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# MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

„Confucian Model in Internationalization of  
Higher Education: South Korea and Taiwan“

Verfasserin

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master (MA)

Wien, 2014

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 067 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Individuelles Masterstudium:  
Global Studies – a European Perspective

Betreuerin / Betreuer:

Mag. Dr. Alfred Gerstl, MIR



universität  
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# MASTERARBEIT / MASTER THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the master thesis

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## Abstract

South Korea and Taiwan are highly comparable. Both nations are keeping their eyes towards the future towards the development of a more open higher education system which will attract international students with the goal of forming an education hub. During the transformation of their higher education systems, there are many common traits occurring during their process of Internationalization of Higher Education. Research into these features shows that many of them can be linked back to Confucian thinking and values. With a cultural emphasis, South Korea and Taiwan dedicate themselves into culture and language studies. A regional focus explains the phenomenon which Confucian states prefer cooperation with nations closer to their culture. The dominating states steer not only their national projects but the combination of academics and governmental officials bring a unique perspective on policy making. This thesis believes that there is a Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education in South Korea and Taiwan, observed from these two nation's developmental paths.

## Abstract German

Südkorea und Taiwan sind zwei sehr vergleichbare Länder. Beide Nationen entwickeln für die Zukunft ein offeneres Higher Education System, dass für internationale Studierende attraktiv sein soll, mit dem Ziel ein "Education Hub" zu bilden. Während der Transformation ihrer Higher Education Systeme sind viele gemeinsame Eigenschaften feststellbar, die während des Prozesses der Internationalisierung der Higher Education zu Tage traten. Eine Untersuchung dieser Eigenschaften zeigt, dass viele von ihnen mit konfuzianischem Denken und Werten verbunden sind. Mit dem Schwerpunkt auf Kultur, widmet sich Südkorea und Taiwan der Kultur- und Sprachstudien. Ein regionaler Fokus erklärt das Phänomen, dass von Konfuzianismus geprägte Staaten eine Zusammenarbeit mit Nationen, die ihrer eigenen Kultur näher sind, bevorzugen. Die dominierenden Staaten steuern nicht nur ihre nationalen Projekte, auch die Kombination der Akademischen- und Regierungsoffiziellen bringen eine einzigartige Perspektive auf die Entscheidungen. Diese Arbeit geht davon aus, dass es ein konfuzianisches Modell in der Internationalisierung der Higher Education in Südkorea und Taiwan gibt, und beobachtet es von dem Entwicklungspfad dieser zwei Nationen aus.

# Confucian Model in Internationalization of Higher Education: South Korea and Taiwan

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Global Development of Internationalization of Higher Education	2
1.1.1	Internationalization of Higher Education in East Asia	5
1.2	Education and Policy	7
1.3	South Korea and Taiwan: A Similar Social Background	9
1.3.1	History	10
1.3.2	Economy	12
1.3.3	Education and Social Values	13
2	Higher Education and its Development	17
2.1	South Korea	
2.1.1	Modern Higher Education Environment	19
2.1.2	Development of Internationalization of Higher Education	21
2.1.2.1	International Students	26
2.1.2.2	Cultural Program	27
2.1.3	Toward an Education Hub: Policy and Implementation	28
2.2	Taiwan	
2.2.1	Modern Higher Education Environment	30
2.2.2	Development of Internationalization of Higher Education	32
2.2.2.1	International Students	35
2.2.2.2	Language Program	37
2.2.2.3	Faculty and Research	39
2.2.3	Toward an Education Hub: Policy and Implementation	41
2.3	Similarity and Difference of Educational Policy between South Korea and Taiwan	44
3	The Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education	46
3.1	The Confucian Model in Higher Education and its Distinct Manifestations in the Internationalization of Higher Education	47
3.2	The Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education	50
3.2.1	Cultural Emphasis	52
3.2.2	Regional Cooperation Focus	54
3.2.3	Steering National-State	58
3.3	Commentary on the Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education	60
3.4	Conclusion	63
	Reference	66

## 1 Introduction

In today's world, globalization is no longer the sole right of the economic field, as transnational cooperation and cross-border programs are becoming more and more popular in the field of higher education as well. Under this phenomenon, nations throughout the world are endeavouring to take the leading place not only in academic research, but also as education hubs where international students, academic conferences, or global capitals settle down. Like glocalization in globalization, there are also regional differences within the Internationalization of Higher Education. The sub-region of East Asia especially stands out with its distinct traits. Marginson pointed out there is a Confucian model in higher education implemented by the nations in Confucian education zone (2010, p.588), this thesis will further examine whether there is also a Confucian Model in the process of Internationalization of Higher Education.

Due to the diversity in the region, this thesis will focus on the two most similar states amongst the Confucian States: South Korea and Taiwan. These two East Asian nations share a similar historical, cultural and educational background, as well as presenting further similarities with their geographical location and economic developmental paths, South Korea and Taiwan are so closely related as to be almost identical. These two states also are deeply affected by Confucianism, a school of thought has surpassed educational aspects and has become rooted in the social values of the society. Currently, as both states declared their will to construct the country into education hubs around 2010, a new competition begins.

This research will emphasize the national education policy aspect and examine the policies, data, and implemented results for the Internationalization of Higher Education, identifying similarities and contrasts during the process, then further compare their similarities with Marginson's Confucian Model and Confucianism values to see whether a Confucian model in Internationalization of Higher Education exists. The research method applied is social-data analysis, a common quality-research method in the social science field. The materials used for analysis in this

research will include national level legal documents, governmental announcements, state-steered projects, and news reports in order to voice the view of public review opinions. The data collected from participating higher education institutions (HEIs) including universities, technological universities, junior colleges, and graduate schools will also be included. The private sector is another active player in many states, however in South Korea and Taiwan, the cooperation between education field and private sector aside from graduates seeking a career or partial research collaboration is not yet as heavily bound. Therefore, the private sector's reaction and responses will not be one of the main focuses in this research. This research will focus majorly on the national policy design and HEIs' implementation as well as responses from the society in order to examine the potential Confucian traits inside the Internationalization of Higher Education.

### 1.1 Global Development of Internationalization of Higher Education

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, higher education faced the challenge of a globalizing world. In response to that, higher education went through a series of reforms and reconstructed its core values and functions. Higher education ceased to be the privilege of the elite class, but through the increase of academic institutions, expansion of student numbers and admission access, postsecondary education became a public good that can be attained by the public masses in most nations in the world throughout Asia, Europe, North and South America, Oceania and some parts of Africa. This wave of transformation is known as massification, and it is one of the many important reforms within the field of higher education (HE).

After the Second World War, alongside the development of globalization and cross-border cooperation, higher education also starts to reach out of the national boundaries and seeks transnational interaction and cooperation similar to many other modern aspects of human civilization. The term to describe this phenomenon is as the "Internationalization of Higher Education". The range of the internationalization of higher education is widely inclusive and brings forth many different definitions. Out of the many who tried to define this phenomenon, Jane

Knight's explanation in 2003 is both inclusive and to the point, becoming one of the most accepted definitions. Her words are that internationalization is "a process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension in the purpose, functions, or delivery of postsecondary education". Furthermore, despite its wide spread, the development of contemporary higher education is still heavily nation-based and is closely bound with national policy, and cooperation also often takes place "between and among nations (Knight, 2012)", therefore, internationalization is chosen as the term to specify this special condition of the field instead of alternative terms such as globalization or transnationalization.

The aim of Higher Education today is not only the preparation of academic knowledge but to prepare talents for the fast-changing and world-based working environment. To reach this goal, a Higher Education Institution (HEI) can no longer focus on insular teaching and research goals but step into the field of internationalization. Internationalization of Higher Education covers a wide range of activities from student and faculty mobility, to cooperative research programs. According to The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, it is estimated in the year 2008 that there were 3.3 million international students located around the globe (OECD, 2010, p.309), and the number is expected to increase to 5.8 million by 2020 (Bohm, Follari, Hewett, Jones, Kemp, Meares, Pearce & Van Cauter 2004; Rumbley, Altbach & Reisberg, 2012, p.7). With this large international student body and the fees they invest in higher education, people noted a brand new market. International student recruitment therefore becomes an on-going battle around the globe, and this battlefield, like many others in globalization, is not evenly distributed (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley 2009; Rumbley et al., 2012, p.5). The countries with resources like a more prospective job market, more English-taught programs and a more attractive national economy prevail among others, and they are also the traditionally strong countries like the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK). Australia and Singapore also became popular destinations to students in this aspect. This view of higher education service as a private good instead of a public good is often described as commercialization or commodification.

Many new side-effects also emerged from commercialization such as the world university rankings and education hubs. World university rankings are regarded as the evaluation system for universities. It started off as an information board for the students when it comes to deciding their study destination and is now winning more attention internationally. As different ranking systems emerge and different evaluation methods are applied, world university rankings is in a way the “transcript” grading the internationalization process for some universities. Ranking thus became an interwoven facet of internationalization of higher education and is heavily emphasized by many government policies in their effort of speeding up the national internationalization process.

Another popular phenomenon, the education hub, is a concept that has recently been catching much attention. One of the definitions given to education hub is that it is “a planned effort to build a critical mass of local and international actors strategically engaged in crossborder education, training, knowledge production and innovation initiatives” (Knight, 2011; Knight, 2014, p.20). Many nations have announced their goal of building themselves into regional education hubs, and place their emphasis on either student recruiting, domestic work environment talent development, or a general increase on research culture. The education elements involved include international conferences, world university branch establishment, and so on. With policies and institutional strategies tailor-made to suit this intention, higher education functions differently than in the past with brand new audiences and aims at a brand new scale.

Regionalization is another emerging trend in higher education, and it might also be interpreted as the next step in internationalization of higher education after commercialization. The most widely-known example being the Bologna Process of Europe which dedicates itself to improving student and faculty mobility, as well as providing research funds and degree program cooperation within the region of Europe. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) also founded the ASEAN University Network managing the cross-border collaboration regarding tertiary education. The actors in the same geographical region establish cooperation



programs to increase regional competitiveness in higher education realms, aiming to form a unified entity in the management and strategies of the internationalization of higher education. These actors include sub-regional groups, individual HEIs, nongovernmental education bodies, and others (Knight, 2012).

There are two directions in the internationalization process: top-down and bottom-up, the former describes the path when the central authority publishes certain policies or strategies which the institutions or units follow and implement while the latter suggests the movements initiated from the interactive parties in internationalization activities spreads wider and affects the decision of the policy making authority. As many countries engage in more top-down initiatives at the national level, the relations between the state and academics move into a new phase. Policies and strategies become crucial elements within the internationalization of higher education. In this new battlefield where every player is trying to expand their influence, higher education expands beyond academic research and actively participates in the globalized world. This trend is also predicted to continue to thrive in the near future as the cross-border education demand increases. Internationalization of higher education therefore is a complex phenomenon that happens within the higher education realm but is not limited to academia, but an important and open idea that is impacting the present system or order.

#### 1.1.1 Internationalization of Higher Education in East Asia

Like other aspects of globalization, there are also regional discrepancies within the Internationalization of Higher Education. Asia was not a pioneer in this field, but is predicted to “experience massive higher education expansion” (Altbach, 2004, p.13) in the coming years. Yale University President Levin also stated in 2010 in his speech that “the East is rising” (Levin 2010; Marginson, 2010, p.2), recognizing Asian states’ endeavour and expansion in education. In practice, international profiles of the Asian universities are rising, and the universities from outside the region are setting up branches in Asia (Rumbley et al., 2012, p.12). Various evidential phenomena and the

fast growth of enrolment rates are pointing out that this statement of Asia's rising is more than just a slogan.

Despite its swift development, Asia is an extremely diverse region both culturally and economically. To talk about the whole of Asia as an entity would be imprecise and too general. Comparing all the sub-regions in this complicated and large region, East Asia especially draws one's eyes to their advancements. This sub-region not only maintains stunning economic performance, but also their cultures are at the same time both similar and distinct from one another. East Asian countries include China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, plus Singapore from South East Asia, and are collectively also nicknamed the Confucian education zone (Marginson, 2011, p.588) because of their cultural and historical background. This sub-region has several unique traits when it comes to the development of higher education.

One of the elements they share is what is called a "purposeful government" (Mok, 2003, p.205). The process of Internationalization in this region is almost exclusively initiated by the government. Programs are introduced to evaluate the higher education systems and speed up their transition procedures. Programs of this nature include China's 911 and 285 projects, Japan's Global 31, South Korea's BrainKorea 21 and Taiwan's Top University, in spite of their particular details, these programs aim at raising the university's competitiveness in the world education markets and provide funding for the selected HEIs to enforce and implement international cooperation schemes and more.

The East Asian nations also share many global trends in their Internationalization of Higher Education. The massification after Second World War leaves a generally high enrolment rate in tertiary education. According to World Bank data in 2012, the tertiary enrolment rate in Japan was 61%, in South Korea it was 98%, and in Mongolia it was 61%. Taiwan Ministry of Education published in 2013 that their tertiary enrolment had reached 83%. China and Vietnam, though their numbers record only 27% and 25%, have grown significantly within a decade comparing to the tertiary rate of 12% and 10% in 2002 (World Bank, 2012). The recent marketization

shows its influence on higher education and is considered one of the initiatives for the wave of education reforms.

In spite of the common trends, there is little overlap in the timeline of the regional educational development in East Asia. For Japan, its process of internationalization started after the Second World War alongside countries like the United States. Japan is now one of the global pioneers in this process. Taiwan and South Korea followed beginning around the 1980s, and are moving forward to declare their wish to build the state into education hubs in 2011 and 2008 separately. China began the process even later, but with large amounts of funding being installed, the growth of their higher education programs boom alongside their national economy. Other countries like Mongolia and Vietnam have not initiated the internationalization of their higher education programs on a massive scale, but only with individual cases directly connected to HEIs abroad, and there is hardly any record available on North Korea concerning its current development. From these development paths, we may see that there is no conformity in timing in the broad sense of the Internationalization of Higher Education in East Asia, and every nation has their own pace in augmentation.

## 1.2 Education and Policy

The educational reforms after the Second World War have not only changed the higher education sphere but also the relationship between the educational institution and the state. Policies were published and intermediate institutions were established in order to match up with the trend as well as to compete for the newly emerged markets. In some states, academic autonomy was thus limited due to policy interference, while in others the reforms return more autonomy to the academic's hands. The state, as the provider of resources for further development, announce policies or publish projects to promote internationalization and set up criteria to test the HEIs' accountability. "It also made more transparent the dependence of HEIs on the state and implied that they must compete with each other for limited state resources" (Henkel, 2000, p.68). Higher Education Institutions in this relationship function as a mediator of reforming actions and crucial actors in national policy.

Not only have the HEIs' external relationships with governments or international partners transformed, but the interior structure has also been altered. As higher education extends across borders and national boundaries, there are more and more new tasks and goals which emerge to the surface. Their effort to adapt these new aims into the system "implied increases in the numbers of administrators but they also meant the conversion of the university into an organisation that was both more professionalised and more flexible in its divisions of labour" (Henkel, 2000, p.61). Some described this effect as a composition of the "bureaucratisation" (Bleiklie, 2000, p.54). The division between the academics and administrators enlarged as the academic underwent this structural transition and the administration systems in HEIs became more important and complex.

Superseding the wave of bureaucratisation was the process of decentralisation. The policy had "less emphasis on the traditional rule-oriented use of authority tools than previously and more emphasis on goal formulation and performance" (Bleiklie, 2000, p.57). The authority lifted some procedural restrictions on HEIs in hope that they can react faster to the global trends without the bureaucratic works like modern, entrepreneurial organisations. In these processes can be viewed the debate between the top-down and bottom-up approach to the Internationalization of Higher Education. Whether there are more from the former or latter in the process of Internationalization differ from state to state, but in most cases both approaches exist side by side in the field.

Policy is defined differently in many fields of research, it can be as wide as the action of an organisation or as narrow as the law stated by the authority. In discussion of education policy, Harman defined policy as "the implicit or explicit specification of courses of purposive action being followed, or to be followed in dealing with a recognized problem or matter of concern, and directed towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired set of goals" (1984; Bell & Stevenson, 2006, 14). Following this definition, the education policies included for discussion in this thesis will focus on the national level, covering legal documents, national projects,

announcements of government, and other forms of official declaration with purposive action followed that focus on educational issues. The policies from other actors like HEIs, private sectors, or non-governmental organizations will not be included unless when their policies are an extension of certain national policies. To examine South Korea and Taiwan's educational reform, national policy is no doubt a crucial criteria due to the effect of East Asia's purposeful states. Through governmental policies, we can locate and track the general transitions in their processes of the Internationalization of Higher Education.

### 1.3 South Korea and Taiwan: A Similar Social Background

The two East Asian states, South Korea and Taiwan, share a lot of similarities from aspects like geographical location, history, to even social values. Their economic development also contains significant overlapping areas, for instance, both put emphasis on technological innovations in fields such as cell phone and computer production. This clash of markets also spills out into the field of education as South Korea and Taiwan each dedicate themselves to recruit international students to their higher education programs in response to the crises presented by mutually low birth rates<sup>1</sup>. Due to the geographical location, they also need to compete with one another in trying to attract the establishment of overseas branches from universities worldwide. More subtly, these two states are each deeply affected by Confucian culture, and claim publicly to be the authentic representatives of Confucianism. These points of international contention appeared in economic and educational areas alike, but in the education aspect they are seldom compared. As both states emerge themselves into the process of reconstructing themselves as international education hubs, South Korea and Taiwan will not only share a similar past, but also begin to move toward similar future developments. In the following chapters, this thesis will look into this corner of East Asia and more deeply explore into these two

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<sup>1</sup> A low birth rate not only results in decline of population, but also represents a decline of student number. BBC reported in 2011 that Taiwan has the "lowest fertility rate in the world" (Sui, 2011) and in 2014, South Korea is predicted to "'become extinct by 2750' due to dangerously low birth rate" (Withnall, 2014).

intriguing nations and their similarities in history, economy, education and social values.

### 1.3.1 History

South Korea and Taiwan have a similar past in contemporary history. Both states have been colonized by Japan within the scope of recent historical events. As a part of ancient China, Taiwan succumbed to Japan in 1895 and was occupied by the Japanese until 1945 when Japan surrendered during the Second World War. South Korea shared the same fate before modern Korean history, between the years 1910 and 1945, when the Japanese invasion overwhelmed the nation and deprived Korea of its independence. Japanese colonization lasted for 50 years for Taiwan and 35 years for Korea, during which time these two nations had been put under the process of “The Formation of Imperial Citizens” which forced the locals to learn and solely use the Japanese language, change their names into more Japanese sounding ones, and forced to abandon their local beliefs and turn to worship Shinto. Men were recruited into the Japanese military and women to comfort Japanese soldiers during the war time.

On the other hand, the Japanese occupation also brought these two states a glance of modernization. Japan meant to rule Taiwan and South Korea for a long time, thus the authority devoted itself into the establishment of social regulations as well as infrastructures. Japan founded or improved many infrastructures in Taiwan, to name a few, Japanese made agricultural, financial reforms, and advanced transportation and electronic equipment. They also introduced the modern education system to Taiwan, from the six-year based elementary school to building the first university in Taiwan, the Japanese education reform did bring Taiwan closer to the contemporary education system. Besides the material construction, Japan also imported to Taiwan more abstract modernization embodiments like music, art, and literature, connecting Taiwan with the modern thoughts coming from the West for a short while (Rubinstein, 1999, p.270). The Japanese occupation also left Korea some infrastructural establishments such as railways, hospitals, and schools. However,

Japan's suppression of Korea was generally more brutal, leading into a stronger national Korean identity which stood against the Japanese occupation (Duus, 1984, p.105). Therefore, the infrastructure left behind by the Japanese was not used as the base of further construction like they were in Taiwan after Japan's surrender during WWII.

Another similarity in the history of these two states occurred even closer to modern times. It is the debate and civil war between the political structures of democracy and communism. Soon after the Japanese occupation ended, Korea split into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, the former being known as North Korea and the later South Korea, each with its own elected leader. In 1950, North Korea attacked the border and a civil war between its governments thus began. Possessing a national emphasis on communism, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union supported North Korea while the United States of America supported South Korea. The civil war lasted for three years and settled with a de-militarized zone between North and South Korea at the 38 parallel. The conflict between the two counterparts has not come to an end, but persists until this day.

Taiwan, or by its less remembered name, the Republic of China, was founded in 1911 after the successful revolution against the Qing Dynasty of ancient China. The party which made up the majority of the government during this time is known as Kuomintang (KMT), the Nationalist Party. During the time period, the island of Taiwan was still under Japanese occupation. The conflict between KMT and the communist movement within its borders became constant after the year 1924. However, Japan invaded China in 1931, sparking a war which lasted until the end of the Second World War. After the surrender of Japan, the communist party raised a revolution which soon transformed into a civil war. KMT lost the war, and eventually retreated to Taiwan under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership in 1949, and the communist party founded the People's Republic of China in 1951. Until today, the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China still refuse to admit the other's legitimacy and each claim themselves to be the sole and rightful governments of all China. The

military conflict, on the other hand, has been decreasing over recent years due to closer economic cooperation.

The East Asian states experienced an intertwined history and therefore have developed a series of close cultural traits distinct to this corner in the world. Among them, South Korea and Taiwan especially share further similarities. What is left behind by the Japanese occupation to South Korea and Taiwan is more than common historical memory, but also the merger of cultures and their exposed knowledge of the western world. The substantial infrastructure remaining also provided Taiwan and South Korea assistance in economic and educational development, which will be discussed in the following sections. The counterpart situations and constant threat of violent conflict ingrained in the daily lives of people also implant a certain way of thinking. Looking from this aspect, it is not surprising to see South Korea and Taiwan both dedicated themselves to their economic development as well as reaching out to international society.

### 1.3.2 Economy

Since 1960 and through to 1980, South Korea and Taiwan both went through a rebuilding processes and transformations in all aspects of their society. Among all their achievements, the economic development in these two nations had been so successful that it surprised the world. With their continuous growing economies and increase of Gross Domestic Products (GDP), people gave them the name of Four Asian Tigers along with Hong Kong and Singapore. Out of the four tiger nations, South Korea and Taiwan especially have common traits on their developmental paths.

After the Japanese occupation in these two states, a certain amount of agricultural research and improvements were left behind, together with the traffic infrastructures such as railways and harbors, a suitable base is created for economic development (Scitovsky, 1985, p.220). Their economic developments both started with land reforms, which helped to redistribute land and wealth. In an economy that



relied majorly on agriculture, this transformation was important and was needed to shrink the gap between the rich and the poor. The governments at the time also implemented the import-substituting and protectionism policies along with a few periodical large construction programs. Starting in the 1960s, South Korea and Taiwan individually realized the importance of the exportation of their ample agricultural and light industrial products (Chang, 2004, p.102). Self-sufficiency and low dependency on external capital was no longer the main concern, so they started to promote exportation. Export-processing zones were therefore established, and export-promoting methods took place concerning banks, public-transportation, and in taxation (Scitovsky, 1985, p.234). The implementation details are not one hundred percent identical, but there is no doubt that the policy aim and development path are highly similar and comparable.

The export-led policy continued on until current times while the focused industry changed in different stages. However, even these “start industries” in Taiwan and South Korea remain similar. From the heavy industry in the 1970s to electronic industry in the 80s and computer hardware in the 1990s, the two states almost always have their eyes set on the same plate. The only difference being the 1970s when South Korea also emphasized on car production while Taiwan started to explore electronic industry (Chang, 2004, p.103). Today, both South Korea and Taiwan are major exporters in the electronic industry (Chiu, 2008, p.2-31) and innovative developers in the semiconductor industry. The highly overlapping industries and close geographical locations bring Taiwan and South Korea more competition than cooperation in economic aspects. After spotting the similarities in historical and economical perspectives, this thesis will continue on the discussion in an even more closely related aspect of these two countries: education and social values.

### 1.3.3 Education and Social Values

To look at education without examining social values at the same time is not sufficient to understand the relationship between South Korea and Taiwan. Both

states have been receiving their education following Confucianism since ancient times, and the teaching covers more than only practical knowledge, but also a life philosophy which is now rooted deeply in the daily lives of the citizens. Taiwan claims itself to be the authentic inheritor of Confucianism, and rich Chinese culture, tradition, and values are still well preserved in modern Taiwanese society. South Korea also emphasizes heavily on Confucianist values and has cultivated some world-famous scholars in the field. Confucianism includes not only practical knowledge but also philosophical concepts and the mannerisms of human interactions. It is undoubtedly an important element in the education system of South Korea and Taiwan, and even beyond in the formation and practice of social values. This section will start with the education history in each nation, focusing on higher education in the contemporary times, then follow by the discussion of social values and their relation.

Taiwan's education system is generally believed to be traced back to the Xia Dynasty when schools were first established (Chou, 2001, p.10). Education was a privilege for the aristocrats in ancient times and the contents include knowledge like mathematics and skills like riding and archery, the goal of it to cultivate rulers and administrators for the dynasty. This situation lasted from around 2100 BCE to around 350 BCE when the famous Confucianism and other schools of thought started to emerge. The era was described as "the competition of the hundred schools of thought." Other famous schools of thought include Laozi's Taoism, Muozhi's Mohism, and Xunzi's Legalism, each have very different focuses on practical knowledge and philosophical ways of thinking. It was not until the Han Dynasty (202 BCE -220 AD) when Confucianism was raised to the centre of education by the emperor that its high position was assured.

Another institution established in the Han Dynasty is Taixue, or the Imperial Academy. This institution was the early systematic national school, there was Taixue in the capital and Junxue (Provincial School) and Sienxue (County School) at the local level, teaching students Chinese classics and mannerism. Taixue was later substituted by Guozhixue (National Academy), or in some dynasties it was called

Guozhijian, the subjects being researched are also expanded to include medicine, martial arts, mathematics and so on during the Tang Dynasty (Chou, 2001, p.13). National examination is another feature of Chinese education, starting from the Sui Dynasty (581 A.D.-618 A.D) (Chou, 2001, p.129), examination is the primary way the dynasty used to elect the talented into officialdom (Chou, 2001 p.111). The main subject always centred around Confucianist classics and their explanation of other classics. The system also brought the rooted idea into the society where those who study are highly respected and the position of the student being considered the best occupation.

The modern education system was introduced to Taiwan by the Japanese during occupation, borrowing from the United States's four-year undergraduate model. The school system and universities these colonizers constructed on the island were the basis of development after the government of the Republic of China reclaimed Taiwan. For instance, Taiwan's most highly regarded and largest university, the National Taiwan University, was established in 1928 by the Japanese and was originally called Taihoku Imperial University. The tropical medical research centre attached to the university by the time was also joined as a part of the College of Medicine. The Japanese also left behind a significant number of books and research which can still be found in the university library. Many other occupational schools were also incorporated into the late higher education system. Currently, there are more than one-hundred-and-fifty HEIs in Taiwan.

South Korea's story sounds alike in ancient times. The ancient records show that during the reign of the Koguryô kingdom (37 BCE - 668 AD), the five classics of Confucianism had already been used in the studies (Chan, Chang & Fu, 2000, p.99). An institute that models China's Taixue system, T'aehak, was established in the year 372 A.D., teaching not only the classics of Confucianism but also Chinese. The national examination system was introduced to Korea in 958 AD during the reign of the Koryô Dynasty (Chan et al., 2000, p.99). The aristocrats passing the exam could receive education in the national school, and be assigned to officialdom after their graduation. T'aehak along with other schools were combined into a system that

resembles today's universities: Kukchagam around the year 1122. This system was led by Sŏnggyun'gwan, the national school in the following Chosŏn Dynasty in 1398 (Ministry of Education, Republic of Korea, 2008, p. 10), since then, the education system became more and more closely examination-led.

The rise of private education institutions first appears around the time of the Koryŏ Dynasty. Later on, the emergence of sŏwŏn also offered people who are not of the aristocratic class a chance to receive an education. In sŏwŏn, people not only learn about Confucius' thinking, but also practical knowledge including commerce, agriculture, mathematics, and medicine. The modernization of Korea's education began in the late 19th century (Chan et al., 2000, p.151), when foreign language schools were established and state-run school system appeared. However, since the modernization of education reform is followed by the arrival of the Japanese empire, reform was often interfered with by Japanese Imperialism and eventually fell apart. During the years of Japanese colonization, this development came to a halt due to the unequal status between Japanese and Korean subjects. By the time Japan left Korea, there was only one university remaining with only 330 Korean students enrolled (Chan et al. 2000, p. 127). After their independence, South Korea began to focus on its higher education development, by 2008, the tertiary enrolment rate reached 98% (Shin, 2012, p.60), marking a period of truly impressive growth.

Examining the history, it is obvious that Confucianism is highly respected in both states. South Korea's ancient education system was deeply influenced by ancient China. Even after the Second World War, when South Korea attained its independence and Taiwan started the process of modernizing education, they both received assistance from the United States and thus absorbed a few traits of the American education system within their own national systems. Confucianism remains a crucial school of thought in both places, despite the change of dynasties and times. Pupils are still studying Confucianism classics along with other schools of thought in today's classrooms.

The importance of Confucianism lays not only within the realm of studies, but also outside the school walls within the society. This school of thought combined with Taoism, Buddhism, and other local Chinese values and beliefs to form the social values of today's Taiwan and South Korea. The respect for people with knowledge not only forms the parents' high expectation of the pupils' academic performance, but also the governments lay heavy value on the opinions of scholars. Early school education is heavily centred around the entrance exams to university, and a severe cram school culture occupies students' time after school. In society, not a small number of scholars have noted the work-hard ethics of Asia and the phenomenon's origin from Confucianism (Scitovsky, 1985; Berman, 2010). Berman further noticed that:

East Asia is a group-based work culture that fosters committed, cooperative, courteous, and very hard working civil servants, driven and sustained by a sense of duty toward their groups, hierarchical relationships, preferences for harmony, and the advantages that these relationships bring. (2010, p. 9)

South Korea announced its goal of building the nation into the education hub of East Asia in 2008, three years later Taiwan also proclaimed its determination to become the education hub of the Asia Pacific region. Moving toward the same goal in higher education development, Taiwan has expressed willingness to learn from South Korean strategies (Huang, 2013). With interesting and obvious overlaps in history, economic development, and education systems, these two states are often the comparison and competitor of one another. Now, in addition to the similarities of their historical path, they are also heading toward the same direction in the future. Will there be more similarities on the path of the Internationalization of Higher Education in these two nations' future development? How will Confucianism impact South Korea and Taiwan in their further education reforms? This thesis intends to look into the cultural part of their policies and strategies and discuss whether there is a Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education of East Asia.

## 2 Higher Education and its Development

For most nations in the world, higher education started to develop rapidly since the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to massification and internationalization. South Korea and Taiwan's higher education grew and developed from a similar foundation into modernization. Some traits inherited from the traditional culture still remain in the system, for example, the importance of the ranking of HEIs. Since those who graduate from the top ranked universities not only enjoy a higher respect from the society but also are involved in a strong alumni network, students' pursuit of high grades in national entrance exams for universities is easy to be understood. The higher education systems in these two nations possess high similarities as they both learned from the American and German models with a hint of Japanese colonization and their inheritance of Confucianism. Higher education in these two countries both start after 3 years of high school education and a massive national entrance exam, students are distributed into different HEIs according to their score on the exam. The general undergraduate programs (beside medical studies) lasts for four years, master's program takes more than two years and doctoral program more than four years to complete.

In recent years, it is also identifies that most Confucian states with faster growing higher education also own a rapidly-growing economy, these studies are especially common in the research regarding the Asian Tigers. Beginning from the time when the Four Asian Tigers were most active, people had been wondering about the connection between the economic sector and higher education sector in the case of South Korea and Taiwan. Many believe that education provides the countries sufficient manpower as a strong base to develop their economy. As South Korea and Taiwan's economies transform to more knowledge-base ones, their higher education also develops into a different stage. In the following section, an introduction of the general contemporary higher education environment will be laid out, following by the development of internationalization and the most recent breakthrough of education hub construction for South Korea and Taiwan separately.

## 2.1 South Korea

### 2.1.1 Modern Higher Education environment

According to the OECD database, South Korea's expenditure on tertiary education in 2010 took up 2.6% of the annual GDP, the third place among OECD countries. There were 552 Higher Education Institutions in South Korea in 2012. With a 98% enrolment rate in 2012, South Korea has the highest enrolment rate in East Asia. The tuition per student ranged from 2000 – 7000 United States Dollar (USD) (Institute for International Education, retrieved from 2014, Sep 11), taking up 15.3%-53.9% of GDP per capita (data retrieved from World Bank 2013). HEIs in South Korea include university, technical university, open university, university of education, and junior college. According to Shanghai Jiaotong University's Academic Ranking of World University (ARWU) 2014, there are 3 South Korean HEIs listed in the world's top 500. The data shows a high focus on higher education, and for South Korea, it is definitely not a short-term phenomenon but has persisted for the last six decades.

South Korea's tertiary education enrolment experienced a rocket soar in the 1980s when Chun's government increased the admission quota of universities. This act had an attached precondition that the graduate rate should be decreased (Kim & Lee, 2006, p.564). However, since the academics dislike the policy and the government failed to enforce it due to lack of political accuracy, the graduate quota was not enforced and the boom of tertiary enrolment rate occurred. Many of South Korea's higher education reforms are concentrated during the 1990s, when the national economic focus shifted to technology-based industry and thus requires more related labours (Shin, 2012, p.68). Before the mid-1990s, the related laws were still strict and had many restrictions that prevented the expansion of higher education sectors. The Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (MOEHRD) also had a strong hold on national and private universities alike. In 1995, the Presidential Commission on Education announced a more market-based reform scheme (Kim & Lee, 2006, p.559). Among the 120 agendas, more than 10% of them are related to higher education reforms. Establishment of new education institutions are more

liberal, private HEIs gain the right to manage student number, and the government begins to provide allowance according to the universities' performance.

The modern tertiary education system in South Korea inherited different traits from many sources. Japan's colonization in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century built Kyungseong Imperial University, the Seoul National University today, simulated to the model of Tokyo Imperial University, both followed a German system where a "rigid hierarchy between academics" (Shin, 2012, p.65) and treating all universities equally are said to be the common traits (Clark, 1983; Shin, 2012, p.65). However, South Korea's higher education system also received significant influence from the U.S. university system mostly because of the time period when the United States controlled South Korea in the 1950s. The U.S. model marks the system of departments, course credit counted by hours, and the dependence on the private sector as a source for funding (Shin, 2012, p.65). This model is distinctive and influential not only to South Korea, but many nations in the world. Today, 40% of the South Korean academics have received their training from international education institutions, bringing more variety of viewpoints and methods into the higher education sector.

Despite the adaptation from different education systems, South Korea still keeps many traits of its own. Inherited from the ancient culture and history, their entrance examination to universities is widely known of its tense pressure. The university which one goes to is very important not just because of the alumni relation for seeking a future career, but the rank of the university influences people's viewpoint of the individual. Students thus make great efforts to be admitted to the prestigious universities of South Korea, "[t]his intense competition between students and universities has enabled Koreans to achieve extremely rapid growth in higher education over the past six decades" (Kim & Lee, 2006; Shin, 2012, p.66). South Korea is not alone, though. This trait also appears in other Confucian states like China, Japan, and Taiwan, as well as a wide-spread cram school culture that tags along with this phenomenon.



In the case of South Korea, ranking has a more overwhelming influence on HEIs in all aspects. The ranking here is different from the various World University Rankings, comprised of a local list confined to those HEIs within South Korea, ranking all universities according to a mix standard of the popularity of the university and the grades a student needs to attain to be admitted. Higher ranked universities mean better chance in future career, they are linked with higher tuition fees, but at the same time a higher amount of scholarships are offered. Universities are willing to offer more wage in order to attract quality faculty members to increase their ranking. Academic members expect better co-workers and students when choosing to work in a higher ranked university, and this combination will lead to a better research and teaching environment. Ranking is so deeply rooted in South Korean higher education system that “[t]he governing agencies may use university ranking as an efficient contract mechanism to control top university administrators” (Kim and Lee, 2006, p. 565).

### 2.1.2 Development of Internationalization of Higher Education

The first policy the South Korea government published regarding the development of the internationalization of higher education is believed to be the “Initial Plan for Opening the Higher Education Market to Foreign Countries”. Announced in 1996, South Korea opened up its market for international education institutions to enter through the aforementioned plan. With the guidelines around university management loosened and internationalization introduced into the nation, South Korea’s Internationalization of Higher Education sped up in the 2000s.

In 2004, University Restructuring Plan was published, wishing to increase the competitiveness of universities by restructuring the aspects with less social demands and supporting the strong ones. This plan is broadcasted to the society as well as HEIs, wishing to increase the public consensus in reforming. The content of this plan covers actors like public and private universities, graduate schools, and the private sector. The internationalization process introduced by this plan is also supported by various sub-plans specifically regarding different facets. The University Restructuring

Plan raised distinct reforms for different types of universities. For the public ones, this plan aims to reduce their dependence on MOE, SK while increasing the transparency for private ones; the local universities, on the other hand, were developed to be the centre of industry-academic collaboration. More improvements in academic fields include expanding their research capacity and encouraging the establishment of professional graduate schools. The direct marker for internationalization in this plan pointed at student and faculty mobility, international partnership, promotion of Korea education abroad, and the recruitment of international students.

Brain Korea 21 is the most well-known national program regarding the Internationalization of Higher Education of Korea. This program took place from 1999 to 2005 with a USD 1.2 billion budget, aiming to assist the social development and prepare it for a knowledge-based society in the future. Brain Korea 21, nicknamed BK21, has three main approaches. The first part is also the one which receives the highest amount of funding, it focused on supporting the professional graduate schools in appointed fields. These appointed fields are mainly divided into two: 1) Natural and Applied Science and Technology and; 2) Humanities and Social Sciences. Under each main field more fields of studies are covered. The funding is given to assist graduate schools and universities to raise their research quality, reform administration systems and professor reviewing systems, wishing to help these education institutions to match up with world-class universities and cultivate quality of both students and academic productivity. The second approach lies on the regional universities. They are expected to raise their teaching quality and to connect to local industry so the educational development can match the need of economic development. The third approach focuses on general research, including improvement of the research infrastructures and enlargement of research capacities. Some of the policy aims overlap with University Restructuring Plan, marking the overall emphasis the government wishes to build.

The result of BK21 mainly concentrated on research improvements and most of the statistics listed in Ministry of Education's report published in 2007 concerned Science

Citation Index (SCI) statistics. According to the report, the year before Brain Korea started (1998), there were 3,765 SCI paper published, comparing to the number 7,281 in 2005, the last year of the 7-year Brain Korea 21 developments, SCI paper publication grows by almost two folds. South Korea's world ranking for SCI paper publications also increased from the 16<sup>th</sup> place among OECD countries in 1998 to the 12<sup>th</sup> place in 2005. Beside the research aspect, the program also provided scholarship for more than 6,500 PhD students and more than 89,000 students enrolled in tertiary education benefited from it during the seven years span. The total expenditure of the BK 21 project was concluded at USD 1.34 billion.

Brain Korea 21 is considered an innovative policy in South Korea. Its funding is not evenly distributed as the older policies but a selection beforehand is required. According to the "selection and concentration" (Moon & Kim, 2001, p.101) principle, resources are therefore concentrated on a few education institutions. By making this change, there is a chance for the funding to be more effectively used, but it also aroused the discussion of whether it deprives other institutions from the opportunity for development. Another shift of focus is the emphasis on graduate school instead of undergraduate studies. Related to the project's high concentration on research, graduate school is of more importance in BK 21 than bachelor's studies. Some of the critics of the project point out its overconcentration on science and engineering field, 87% of the research funding was granted to these two scientific fields while humanities and social science share a very limited 4% of the funding (Shin, 2009, p.672). Others pointed out that the program only enlarges the gap between excellent research-focused universities and other HEIs (Pilay, 2010. P.92). However, it is not too surprising considering South Korea's education development is often closely connected to its socio-economic development and Brain Korea's focus on human resource cultivation.

Due to the success brought by the BK 21 project, the South Korean government announced to continue on a second phase. In this new 7-year project that lasted from the year 2006 to 2012, BK 21 phase two planned to input a total of a USD 2.3 billion budget. The goals were higher, looking to become world's top ten SCI-paper

publisher and amongst the top ten in advanced countries on technology transfer from academics to technology. The sponsoring range will also shrink to mainly focus on the ten research based universities. Like the first phase, the sponsored HEIs are also expected to raise sponsorship from the private sectors. Also like what it was during the first phase, the HEIs proved to not match the standards of the BK21 in their yearly evaluation would be eliminated from the funding list. In 2007, the first year after the BK21 second phase began, the bottom 120 programs and institutions had experienced a 20% cut on their subsidy. The overall examination of the result of BK21's second phase has not yet been published and most academic reviews were published during the first phase, making it difficult to observe any general consequence brought by the program.

Though there are hardly any scholarly comments reflecting solely the second phase of BK21, South Korea completed at least one goal with the project. There were 47,012 papers published under the Science Citation Index, making Republic of Korea the tenth major SCI publisher in the world. However, under Social Science Citation Index, there were only 3,319, marking the seventeenth publisher in the world. With this comparison, it is easy to identify Korea's emphasis on science related fields with comparatively little attention on social science field.

Another policy focal point falls on the New University for Regional Innovation (NURI). While BK21 emphasized on research-led universities, NURI focuses on funding for the selected regional HEIs located outside of the Seoul metropolitan area. This project was published in 2004 with a 5-year span and up to USD 1.4 billion budget. After 2008, this project also entered a second phase that lasted until 2013. Planning to connect the academics to industry, the New University for Regional Innovation viewed regional universities as the local centre for human resource development and innovative technology research. The selected university program teams are required to enforce their performance on specific fields where the need of local industry would be matched up and fulfilled. The connection between academics and industry is a constant focus in South Korea's education reforms. In 2011, South Korea's expenditure on research and development (R&D) is equivalent to 3.09% of

their GDP (OECD, 2013, P.152), a very high statistics even when comparing other OECD nations. Out of the funding, more than 90% of funds came from business investment, marking a close collaboration between research spheres and private sector.

Despite the seemingly indirect relation between NURI and internationalization, South Korea is actively upgrading their national education environment in order to match up with the world-famous universities. The expanded and solidified base of higher education adds up with a strengthened link with industry to offer not only more possibility for tertiary education, but also a possible career path. In today's higher education recruitment market, a complete circle of education and future work opportunity is more than welcomed and remain undoubtedly an advantage.

After years of cultivation, South Korea's university ranking shows clear and definitive growth. According to the QS World University Ranking, South Korea had 10 higher education institutions that were ranked top 500 in the world in 2008. The number grew to 14 by 2014, with the best ranking raised from 50 to 31 (Seoul National University). On the list of Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) which puts more emphasis on research achievements, there were 8 universities listed as world's top 500 in 2003 and 10 listed by 2014. The original 8 had all moved up at least 50 places in rankings and 6 of them raised their ranking by a hundred places. Though world university rankings are not an a hundred percent accurate mechanism when it comes to evaluating university's quality from different regions and most of them have a biased standard that benefit English-speaking regions, the ranking is still viewed as a comparatively objective reference in global higher education.

#### 2.1.2.1 International Students

There are many sub projects under BK21 as well as the University Restructuring Plan, among them, some consideration is specifically given to the question of international student recruitment. Study Korea Project is one of the specific projects derived from the framework program University Restructuring Plan. The project was published aiming at recruiting 50,000 foreign students to study in South Korea by the year 2010. The targeted student group are those who come from Asia-Pacific, and not only marketing strategies are encompassed, the project also focus on improving the infrastructure within the country. Facilities such as accommodation for international students were increased, the administration services were simplified, and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology<sup>2</sup> also cooperated with the Ministry of Justice to make the process of visa application easier for these students. Industry also plays a role in the Study in Korea project. As they nominated the fields that require foreign workforce, the government alters the focus on promotion. Korean Education Centres are built abroad as assisting factors in this project, actively acting as a part of the recruitment chain as well as the governmental representative offices and embassies. However, Korean Education Centres have more important missions attached to the institute as they are appointed to provide language courses, host cultural events, and offer preparatory courses for those who are going to study in Korea.

Further on, Global Korea Scholarship (GKS) was introduced in 2010, combining the original 6 government-sponsored scholarship programs together into one. The scholarships is meant to provide educational assistance to developing countries by offering funding for their students to go study in undergraduate or graduate schools in South Korea. GKS covers scholarships for degree students, exchange students, and short-term program students. The South Korea government also signed reciprocal agreements with other nations such as Japan, Taiwan, and other major countries, willing to share its experience and knowledge on human resources development education. However, there is no limitation for the fields of studies for the applicants. A limited amount of places are offered to each nation every year, the student

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<sup>2</sup> In 2014, the institute's name is changed to the Ministry of Education.

selection process is managed by the sending country but the final decision lays on the South Korean universities that the students apply to. As a strictly government to government scholarship program, GKS set its goal on recruiting outstanding students to study in South Korea.

#### 2.1.2.2 Cultural Program

To promote South Korea in the international society, the South Korean government dedicated itself into promoting their language and culture programs. Prestigious universities in South Korea offer not only the language programs on campus, but also scholarships for their international students. The highest ranked HEI in South Korea, Seoul National University, offers South Korean Won (KRW) 300,000 for the scholarship holders, this amount is close to the tuition fee for one semester regular course registration in the university. Other renowned HEIs also provide up to KRW 500,000 scholarship for the language learners. For those who are abroad, the Korea Society Language Study Award provides them opportunities to study in South Korea with language scholarships covering summer term and one semester.

Aside from these language scholarships, the Korean Cultural Centres in various countries hosts film festivals from time to time. Those who are lucky enough to be enrolled in the selected list could also receive Korean language instruction at the centre completely free of charge. Currently there are 27 Korean Cultural Centres around the world, out of which 15 of them were established after the year 2008 when South Korea's government announced its determination in constructing the nation into an education hub. As cultural centres are often an assistance in promoting national image, culture, language, and general understanding of a nation, it is reasonable to see such growth around the time when the education hub policy started.

#### 2.1.3 Toward an Education Hub: Policy and Implementation

With the low birth rate and high study abroad rate, South Korea's government faces severe challenges in its development of higher education. After a few years of construction, South Korea further declared its determination in building the country into an education hub of Northeast Asia in 2007. Besides general education reforming policies that have been underway within the nation, the most direct policy regarding the construction of an education hub centres around the establishment of the Global University Campus Zone within the Incheon Free Economic Zone construction (IFEZ). Located southwest from Seoul, it takes an hour's drive from South Korea's capital to reach this free economic zone. The government revealed a plan that has a 17-year construction span starting from 2004. The main intention of the project is to recruit international HEIs and research institutes, as well as global businesses and international organisations to set up branches within IFEZ and form a specializing area that combines higher education and industry where Korean students and international students alike would be attracted to participate.

South Korea has long been one of the major countries providing the United State's foreign student resource. According to the Open Door Report 2013, around 70,000 South Korean students are undergoing their studies in the United States, taking up third place behind students originating from China and India. Moon and Kim also observed that the domestic degree has become less attractive for South Korean students comparing to before the BK21 program started (2011). Incheon Free Economic Zone program focuses on this problem and offers a solution to regain the attraction of an "at-home" higher education degree for Korean students.

Global University Campus zone occupies 295,000 square meters in IFEZ. South Korea government inputs large amount of investment on infrastructure within the project, and also offers the US university partners financial support. The subsidy covers the investment to establish and operate the overseas branches (Dessoff, 2012, p.22) of the HEI partners who signed a contract with the government. South Korean officials pointed out that the failure for Japan to attract overseas HEI branches in the 80s and 90s was due to a lack of governmental support funds, and South Korea's government would do its best to support the HEIs and boost the program (McNeill, 2010).



However, a discrepancy in governmental subsidy is spotted between the different HEIs. For example, Stony Brook and George Mason, Alfred University each expressed its wish to derail the overseas branch program since it needs to raise a significant amount of funding to fulfil it (Dessoiff, 2012). However, the current rule is clear: for the initial five years, International universities and research institutes planning to enter Incheon Global University Campus will receive a government loan, universities will enjoy free faculty housing and research institutes can rent the facilities with low-rent.

South Korea government also invests significantly into the infrastructure of Songdo City, IFEZ. Not only faculty facilities such as classrooms, student dormitories, and libraries are built, but the area covers the needs of students. Medical services, gymnasiums, and auditoriums are established to fulfil student and university staff's living requirements. Marketing to both Korean and international students, the advantageous geographical location of South Korea being in the centre of Northeast Asia becomes a crucial factor. By recruiting world-famous universities into South Korea, the nation hopes to both keep the local students and attract international students from the neighbouring countries with the reputation of the universities and comparatively low living expense in the Songdo area.

Today in 2014, there are four international universities residing in the Global University Campus including The State University of New York (SUNY), The University of Utah, and George Mason University from the United States, and Ghent University, originally from Belgium. Each university sets up three or more programs majoring in economics, global affairs, management, environment technology, molecular technology, psychology, and so on. More than international HEI branches, Korea's HEIs including the renowned Yonsei University are also members of this globalized campus. Also located there are research institutes under investment by world-famous businesses such as Samsung, Boeing, and Meiji Seika Pharmaceutical. By the participation of these companies, South Korea hopes to form a combination of different aspects of the academic cycle and attract students with a future working opportunity after their studies. South Korea's strong economic performance in this

case also remains a pull factor for many international students. So far, there are 126 student enrolled in SUNY, with The University of Utah and the first European university Ghent joining in 2014, there is a possibility that the Incheon Free Economic Zone has a prospect of attracting more students from every corner in the world.

Besides IFEZ the Jeju Global Education City, which has been situated within the Jeju Free International Centre, has a similar developmental plan as well. Expanding into the secondary education and language programs, Jeju further locates its target student group to those who are “from China, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other places from Asia” (Dessoff, 2012, p,23). The construction is estimated to be completed by 2021, and currently there are two international schools sharing a campus in the Jeju Global Education City, and the third one is scheduled to open in 2016.

## 2.2 Taiwan

### 2.2.1 Modern Higher Education environment

Higher education in Taiwan experienced massive expansion during the 1960s when a high social demand for skilled labourers pushes higher education to grow. The number of HEIs increase from 7 to 92 in twenty years according to the statistics in 1970 (MOE, ROC, 2012a, p. 11). It was also when the massification of higher education happened and education ceased to be a private good for the elites. Taiwan’s modern higher education system underwent another expansion around the time when Martial Law was lifted in 1987 which lasted until the year 2000, there were 45 HEIs established within 5 years. In 2012, there were 176 higher education institutions crowding on this small island (MOE, ROC, 2013, p. 15), among them, 63.6% of them are private institutes. In 2012, Taiwan’s higher education enrolment rate reached 83%. According to The Times Higher Education World University Ranking 2014, there are 8 Taiwanese HEIs ranked in top 400.

The HEIs in Taiwan include four-year universities, three-year and five-year colleges, and technical colleges. According to the Ministry of Education's report for 2012-2013, the average tuition fee accounts for 10%~20% of GDP, a student spends an average of around 1,800 USD per year studying in a public university and almost 3,500 USD if going to a private one (2013, p. 17). Most students are registered in the private technical universities and colleges (40%), while 22% are registered in the public universities and colleges (2013, p. 13). The access to higher education is regulated through the national entrance exams, and secondarily depends on the grades. Students then decide whether to apply to the departments in the universities or to participate in another national examination to be distributed according to their scores. According to data in 2011, 58% of students have to take the second national examination to be admitted (MOE, ROC, 2012a, P.17), proving a deeply rooted exam system in tertiary access.

Examining from the financial aspect, in 2008 the governmental budget for higher education included 1.93% of the annual GDP (MOE, ROC, 2012a, P.11), this number is higher than the average expenditure of OECD states' 1.5% (OECD, 2011, P.225). Of the budget, more than 70% of the expenditure is given to the public universities (MOE, ROC, 2013, P.24). From 2006, the government also added an annual 300 million USD subsidy to the field "as an incentive for universities to further upgrade their quality of research and teaching" (MOE, ROC, 2012a, P.11).

Though the University Act brought an end to centralised control in 1994, the Ministry of Education still remains the organization all Taiwanese HEIs should answer to. The government's effort of decentralisation has not stopped and HEIs are encouraged to enlarge their income options including receiving donations and building cooperation with enterprises, however, the governmental funding is still an important part of the annual income for HEIs. Due to the low birth rate of Taiwan, HEIs today face a lack of students. The Ministry of Education has been focusing on recruiting international students by amending the related laws to form a friendlier environment for incoming students, and trying to encourage HEIs to merge with one another in order to share more resources and make the collective university more

competitive. Much of the developments after 2000s in the higher education field are closely related to Internationalization of Higher Education, therefore, the discussion will be continue in the following section.

### 2.2.2 Development of Internationalization of Higher Education

For Taiwan, the process of Internationalization is gradual and persistent. Looking at the history of education reforms, there are basically three stages along the transition. The three point model was raised by Ma in the year 2013 regarding International students recruitment, however the same developmental stage division can also be applied to other education reforms. These trajectories are found in policy development. Divided by time the first stage was from 1950 to 1986, when the education policy “was characterized by a strong [Chinese] ethnic orientation” (Ma, 2013, p.5). The second stage occurred after the lift of Martial Law from 1987 to 1999, during this period of time the policy changed along with the socioeconomic and political transformation. The third stage, after the year 2000, was marked with a rapid change in the Internationalization of Higher Education, the embodiments of the reforms include various governmental projects, and the terminology “Internationalization of Higher Education” sees more frequent use in governmental documents, and intermediate organisations were established.

The first stage started in the year when the central government of the Republic of China retreated to Taiwan. The laws related to education at the time were those which had been written when the republic was first established around 1911. Under the effect of the time period when a strong nationalism was viewed as the principal of society, it is small wonder that the laws had a dense ethnic focus and were highly centralised. The base law of tertiary education, the University Act, was first announced in 1948. However, it is not until the Act was amended in 1994 when the articles concerning academic autonomy were added in to the law. Before the 1994 version, presidents of universities were assigned by the Ministry of Education, and the administration system within HEIs were strictly structured and highly controlled

by the president<sup>3</sup>. Only after 1994 did the government add in the article that confirms universities have academic freedom, and should enjoy autonomy within the range of the law. This version also eliminates the central control of the HEIs by the president, releases the restriction for hiring faculty members, and adds in student's right in participating in university level administrative meetings. This change founded academic autonomy and provided a free base for the Internationalization development in the 2000s.

The Internationalization process speeded up after the year 2000. In 2001, the government pointed out that a lack of internationalized degrees was one of the main challenges for HEIs in Taiwan in the University Education Policy White Paper (Ma, 2013, p.12). Taiwan joined the World Trade Organisation in 2002, opening up its higher education market to the world, and became one of the players in this new battlefield. In order to raise the international competitiveness of Taiwanese universities and colleges, the Taiwanese government published the Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities project in 1998. This project recruited research proposals from public and private universities alike, and those who nominated qualifying research proposals could expect to attain funding for research up to four years. The total budget of the project reached thirteen-billion Taiwanese Dollars (TWD). The proposed research was required to aim for a breakthrough of a global scale and the subsidy could be used to hire foreign experts to assist the research (Ministry of Education and National Science Council, ROC, 1999, P.13).

Despite the success in promoting research, the aforementioned project also has a few deficiencies. Examining the data of the granting of subsidies, Yang found out that not only was there a discrepancy between public and private universities in their success rates in attaining the research grant, but there was also an uneven discipline gap where the studies of Humanities and Social Science are not as

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<sup>3</sup> In University Act, 1972 version, articles 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, and 22 listed the administration structure for colleges, department, and offices and how the heads of these units need to be assigned by the president of the HEI.

acceptable as the ones nominated by the other scientific fields (2005, p.53). Like Internationalization, the resources distribution is hardly even.

A new plan, the Development Plan for World Class Universities and Research Centres of Excellence was published in 2006. The development plan has two parts: to encourage Taiwanese HEIs to build themselves into world class universities and to develop first-class and global research centres. Out of the two sub-projects, Aim for Top University (the former) caught much attention with its fifty billion dollar budget from academics and the media alike. Nicknamed “the five-year-fifty-billion plan,” this plan inquires universities to submit development proposals, the chosen universities will be granted the subsidy in order to assist their advanced programs. Comparing to 2005, one year before the program started, the number of published papers increased from 10,594 to 17,023 by 2008 (MOE, 2009, P.6-04), the growth rate reached 160.8%. Seven universities entered top 500 in Shanghai Jiao Tung University’s World University Ranking. In individual disciplines, the awarded universities collectively have eleven majors ranked top 100 in ESI Paper Ranking 2011 (MOE, 2013, P.1).

Aside from the advantages the five-year-fifty-billion plan brought, there are also disadvantages created by the intensive internationalization growth. The criticism toward this program including the partial standards for “world class university” has made the researchers succumb to paper production, the narrow selection of periodicals also aroused many dissatisfactions. There are also disciplinary biases, for instance, Social Science researchers tend to publish more books than periodical papers, while the policy makers recognize only the latter (Ho, 2012). Scholars researching local issues are forced to cater to the publishing preference of English periodicals (Wang, 2012). The subsidy distributed by the government was only for the short-term and could not be used to support universities regular expenses, and this sudden and short-term funding is not beneficial for the long-term development of HEIs (Wang, 2012). Students are also protesting that the Aim for Top University program deprived the scholars’ time and energy from teaching in order to focus on their research so that they might meet the goals set by the universities or the

government. In the year 2010, the first phase of the program ended. The second phase of this program will last from 2011 to 2016, with the aim of gathering the top universities in Taiwan and form a Research and Development hub, and further attract talented global citizens to go to Taiwan.

#### 2.2.2.1 International Students

International students in Taiwan are divided into three categories: international students, overseas Chinese students, and students from the People's Republic of China (PRC). Each of them are regulated under different laws and have distinct access to Taiwanese higher education. To examine Taiwan's recruitment of international students, one needs to look into all different categories separately in order to understand the interwoven historical context within.

Looking back on history, overseas Chinese students were the target group for recruitment during 1950 to 1986 (Ma, 2013, p.5). Overseas Chinese students were recruited from South East Asia, Hong Kong, Macau, and other places in the world to go to Taiwan and receive tertiary education. This is more than just an ethnic focus but a part of Taiwan's security strategy (Chang, 2011; Ma, 2013, p.8). By educating the overseas Chinese in Taiwan, the government hoped to shift their identity tie from China to Taiwan, and also win the support of overseas Chinese groups in the world against the new communist government of China. The Office for Overseas Chinese Student's Affairs were established in universities and there are special examinations held for them every year, similar to the national exams local students are required to pass, overseas Chinese students are also distributed into different universities according to their grades.

Further distinction exists for the overseas Chinese student coming from Hong Kong and Macau. Participating in the same examination and education system, they do not enjoy the benefit of an extra 25% addition to their grades. Students from Hong Kong and Macau also are required to provide proof of their constant residency in either of these two places before continuing on the admitting process. The boys who

also have a registered Taiwan addresses need to fulfil their military service period like Taiwan citizens. These students are regulated under the Regulation Regarding Residents of Hong Kong or Macao Undertaking Studies in Taiwan, and the restrictions somehow also show their intimate relationship with Taiwan. In 2013, out of the 17,000 overseas Chinese students studying in Taiwan, more than of 8,600 of them come from Hong Kong or Macau, taking up more than half of the total.

Between 1987 and 1999, many benefits for overseas Chinese students were cancelled along with socioeconomic transition. Comparably, the focus for the recruitment of international students was raised. In order to prevent students with double nationalities from choosing the easier path, there are strict definitions on international students laid out in the Regulation Regarding International Students Undertaking Studies in Taiwan. It was not until 2013 when the regulation was loosened and students who had never been registered under a Taiwanese address could be recognized as an international student even if one of his/her parents had Taiwan nationality. International students are admitted to HEIs in Taiwan through individual applications. The application process, distinct from examination, is evaluated by the HEIs instead of the national examination committee. According to the regulation, the number of international student should not exceed 10% of the local student numbers in the university department they are enrolled in.

To further attract international students, the government also released a few scholarship programs. "Taiwan Scholarship" program provides funding for the outstanding international students who choose to register in degree programs to undergo their studies in Taiwan. With the government's effort and the reduced benefits for overseas Chinese students, the amount of international students finally reached the same number with overseas Chinese students in the year 2000 (Ma, 2013, p,11). For the school year 2012-2013, there were 25,452 international students studying in Taiwan for degrees or in language centres in tertiary education, out of which number 13,898 students are studying in language centres.



Another newly emerged category of international students are those who are citizens of the People's Republic of China. These students from China, or "Lusheng," have been accepted into Taiwan's higher education system starting from the year 2010. Resulting from the sensitive situation across the strait, Lusheng are the most restricted category of international students. Not only are they not allowed to work during their studies, but they cannot be awarded governmental scholarships. Only the students from selected provinces in China are allowed to apply for admissions to Taiwan HEIs, and furthermore, they can only choose between the private institutions and certain majors that do not involve sensitive issues. They also are banned from participating in national examinations (which eliminate them from attaining lawyer certificates, doctor certificates, officialdom, and more) as well as from staying in Taiwan seeking a career after their graduation. The restrictions are collectively called the "three restrictions and six No's". However, even under these limited conditions, the number of Lusheng is still growing. In 2013, there were 1,822 students from PRC studying in Taiwan, twice the number of the year 2011.

#### 2.2.2.2 Language Program

Out of almost 25,000 international students registered in Taiwan's higher education system in the school year of 2012-2013, almost 14,000 of them did their studies in the language centres. This high percentage is the result of long-time efforts of Taiwan government's focus on promoting its language learning program. Starting from 2005, Taiwan launched the Huayu Enrichment Scholarship, providing a monthly stipend for award winning students who study the Chinese Language (Huayu) in Taiwan. In the latest version published in 2011, this scholarship is open for summer term language course students, short-term as well as semester term. Overseas Chinese students, ROC residents, exchange student in Taiwan, and former scholarship holders are not qualified for application. From 103 awardees in 2005 to 407 awardees in 2011 (Department of International and Cross-strait Education, 2013, p.6), the number has been steadily rising.

The student is not the sole concern in Taiwan's promotion for learning Chinese on the island. Other target groups include international Chinese teachers, Taiwan subsidizes advancement programs for teacher groups to further study the language in Taiwan, attracting up to 200 teachers per year until 2010. Funding is also given to the Chinese instructors who are willing to work abroad. By cultivating these language instructors, Taiwan shows a clear attempt to own an ample supply of teachers in preparation for the future expansion of Chinese language education. Also, back in 2005, the Ministry of Education established the organisation of the Steering Committee for the Test of Proficiency-Huayu, responsible for developing and promoting a Chinese assessment system. The Test of Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFLO) is now available to be taken in 27 places throughout the world, and the test is levelled with Band A, B, and C, with each band possessing two levels. However, until 2013, TCFLO was only recognized by 19 educational institutions outside Taiwan.

By providing subsidies, the Ministry of Education encourages universities to set up Taiwan Education Centres abroad. The missions of Taiwan Education Centres include Chinese course promotion and assistance for those who are interested in studying in Taiwan. From the year 2007 to 2012, the number of Taiwan Education Centres grew from 7 to 12. However, this amount came to a severe drop in 2013, when half of the universities decided to withdraw from running the centres. The reason behind the withdrawals is not yet known, but it is certainly a drawback for the development of Chinese education.

Not only is the number of Taiwan Education Centres diminishing, the number of international students who visit Taiwan to learn Chinese (Huayu) also experienced its first negative growth in 2012. Not only did the growth rate drop below 0%, the percentage of these students as international students also dropped below half. Of the difficulties recognized in Taiwan's Chinese education, interestingly, Taiwan's ambiguous nationality is not one of them. For the students learning Chinese, since there is no diploma recognition problem involved, substantial language ability improvement already satisfies their original purpose. The problems include that Taiwan keeps the traditional character system, which is said to be more difficult than

PRC's simplified Chinese and not as widely used. Also, with Taiwan's limited visibility in international society, the name of Taiwan confused many easily; they do not have the knowledge that Taiwan's official language is Chinese and some even mistake it as Thailand. What's more, Taiwan's neighbour PRC has been investing huge amounts of money in taking over the market of Chinese education, with their funding and a charming economic boom, more and more students are choosing the People's Republic of China over Taiwan.

The Department of International and Cross-Strait Education thus brought forward a proposal in 2013, presenting an 8-year plan on fortifying the Chinese education industry. Some of the foci include the establishment of an association that concentrates on promoting Chinese education at a global scale, to simulate the TCFL standard to more international standards like the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, and increasing the intensity of international marketing. The plan also hopes to bring Chinese departments in the HEIs together with Chinese teaching organisations and industry to work towards the same goal. Development will cover from the Chinese education material providers, the teachers, to the Chinese ability examination, creating a complete business chain. The goal is to expand the whole industry and increase the number of Chinese education organisations worldwide to raise the attractiveness of Taiwan's Chinese education.

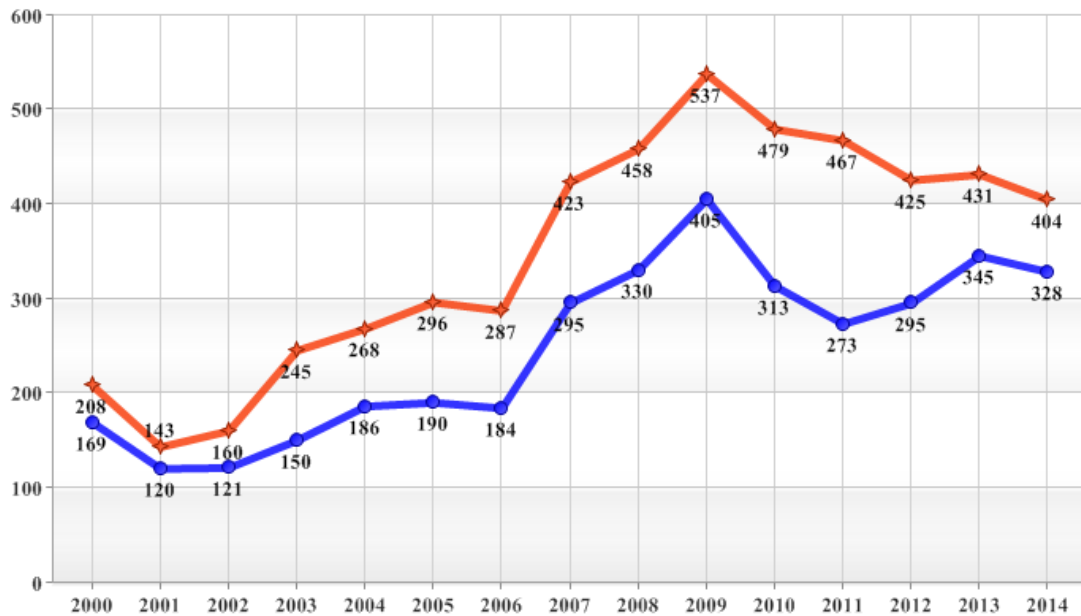
#### 2.2.2.3 Faculty and Research

Besides the Aim for Top University programs, there are also other programs that aim at different facets of the Internationalization of Higher Education. For example, research has long been a much emphasized aspect in higher education. According to the Academic Statistics Database of Ministry of Science and Technology, the national expenditure for research and development in 2011 took up 3.01% of GDP, a number that is higher than many developed countries including the United Kingdom and Australia. The governmental organisation responsible for research and development, the National Science Council, was also given independence and transformed into the

Ministry of Science and Technology in 2014, marking the gradual accumulating of national attention on research.

One of the prominent results of research is the amount of total published papers under SCI and Social Science Citation Index (SSCI). It is also set as one crucial evaluation standard in the Aim for Top University program, the most renowned Internationalization project in Taiwan. With the encouragement of the project, the number of papers published under SSCI grew from 2298 to 3590, and under SCI it grew from 22,285 in 2008 to 24,860 in 2013 (MOE, ROC, 2014). The growth rate of SCI paper publications in five years is 11.6% and SSCI 56.2%. Despite the smooth growth, the frantic chase within the nation of growth on SCI and SSCI paper numbers is criticized to be overemphasized and overpowering other aspects of the Internationalization of Higher Education. The fairness of this focused standard of evaluation also requires more discussion.

The government also provide subsidies for researchers who participate in international conferences, the term researchers here cover not only professors, but graduate students as well. The selected graduate students can also win a scholarship for short-term research abroad and study abroad, handing the students more options of internationalization. The government also invests a budget in hosting international conferences, examining the graph: I from the Ministry of Science and Technology below, we can see two soaring lines between the years 2006 and 2009, the upper line marks the application number while the lower one records the accepted number. After 2011, when the policy concerning the development of an education hub was published, the accepted international conference number experienced another increase for the coming two years. However, whether the new policy can lead to another high tide in internationalization needs more evidences and time before the result shows, following in the next part, we are to identify more policies tied to the construction of an education hub.



Graph I. The Number of International Seminars Held in Taiwan, Application and Accepted

Resource: Ministry of Science and Technology Academic Database

### 2.2.3 Toward an Education Hub: Policy and Implementation

President Ma of the Republic of China announced in 2011 that the future prospect for higher education is to build Taiwan into the education hub of Asia-Pacific (The China Post, 2011). Many programs were released around 2011 to enhance this goal of Taiwan. For instance, the Ministry of Education launched the Short-Term Research Award in 2011, providing return ticket as well as monthly allowance for excellent PhD students or post-doctoral researchers who conduct their short-term research about Taiwan and within Taiwan. The research duration can last from two to six months and there are twenty to forty places each year to be filled.

One crucial aspect of the education hub building for Taiwan is the recruitment of international students. The government loosened many restrictions such as the one-time entry visa for overseas Chinese students and increased the total amount restriction from 1% to 2% of the local student amount for students from the PRC. For building the education hub, Taiwan's government also focused on students coming from South East Asia due to geographical reason as well as existed bonds. According to the 2010 MOE database, the top five nationalities of international degree

students in Taiwan came from Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea and Japan, inspecting these countries we may see a close geographical and cultural tie since the top three countries are also where there a higher concentration of Chinese descendants. Therefore, it is not surprising when Taiwan decided to dedicate itself to Cultivating Taiwan's Educational Links of Cooperation within Southeast Asia.

In this four-year plan, there are mainly three aspects which include recruiting Southeast Asia students, educators, and governmental officials to come for higher education degree or advance programs in Taiwan, and increase interaction between Taiwan and Southeast Asian states (MOE, ROC, 2012b). Many scholarships or state-to-state cooperation programs have been established. Elite Study in Taiwan's program office were established in Chung Yuan Christian University and commissioned by the Ministry of Education to manage these programs, according to their webpage records, Vest 500 targeted Vietnamese students to continue onto doctoral studies in Taiwan, with the scholarship shared between the Ministry of Education of Taiwan and the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam. Taiwan-Thailand Elite 600 focused on recruiting teachers and administrative staff in schools to go to Taiwan for advancement. DIKT13+1 is between Taiwan and Indonesia, besides sending Indonesian students to study in graduate schools in Taiwan, there is also prospective Dual/Joint Degree programs and Faculty Exchange programs planned for the future. Amongst all, The Southern Sunshine Scholarship Program is open for selective candidates from Southeast Asian nations to enjoy tuition waivers when admitted into the league. So far the league is consisted of 43 Taiwanese universities and 35 international HEIs.

To build up a complete cycle from school to work space and fulfil the career prospects, the Directions Regarding International Students Applying for Internships after Graduation from Universities/colleges in Taiwan was announced in 2011, allowing international students to take internship after their graduation and remain in Taiwan. To be permitted into the internship, international students need to show excellence in studies and their employing company needs to be of a certain scale. This regulation was later combined with another and formed the Operation

Directions Governing Applications from Overseas Chinese Students, Students from Hong Kong and Macao, and International Students for Internships after Graduating from University/College in Taiwan. By merging these two regulations, the students from Hong Kong and Macao have the same right as international students in attaining an internship after graduation. Regarding the fast growth of students from Hong Kong and Macau in recent years, this operation direction will come of use in the near future.

In 2014, the Ministry of Education further published Directions Governing Foreign Student Internships at Educational Institutions at all Levels and Educational Institutes in the Republic of China, allowing international students who are registering in higher education to take up to six months internship at education institutions. Looking at these newly published directions, there is no doubt that to strengthen the connection between international students and the local industries and hopefully start brain-gain for Taiwan is an important goal in the formation of an international education hub.

Aside from international students, Taiwan also ventures to establish closer relationships with Southeast Asian states. Through signing the state-to-state Memorandum of Understanding, hosting higher education forums and inviting the related experts and officials, and increasing the mutual degree recognition between states<sup>4</sup>, Taiwan wishes to increase its identity and expand its visibility in international society. Furthermore, the President of Taiwan published a speech on the 31th of December 2013 expressing the will to learn from South Korea's successful experience in the Incheon Free Economic Zone which was opened for the world-famous universities to set up overseas branches (Huang, 2013), developing different aspects of higher education. Taiwan also announced that the education hub will start with the promotion in Southeast Asia, then expand to Asia Pacific circle before raising the scale to attract students and scholars from all over the world.

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<sup>4</sup> Singapore announced their recognition toward Taiwanese higher education diplomas in 2009, India and PRC followed in 2010, and Malaysia recently announced their recognition in 2012.

### 2.3 Similarities and Differences between South Korea and Taiwan

Comparing the development paths of the Internationalization of Higher Education in South Korea and Taiwan, there are similarities in the time and forms of educational reforms. Previous to this section, a general introduction on the modern higher education environment is listed. The following chart reviews again the higher education statistics. Both nations have a high enrolment rate in tertiary education and condensed HEIs. Though the tuition fee is similar on the low end, South Korea's tuition fee can go as high up as twice Taiwan's private university charge. In annual expenditure on higher education comparing to GDP, both countries surpass the average OECD expenditure of 1.6% in 2010.

<b>Modern HE environment</b>	South Korea	Taiwan
Tuition	2000-7000 USD	1800-3500 USD
HE enrolment rate	98%	83%
HEI number	552	176
Annual expenditure on HE /GDP	2.6%	1.93%

Furthermore, on the internationalization of higher education, both nations started their reform with legal aspect adjustment with South Korea amending many national laws at once and Taiwan one law/ regulation at a time. They both publish massive national projects to direct the domestic internationalization of higher education and both pay intense attention to SCI number. Despite the fact that a discrepancy exists between the scientific studies and social science studies in both nations, South Korea has a wider gap between the two fields examining from the SCI and SSCI paper number. There is also a consistent emphasis on cultural programs alongside the degree programs provided at HEIs in both.

Within their education hub construction, South Korea and Taiwan both target on recruiting students from Asia-Pacific region, but more precisely the former aims at East Asian students and the later at Southeast Asian ones. Their approach is also



different, South Korea wishes to build a comprehensive global campus to attract international students as well as world-famous universities and research centres, while Taiwan establishes cooperative programs between governments with both sides funding the outstanding students. The chart following collects and depicts the comparison between the two research targets of the nations.

<b>Internationalization of HE</b>	<b>South Korea</b>	<b>Taiwan</b>
Legal aspect	1995 agenda reform	1994 University Act reform
National project	BK21 (1999, budget: 1.2 billion USD; second phase from 2006, budget: 2.3 billion USD)  New University for Regional Innovation (2004, budget: 1.4 billion USD)	Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities project (1998, budget: 0.43 billion USD)  Development Plan for World Class Universities and Research Centres of Excellence (2006, budget: 1.7 billion USD)
Cultural program focus	Korean Studies promotion	Huayu export promotion
International student recruitment focus	Korea descendent students East Asian students	Chinese ethnic students Southeast Asian students
R&D expenditure	3.09%	3.01%
SCI paper number	47,271	24,860
SSCI paper number	2,960	3,590
Education Hub	Announced in 2008.  Incheon Free Economic Zone, Songdo Global Campus program	Announced in 2011.  State to state cooperation programs Internship for international students

### 3 The Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education

Altbach wrote in 2004 that “Asian universities are shaped by their traditional traditions.” Among them, the influence of Confucianism is especially evidential throughout the development of education, and the traditional effects are even more obvious in higher education. This school of thinking that has persisted for more than two thousand years is now rooted in the social value system and people’s path of thinking, affecting their daily decision making. Confucianism nowadays is not only the words and teaching left by the old philosopher Confucius, but also the values and beliefs accumulated through various dynasties. More appropriately, the word Confucianism presents the collective social value system believed in and followed by Chinese people and their neighbours. Some described Confucianism as a religion, but comparing to religion, it is more like “a moral code [...that] goes just deep as the religions of the book” (Marginson, 2011, p.598) but not as pervasive.

The complexity of Confucianism prevents most people from a thorough understanding. Identifying the connection between contemporary culture and Confucianism is not always an easy task. However, as more and more people started to study the relation between this traditional school of thinking and the special educational phenomenon that is unique to the region, scholars are recognizing the importance and influence that this tradition carries into these East Asian states and some even went so far as to publish their belief in the existence of a Confucian model in higher education. When reaching out to the world, do South Korea and Taiwan keep their traditional value system as a pointer or do they value the universal standard more? Are there any traits in the process that are different from the rest of the world? Based on the existed research, this thesis wishes to find out whether there is also a Confucian Model in the development of internationalization of higher education in South Korea and Taiwan.

### 3.1 The Confucian Model in Higher Education and its Distinct Manifestations in the Internationalization of Higher Education

Scholars have found evidences about the marks Confucianism produces in the field of higher education in today's South Korea and Taiwan. The highly stressful national examination system and the popular cram school culture are no news in discussions concerning the higher education in these two countries. The condensed family values, devoted familial financial support of individuals, and intense familial expectations are also recognized to be the main push factors for students to endeavour in pursuit of better academic performances (Choi & Nieminen, 2013). What's more, as mentioned in the first chapter, the role of the student is considered to be the top occupation among all the others and is well respected in the society. These multiple concepts pile up together and bring forward the study-hard ethics as well as the highly competitive nature of the higher education environment.

Simon Marginson further pointed out there is a Confucian Model in higher education among the Confucian states in East Asia and Singapore in 2011. This Confucian Model in higher education possesses four elements: A strong shaping nation-state, encouraged familial investment in education, national exams, and the growing public funding investing in world-class universities. Marginson also believes that the Confucian Model is marked with the rapid development of education participation and research quantity. With South Korea's tertiary enrolment rate reaching 98% and Taiwan reaching 83% in 2012, there is no doubt of the high participation in postsecondary education. The fast growing numbers on SCI papers can also be viewed as an evidence for the expansion on research quantity.

The strong state character is not an unfamiliar topic among East Asian, or more precisely, Confucian states. The state has a stronger hold on higher education policies through government policies and quality assurance methods. The states today developed a new way of governance, that is, through maximizing the welfare, they bring the autonomous institutions to behave following policy aims wilfully (Marginson, 1999; Henry, Lingard, Rizvi, & Taylor, 1999; Mo, 2003a, p.129). The

reform of HEIs applying self-monitoring quality assessment in today's higher education also lead the HEIs into the managerial model which strengthened this type of governmental control (Tse, 2002; Mok, 2003a). This trait is more intense in Confucian states than in other parts of the world due to the hegemonic concept inherited from ancient China. Public universities in Taiwan are still entitled to the Ministry of Education's management in the national administration system, resulting in conflicts with academic autonomy and may bring interference from the public administration system (Tung, 2014). This form of centralized control also existed within campuses with the president of the university being seen as the ultimate decision maker in many bureaucratic procedures. Marginson also found that it is common for scholars to be viewed as public servants and therefore are tightly connected to the control of authority.

Familial emphasis on education is another prominent trait of Confucian nations. Believing in the power and the influence education can bring to the individual and their family, Confucian families are not conservative when it comes to financial investment and support in higher education. Different from other systems where educational fees are sponsored by philanthropy institutions, these expenses are covered almost exclusively by the household funding in the Confucian Model. In the year 2006, household funding of higher education in Japan was 51.1% and in Korea 53.8%. The same data showed a 34.2% household support in USA, 38.1% in Australia, 15.1% in Netherlands, 10.3% in France, and 3.5% in Denmark (OECD, 2010). In Confucius traditions, the state further connects the households to a larger social order through national examination and stabilizing the investment. This type of private funding is one of the reasons why Confucian states can remain a low-tax society with top universities being public and comparatively cheap in tuition.

The National Examination system is possibly the most well-known aspect of the Confucian Model. Inherited from the ancient Chinese civil exam system, the modern entrance examination for entering tertiary education in Confucian States is the same "one-chance" test for academic performance in selective subjects, and the result of it being looked upon as the pointer for intelligence and success. Many had recorded

these national examinations as being intense and placing a tremendous amount of stress on high school students (Palmer & Cho, 2011; Marginson 2011; ). In South Korea, flights are scheduled so that their noise does not affect the examination and the offices open later so no participants of the exam will be stuck in rush hour traffic (The Economist, 2011). Most students are distributed into different majors in HEIs solely according to the scores they attain in the examination. The procedure is very different from the application process in most western universities, not to mention the difference on evaluation criteria. Under this emphasis on scores, the inborn “academic talent plus diligent effort” (Choi & Nieminen, 2013) is seen as the top quality of a student instead of the traits that are cherished in the western societies such as creativity, innovation, or critical thinking.

This emphasis on knowledge pursuit can be linked to the fourth Confucian Model feature: Confucian states’ concentration on research. While the western nations maintain a stable growth rate in investment in research, these Asian states dedicated themselves into research development. The soaring SCI paper numbers and the increasing investment in the research and development sector are two obvious consequences of the emphasis. South Korea published total 3,765 papers under SCI in 1998, fifteen years later in 2013, this number was increased more than tenfold to 47,271. Taiwan’s science and engineering published papers also grew from 4,759 in 1995 to 12,742 in 2007 (National Science Board, USA, 2010), increasing to almost three times the original number. In the same period of time, USA experienced an 8% increase and UK had 3%. Most national education reforming projects in these Confucian states also clearly stated their purpose of improving general research and provide high investment in bettering research infrastructures, for example, BK21, Aim for Top University, and China’s 985 project all have the said statement and are devoted into cultivating an outstanding research-led university setting. Marginson also notes that as long as research goes, Confucian states have a tendency to be more impressive on the quantity than quality, and there is an uneven distribution between disciplines in which engineering and technology stand out more than social sciences.

### 3.2 The Confucius Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education

Though Marginson's Confucian Model is concluded concerning higher education, many of the features identified in the model also occur in the process of internationalization of higher education specifically, and the four elements of the Confucian Model consist of some special phenomena in the internationalization process which remain unique to Confucian states, and more precisely for the subject of this thesis, South Korea and Taiwan. This thesis therefore argues that there is a Confucian Model for the Internationalization of Higher Education in South Korea and Taiwan, as their policy patterns show a unique set of foci toward internationalization comparing to the other parts of the globe.

Taking the example of the existing four elements and situating them in the context of the Internationalization of Higher Education, some interesting and compatible factors emerge. The strong government character is also the leading push factor in the internationalization process. Through national education reforming or construction projects, the governments of South Korea and Taiwan tend to point out the direction of internationalization and lead the HEIs forward on the path. The government is not just the character which appointed the distribution of funding, but the one which mediates the evaluation of HEIs. This concentrated centralized control created the phenomenon of a heavily government-directed internationalization process.

Second, the familial support plays an important part in the study abroad aspect of internationalization. The Internationalization of higher education was divided into "at home" and "abroad" (Knight, 2004), the aspect put under the spotlight in this thesis is the at home internationalization, the activities categorized in this aspect include international student recruitment, joint degree or research programs, the promotion of English usage on campus, and so on. On the other hand, study abroad is always an important activity in the abroad internationalization. Generally speaking, this side of internationalization started way before the at home internationalization because South Korea and Taiwan had started to send out students for degree studies

since the 1950s and in early 1900s to nations such as Germany and the United States. The study abroad rate remains high in today's South Korea and Taiwan, in 2013, more than 60,000 Taiwanese students studied abroad (Chung & Lin, 2014) and more than 70,000 Korean students studied in the U.S. alone (data provided by Open Doors Report 2013). Behind this large number, the constant and stable household funding is usually the main source for financial support (Choi & Nieminen, 2013).

The grade-chasing behaviour fostered by the national exam system also manifests in the internationalization field as the ranking chasing. While the students go after the HEIs with better world ranking, the HEIs are also striving to increase their ranking among their international peers. This phenomenon is especially triggered by the government's policy on promoting the formation of world-class universities—a common national education project in many Confucian states. Since world ranking is one of the most visible standards that marks the improvement of universities, various world university rankings became a crucial evaluation pointer for the Confucian Model. Adding up with social expectation linked with ranking and governmental funding, a competition in world ranking started among the universities in their internationalization paths.

Research is one of the most apparent emphases in the Confucian states' internationalization of higher education reform. In the programs introduced to upgrade universities and research to a global level, one of the most widely used evaluation criteria lays on the amount of SCI publications. As a consequence, the number of SCI paper publications rocketed after the 2000s in South Korea and Taiwan, when these two countries decided to venture into the internationalization movement. The focus on R&D is also condensed judging from the investment ratios comparing to the national GDP. Following this emphasis, the fast growth of public funding infusing to research improvement is another feature of the Confucian Model.

Examining how the elements in the Confucian Model of higher education influence the internationalization sphere and the imprints of their interactions, it is not surprising to see the heavy involvement of Confucianism in even the

internationalization of higher education in South Korea and Taiwan. After exploring the process and phenomenon of the two nations' current internationalization reforms, this thesis will inspect the details and try to point out the Confucianism impacts in this sphere. Among both South Korea and Taiwan's policies regarding this educational reform, three common components are identified as unique to these two countries and marked as being closely bound to Confucianism. They are: the cultural emphasis within the international student recruitment strategies, a compressed regional focus on both policies learning and targeting in the internationalization process, and the last one is resonant to Marginson's Confucian Model, the concentrated focus on research under the steering of nation-state policies.

### 3.2.1 Cultural Emphasis

Looking into the development of modern higher education as well as the process of the internationalization of higher education in South Korea and Taiwan, a cultural emphasis is constantly in existence. Confucian states attribute more intense attention on their cultural aspect when promoting education internationally. Japan brought forward its unique culture and social orders to the world, and successfully altered its image from the post-war negative one through various cultural programs. South Korea and Taiwan also show a high concentration on their existed culture through promotion of different educational programs. Therefore, we claim the feature of a cultural emphasis within this Confucian Model of Internationalization of Higher Education as the first specialty. The cultural emphasis refers back to the traditions, history, culture, and the most direct manifestation: language.

It is easy to spot a heavy focus on language programs through the process of internationalization in South Korea and Taiwan, even more so around the same time as when they decided to develop into education hubs. For one, both nations provide language scholarship for people from other nations. The Ministry of Education of South Korea provides around 500 exchange students annually with subsidies to study the Korean language in South Korea, individual universities also give out language



scholarships for their students. With the Korean Cultural Centres providing free of charge Korean programs worldwide, the population learning Korean is stably increasing. On the other hand, besides scholarships for short-term exchange students, Taiwan's Ministry of Education Huayu Enrichment Scholarship provides international applicants with high school diploma scholarships of around 800 USD per month for up to one year stay in Taiwan studying Huayu (Mandarin).

Universities do not neglect this cultural emphasis in their program planning. The Catholic University of Korea founded two graduate schools surrounding the research of Hallyu (Korean culture wave). The program is taught in both English and Korean, targeting people who are interested in contemporary Korean culture as well as international managers. Taiwan has a different approach which focuses mostly on language. National Taiwan University started to deliver summer programs centring on Huayu translation in 2014, and has plans to develop a new program teaching Chinese classics in the future. Taiwan also has been providing subsidies for international Mandarin teachers to go to the island for extensive professional training, these programs are usually collaborated between education institutions from both nations. To name one, Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages provided summer training course for Vietnamese Mandarin teacher groups starting from 2006, and more than 60 Vietnamese teachers have participated in the international cooperation.

The subsidy for language learning is not enough to describe these two nations' cultural aspect within internationalization of higher education. South Korea and Taiwan separately promote the export of their culture and language systematically. Taiwan officially published the 8-year plan to become a major Huayu education exporter in 2013 after a few years of preparation. The complete plan has a wide coverage from the publishers printing Mandarin textbooks, the cultivation of eligible teachers, promotion of a universal examination for Mandarin ability, and hosting activities worldwide raising the awareness of Mandarin education. The Ministry of Education plans to issue 13 million USD in funding for this Mandarin education promotion annually. As for South Korea, starting from 2006, Korean Studies have

been under spotlight. Korean Studies include not only the language, but also Korean history, literature, tradition, and other cultural aspects. Co-funded by private and public sectors, the Korean Studies Promotion Service was established to meet the needs and direct the promotion works. The active projects include funding the establishment of Korean Studies units in universities abroad, translation of Korean classics, enhance infrastructure for related research, and more. The total budget for 2014 alone is around 20 million USD.

With huge budgets devoted to the promotion of language and cultural programs, the intensity laid on cultural emphasis stands out from South Korea and Taiwan's internationalization process. The notion of preserving the traditional and/ or local culture within the globalization trend is similar to the "glocalization" phenomenon, but within the higher education field when most nations are actively forming English as lingua franca, the emphasis on local society is often absent. South Korea and Taiwan, inherited after the Confucianism, keep the spirit to preserve the old manner even during their modernization. The cultural emphasis within internationalization also became distinct and unique to these Confucian states.

### 3.2.2 Regional Cooperation Focus

The regional focus in the internationalization of higher education process in South Korea and Taiwan has many manifestations. Basically, it is observed that these two countries have a higher tendency to cooperate with the states in the same region, and more so, other Confucian states. The cooperation programs include attracting degree students, developing co-research programs, increasing international interactions in higher education fields, and learning from each other's policies.

This observed regional focus of the Confucian Model is similar but different to Regionalisation. In higher education, regionalisation stresses more on the region's integration and cooperation across national borders. The most famous example being the Bologna process agreed to by European Union states, regionalisation is linked with the idea of forming one common market. In the Bologna process,

European states promised to adjust their individual higher education systems to make a consistent and compatible education system throughout Europe. They also created the shared credit counting system European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) which was recognized and used more than 30 states. Comparing to such actions, Asia also has its attempt of regionalisation in higher education such as the network built by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Campus Asia program. However, the regional focus of the Confucian Model is different from the integration attempt. South Korea and Taiwan do not view the other Confucian states as one common market in higher education competition and have no intention to approach the concept of integration so far. Regional focus reveals a more cultural compatibleness than a systematic one like in regionalisation, it stands for a preference instead of the sense of union and therefore deviates from the path of regionalisation.

Looking at the number of international students and their origins, one might have a glance of this regional focus. In 2006, when South Korea attracted more than 32,000 international students, 89.8% of them come from Asia, the individual nation percentage is even more impressive. Students from People's Republic of China took up 61.7% of the total international students, and the second place went to Japanese students who took up 11.4% (Education Branch, Taipei Mission in Korea, 2006). Among the students, many who come from PRC, are ethnic Koreans who reside in China. In Taiwan, the situation is similar. Most "foreign" students are from Hong Kong and Macau, but due to political reasons, they are not included in the international student head count despite their number surpassing the total international student number. During the academic year between 2012 and 2013, 64% of international students came from Asia, the top three home countries of international students were and are Vietnam, Japan, and Malaysia (Data retrieved from Department of Statistics, MOE, ROC, 2014). This phenomenon is possibly also connected to the convenient geographical location and the booming Asian study abroad market. However, culture does play an important part in these international students' choices of study destination. Chinese students tend to be attracted to South Korea because of the ongoing Korean wave and Malaysian student to Taiwan

because of their existed knowledge about Taiwan and the historical and cultural ties between the two countries.

The Confucian states also have a higher cooperation rate with each other regarding research. Marginson noted in 2010 that there are high linkages in the cooperative science research programs among Asia-Pacific nations. Among them, the Confucian states including China, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan especially have the tendency to work with one another in conducting research. His data (Table 1) was taken from 2008's report of the National Science Bureau about international cooperation collaboration. The index number was calculated by dividing the collaboration rate (co-authorship paper) between the two nations with the total international collaboration rate. When the index number surpassed one, it indicates a preference in collaboration confirmed. From the table, the five nations named above mostly have a greater than one score within the index collaborating with each other besides the statistics between South Korea and Singapore. This data marks the close research partnerships between the Confucian states, and also fits in the regional focus in internationalization of higher education scheme this thesis points out.

Co-authorship of science papers	index * 2008	Co-authorship of science papers	index * 2008	Co-authorship of science papers	index * 2008
<b>China</b>		<b>Taiwan</b>		<b>South Korea</b>	
China-USA	0.97	Taiwan-USA	1.23	South Korea-USA	1.23
China-UK	0.52	Taiwan-Singapore	1.73	South Korea-Singapore	0.80
China-Germany	0.44	Taiwan-South Korea	1.39	South Korea-Japan	1.90
China-France	0.38	Taiwan-Japan	1.66	South Korea-India	2.19
China-Taiwan	1.76	Taiwan-India	1.86	South Korea-Russia	1.11
China-Singapore	2.94	<b>Singapore</b>		<b>Japan</b>	
China-Japan	1.38	Singapore-USA	0.70	Japan-USA	0.89
China-South Korea	1.17	Singapore-India	1.22	Japan-India	1.12
China-India	0.64	Singapore-Australia	1.70	Japan-Russia	0.90
China-Australia	1.14	Singapore-New Zealand	1.11		

Table 1. from Marginson, S. (2010). Higher education in the Asia-Pacific: The certain rise of the "Confucian Model" and the uncertain prospects for regionalisation. HEEACT Conference. p. 1-45.

Last but not least, Confucian states prefer to learn from each other's internationalization policies more than from other countries in the world. During the processes of modernization and the internationalization of higher education, scholars have identified the problem for many countries of how to preserve their

local culture and traditions at the same time, especially the nations in the East (Gu, 2001; Rappleye, 2007). In order to keep the traditional culture in the process of internationalization, nations tend to seek for those who have similar background with themselves and learn from them. Rappleye pointed out in his writing about Policy Borrowing that China, on its path toward internationalization, preferred to look to Japan for policies and reforms more than to the U.S. because of a closer cultural tie. In South Korea's developmental path, similar events occurred. When discussing about Brain Korea 21, many scholars mentioned its similar purposes to China's 985 and 211 projects which fund to cultivate world-class universities. Taiwan's Aim for Top University program also has a slight similarity within, and all these projects were initialized between the late 1990s to mid-2000s, in a comparatively short time span. A more specific focus of the evidence took place in 2012, when the President of Taiwan announced the opening of Free Economic Zone to higher education, a policy learned from South Korea's Incheon Free Economic Zone International Campus project.

The similarities in history, culture, and society connect the Confucian states in many modern developments. In the Internationalization of higher education, we identify a close bond in this region. As South Korea and Taiwan both locate themselves as the education hub in Asia (South Korea's aim for Northeast Asia and Taiwan's aim for Southeast Asia), it is not difficult to notice the regional focus within their international development. With the similar cultural background as a pull factor for international students, research cooperation and a common society environment as the foundation for policy borrowing, this thesis argues that there is a strong regional focus when it comes to the internationalization of higher education in East Asia and that this is one clear feature in the Confucian Model.

### 3.2.3 Steering Nation-State

A steering state is identified as the special feature of Asian states in many studies not limited to education fields. Marginson further pointed out that for the Confucian states, the government still holds a strong nation-state focus. Manifesting in the internationalization of higher education, the leading role of the government is a combination of the two aforementioned concepts, standing out as a steering nation-state. Inherited from the old education system where the hierarchy carves out clear lines centring around the dynastic authority and the official national university, a hierarchy still exists in the modern education system in South Korea and Taiwan, as well as the lofty status of the best national university.

The presence of the steering nation-state is easy to spot within the internationalization process from the very beginning. In 1995 when South Korea published a series of reforms on the laws and regulations and therefore loosened the restriction of higher education development, the beginning of internationalization was marked along with the academic autonomy idea introduced into the nation. Taiwan's story is likewise, the alteration of the University Act was viewed as both the liberalization of international development and the beginning of educational reforms. The reasons why both nations started their internationalization process only after amending the law are obvious. With the old regulations where academic activity and environment were highly controlled and supervised by the government, it was impossible for innovative movements to take place and international interactions were limited due to the rather closed national environment at the time. Martial law was declared in Taiwan and South Korea was closely controlled by the military government. Only after the lift on related legal documents were the higher education fields in these two countries able to conduct international cooperation programs.

However, the steering state did not disappear. Despite of the elimination of legal controls, the state still plays a leading role in the internationalization of higher education indirectly tied to the delivery of national internationalization programs

and directly because of the hierarchy foundation which still exists as the Ministry of Education remains the head of all Higher Education Institutions. For the national programs, the government listed the wish and suggested direction of future development, assisted by the selected distribution of subsidies and funding. Those HEIs that wish to participate in the process and make improvements are asked to meet up with the assigned aims and need to be screened according to assigned evaluation standards. As a result, the government remains the one who steers the ship on the sea of internationalization of higher education and has a high level of influence over the educational units. National projects such as Brain Korea 21 and the Aim for Top University program are both example of these state-steered internationalization policies.

As for the nation-state part, it is interwoven with the cultural emphasis mentioned before within the Confucian model. Both state governments, even contemporarily, still keep a strong self-identity that emphasizes on their cultural and historical values and beliefs. When extending into the field of the internationalization of higher education, South Korea presses hard on the promotion of Korean Studies and wishes to broadcast it to the world while Taiwan emphasizes on the strong cultural ties with Chinese descendent students worldwide and produces special legal status in recruiting them to study in Taiwan. The policies therefore often contain a heavy national focus.

Under this strong state character, it is difficult to maintain academic autonomy in South Korea and Taiwan. Furthermore, academics are often invited into the political field. Both the Minister of Education in South Korea and Taiwan are former professors in universities, as well as many other governmental officers and ministers such as Taiwan's Director of Executive Yuan and South Korea's Minister of Security and Public Administration. This phenomenon of academics in running the nation is rather distinct in Asia, in the Confucian state it is even more common. It can also be linked to the ancient Chinese administration system where the scholars who passed national examination would be assigned officialdom and assisted on national

administration. The system lasts until today's South Korea and Taiwan, and brings forward some awkwardness regarding the issue of academic autonomy.

Every occupation forms a distinct thinking pattern, and the scholars recruited into political field are no exceptions. Looking into the field of the internationalization of higher education, we can find that the national policy reflects a scholarly opinion that emphasizes on research collaboration and research funds, but often overlooks other aspects such as in fields concerning international administration. Many scholars have raised the issue of the crucial roles administrators play in today's internationalization wave (Rumbley et al., 2012). However, in these two countries, administration systems in HEIs are underwhelming. Professional administrators are not included in most national projects of the internationalization of higher education. As the administrators' position in the Confucian Model is more like paperwork handlers than innovation executors, the traditional type of administrator could not fulfil the task assign to them in today's internationalized world.

### 3.3 Commentary on the Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education

Scholars have addressed the limits and problems attached to the Confucianist philosophy in higher education. Marginson raised the concern that "in all Confucian systems university strategy and research priorities are constrained by the all-pervasive state instrumentalism" (2011, p.607). The strong character of state and its control in the higher education sector not only constrained the development of universities but also can be a pullback of their international development. For example, the national internationalization projects provide HEIs sufficient funding for this type of development, but at the same time also put restrictions upon them. To meet up with the set goals and pass the evaluation, HEIs can only develop their internationalization under government-supervised standards and procedures. The tight state control can also create unified internationalization targets and suppress other aspects, for example, in both South Korea and Taiwan's national projects,



there are imbalance focuses on scientific fields and the humanities studies' share of resources thus were limited.

The unique phenomenon of scholars being appointed as governmental high officers can be another limit of the Confucian model since it causes the internationalization policies to be designed in the same academic logic. One of the aspects that is missing in the internationalization policies are the administrators. In the fast changing and rapid developing internationalization process of the higher education field, administrators have become one of the focuses in discussions (Roberts & Palmer, 2011; Wong & Wu, 2011; Hou, 2011; Rumbley et al., 2012). Being the crucial characters who implement the projects and policies, international administrators in contemporary campuses are required to be equipped with many new qualities. Language ability and intercultural experience are only the basics, senior administrators are expected to "have a coherent strategy for information management" (Rumbley et al., 2012), make decisions concerning "funding, staffing, creative energy, and expertise explicitly toward the achievement of results" (Rumbley et al., 2012). Administrators in HEIs can no longer be merely the document handler or bureaucratic representative in the internationalization process. This aspect, however, is not yet popular in the higher education systems in Taiwan and South Korea. In 2010, Yonsei University's recruiting announcement of student recruiting specialist did not involve any professional requirements aside from language and computer skill. In Taiwan, more than half of the staff working in the Office of International Affairs of National Taiwan University are contractors.

This combination of academics and politics can also be of limit to regional integration. East Asia has a delicate and complex history, and even until today, many of the neighbouring countries are still hostile toward each other on certain subjects. This political conflict, when brought into the educational field, becomes a restriction for possible regional cooperation and prevention of regionalism. In the only attempt of regionalization, the Campus Asia project, the parties involved are only China, Japan, and South Korea. The content of it remains centred on exchange student scholarships and does not have a prospect to be enlarged in the near future.

However, the Confucian Model is not necessarily without future prospect. In a world that is chasing after English as lingua franca, the cultural emphasis of this region has a chance to stand out. Among the sub effects of globalization, there is glocalization. Glocalization processes re-stated as being for the “interactions and interrelationships between local, national, and global levels that are mediated by the local and national history” (Lingard, 2000; Mok & Lee, 2003, p.35) as well as related political aspects. This process is often used to depict how local features are emphasized and formed to become an attraction in the globalization wave due to their uniqueness. The cultural emphasis on language and traditions in South Korea and Taiwan has the potential to be the representative product of glocalization, preserving the ancient values and transforming these old qualities into a new paradigm.

Since its beginning around 300 BCE and up until the formation of modern society, Confucianism has developed and altered through time. Out of the many aspects Confucian thinking spreads influence on, internationalization of higher education is very new one. When the ancient concepts are put into the contemporary frames, the clash between the new and the old is always an opportunity for further reforms. Whether the Confucianism philosophy and value system will bring positive results to South Korea and Taiwan’s efforts in the internationalization of higher education or become an obstacle on the path of reform and development, no one can pass judgement at the moment. However, it is confirmed that South Korea and Taiwan do have a different model and behaviour pattern in their processes of internationalization of higher education than other regions of the world. If they can hold on to their uniqueness and specialties preserved in their culture and education fields, there could be a possibility in the long run that these two countries will create a successful story of becoming influential international education deliverers which are distinctly different than the western nations.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Among the various development paths of the Internationalization of Higher Education, some nations share similar traits. The East Asian countries, cherishing the same Confucian culture and the social value system derived from it, share many similarities in social, economic, and educational aspects. Among them, South Korea and Taiwan are especially similar in their development paths. Inherited from their traditions of Confucianism, their societies still pay high tribute to studies and therefore respect the academics to a high degree. The parents' definition of success adds up with a deeply rooted ranking system of universities planted within the highly stressed and intense national entrance examination systems. Their fast-developing economic performances are said to be connected with their fast-growing higher education fields. They even both focus highly on technology-based industries like semi-conductors and the production of computers.

As these two countries are turning into a knowledge-based society, their higher education systems need to catch up both with the economic development and with globalization. Internationalization thus became an important issue for South Korea and Taiwan in the 2000s. A series of reforms were published and implemented. Analysing from these reforms and national policies about the internationalization of higher education, there are a few overlapping traits. These traits can all be linked back to one of their shared philosophies— Confucianism. Therefore, this thesis argues that there is a Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education. Collecting and comparing the development in South Korea and Taiwan, the Confucian traits are present and their impact persisting.

Developed from Marginson's Confucian Model in Higher Education, this thesis finds that there is also a more specific Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education. Four phenomena were identified to commonly exist in both South Korea and Taiwan's paths to their internationalization of Higher Education. A prevalent cultural emphasis occurs in South Korea and Taiwan's Internationalization development. Korea promotes Korean Studies in many academic fields, from

establishing the related graduate schools and research institutes to provide free-of-charge Korean language courses in Korean Cultural Centres worldwide. The subjects cover from traditional classics, modern culture, to the use of language. Taiwan also published an eight-year plan of building itself to a major exporting nation of Huayu (Mandarin) education, aiming at founding a complete business chain from the textbook publishers, cultivating eligible Huayu teachers, to providing scholarships to attract students into going to Taiwan specifically for language studies.

The regional focus within higher education internationalization is another feature. Affecting not only by the close-by geographical location but also a shared culture and social value system, Confucian nations have a higher tendency to cooperate with each other in the realm of internationalization. Co-authored paper statistics show that the Confucian nations have a higher cooperative rate with each other than with other nations. Both Taiwan and South Korea also own an ethnic focus when it comes to international student recruitment. Taiwan has long been including the ethnic Chinese students from all over the world into their higher education system, and the students from Hong Kong and Macau took up more than half of international student populations in 2013. On the other hand, many students who choose to go to Korea to study have Korean heritage, this is especially common in those who come from People's Republic of China. The regional focus of internationalization is different from the concept of regionalization in this area. Since the regionalization of higher education usually involves a goal for regional integration and Confucian nations' approach is cooperative and competitive at the same time, the regional integration is not yet the major aims of the region.

The third common feature, a strong steering government, has long been a part of East Asian higher education studies. The government's nation-state focus affects many educational policies, and while the development of the internationalization of higher education in Confucian nations often began with massive national projects, the government's focus was passed down to HEIs. In South Korea and Taiwan alike, the beginning of the higher education development was from national law amendments. Broad-scale national projects encouraging the forming of world-class

universities were then introduced, and with the high beneficiary budget, the state government developed a new way of governance over higher education institutions on the path of internationalization. The state control is further strengthened by the custom of the governments hiring academics as high-positioned civil officers and ministers. Through a combination of politics and academics, the national policies are directed according to the academic perspective.

Confucian thinking, when applied to the internationalization of higher education, has the potential to develop according to glocalization. With strengthening cultural emphasis, there is opportunity for South Korea and Taiwan to formulate attractions in international education and to successfully build themselves into education hubs. However, the Confucian Model in the Internationalization of Higher Education also has its stake. With the steering state character combining with the academic researchers to develop national projects, the biases of the academy's logic could persist and concentrate the development in certain respects while overlook others. For one, the call of cultivating administrators on campus to manage international affairs are high among the higher education scholars, but South Korea and Taiwan have not caught up with this trend. In continuing to increase their international visibility with their uniqueness in culture, and at the same time import the necessary globalization trends to help their higher education system to keep up to an international standard, higher education in South Korea and Taiwan may become more popular and thrive toward the direction of an education hub.

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## Education

2013.09 – Present

University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria  
M.A., Erasmus Mundus Program: Global Studies- an European Perspective  
With a focus on Global History/  
Internationalization of Higher Education

2012.09 – 2013.06

University of Wroclaw, Wroclaw, Poland  
M.A., Erasmus Mundus Program: Global Studies- an European Perspective  
With a focus on International Relations

2006.09 – 2010.06

National Taiwan University (NTU), Taipei, Taiwan  
B.A., Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures (DFLL)

2003.09- 2006.06

Zhong Shan Girls' Senior High School (ZSGH), Taipei, Taiwan

## Work Experience

2014.02 – Present

INNES, Vienna, Austria

Intern

- ◎ Marketing of Summer School
- ◎ Marketing and Partnership Management of Ge4 International Exchange Network

2010.06 – 2012. 08

Office of International Affairs, National Taiwan University (NTU), Taipei, Taiwan  
Regional Program Manager

- ◎ Agreements evaluation, establishment and negotiation of cooperation programs with European and Mainland Chinese universities
- ◎ Partnership Management of European and Mainland Chinese universities
- ◎ Coordinator of Double Degree Programs
- ◎ Coordinator of Exchange Faculty Program
- ◎ Coordinator of Erasmus Program and Erasmus Mundus Program
- ◎ Assisting on organizing events including educational events, university days and International conferences

2009.01 – current

Freelance Translator (Chinese-English; English- Chinese)

2010.03 – 2010.05

Techridge Industrial Co., Taipei, Taiwan

Internship English Secretary

- ◎ Communication between product provider (Ceratzit, Switzerland) and clients in Taiwan and Japan
- ◎ General Administration

2009.07 – 2009.09

Garmin Ltd., New Taipei, Taiwan

Intern

- ◎ Translation: English- Chinese; Chinese-English. Completed over 400 location introductions in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Singapore
- ◎ Phone interview with local business in Taiwan

### **Language Skills**

Mandarin (native)

2011.12 English: IELTS 7.5

2011.11 German: Zertifikat Deutsch B1

### **Computer Skills**

Competent in computer software including: Microsoft Word, Microsoft Power Point, and Microsoft Excel.