. During my mater's studies, my supervisor influenced me very much. He is not a fully academic-focused person, but he wishes us his students can totally engage in academic studies. He took me to two international conferences where I was touched by some Chinese scholars from the United States. They thought the studies on management in my area in China are very weak. In fact, for most Chinese students, the purpose of finishing undergraduate study is to look for a job. It is quite pragmatic. Even in masters or doctoral studies, students do not delve into academics. The whole academic climate is fickle. I was inspired by those scholars from the United States. I hope I can help China strengthen the studies on management one day. And I wish to take on the real academic studies just as those scholars are doing now, thus I want to study further abroad for receiving a more professional education. Also I am not a very social person, so I prefer to stay in academia, which seems purer to me. (interview, September 12, 2009)

In the pursuit of equity in education. In the interview, S6 shared her own experience in pursuing a graduate study in China, from which some problems in China's higher education are found. And it is those problems that resulted in the participant's decision to look for a fairer education opportunity abroad.

I firstly attended the national selective examination for graduate students and got a high rank, but I was run out in the interviews which followed the examination. The reason is absolutely not because of my academic level, but because of the black box operation. Someone in power manipulated the admission process. Suffering from such unfairness, I rethought my motivation of further study and found I still wanted to do it. Then based on my good academic background, working experience and strong personal research interests, I made a big decision to go abroad in order to receive a much better education in my area. And this time I gave up the then research interest in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL), but chose to study education itself. I want to contribute to social justice and education for

all out of my own bad experience in China. (S6, interview, December 22, 2008)

After the interview with S6, I related to my own experience as an undergraduate in China and thought equity in education is a critical problem facing to China's higher education. Though China's higher education institutions offer admission based on the national college entrance examination, it is observed that some students with poor academic marks can study with those qualified students in the same class, just because they have special relations with the key figures in the university or higher officials. The existence of nepotism and corruption in education is not fair for those students who have good academic background but are from an underprivileged social class. Some of them will not receive admission letter from the university because those with privilege have occupied the remaining places. If such cases always exist in China's higher education, the selection standard and quality of higher education in China will be doubted and questioned.

Extrinsic Motivations

Impact from current domestic economic situation. Since the adoption of the "reform and opening-up policy" and the socialist market economy, the concept of competition is widely promoted and the labor market in China is getting more intense. Considering the fact that supply exceeds demand, some participants thought obtaining an overseas degree would enable them to become more competitive in the job market and have a better future. During the interviews, S1 straightforwardly expressed that "I want a good job by an overseas degree" (interview, September 28, 2008). S4 had the similar opinion that "I am concerned about my future very much. However, study further abroad will contribute to my own development in the future" (interview, March 12, 2009). S3 opened up his ideas in detail.

> *The job market in China is getting increasingly competitive and tight. There are more job hunters than job vacancies. Undergraduate degree is not enough to find a good job. Though some of my classmates in China found a good job with decent salary, in the future they will*

pursue a higher degree as well. Situation in China is different from that in Canada. Students prefer to pursue a higher degree rather than look for a job [with the hope of being more competitive in the job market in the long run]. Then people with overseas education background seem to have a brighter future. Reputation of the U of A is better than that of Chinese Universities. And it is better for young men to study abroad and get more career chances abroad. I want a brighter future. Equipped with a foreign degree means I will have more chances to find a better job. (interview, January 21, 2009)

Employment pressure and academic degree level demand. Some participants talked of the employment pressure from their previous jobs. In order to meet an academic degree level demand from their occupation, they decided to study further abroad, such as, "Although I was teaching in the university, I only have a master's degree, while most of teachers there have a Ph.D. degree, so I decided to study further abroad to strengthen myself" (S8, interview, December 22, 2008). Likewise, "I was working in the university, but I only had a master's degree. Other colleagues have Ph.D. degrees and the university needs professors to have Ph.D.s, so I feel great pressure. That is my straightforward purpose to go abroad" (S9, interview, December 22, 2008).

Parental expectation. In most Chinese families, parents take as good care of their children as possible. Parents would like to invest much in education. And the children are expected to surpass what their parents have achieved. Two participants said that they were influenced by the strong expectations from their parents or from their relative abroad. S2 told me that,

The main reason why I go abroad is that when I was in high school, my dad always told me that I should go abroad one day and should go to North America to see the world. He always talked in that way. Although I got the offer from an overseas higher institution by my own good academic ability, my parents did influence me a lot. (interview, October 1, 2008)

S3 said, "There is a private reason. My aunt has been an immigrant to Canada for years and she persuaded me to study further abroad" (interview, January 21, 2009).

Role of Chance. Not all participants have a strong motivation to study

further abroad. Two participants expressed their occasional choice of further study abroad when I asked about their motivations.

> *By chance, for a certain reason, well, not for study actually. I can say I had a dream of studying abroad when I was a kid, but this time to study abroad was absolutely occasional. I lost my job and had nothing to do then, so I tried the application for study further abroad, then I got the offer, and then I came. I did not embrace a strong idea to pursuit an overseas studies. I have worked one and a half years in China and I was not a student any more, thus I was not sure if I could succeed in doing that. And in fact I don't have to come here (I got married and have my own family in China). The only thing is that chance. Or you can say I came here only for experiencing a different life. (S5, interview, July 25, 2009)*

Though S5 emphasized her further study abroad is totally by chance, I would like to understand that her choice was still influenced by the then domestic economic situation and she wanted to strengthen herself through overseas studies in order to be more successful in the job market with an overseas degree.

S10 also described his occasional choice of further study at the U of A as below:

> *It is an occasional opportunity, since I did not have a strong idea to go abroad before. While because of my aunt, she graduated from the U of A several years ago. And we were in the same major. She works for a research institution here and cooperates with a professor in the U of A. Then she successfully applied for the funding for their collaborative project. Thus they both gave me an opportunity to join their project and study further in the U of A with grants. (interview, September 9, 2009)*

However, even if S10 had no strong motivation to go abroad, undoubtedly he was impressed by the funding opportunity at the U of A and attracted by an overseas degree; otherwise he will not come to Canada.

Canada: One Destination for Chinese Students

The previous section presents the general motivations for the pursuit of studying abroad. However, major OECD countries such as the United States, the UK, France, Germany and Australia are all hot habitats of international

students. Why do Chinese students prefer to study in Canada across the Pacific when they have multiple choices? Through these interviews, such preference is clearly explained by various factors, including those that are closely related to the policies and others related to personal reasons. It is also interesting to know that the opinions of some participants differ from their previous ones in some aspects after studying in Canada for a year or above.

There are certain reasons that students would like to pursue higher education in Canada. Though individual reasons are different and there is accidental choice, generally the guarantee of the quality of higher education in Canada and the glamour of the country itself such as a safer and friendly social environment did attract Chinese students.

For some participants, the United States is the most attractive place and the number one choice. S11 told me that her choice of Canada is very accidental. "Actually my ideal place is the United States, but I failed all applications to the universities there. I was accepted by the U of A, so I came to Canada" (interview, September 12, 2009).

While for others, Canada as a country with its exclusive characteristics is their ideal place to study. Such as, S3 conveyed, "Canada is a good country for study and very friendly to Chinese students" (interview, January 21, 2009). S7 believed his choice of Canada and pointed out that "considering the national security reason, the United States is not very safe, such as the school shooting Virginia Tech massacre in 2007" (interview, December 22, 2008). S4 even recalled his twice applications to the schools in North America. He finally decided to stay in Canada to continue his further studies because he insists that the quality of higher education in Canada is not inferior to that in the United States. Also he can apply for permanent residence in Canada.

> *Actually I applied twice to the universities in the United States. I did apply for the universities in the United States in 2003 when I was an undergraduate student in China, but they did not give me offer. In the meantime, I applied to the universities in Canada and they gave me offer, so I came to the University of Regina and finished my master's*

study there. The second happened after I got my M.Sc. from the University of Regina. At that time I had the offer from both the United States and Canada. But I finally stayed in Canada because I consider the research achievements and the academic level of the professor in Canada are not inferior to those in the United States. Also I have been in Canada for some years and I have adapted to Canada. In addition, I can apply for permanent residence in Canada. (interview, March 12, 2009)

The reasons for studying in Canada still varied. There are occasional choices, addiction to the glamour of the country and the attraction of Canada's leading position in certain research areas, but other considerations emerged after they studied in Canada. Based on the fact that all respondents had been in Canada for at least one year and had accumulated certain living and study experiences, I further posted the question "If you were given a chance to turn the clock back again, would you make the same decision?" to them. Uncertainties occur to some participants. S5 told me that she would not consider the United States because she did not want to take GRE test. But "there could be possibility of going to Europe or Australia if I get the chance" (S5, interview, July 25, 2009). S6 thought not attending GRE test was her big pity. She said, "I was eager to study further abroad then, so I did not take GRE test. That was a big pity, otherwise I can try some famous universities in the United States, which are my first choice" (interview, December 22, 2008). S8 firmly expressed that, "American [schools] will be my first choice, because I think both economy and research in the United States are better than that in Canada" (interview, December 22, 2008). Also difficulties in current studies resulted in S9's concern of choice of major and place. He told me,

> *I may have another choice. I had an offer in physics with very high scholarship from one university in the United States before I came to Canada. If time could be reversed, I prefer to continue my PhD study in physics in the United States, which must be easier than my current studies in science education. (interview, December 22, 2008)*

In addition, the current recession aroused S3's rethinking of his initial choice of studying abroad.

> *If I know the economic situation is so bad now, I would look for a job in China then (not study further abroad). But I think basically the situation is ok. It is just a temporal situation. I am satisfied with my decision. If I am in China now, I still want a chance to study abroad. (interview, January 21, 2009)*

Chinese Graduate Student Flows to the University of Alberta

Channels of Knowing the University of Alberta

Public universities in Canada enjoy good fame all over the world, but why would Chinese student like to pursue further studies at the U of A and how do they know the U of A? In the discussion of these questions with participants, I found that students knew the U of A through all kinds of channels, such as from relatives in Canada and web-based searching. S10 said, "I did not intentionally choose this university. I saw a lot of students try applications to different universities abroad, but I feel that is too fussy. Also recommended by my aunt, I only applied to the U of A" (interview, September 9, 2009). Some learned the information about the U of A through its official website. For example, S4 stated,

> *I reviewed all the universities with medical school and doctoral programs from the website. Also I referred to the ranking of the university like Maclean's university rankings and knew the U of A ranks as a top school in Canada because of its high level of research and development. (interview, March 12, 2009)*

Attraction of the University of Alberta

When speaking of the choice of further study at the U of A, the opinions concentrated on the recognition of the U of A's reputation, high standard of research and development, and good financial support. For instance, S1 thought, "the department of the U of A where I am in is quite strong in the world. There are many distinguished professors, and advanced and sophisticated experiment equipment. Also scholarship provided by the university is very helpful to [international] students" (interview, September 28, 2008). S3 considered that "reputation of the U of A is better than that of Chinese Universities" (interview, January 21, 2009).

Most of the participants indicated their current study is financially supported by the U of A through research assistantship (RA) and/or teaching assistantship (TA). S3 said,

I did not expect to be funded because I thought compared to the United States, here is more difficult to get funding. However I was given a RA, guaranteed one year. The renewal of the second year is based on my academic performance. It is a good surprise. (interview, January 21, 2009)

S2 further stated, "I came, just because the offer is good. They (the department) offer me both TA and RA and pay me for summer workshop. I received a good funding support from my department" (interview, October 1, 2008).

Different from the above comments, S11's choice of the U of A was because of her failure to apply to the schools in the United States. She shared this experience with me, "I failed the applications to the universities in the United States, so I tried the U of A. This university has pre-application and I passed it, so I decided to submit the formal application. Then I got the offer and I came" (interview, September 12, 2009).

S8 from Faculty of Engineering talked of his special financial support from both the U of A and the Chinese government. "I got the financial support from the China Scholarship Council (CSC) for four years, which can cover my living expense and half of my tuition. The funding that I received from the U of A can cover the other part of my tuition" (interview, December 22, 2008).

Experience with Higher Education at the University of Alberta

In response to my general question "How would you describe your experience with higher education in Canada up until now," positive feedback such as rigorous academic environment and good financial support were given by the major participants. S8 thought academic environment of the U of A is more rigorous than that in China and the U of A's research and development level is higher than domestic ones (interview, December 22, 2008). S9 highly evaluated his education experience at the U of A and commented that,

Here education as a whole is good. To me, academic study in Canada must be helpful to my future teaching and learning as a university teacher. Academic environment here is purer alongside less fake things and less corruptions compared to that in China, so people can delve into research. (interview, December 22, 2008)

Likewise, S6 depicted her satisfying study experience at the U of A,

I am generally satisfied with the experience so far. I studied very hard for my coursework, put my heart into research and am active in conference presentations and paper publications. I make good use of the resources in the university, such as library, website academic information, and all kinds travel grants which supported me to present at international conferences three times. (interview, December 22, 2008)

Additionally, drawing on his own experience, S2 reflected the differences in higher education between Canada and China. As he compared,

in Canada, academic environment is quite good. There are lots of academic conferences, meetings, workshops and algebra courses. Compared to China, although I don't have graduate studies experience there, if you want to get PhD done, you must have at least one publication in one top journal. But here you do not need to do that unless you are required by your supervisor. Maybe it is because the research ability in North America is in the first class [so there is not a strict publication requirement to the students]. While China belongs to the second class, so they require students a lot. In Canada, you are given a TA or RA. In China, you do not have that kind of thing. When you do research, no one pays you and you do not have teaching experience either. Here you can support yourself [by doing that] and can gain many teaching experiences. For example, this summer I taught one course, which meant I am not just a TA, but a sessional instructor. Though life here is not as good as that in China, something that I did not want happened and something that I planned all the time did not happen, I do not really regret to come here. I took GRE in 2002 and half a year later I took TOEFL. Going abroad is a good choice to me. I did not take any exam in China for graduate studies, which I think in some ways is not fair because someone in power control it. (interview, October 1, 2008)

This reflection is insightful, which pointed out the deficiencies in China's higher education, and is also constructive for the on-going China's higher education reform.

S10 realized that his way of thinking has been changed through further studies at the U of A. As he himself stated, "The academic is very rigorous here. Discussion and experiment… Thesis writing… so distinctive from China… Under such circumstance, I formed a rigorous way of thinking as well, which is a big gain to me" (interview, September 9, 2009).

Moreover, S11 talked emotionally based on her good experience at the U of A.

> *I do not regret about my decision of going abroad. I do like this kind of life. I highly evaluate my life experience abroad, at least it broadens my horizon. Professors here are totally academic-focused. And I like the staff in the department, because they try every way to help me. I have a teaching mentor, a supervisor and other instructors. They take every chance to talk to me and encourage me to consider publishing my term paper or proposal. They can be very careful and patient to correct my paper, which makes me overwhelmed by a warm and supportive atmosphere. My department is very considerate. It even prepared an oral English tutor for us. And funding is very sufficient. I can get funding from the department with the amount from $600 to $2,000 based on the type of the academic conference I will attend. Beyond that, I can apply for financial support from my program. In addition, I feel everything in my department has been standardized. The rules have already been there, so it is easy for me to follow. In every September, we provide a program plan to the supervisor and then in April of next year the supervisor will provide the evaluation feedback to the department. It is quite disciplined. (interview, September 12, 2009)*

Here I must clarify that situation varies from department to department at the U of A. The school of Business where S11 is from has abundant funding and consummated administrative system for students. Things may be different in other departments because of funding and so forth.

Nonetheless, all participants appreciated the rigorous academic environment at the U of A except S3 and S7. S3 thought the curriculum is too Euro-centric and the US-centric in his department. He argued perspectives from other countries should also be incorporated into. He even admired me for having such a research chance to explore a topic pertaining to China (interview, January 21, 2009). S7 held a distinctive perspective based on his own

experience and considered that there is not a big difference in academia between Canada and China. He argued,

> *There is also dark side here. But because of the system, it seems that it is ok. I feel that learning does not mean to learn the knowledge itself, but to learn an experience. Because knowledge will be always outdated [updated] and then new knowledge emerges. During the process of overthrowing the old theories and establishing new ones, you can experience the step to do research and the process of learning. This is the important thing to me. Moreover, domestic thinking is too different from the western one. The way of seeking the truth is so different between the East and the West. In the East, we believe the authority and respect what the authority says. While in the West, people challenge the authority and would like to seek the truth from their individual experience. From my personal experience in seeking the truth, there is no bad or no good in either way. If we can perceive the two ways of thinking, that will be good. Actually here also has academic corruption. And some professors do not publish a lot after they get tenure. This is not a unique problem in China or Canada but exists in the world. This is a problem about human nature. Anyway, my good experience exceeds bad one in Canada, because my purpose is to experience a different educational system and a different way of thinking. And this goal has been achieved. (interview, December 22, 2008)*

When I followed up with the question "Do you have any regrets about making the decision to study in the U of A," three students expressed their small regrets in the choice of university and specialization. S3 regretted, "I only took TOEFL and had no GRE, so I did not apply to the universities in the United States and the U of A was the only university that I tried. I feel a little bit regretful that I did not try other universities than the U of A" (interview, January 21, 2009). S2 had the problem with the choice of major.

> *(If possible) I will still take graduate studies in North America but will not choose mathematics. Maybe I will choose a related major to mathematics but not pure mathematics. This is not out of the consideration of my research interest, but for easily getting a job in the future. (interview, October 1, 2008)*

S11 told me her story about the application to schools, which was totally decided by offers of funding. She only considered schools, which could

offer her funding. She confessed,

> *My regret is that my choice of the university was just up to the offer [funding]. Maybe I am a perfectionist. (laughing) To be honest, I did not know much about this department before I came. After I came here, I found the research area is totally different from where I was in China. I was in micro studies, but this department is completely macro. I was doing quantitative studies, while this department is famous for its qualitative analysis. That means I have to do a radical change in my studies. I am always struggling with doing this big change or not. Or even sometimes I wonder whether I should give up the current studies but to re-apply to a new major, which is quite matched with my previous research background. I planned to do a professional and formal learning and research in quantitative studies, while I have no chance to have a systematical learning here. This is my biggest pity. At that time I just wanted to go abroad. So my destination was totally up to which school can give me offer. If you let me do a choice again, I will not try universities in Europe and Australia, but I will try universities in Hong Kong and the United States. But if time can be reversed and there is only one offer from Canada, definitely I will come here again. (interview, September 12, 2009)*

Factors Facilitating the Success of Overseas Studies

  Socio-economic status and overseas studies. Studying further abroad is absolutely not a simple personal choice to most Chinese people, as it means a big investment in education. For those who succeeded in obtaining a chance to pursue higher education in Canada, did they get strong support from their family or just make the decision by themselves? The research result shows the situation varied from person to person. But certain relationships exist between the participants' socio-economic status and their overseas studies. S3 confirmed the family influence on his further study abroad. He assumed that, "good family education background will let parents understand why kids are willing to study abroad and will support the kid with all their resources" (interview, January 21, 2009). S1 thought the economic status of his parents might help him to a certain degree. As he said,

> *I took important exams including TOFEL and GRE with great marks by myself and then got accepted and funded by the current department. It does not depend on how much money I have. I tried very hard to get*

here, but my parents did help me pay the fee for those tests. (interview, September 28, 2008)

Though S4 expressed there were not too much influence from his parents because he applied for and received scholarship for his studies, he still thought that family background would affect personal decision of studying abroad. He discussed,

> *If you're from a poor family, it is not an easy thing. After all you will spend some money on application fee, test fees, and so forth. But a moderate family will be supportive enough. My parents did influence me a little bit. They encouraged me to study abroad when I was an undergraduate student in China. (interview, March 12, 2009)*

S10 believed there was certain impact from his parents' social and economic status.

> *If I cannot get scholarship but still want to study in Canada, the Canadian Embassy will require me to show them the financial evidence to certify that I have enough money to study and live in Canada. Or even I get partially financial support from the university I am heading for, I still need to show them evidence to certify I have enough financial support from my part. Normally this financial support is from students' parents in China. In such a case, if I am from a poor family, it is very difficult for me to study further abroad. (interview, September 9, 2009)*

However, S11 did not think her parents' social and economic status make much sense to her further study abroad. She narrated,

> *My parents are farmers. And it is already very difficult for them to financially support my younger sister and me to complete our undergraduate studies in China. When I was doing my masters in China, I applied for the student loan with the amount of RMB 25,000 for three years. I did not tell my parents about my thoughts of studying further abroad until I solved all the problems. I earned some money by participating in my then supervisor's program. And I borrowed some money from my friends to pay the fees occurred in the application to overseas universities. I was short of money. That is why I was looking for universities with lower or without application fee. Thus to a certain degree, my economic status restricted my selection of universities at that time. Though later my parents helped me pay the student loan, I still do not think my family background influenced me a lot on my decision of overseas studies. My parents were even against my idea of*

studying further abroad when I was preparing GRE test and tried to pass that information to them once, because they never heard of and thought of that kind of thing. I can say I am strong-willed. Once I decide, I start. (interview, September 12, 2009)

Albeit S11 persisted that her choice was not influenced by her family very much, I still can perceive that she was restricted by her family background. If she was born in a middle-class family, her decision of studying abroad would be made easier and she could have tried more schools in North America.

Regardless of the socio-economic background, I want to know the participants' attitudes towards the necessity of further study abroad. Thus I asked the participants should all Chinese students have the opportunity to study further abroad. Some of them confirmed the necessity of going abroad, some thought it should depend on the person, and some thought there is no must.

S1 said, "If regardless of socio-economic background, every student should have the opportunity to study further abroad" (interview, September 28, 2008). S5 stressed the necessity of going abroad. She thought, "Students can broaden their horizon. And something you thought right may be wrong after you go abroad. The worldview will be expanded. Always staying in China is too narrow-minded" (interview, July 25, 2009). But in the meantime, other respondents also considered that further study abroad might not be suitable for every Chinese student. As S3 argued,

Every student should be given a fair chance. But studying abroad is not suitable to every student in China. Such as, for those who could not speak English very well, could not adapt to the environment and could not [easily] get involved in the community, they will get lost, and waste money and time here. If they do not want to study abroad, it is better not to push them to come here. (interview, January 21, 2009)

Similar ideas came from S11. He thought,

It depends on individuals. I guess all of us have the idea of going abroad to take a look at the outside world and explore an unknown world. Also because of the huge economic bomb of North America, many of us think North America is a paradise. So I think if there is an

opportunity, everyone wants to go abroad and have a look. But someone just give up this idea because they think it is too remote to realize it. (interview, September 12, 2009)

Whilst on the contrary, S4 deemed that it should not be necessary for all Chinese students to go abroad for further studies.

If all go out, how will Chinese universities do? Nobody will be there…(laughing). But if there is a certain ratio, like current, it is ok. There are two types. Graduate studies are different from undergraduate studies. Most graduate students rely on scholarships, which means their study abroad depends on whether they can get the scholarship. As for undergraduate studies, normally students rely on their own economic status. (interview, March 12, 2009)

Support from CSSA. CSSA as an organization of overseas Chinese students and scholars widely exist in foreign higher institutions where Chinese students and scholars stay. By and large, it is an unofficial organization but keeps ties with Consulate General of the People's Republic of China in different countries. In order to figure out the specific role of CSSA in Chinese students life and study in the U of A, I did a key informant interviewing and the chairman answered my questions.

Being the chairman of CSSA (2004-2005 and 2008-2009), Jia said CSSA in the U of A was not set up by students and scholars spontaneously, but keeps close contact with the Consulate General of the People's Republic of China in Calgary. In his opinion,

in view of the increasing number of Chinese students and scholars abroad, it is hard for the Consulate to closely supervise the overseas Chinese students and scholars, then the idea that 'students manage students' were advocated and the organization CSSA appeared. (key informant interview, November 12, 2008)

In Canada, the CSSA can apply for funding from the Consulate General for organizing activities for Chinese students and scholars. The amount of funding depends on the cost of activities, the size of university and the number of Chinese students and scholars. Every year, CSSA at the U of A can get around CA$5,000 from the Consulate. And the Consulate's purpose of providing

funding to CSSA, according to Jia, is "to bring Chinese students and scholars together and keep their ties with the motherland" (key informant interview, November 12, 2008). And "they wish us to organize one or two evenings for the celebration of China's National Day or Spring Festival" (key informant interview, November 12, 2008).

In relation to my question about the objective of CSSA in the U of A, Jia further stated,

> *we just hope to serve Chinese students and scholars at the U of A, such as we arrange free pick-up of new students and scholars from China at the airport and hold workshop and orientation once a year for the new Chinese students to the U of A. And we organize all kinds of activities including ski, camping, China's national day celebration or Spring Festival celebration for Chinese students and scholars every year. We wish to provide the students and scholars with more entertainment and relax during their academic studies here. (key informant interview, November 12, 2008)*

After the conversation with Jia, I think the establishment of CSSA is to create a sense of belonging for Chinese students abroad. Also the organization shoulders the communicative mission between overseas Chinese students and the home country.

Implications of Chinese Graduate Student Perspectives on Policy and Higher Education

I went on with asking the participants about the specific policies, which they think will be useful and can be taken by the Chinese government and Canadian government to bring the above-mentioned hypothesis about. They wish the governments of the two countries could invest more in support of international students. They hope the communication between the governments and universities of the two countries could be strengthened. Generally, as S3 expected, "Government should provide information to everyone. Through supportive programs like exchange programs, they can encourage students to explore the outside world. In addition, I consider visa application is an essential thing. It is more about two countries' regulations"

(interview, January 21, 2009). Specifically, S1 held the idea that,

> *Chinese government should try the best to increase people's income and solve the poverty. Then more people will have the chance to go abroad to learn new knowledge. For Canadian government, they should consider improving the policy towards international students, such as making it easier to get a visa to come here. (interview, September 28, 2008)*

S2 talked of his expectation to Canadian government, "If they want to attract more excellent students in the world, they need to increase the number of scholarships [available to international students] and make their universities more popular and diverse" (interview, October 1, 2008). S5 suggested that the Canadian government could open up the policy, such as "Canadian government will not charge higher tuition fee to international students, which is double or even triple times compared to that of Canadian students" (interview, July 25, 2009). And he also evaluated the current Chinese government-funded overseas studies,

> *Chinese government performs well in support of student study abroad by providing various funding. Students not only obtain the chance of studying abroad but also have no worries about their economic status. Then those students who receive funding will come back upon graduation, and there will not be the problem of "brain drain". (interview, July 25, 2009)*

S10 commented on the exchange programs between China's universities and overseas higher institutions.

> *There are lots of exchange programs between universities in China and overseas higher institutions. For instance, for postgraduate studies, you can spend two years in China and then study in a foreign higher institution for another two years. The Chinese government is taking an open policy and there are many a government-funded programs to encourage student to study further abroad. I just hope Chinese government can continue this policy and support. (interview, September 9, 2009)*

S11 indicated that the connections between Chinese and Canadian universities should be strengthened with the support of the government of the two

countries.

> *When I applied to overseas schools, I knew very little about Canadian universities, at the best, University of Toronto and UBC. There is lack of information. If Canadian government can pass the detailed information about their universities more frequently to the public, then people will know Canadian universities much better. Universities in the UK or Australia hold educational exhibitions in China very often in recent years, but you seldom find educational exhibition of Canadian universities in China. It seems that Canada is still conservative to introduce their schools to international students. (interview, September 12, 2009)*

Consideration of International Student Flows

In relation to the increasing trend of Chinese students going to pursue higher education in countries like Canada, most students thought the tendency might be good for China or at least the benefit would exceed the loss. They also opened up to discuss their own future plan after graduation. S8 thought,

> *Generally, it is beneficial to China. That more people go out means they can approach more new things. [People's] ideas and mind will become more open. This will contribute to the nation-state's development. Compared to years ago, more overseas students choose to come back to China after their graduation. (interview, December 22, 2008)*

S10 also held an optimistic view and said that, "I think it is a good thing. After all, China's continuous rapid development may attract more and more overseas Chinese students to come back. What is more, studying further abroad could give us a self-improvement in all aspects" (interview, September 9, 2009). S11 further argued that,

> *Though domestic academic environment is improving, it still cannot serve a satisfying place to a purely academic-focused person. If students have the intention to go abroad for self-improvement, I think it is good. We should not be confined by patriotism and always stay home. That is too narrow-minded. (interview, September 12, 2009)*

Problems were also noticed by S10. He realized that,

> *There could be some negative aspects, as I think, for example, the loss of talented people. Some of us are addicted to the richer material life*

abroad and may not go back to China. And some who bear sufferings in China of course will not go back to China. (interview, September 9, 2009)

Though it will be problematic to China in some way, the benefit still outweighs loss. For example, S6 thought,

Yes, I think it is problematic to China. The reality is that so many talented people left. But in the long run, it will be good to China in some way. For instance, students who stay abroad and get a faculty job can still contribute to China's academia through all kinds of transnational education activities, such as being a guest speaker to China's universities and sharing the latest research result in the West with the scholars in China. (interview, December 22, 2008)

S1 observed that there are more positive impacts than negative ones. His reasons are,

China is a developing country. On its way to modernization, it needs more knowledge and skills for development. Also China needs to learn experience from developed countries like Canada. Such as in the area of management and continuous economy development [I guess he meant sustainable economic development], China should learn more from those firms in developed countries. While for students who will come back to China, they can contribute a lot in this regard. (interview, September 28, 2008)

S9 considered that students go abroad can experience the pursuit of freedom and human rights in the West.

Chinese society lacks of the awareness of freedom and human rights in a long time of period. Once the students come back, they may give a voice of freedom and human rights in Chinese society, which is helpful to promote democracy of Chinese society. The returned students can play a role in raising people's awareness of human rights. (interview, December22, 2008)

S2 even thought a number of students flowing from China to overseas higher institutions were not a big problem to China. In his opinion, China is a country with great population. And because of that, China's accommodation [of higher education] is quite limited. Many students cannot be admitted to a good university, but they can come to Canada and study in a Canadian university.

Although it is pretty expensive, it is still worthy (interview, October 1, 2008).

Beyond the recognition of the positive aspect of studying abroad, some participants further reflected on the problems in China's higher education and thought of "brain drain". Such as S5 concerned,

> *Personally, I prop up students' pursuit of further studies after they finish undergraduate studies in China. I think China's graduate education is not good while undergraduate education is nice. This is the status quo, which shows students cannot get excellent post-graduate education in China. If they can receive good education in China, they will not go abroad. If you say it is a loss of talented students, actually it is a loss and will cause "brain drain". Many of us study abroad. If someone originally from China goes back to China when they are done school, that contributes to the country. If not, it represents the "brain drain" [from China]. But this is a problem about personal freedom. If the government feels it is a loss, then it should think out a way to improve higher education. (interview, July 25, 2009)*

In answer to my question "Will you be going back to China? Why? Will you be staying on in Canada (not going back to China)," most participants expressed that they would like to accumulate some working experience in Canada prior to going back to China. Such as S6 clarified,

> *Eventually I will go back to China, but not now. I will try to look for a job in my research field in Canada and accumulate some working experience. Years after, when I obtain some success, I will return to China as a successor and then settle down there. (interview, December 22, 2008)*

Likewise, S2 had the idea that,

> *I am going to get my studies done in two years. After I get my PhD, I will not go back to China immediately but will stay here for a couple of years to get some working experience. The situation is quite different. If I go back to China, I have no connections [social network in my research area], so it will be very hard for me to find a [good] job. But ultimately I will go back to China. The reason is that all my close friends and parents are there, everything, culture… Canada is a good place for living. Maybe I will come back in 30 years after my retirement. (interview, October 1, 2008)*

S8 with the financial support from the China Scholarship Council (CSC), the

unit under the Ministry of Education of China and the U of A confirmed his return to China as long as he completes his study at the U of A.

> *I will go back. I signed a long-term contract with the CSC. I got the financial support from the CSC for four years and must return to work in China for two years. I want to graduate as soon as possible and serve my country. The contract bounds me. If I do not return, I will pay the fine. But I do not want to break the contract with my motherland. My position is reserved by the university which I was working for. Fame is an important thing to me and I would not like to bear the name of betraying my country. (interview, December 22, 2008)*

Uncertainties towards the future plan were also addressed by some participants. Such as,

> *I am not sure so far. I plan to look for a job in Canada after graduation. I can work for a large or a small company to get one or two years working experience and then will make a decision of going back to China or not. (S1, interview, September 28, 2008)*

> *I hope to decide this after I graduate. It is up to whether I can find a suitable job here. If I can get a job here, I will stay for a time. If I cannot find one, I will go back to China, which is ok for me. (S4, interview, March 12, 2009)*

Only S5 clearly plans to go back to China considering the family factor.

Response to "Brain Drain" and Critiques of Un/patriotism

Countering the argument that studying further abroad is a negative trend for China ("brain drain" of China to the west) and such a decision is unpatriotic, some participants insist two sides of one thing should be considered; some thought it is narrow-minded to use "brain-drain" to depict the trend of pursuing study abroad. One participant even denied "brain-drain" in China. Moreover, it is argued that government should be responsible to the negative aspect of the trend. Most participants considered studying further abroad is not an unpatriotic way; on the contrary, they thought overseas students are very supportive when China is in trouble.

S3 thought the Chinese government should attract overseas Chinese

students to come back and overseas Chinese students should realize the "brain drain" problem. He thought, "For now, China provides good market, and good policy to those overseas students and is supportive to those who come back to run their own business. The policy is pretty positive" (interview, January 21, 2009). S4 considered "brain drain" as a negative impact, but studying abroad has lots of merits.

> *Even only a small amount of us come back, we still can take advanced foreign management experience and technology back to China. Everything has its two sides. As a whole, allowing students to study abroad is good to China. Through various ways, we can reward China based on our connections with China though we stay abroad. So I think positive aspects exceed negative ones. I do not have many ideas about patriotism, but I do wonder this is an investment loss to China since every year the China's civil society spends quite a lot of money on the overseas education. (interview, March 12, 2009)*

S9 even declared that,

> *That we do not return to China right now does not mean we will not come back in the future. We would like to come back after becoming a big successor, then we can contribute more to China's modern construction as an expert. Even though we do not come back, we can enhance China's influence here. For instance, Western people know little about Chinese society, such as Tibet issue. While through overseas Chinese explanation and demonstration against Tibetan separatists, western people know more about China's position. In this sense, we can enhance the understanding between the West and the East, diminishing misunderstanding in the human society. (interview, December 22, 2008)*

S7 figured out that in China, the loss of talented students exists mainly in postgraduate education and capital loss in undergraduate education. But in the long run, merits exceed demerits. He thought communication is a good channel for the world to get a better understanding of China. In relation to his own experience, he said,

> *…last year I watched a movie at the U of A, which still placates China in the 1980s. Of course, the film did not show us a real China of today but create a wrong impression to Canadians. However, we can be the mass media to present a real China to the people abroad. Similarly,*

through us, our family and relatives in China can learn more about Canada. Years later, when we have overseas working experience and come back to China, our return would become a immeasurable wealth to our motherland. Even if we do not come back and more and more Chinese settle down abroad, we will gather and become a strength to support China in foreign countries, just as Israeli people do in the West. Pertaining to Tibet's separation and the Olympics in Beijing, so many overseas Chinese stand up to support China. Though lots of Westerners thought Chinese people must support government because of the oppression of the government. But overseas Chinese are far away and free from the Chinese government, why do they support the government and China? Of course, that is out of their willingness and they are patriotic. (interview, December 22, 2008)

What's more, S1 articulated that using "brain drain" to describe this (phenomenon) is very narrow-minded because it neglects the advantages which will bring about to China. As he illustrated,

When those students finish their studies and come back, they will bring the knowledge they learned and experience accumulated in developed countries to China. Also, through their studies abroad, the world can learn about China. Hence it is a positive way not a negative trend. I do not think students are unpatriotic at all. According to my observation, they are patriotic and quite support the government's decisions, such as the Olympics. (interview, September 28, 2008)

There are more comments on patriotism and ISM. S4 explained that his studying abroad is not a problem concerning patriotism.

When something happens to China, even though we are here, we will be together and support our country. Lots of things happened this year, such as Olympic Games, and earthquake in Sichuan province. If something happens to China in the future and China really needs us, we will go back for sure. But I think China's government should be responsible for the negative influence of the trend. If all universities in China are really good and fair to everyone, and if the Chinese government supports graduate students as Canadian government does, there will not be many students who want to go abroad. (interview, March 12, 2009)

S11 admitted the phenomenon of "brain drain" in China and thought the reason is that so far China is incapable to retain talented people. She criticized and doubted the current Chinese government policy towards the returned

overseas students.

> *If patriotism is used as a tactics to force us come back, then we come back. But I do not think China can make the best use of our talent. In China, promotion by playing politics and power is common, which is unfair to us. The flow of talent is much freer now. The retaining of talent is not by using the big cap of patriotism to call on us, but by creating more chance to attract us and provide a sound system and good support to us. Then we will be willing to come back. Also I believe an old Chinese saying, "downwards water flows while upwards man goes". People who chose to go abroad may not get a good development in China. And when they were in China, they were never called talent. In many places of China only those in power can develop themselves very well. It is ironic that people call those who stay abroad talent. And if they do not go back to China, people call this phenomenon "brain drain". (interview, September 12, 2009)*

Difficulties and Problems in Overseas Studies

My participation in the welcome session for international students in the Faculty of Education and International Center focus group discussion provided me with the chance to learn the difficulties and problems that international students from different countries faced. According to my participant observations, the difficulties that respondents talked of concentrate on language and cultural communication, relationship with supervisors, scholarship applications and job hunting. Fewer have problems in academic studies. Such as one participant said,

> *There is no problem with my academic English. I can discuss with my classmates by accurately using technical terms in my major in class, but the embarrassing thing is that I later found I could not smoothly communicate with native speakers in my daily life, such as talking to kids. I just could not understand jokes and idioms. (Observation, June 23, 2009)*

Similarly, two participants in my focus group interviewing talked of their problems as well. Such as, "I feel very frustrated when I tried to talk to some local students because they said several pardons" (S8, interview, December 22, 2008).

> *While I feel culture and language are the most barriers in foreign*

students' studies. They generate a pressure, which is invisible. Especially in education, we need to participate in discussion and compete with local students in class. For example, when we join a discussion with a group of local students, we will find our speaking chance is very little. And sometimes we cannot express our ideas clearly. Besides, we need friends in life and study, in particular in study, but it is very difficult to find a native partner. A sense of being quarantined exists when you are in a group of local students. (S9, interview, December 22, 2008)

The relationship between students and supervisor is a very sensitive topic to the participants. However, two respondents in the focus group interviewing opened up and talked the different situation from China.

I feel professors in China seem more willing to be close with students. They can be more helpful to our lives and studies even in some detailed aspects. Here I always have a sense of distance, away from my supervisor. Maybe that is because of the cultural difference. However, relationship between teachers and students will affect students' studies to a certain degree. (S9, interview, December 22, 2008)

It really depends on who is your supervisor. As I know, here some students can meet with their supervisor twice a month or once a week to discuss their research or thesis, but others cannot meet with their supervisor only once even in two or three months. This is completely up to the availability of the supervisor. And cultural difference does exist. When I came here, I heard people always said "Never date your colleagues and never make friends with your colleagues". For them life is totally separated from work or study. But to us international students, we actually have more problems in lives than in studies, thus we really need help. Situations in China are quite different since teachers care about our lives very much there. (S10, interview, September 9, 2009)

During the observation, several students mentioned the difficulties in applying for scholarships here. For example, one stressed his problem in the application for scholarships as "I cannot apply for those big awards, because of my international student status. Those big awards are only open to Canadian students or permanent residents, so we are not eligible" (Observation, June 23, 2009). Also one respondent shared his experience in looking for a job in Canada. He said,

Though I am not a student in science, I do have some knowledge in computer science. Then when I tried to look for a job here, I found it is really hard for me to find a job in my real research area, but I can get a job with my computer knowledge. I was wondering why we could only become a technician while could not take a position related to our research area. (Observation, September 11, 2008)

Additionally, one participant suffered from the rejection from the Canadian Embassy on his wife's temporary visa application.

There is certain improvement in academia, but I have problems in my life. I want to invite my wife to come here to accompany me, but her application for a temporary resident visa has been refused four times by the Canadian Embassy, which made both of us very upset. (S8, interview, December 22, 2008)

Suggestions to the University of Alberta in Support of International Students

Most respondents in the individual interviews expressed their expected improvement that the university can do in the future. Their suggestions concentrate on scholarship applications, financial support and English language service.

Almost all participants feel that they are not treated fairly in scholarship competitions because of their international student identity. As S1 said, "I hope the university and the department can give us more opportunity at least the equal chance to compete for scholarships with Canadian students. Then more outstanding international students are willing to come here" (interview, September 28, 2008). S11 detailed her experience as,

As for scholarship application, most scholarships are only open to Canadian students or permanent residents. For me, I do not think I am incapable to compete with the Canadian students, but I am restricted by my international student status. It seems that we never need to take up time to prepare the application paper work. (laughing) But anyway, I really hope the U of A can provide all students with the equal opportunity for scholarship applications. (interview, September 12, 2009)

S5 complained about the high tuition fees for international students and argued

that,

Since the university recruits us, we should be treated equally with Canadian students. Why are there so many unequal treatments? If the university dislikes international students, it does not need to recruit us. We paid double tuition but receive less benefit. Since the U of A has the ability to recruit international student, it should support these students in the same way as it does to Canadian students. (interview, July 25, 2009)

Concerning communication and language, S11 suggested that overseas students' daily life should be given consideration by the school as well and certain organization could be set up for improving foreign students' oral English.

I hope the university can care about our lives here as well. Such as, I felt very warm when a member of the undergraduate organization in my department voluntarily picked me up at the airport on my first day to Edmonton. Also I wish there could be some organizations, which can help us improve our oral English. Language is important for us to study and teach here. (interview, September 12, 2009)

Discussion

The qualitative studies explored the Chinese graduate students' perspectives on studying further in Canada and their choice of the U of A. Compared with higher education in China, the advantages of higher education in Canada should be pointed out. The high research reputation of the university, good scholarship systems, and support to international students are the major attractions to Chinese students. By and large, Canadian universities enjoy a good reputation in the world because of their optimization of educational resources. Canadian universities pay more attention to building their international fame through different communicative channels. For instance, all information is integrated on the university's website and open to the public. The good scholarship systems ensure that most graduate students get RA and/or TA experience, which is very important for student's academic studies. Besides, the university's support to international students creates a friendly academic atmosphere to foreign students. However, in China, because of the

inequity of educational resources, the research ability of each public university is uneven. There are some famous universities, but they have less attraction compared to other overseas higher institutions. Restricted by funding and other factors, graduate students in China seldom get the opportunity of doing TA or RA work at the school. Considering this gap in higher education between China and Canada, it is not difficult to understand why Chinese students want to pursue their further studies in a Canadian university rather than continue their studies in a Chinese university.

In the analysis of participants' motivations for further study abroad, two types of motivations were classified. There were individual motivations that emanated from cultural influence and personal worldviews, individual academic research interests and the pursuit of educational equity. While extrinsic motivations which were driven by the current domestic economic situation were a factor, the employment pressure and the occupational demand for academic degree level and parental expectations stimulated some participants to improve themselves through further study at a foreign institute.

As for the factors facilitating the success of the overseas studies, economic factors play a key role. All participants in the research came to Canada with the financial support from the U of A in the form of doing RA or TA work except one public-funded participant with the financial support from both the U of A and the Chinese government. Besides, the existence of Chinese student organization CSSA provides useful information to the prospective students for their better learning the university and making a decision of the destination for overseas studies.

With regard to the government policies toward ISM, participants expressed their aspirations for more government's investment in support of international students. They wish the Canadian government would not charge differential fees to international students and create more scholarship application opportunities for international students. They also hope the Chinese government can adhere to the public-funded policy which they are

adopting now. Additionally, the communication between the governments and universities of the two countries should be strengthened.

All participants thought they would benefit a lot from further studies at the U of A. And most of them considered student flows from China to Canada for further studies was not a bad thing for China, though some of them realized the problem of talent loss for China. They believed they could still contribute to China even they choose to stay abroad after graduation, such as taking advanced foreign management experience and technology back to China through different channels, enhancing China's influence in the West, deepening the understanding between the West and the East and diminishing misunderstanding in the human society. As for "brain drain," some of the participants thought Chinese government should take actions to solve this problem and Chinese higher education system should be improved in order to retain the excellent students. Some critiqued the domestic measures of managing human resources and argued that government should create more chance and provide a sound system and support to the returned overseas Chinese students. For the unpatriotic critiques, most participants thought studying further abroad or staying abroad should not be equated to unpatriotic actions because they can always support China when she needs them. Beyond those reflections, participants also addressed their difficulties and problems at a foreign university. Language and cultural communication, relationships with supervisors, scholarship applications and job hunting became the major concerns of the respondents. They wish the university could help them with those problems and create a more humane and equal learning space for them.

Drawing on Chinese graduate students' experiences and perspectives, some aspects should be further reflected on.

To a certain degree, the ideology of neoliberalism influenced students' perspectives on ISM. Most participants expected a free ISM between China and Canada. Some of them did not recognize the phenomenon of "brain drain". Some even denied "brain drain" and thought that using "brain-drain" was too

narrow-minded to describe ISM. With the implementation of the "reform and opening-up policy," the concepts like "individuality" and "freedom" in the Western culture have challenged the mainstream of the socialist culture and values in China, impacted the youth since the 1980s and reinforced the youth's aspiration for an individual freedom. Hence, students expected a freer ISM. The other influence from neoliberalism is human capital theory. Most participants expressed their hope to improve or strengthen themselves through overseas studies in order to enhance their competitiveness in the future labor market. This means they agree with the investment in overseas studies.

In addition, the national culture's influence on Chinese students' pursuit of overseas studies must be given consideration. As some participants mentioned, the Confucius' "self-improvement" and Chinese traditional philosophy about knowledge and practice "read ten thousand books, travel ten thousand miles" in particular encouraged some participants to pursue further study abroad.

The impact of cultural globalization can also be seen from some participants' high recognition of the academic degree from higher institutions in North America. The dominance of North America academic higher education systems and standards influenced most participants' choice of the destination for overseas studies. Also Western culture and values flooded the participants' studies. English as the only communicative language resulted in the difficulties in some participants' communication with the local students. The curricula in some departments were very Euro-centric or US-centric as participants stated.

However, it should be noted that when it came to patriotism, most participants showed their great passion to their motherland. They disagreed with the Western tones but presented a strong defensive stance to those problems such as the past Olympics and the Tibet issue which puzzled China. This position reflected that most participants still adhere to Chinese nationalism and national solidarity, which is also a resistance against Western

culture and values.

Chinese graduate student experiences and perspectives showed the peculiarity of Chinese student mobility abroad for further studies. Different from the ISM mainly supported by Chinese government before, the contemporary ISM is impacted by neoliberalism and a freer mobility takes on students' pursuit of overseas studies. Also distinguished from the ISM in Western countries, Chinese students' further study abroad is influenced by Chinese traditional culture and values and most students still concern about serving the country.

[5]**Chapter Six: Closing Reflections: International Student Mobility and the Pursuit of Higher Education**

Revisiting the Main Research Purpose and Questions

This research explored the social and educational phenomenon of Chinese student mobility for further studies in the west. By using a qualitative case study strategy, Chinese graduate students at the U of A were selected as the research participants in this interpretivist study in order to address: 1) Chinese student rationales' towards further study abroad; 2) Chinese graduate students' learning experiences at a foreign institution; 3) Chinese graduate students' perspectives on China's government policy towards overseas studies and Canadian government policy towards international students.

Government and educational policies in relation to international student mobility (ISM) in major OECD countries were examined. Neoliberal globalization, the impact of WTO/GATT/GATS on higher education and ISM, cultural globalization, and the IHE were drawn upon in the literature review for a better analysis of the qualitative data. Based on the findings, this chapter will present my preliminary reflections on ISM, explanations for the divergence in opinion about ISM from Chinese graduate student perspectives and the existing literature, and possible considerations for future research.

The study of major OECD countries' policies and positions on ISM reveals a neoliberal definition. Introducing differential fees for international students, competing shares in the global international student market, and adopting an open policy towards work permits and immigration applications, the major host countries of international students are active in promoting liberalization of higher education and free ISM in a real sense by marketing their higher education and internationalizing their higher institutions. The

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formation of the global international student market and the higher education export service industry certify that higher education in those host countries has been commoditized. This provides certain opportunities to international students for further studies abroad. But at the same time, it creates inequity in higher education. From the interviews with Chinese graduate students at the U of A, the socio-economic status of participants weighs heavily on the success of studying abroad. The majority of participants are from the middle-class even when they were funded by the U of A. As one stated, "If you're from a poor family, it is not an easy thing. After all you will spend some money on application fee and test fees. But a moderate family will be supportive enough" (interview, March 12, 2009). In this sense, higher education in the major OECD countries offers more opportunities to international students from rich families than those from poor families.

Though the rationales for recruiting international students in major OECD countries vary between countries, economic benefits from recruiting international students and targeting overseas talent and skilled immigrants for the nation-state's capacity building are common objectives. In conversations with Chinese graduate students at the U of A, one participant confessed that he was attracted by the immigration policy in Canada (S4, interview, March 12, 2009). Beyond that, the retained international students in major OECD countries are contributing to the host country while causing the "brain drain" in their countries of origin. "Brain drain" "combines elements of the global movement of labor and capital (via the flow of highly skilled and talented workers) with investment in human capital" (Robertson & Scholte, 2007, p. 104) which mainly affects knowledge-intensive direct services such as health care and accounting, the production of high-technology goods such as computers, semiconductor manufacturing and software, and the generation of new knowledge such as research and development (2007).

The official position and policy on overseas studies in China, the largest country currently sending students abroad should also be rethought. In

the brief historical review of Chinese overseas study, public-funded overseas study was the mainstream before 1980. Students who were dispatched by the late Qing government, Kuomingtang and the PRC shouldered the tasks of transmitting the advanced science and technology to China, serving the country, and contributing to the construction of the nation-state. Then with the allowance of self-funded overseas studies since 1980 by the PRC, the government adopted a more open attitude towards overseas studies. The features of overseas studies in recent years are summarized by Miao (2003). He points out that the rapid increase of student numbers, the larger ratio of students' studying in the United States, the multiple choice of counties, the pursuit of higher level of degrees, and excellent students and talent-to-be as the majority in the pursuit of overseas studies are the main characteristics of current overseas studies in China. This situation also reflects some domestic problems in China's higher education. Being a populated country, the accommodation of domestic higher education cannot meet the masses' demand. On the one hand, the spaces are quite limited; on the other hand, the level of research and development is not competitive in contrast with that in the West. These problems in domestic higher education aggravate Chinese student mobility to Western higher institutions. And on this point, many a participant exposed their aspirations for a better higher education in the West in the interviews.

Further Reflections on Neoliberal globalization and Internationalization of Higher Education

First appearing in the 1940s as a distinctive strand of liberal ideology, neoliberalism brought its major influence into force in the 1970s (Gamble, 2007). Its key principles of "free-market individualism, private property, constitutional order, and the minimal state" (Robertson & Scholte, 2007, p. 865) have been propagated and applied in the major states in the West and the multilateral institutions such as the IMF, the WTO and the OECD as well as been embedded in the globalization. Situated in neoliberal globalization,

higher education is facing great challenges. As some scholars like Wende (2001) argue that IHE is a response to globalization which should be regarded as an important element of higher education policy at both the institutional and the national level.

Knight (1993) defines IHE as "the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (p.21); however, this definition only presents an institutional perspective. The IHE in today's global knowledge economy, which encompasses the increased international content in curricula, movement of students, scholars, programs, and institutions across borders are collectively referred to as "transnational" or "cross-border" higher education (Gürüz, 2008) which has already surpassed the domain of integration of international or intercultural dimension in to the higher institutions. Gürüz further talks of the emergence of the global higher education market with annual revenue estimated at tens of billions of dollars, providing services ranging from publishing, testing, and counseling to the provision of education in one transnational from or another. International student mobility is financially the largest segment of this market (2008). Hence, we can understand why the major OECD countries are actively recruiting international students and competing in the global international student market. Undoubtedly, beyond the economic benefits from recruiting international students, other rationales of the major OECD countries such as promoting skilled migration through recruiting international students, targeting global talent for the nation-state's capacity building and enhancing the nation-state's international influence through promoting IHE should be given quota consideration.

The situation of the pursuit of overseas studies in China should be rethought as well. The persistent neoliberal influence on China's society is significant since the adoption of the open-up policy which can be observed from the party leader's policy and position change by taking market mechanisms in the development of national economy and the compromised

attitude towards joining the WTO. The radical changes of the official positions also influenced Chinese civil society, influencing peoples' individual social visions and values. In the literature review and the preliminary reflection on ISM, I discussed the impact of neoliberal globalization on higher education and critiqued the unfair discourse of ISM which may result in "brain drain". However, in this regard, big divergence occurred between my perspective and the research participants'. The reasons why Chinese graduate students insisted a compromised position on "brain drain" or even denied "brain drain" could be explained below.

Compared to Chinese youth before the 1980s, today's youth live in a new social environment. The establishment of a market economy, the abundance of material goods and the rise of mass media have greatly influenced the cultural system of China. Consequently the traditional culture, ideology and value orientation are being challenged. Far removed from the period of the "cultural revolution," this young generation is not influenced by the previous political fanaticism but is enthusiastic in pursuing freedom and individuality which are always propagated by neoliberals. Hence, most of participants insisted that ISM should be free and no unpatriotic critiques should be made on their choice of staying abroad after completing their overseas studies. Nonetheless, the influences from China's traditional cultures must be incorporated into understanding the pursuit of overseas studies of Chinese students.

As a country with a 2000-year-old civilization, there are different cultural streams and approaches which flux and reflux Chinese society. From "Zhu Zi Bai Jia" [6] in the Qin Dynasty (221-206BC), "Jing Xue"(the study of

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[6] During the Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 BC) and the Warring State Period (403-221 BC), China's ancient society was experiencing big upheavals and reforms. Social economy, politics, ideology and culture took on a great change in the acute and complex class conflicts. In the radical social reform, the class relationship in different "Zhuhou Guo" (the state of hereditary nobles) appeared big changes. Different class and their representatives promulgated their proposals towards social reform respectively. Therefore, "Zhu Zi Bai Jia"

lection) and "Shen Xue"(the study of theology) in Han Dynasty (202BC-220AD), "Xuan Xue"(the study of ontology) in Wei and Jin Dynasty (220-589AD), "Fo Xue"(the study of Buddhism) in Sui and Tang Dynasty (581-960AD), "Li Xue" (the study of rationalism) in Song and Ming Dynasty (947-1644AD) to "Shi Xue"(the study of practicality) in Qing Dynasty (1636-1911AD), the ideology of Confucian school became the mainstream in the cultural and philosophical aspect of Chinese society. Even though, it is quite contentious to clarify what the connotations of Chinese traditional culture are. However, in relation to ISM, the influences from these cultural aspects can be discerned.

Chinese students' tide of pursuing higher education abroad cannot be explained without Confucius's position on education. Confucius propounds "zun shi zhong jiao" (showing respect to teachers and highly valuing education) which has greatly impacted Chinese civil society and has been recognized by the masses. In particular, the concept of "self-improvement" is emphasized by contemporary Chinese society. And with the improvement of civil economy and increase of family income, parents would like to put more investment in their children's education in order to build up their own kids for becoming prominent in the competitive labor market. Undoubtedly, studying further abroad is an ideal way to realize those expectations. The old saying "shu zhong zi you huang jin wu" (Within books, one can find houses of gold.), which indicates that good education can bring people good future exactly reflects such an expectation.

Under the great influence of Confucianism, Shi considers,

> *The objective of traditional education was not to cultivate the "sage"*
> *as western countries did in ancient time, or to nurture "priest" and*
> *"knight" as western countries did in the Middle Ages, or to train skilled*

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emerged. "Zhu Zi" refers to all the ideologists and their works, which reflected different class and class interest in the field of ideology in this period. And "Bai Jia" is an exaggerated way to indicate that there were a great number of ideologists in that time of period.

technicians and scientists to transmit knowledge in modern times, but it was to cater to the cultivation of the person as a dignified human being. (Shi, 2005, p. 290, trans. by author)

Hence, this ideology of becoming a noble human being inspired thousands of excellent young people to stand up, make headway and even sacrifice their lives to fight against all kinds of difficulties at the time when China was in a state of social upheaval and national crisis. With regard to ISM, this can be perceived from the traditional Chinese rationale of studying further abroad. As Li comments,

The traditional Chinese rationale of studying further abroad are always to learn new knowledge, apply new knowledge in China, serve the country and revitalize China....Hence, before 1980, the majority of overseas students stayed shortly abroad after graduation and only a handful of overseas students did not return to China. Though the domestic condition was very harsh and the treatment to the returned overseas students was not very satisfying in living, work and other aspects, students still tried every means to go back to China. (2007, p. 29, trans. by author)

Another influence from traditional culture is the philosophy about knowledge and practice. Particularly, the old saying "read ten thousand books, travel ten thousand miles" encourages many Chinese students to move abroad in order to broaden their views and strengthen their ability through foreign studies.

Cultural Globalization and Higher Education

"Is there a global culture? If by a global culture we mean something akin to the culture of the nation-state writ large, then the answer is patently a negative one" (Featherstone, 1990, p.1). As for cultural globalization, Robertson and Scholte argue that it is an inherently complex process, whose impact varies particularly depending on the way global flows and standards interact with territorially bound forms of culture (2007). The impact of cultural globalization on higher education can be perceived from the absolute America and European academic authority, the western dominance of knowledge network, the dissemination of western culture and value and the English

language.

In the interviews with Chinese graduate students, most of them recognized the North American academic authority and wanted to receive a better education there. Therefore, to pursue the so-called best higher education in the west became an important individual motivation pertaining to overseas studies. The dominance of western knowledge systems was also mentioned by one participant in that he thought the curriculum in his department was too Euro-centric. Also, English as the only common language is a barrier for Chinese graduate students, given related difficulties in communication.

Concluding Reflections on the Research Experience

As an international student from China, I had some knowledge of qualitative research methods such as interviews and questionnaires before I came to Canada. However, the systematic study of research methodology began from my master's studies in education at the U of A. As a learner and beginning researcher, I put the emergence of new things in perspective and keep an open mind to learn about new phenomena, thus I would like to continue to apply the research methodology that I learned in Canada to my on-going research. I finally adopted an interpretivist qualitative case study in order to listen to voices from different individuals. And I feel inspired to utilize a different research method, which varies from the common way of writing a thesis in the social science in China through literature review or theoretical reflection only. In the long process of data collection, I fully engaged in the practice of qualitative research.

During the preparation for ethics application for the qualitative case study research, I carefully studied the research procedure and research methods, which helped me with the preliminary research design. Specifically, through learning the "Human Research-University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants" from the university website, I acquired the necessary background knowledge on ethics for research work before I applied them to the real research. The adoption of research methods

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and design of research questions are based on the full consideration of focus, relevance, symmetry, clarity and simplicity, language, attitude, presuming questions, suggestive questioning and prestige bias. After the preliminary research design, the research questions for interviews were critiqued, re-examined and revised through a pilot run. Then the final design of research questions was produced and posed to the research participants.

Before starting the research, I confronted a critique from some Chinese researchers that they doubted the reliability of interviewing Chinese students since some Chinese people care much about face and only share good things with others but avoid dark sides. This concern became my great challenge in conducting interviews. In order to reduce the risk of collecting untrustworthy information, I spent much time on finding appropriate research participants. I used all possible communicative ways to access the potential participants who showed interest in my research topic, felt at ease with interviews and would like to open up their thoughts with me. Because of the clear introduction of my research purpose and background, the guarantee of confidentiality and friendly attitude to respondents, I won participants' trust. My interviews were conducted interactively and informative messages were gathered from the conversation with participants. The majority of participants felt very excited to take part in my interviews and recognized the significance of researching international student perspectives. Some of them even thanked me for listening to them and giving them one chance to talk of their experience at a foreign university.

Looking back on the whole research process, I really enjoyed this study in that I have fully engaged and been able to work on the project as main researcher. The biggest gain from this research is that I have figured out the procedure of conducting a research project and what it means to be a social science researcher. Both the good experience obtained from the research and the limitations or weakness of the research will become precious assets for my future academic involvement in the study of educational policy and practice.

Considerations for Future Research

This qualitative case study focused on the major OECD countries'
higher education policies concerning ISM and neoliberal globalization and on
Chinese graduate student perspectives on pursuing higher education in Canada.
The research was primarily descriptive and interpretive. In terms of future
research, the following directions need addressing: first, in light of the
multi-dimensions of IHE, the qualitative research could be expanded to the
study of the international movement of academic staff and researchers,
internationalization of higher education curricula, and so forth; second, even
though many a Chinese students pursue oversea studies every year, there are
quite a number of Chinese students choose to study further in a domestic
higher institution - the perspectives of those Chinese students who actively
decided not to go abroad, even if they had the ability and background to
pursue higher education abroad could be incorporated in the future research as
a comparative study; third, as Welch suggests, "philosophers have for
millennia been phrasing the question of knowledge in terms of 'what
knowledge is of most worth'" (2002b, p. xi), I further reflect on the question
he posed "how far can we be sure that the knowledge that is acquired by
students in the North is applicable to contexts to which they may return, in the
South" (2002b, p. xii). Since the tide of overseas Chinese students' returning
to China after their graduation has emerged as China keeps a steady economic
growth over the recent decade, it will also be meaningful to study the
phenomenon of the reverse flow of overseas Chinese students to China; and
fourth, this research discussed the IHE in the major OECD countries; however,
every year a number of foreign students from different countries come to
China's higher institutions for studies. This could be understood as the start of
an internationalization of China's higher education, which could become a
new research topic or area of future study.

Beyond these possible research directions, I would also suggest that
more critical thinking and perspectives on ISM should guide future studies in

ISM. For instance, the impact of a culture of credentialing and the economic rationalization imperative for ISM must be considered. Blindly worshiping overseas academic degrees and pursuing an overseas degree driven by an economic rationalization orientation alone should be critiqued as I would strongly suggest that the role of education lies in its contribution to the cultivation of human beings and a society that does not simply exist to serve certain privileged social classes alone while succumbing to economic reductionism and the blind pursuit of individual freedom.

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APPENDIX A: Information Letter

Thank you for considering to participate in this study on Chinese graduate student perspectives on their decision to pursue higher education in Canada.

Specifically, I am requesting you to participate in an interview that is anticipated to last an hour (maximum time commitment on your part), with the possibility of a follow-up session of another half hour (if required).

You have the right to refuse to take part in or to opt out at any time without prejudice. You may withdraw at any time in the process by simply requesting that data you have provided not be included in the data analysis. In the event that this happens, electronic/hard copies will be returned to you.

Throughout the duration of the project, anonymity and confidentiality will be ensured and I will not reveal your identity to anyone at any time. For example, data from several interviews (and collected using other methods) with several participants will be collated in thematic analysis that does not identify individuals but concentrates on understandings generated from multiple sources/participants). I will not share the actual content of interviews or field notes with anyone. All information will be maintained under lock and key and encrypted on the computer. Data will be destroyed in five years (maximum time).

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension and Augustana Research Ethics Board (EFA REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEA REB at 780-492-3751.

If you have concerns about the assignment, please contact my supervisor, Dr. Dip Kapoor at 780-492-7617 or the EDPS Chair at 780-492-7625.

There are two consent forms that require your signature should you agree to participate in this research. Please sign one and return to me. The second is for your records. Thank you for considering being a participant in this study.

Sincerely,

Jie Zheng
Graduate student in TCI program
Department of Educational Policy Studies
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta, CANADA
Tel (office): 780-248-1237, Tel (cell): 780-604-5908

APPENDIX B: Participant Consent Form

I (please print your name) _____,
agree to participate in this study that part of the researcher's thesis. I agree to answer the interview questions.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason without prejudice or penalty. Any collected data will be withdrawn at that time and not included in the project. I can withdraw by contacting the researcher or the supervisor of the researcher, Dr. Dip Kapoor, at 780-492-7617. I understand the results will be reported anonymously and used only for the purpose of the completion of thesis.

I understand that the plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, extension and Augustana Research Ethics Board (EFA REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEA REB at 780-492-3751.

If you have concerns or complaints about the assignment, please contact my supervisor, Dr. Dip Kapoor, or the EDPS Chair at 780-492-7625.

I agree to abide by the conditions of this agreement.

Signature of participant: _____

Date: _____

Researcher signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX C: Research Participant Information

Name	Graduated from	Program in U of A	Department of	Year in Canada	Gender	Age
S1	Qingdao University	M.Sc. in Biochemistry	Biochemistry	Four	Male	21-25
S2	NanKai University	Ph.D. in Mathematics	Mathematical and Statistical Sciences	Four	Male	26-30
S3	Southwestern University of Finance and Economy	MA in Rural Economy	Rural Economy	Second	Male	21-25
S4	University of Science and Technology of China	Ph.D. in Computer Science	Computer Science	Six	Male	26-30
S5	China Agricultural University with M.Sc.	M.Sc. in Ruminant Nutrition	Agricultural, Food and Nutritional Science	Second	Female	26-30
S6	Hefei University of Technology	MA in Theoretical, Cultural and International Studies in Education	Educational Policy Studies	Third	Female	26-30
S7	Qufu Normal University	Ph.D. in curriculum studies	Secondary Education	Six	Male	26-30

S8	Beijing University of Posts and Telecommunications	Ph.D. in Electrical and Computer Engineering	Electrical and Computer Engineering	Second	Male	26-30
S9	Hebei Normal University	Ph.D. in science education	Secondary Education	Third	Male	41-45
S10	Huazhong Agricultural University	M.Sc. in Plant Pathology	Agricultural, Food and Nutritional Science	Third	Male	21-25
S11	Beihang University	Ph.D. in Organizational Analysis	Business	Third	Female	26-30

APPENDIX D: Questions for Interviews

1. Could you give me some idea about your background and your educational experience in China---for example, where did you grow up? Where did you study? What are your impressions of your academic experience there, especially in college/university?

2. So, what made you decide to come to Canada to pursue higher studies?

3. How would you describe your experience with higher education in Canada up until now? In what ways has this been a good decision? Do you have any regrets around making this decision?

4. If you were given a chance to turn the clock back again, would you make the same decision? Why or why not?

5. If you were to name ONE "big reason" for why you chose to leave China to come to Canada to pursue higher education, what would it be?

6. Will you be going back to China? Why? Will you be staying on in Canada (not going back to China)? Why?

7. Do you think the increasing trend of Chinese students going to pursue higher education countries like Canada will be good for China or do you find this process to be problematic for the country in any way? Could you give me some examples of how this might be the case for either scenario?

8. Do you think the socio-economic status of your parents/family has anything to do with your ability to come to Canada to pursue higher education? Do you think all Chinese students, regardless of their socio-economic background should have this opportunity? If so, what specific policies do you think will be useful to bring this about in relation to what the Chinese government can do and what the Canadian government can do?

9. What specific higher education policies/official supports (Canadian and Chinese) played a part in making it possible for you to come here? Do you have any other suggestions to make in this regard?

10. What is your response to those who say that this is a negative trend for China ("brain drain" of China to the west)? Or to those who might suggest that such a decision is unpatriotic? If you were to think of just TWO criticisms of this trend of leaving China to study in the west, what would they be?

11. What supports from the University of Alberta specifically, have encouraged you to make the decision to come to this university? Any suggestions for where improvements need to be made?

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTIES OF EDUCATION, EXTENSION, AUGUSTANA, CAMPUS SAINT-JEAN RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

8-45 Education Sou
Phone: 780.492.226

Notification of Approval - Delegated Review

From:	Dr. Ingrid Johnston REB Chair, Education, Extension, Augustana Research Ethics Board (EEA REB)
To:	Jie Zheng
Study ID:	Pro00000525
Study Title:	Globalization and education: Understanding Chinese graduate student perspectives on pursuing higher education in Canada.
Study Investigator:	Jie Zheng

	Approval Date	Expiration Date	Approved Document
Date of Informed Consent:	25/09/2008	25/09/2009	Participant Consent Form

Funding/Sponsor (free text):	There are no items to display
Funding/Sponsor (validated):	There are no items to display

Thank you for submitting the above ethics application to the Education, Extension, and Augustana Research Ethics Board. Jennifer Kelly has reviewed your application and, on behalf of the Education, Extension, Augustana Research Ethics Board (EEA REB), approved it as of 25/09/2008. The approval will expire on 25/09/2009.

A renewal report must be submitted prior to the expiry of this approval if your study still requires ethics approval at that time. If you do not renew before the renewal expiry date, you will have to re-submit an ethics application.

Sincerely,

Ingrid Johnston, PhD
REB Chair, Education, Extension, Augustana Research Ethics Board (EEA REB)

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system).

FACULTIES OF EDUCATION, EXTENSION, AUGUSTANA, CAMPUS SAINT-JEAN RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

8-45 Education Sou
Phone: 780.492.226

Notification of Approval (Renewal) - Delegated Review

To:	Jie Zheng
Amendment/Renewal ID:	Pro00000525_REN1
Study ID:	MS1_Pro00000525
Study Title:	Globalization and education: Understanding Chinese graduate student perspectives on pursuing higher education in Canada.
Study Investigator:	Jie Zheng

	Approval Date	Approved Document
Date of Informed Consent:	25/09/2008	Participant Consent Form

Funding/Sponsor (free text):	There are no items to display
Funding/Sponsor (validated):	There are no items to display

Thank you for submitting the renewal to the above ethics application to the Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint-Jean Board (EEASJ REB).

Approval for a renewal is valid for one year from the date of the original approval for the study. Your ethics approval will now expire on September 25, 2010.

Another renewal report must be submitted next year prior to the expiry of this approval if your study still requires ethics approval at that point. If you do not renew on or before the renewal expiry date, you will have to re-submit an ethics application.

Sincerely,

Dr Ingrid Johnston, Chair
Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint-Jean Board (EEASJ REB)

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system).