

CIHE
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No. 22

Power and Equity in International Higher Education:

Marisa Lally
Editor

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Boston College

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(Editor)



CIHE Perspectives

is series of studies focuses on aspects of research and analysis undertaken at the Boston College Center for International Higher Education.

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Table of Contents

- 1 WES/CIHE Foreword
Esther Benjamin, Rebecca Schendel & Gerardo Blanco

Student Experiences in International Higher Education

- 3 Racial Learning of International Students of Color in the U.S.: Re-examining the *Learning Race in a U.S. Context* Emergent Framework
Mianmian Fei
- 5 On the Politics of Access and Participation: The Everyday Work of Students with Disabilities in Nigerian Higher Education
Abass B. Isiaka
- 8 Co-constructing Negotiated Internationalization: Chinese Students' Lived Engagement in an International Joint University
Bowen Zhang
- 10 The Effect of the Wide Use of Education Agents in International Student Recruitment on the International Higher Education Sector
Ying Yang

Experiences of Academics in International Higher Education

- 13 Power and (In)Equity in the Mobility of International Academic Staff
Tugay Durak
- 16 Traditions as "Tacit Knowledge" in Global Asymmetries: The Case of Chinese Humanities and Social Sciences Scholars
Yanzhen Zhu

Issues in Internationalization

- 18 Power and Equity in International Scholarships
Jessica Amarilla
- 20 Equity, Access, Merit and Justice in Aid-funded International Scholarship Programs
Annabel Boud
- 23 Excellence Initiatives for the Internationalization of Higher Education: The Case of the Brazilian Capes-PrInt Program
Isabela Beraldi Esperandio
- 25 Revealing Structural Inequalities under Taiwan's Internationalization Policies
Yi-Hsuan Irene Huang
- 28 Exploring English and its Symbolic Violence in Internationalization at Home in China
Ting Du
- 30 Structural Disadvantages and Limited Opportunities for International Mobility in Higher Education
Hyejin Choi
- 33 Conceptions of Power & Equity as Moderating Forces in International Higher Education and International Relations
Jonah Otto

Regional Higher Education Policies

- 36 The Political Economy of Employability: Framing Employability Policies in African Higher Education
Paul Othusitse Dipitso
- 38 Examining Discourses of Power and Value in EU-ASEAN Higher Education Cooperation Policy and Programs
Marisa Lally & Tessa DeLaquil
- 41 From the Regional to the Global: Why Higher Education Regionalization Matters for Universities?
You Zhang

Understanding the “Glocal” in International Higher Education

- 43 “We are armed with education”: Understanding the International Higher Education Community’s Support for Ukraine
Ielyzaveta Shchepetylnykova
- 46 Equity in Postgraduate Research in the UK: A Rapid Review of Select Literature
Bukola Oyinloye

As international students become an increasingly prominent population in U.S. higher education institutions (Institute of International Education, 2022), there is an emergent stream of literature focusing on their experiences with racism, especially for those who are non-white (Yao et al., 2019). Nevertheless, little research addresses how they learn about race in this country. The U.S. bears a unique racial history that is likely to be unfamiliar, if not confusing, to many international students. Although several racial identity development models exist, they primarily concern native-born individuals raised under the U.S. race logic

(IIE, 2022) and an increase in discussions about diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice on campuses across the U.S. (Buckner et al., 2021). The question is whether the LRUSC framework still captures the racial identity development process of international students today, nearly a decade after its creation.

This study aims to address this question by examining the literature published after the release of the LRUSC framework (i.e. since 2014) that addresses the racial learning of international students of color in the U.S.

The LRUSC Emergent Framework

Fries-Britt et al. (2014)'s LRUSC framework² emerged from interviews and focus groups with 15 international students of color studying physics in U.S. higher education institutions. Most came from African and Caribbean countries with Black majority populations. The LRUSC framework assumes that international students of color start their racial learning in the U.S. with pre-conceived racial understandings from their home countries. It then proposes three categories - unexamined U.S. racial-ethnic identities; moving toward racial-ethnic identity examination in the U.S. context; and integrative awareness - and outlines how students move from one category to another in a non-linear fashion, as they experience racial encounters (REs) in the U.S.

² See Fries-Britt et al (2014) for the visual of the framework.

teractions with U.S. peers, in moving students from

cial-ethnic identity examination. However, the recent literature looking at international students of color from diverse countries of origin reveals that the framework can benefit from incorporating the following revisions:

1. broadening the scope of racial encounters from only racist encounters to various means of racial knowledge acquisition;
2. foregrounding the impacts of the home country context, as they can serve not merely as background influences but as weapons to racialize others;
3. leaving the outcomes of racial learning open, as international students of color might not achieve the same outcomes as their domestic peers, given their diverse origins of international students.

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analysis of textual and social relations or the “untidy policy moments” (Svarícek & Pol, 2011) of disability inclusion practice in the HE system of Nigeria within the “colonial matrix of power” (Quijano, 2007) shaping global education agenda. It explores the everyday experience of students with disabilities by taking a critical perspective on how complex intersections of poverty, gender, religious and cultural beliefs at the local level continue to shape the meanings of disability and the practices of inclusive education.

Methodology

I employed institutional ethnography (IE) as a materialist method to explicate

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students' agency, which enriches our understanding towards the dynamics of internationalization in TNHE.

Literature Review

sides, with the overall tendency for research on TNHE

some gradually come to the realization that they need a more practical form of capital - the institutionalized form, as in credentials - to get them to the next step of postgraduate education. The 100% EMI environment, in contrast, has been too challenging and time-consuming for most participants to effectively accumulate linguistic and institutionalized capital at the same time, which inevitably leads to EMI becoming an end in itself.

Conclusion

This study has contributed to our understanding of the EMI application in TNHE and international HE, as well as the discrepancy between the prescribed internationalization encouraged by an institution, and the negotiated one adopted by students. In XJTLU, 100% EMI provision and student-centeredness reflect such dynamics and struggle because of students' and institutions' different interpretations and perceptions of internationalizing policy. In this regard, I argue that an internationalized environment impacts individuals based on their situations and there should not be a single structured way of how one should benefit. Otherwise, the structure would risk mistaking tools with aims. Therefore, through the lens of how internationalization is applied in a TNHE institution, I call for a better appreciation for the realistic and pragmatic aspects

to potential students and the provider (BUILA, 2021, p. 14). The services include providing and promoting information regarding countries, cities, institutions, and application documents, proposing potential countries, institutions and/or programs, assisting in producing application documents and applying for a study visa, and arranging pre-arrival services. In the marketized international higher education sector, contracting education agents appear to primarily feature in the fierce international student recruitment campaign (Nikula, Raimo & West, 2023; QS, 2021a, 2021b; Department of Education and Training, 2019; Roy, 2017). The body of research on education agents noticeably grows accordingly (Nikula, Raimo & West, 2023), covering various perspectives such as education agents, international students, higher education institutions, and other stakeholders, which tend to focus on the pragmatic functions of education agents. However, few studies have examined what the wide use of education agents means for the intensely marketized international higher education sector. Drawing on the existing scholarship and the findings of my PhD project, this paper aims to shift attention to the functioning of education agents from the visible to the invisible.

Research Design

My PhD project is constitutive of two studies aiming to place the perspectives of education agents and Chinese agent-user students (Chinese students who use education agents to apply for master's programs overseas) in dialogue through a sequential qualitative research design. By interviewing 16 agent consultants in May 2020, Study 1 evaluates how education agents support Chinese agent-user students' overseas university applications, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic. Study 1 demonstrates reciprocal information asymmetry and even information absence between UK universities and Chinese agent-user students, education agents' four-step information management approach during the COVID-19 pandemic, and agents' reflection on self-identity (Yang et al., 2021). Built on the findings of Study 1, Study 2 moves towards a focus on Chinese agent-user students' perspective, exploring their application experiences and how they conceptualize education agents over their application process. As a former education agent, I was aware that my pro-

fessional experiences and opinions have shaped my personal values. I was therefore mindful of the need to be cautious of my assumptions and potential over-interpretation of participants' reflections. I thus deployed interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) methodology (Smith et al., 2009) to design Study 2, which undergirds the importance that meaning-making should be built on participants' voices. By means of con-

given that the grading systems between China and UK higher education are different. With education agents' guidance, Chinese students become sensible about whether they need to retake some courses in which the scores are not good enough rather than failing. It means that high GPAs in China's higher education system can be attained intentionally and strategically with education agents' guidance, thus undermining their effectiveness in demonstrating students' genuine competence corresponding to intended programs. As a result, enrolled students' competencies likely mismatch those required by the programs, inducing potential conflicts between their expectations of UK PGT and actual learning experiences. On the part of UK universities, however, as Yang et al. (2023) suggest, it seems that they do not recognize this issue; they still grapple with the overwhelming application numbers by raising requirements for GPAs and delimiting the list of universities in China. Therefore, I argue that the current admissions policies of UK PGT programs appear to be partial and dysfunctional towards Chinese students, impinging on a holistic assessment of applicants' academic achievement and true potential, thereby con- n- ing recruitment of intended high-qualified students and sowing the seeds of uncertainties concerning Chinese international students' upcoming learning experiences and outcomes.

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EXPERIENCES OF ACADEMICS IN INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION

Power and (In)Equity in the Mobility of International Academic Students

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The internationalization of higher education is often depicted as unconditionally good, ideologically neutral, coherent, disembodied, and

from Turkey to the UK over the years by scrutinizing the migration behaviors of UK-based Turkish academics.

Methodology

This study is deliberately exploratory, and in line with this, it employs a qualitative research design underpinned by a social constructivist philosophy. The data is collected through 50 semi-structured in-depth interviews with UK-based Turkish academics working at over 30 UK universities in various positions and fields. Once the data were collected, thematic analysis was applied using NVivo to identify central and sub-themes. Throughout the study, ethical considerations for participant recruitment, the interview process, anonymization, and data security have been handled in accordance with the British Educational Research Association (2018) and UCL guidelines. As the conceptual framework, the capability-aspiration approach (de Haas, 2021), a new theoretical approach in migration studies developed based on Amartya Sen's capability approach (1999), is applied. Accordingly, migration is regarded as a function of people's capabilities and aspirations to migrate within given sets of perceived geographical opportunity structures.

Findings

The data suggest that the structural conditions shaping academic migration from Turkey to the UK are shaped by

as a critical component of the migration decision process. Many participants in the study stated that “higher living standards,” “comfort,” and “social order” abroad, as opposed to “poor living standards” and the “burden of daily life” in Turkey were also important factors behind their migration.

Improving living standards through migration, i.e., lifestyle migration, has been widely discussed in the literature (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009). Although the scholarly literature on academic mobility avoids portraying international academics as lifestyle migrants, the data indicates that lifestyle migration is also a part of academic migration from Turkey to the UK, particularly for those from lower socioeconomic status.

Discussion and Conclusion

De Haas (2021) conceptualizes migration as an intrinsic part of broader economic, political, cultural, technological, and demographic change processes. Due to these changes in the homeland and capability-enhancing activities like international education, people’s image of the good life changes. The awareness of an alternative lifestyle and the belief that it is within their reach, thanks to their enhanced capability, likely increase their aspirations to migrate.

In the study, 80 percent of the participants (40/50) have obtained their PhDs abroad, and the rest have had some degree of international experience, including fellowships and short-term jobs. Turkish academics’ experiences overseas, notably an international PhD, increased their aspirations to migrate and seek employment at a UK university because these experiences not only increased their knowledge about opportunities elsewhere, notably in the UK, but also instilled the belief and self-confidence that it is possible to find an academic job abroad. Therefore, the migration of Turkish academics to the UK is a function of increased capabilities and aspirations thanks to their international education/postdoctoral research visits.

Most participants did not plan to stay abroad at the beginning of their first prolonged international sojourn, PhD, or postdoctoral visit; instead, their decision to work in British academia developed throughout the years. While some stayed abroad without taking a “gap” year, others spent some time in Turkey as academics, and “while in the game,” they made another

international move to become academics abroad.

Furthermore, the extent to which local opportunities allow people to lead the lives they have reason to value (which is Sen’s definition of development) at home is also likely to affect their migration aspirations. Again, drawing on the interviews, I argue that the recent setbacks witnessed in the Turkish political, economic, and academic life led Turkish academics to work and live in the UK, as they felt their freedoms at home were restricted. Restrictive policies, dysfunctional academia, intrusion of politics into the university space, and lack of funding constrain Turkish scholars’ capabilities to research, write, and speak freely. Conversely, the UK academia offers a well-functioning working space where Turkish researchers enhance their academic capabilities.

Based on the discussion above, understanding international academic mobility through the aspiration-capability approach offers new insights into its flexible, context-bound, and agentic dimensions.

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humanistic pragmatism (*jing shi zhi yong*). As collective beliefs and spontaneous attitudes, these principles are hardly measured by today's academic yardsticks. Still, they are closely related to participants' knowledge production in terms of their understanding of knowledge, research ethics, attitudes to academic careers, and writing styles.

The second dimension is moral self-improvement, which mainly refers to a traditional Confucian belief of "learning to become more authentically or more fully human" (Tu, 1985, p. 52). Many participants worshipped traditional virtues and believed high-level scholarship and good moral life are inseparable. Some of them have been practicing Confucian moral efforts (*gongfu lun*), a traditional way created by Song Confucians to pursue sagehood or ideal personalities through deep reading, quiet sitting, and reflexive meditation. By doing so, they believe they have improved their comprehension of life and the world, cultivate personal virtues, and form good dispositions and lifestyles.

The last dimension is aesthetic enjoyment. Rooted in the harmonization of man and nature/Heaven (), traditional Chinese aesthetics believes "words do not exhaust ideas" (*yan bu jin yi*) (Lynn, -
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- Asian higher education. *Higher Education*, 18(1), 9-29. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00138959>
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ISSUES IN INTERNATIONALIZATION

Power and Equity in International Scholarships

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Introduction

International scholarships represent an invaluable experience for personal, academic, and professional growth. However, these programs are not always available to the general public. The Global North tends to be a favored destination for study abroad programs, resulting in unequal distribution of these opportunities.

This unequal distribution exacerbates power imbalances among universities and hinders access to education for marginalized populations. In fact, universities in the Global North tend to reproduce social hierarchies and assume the universality of Western forms of knowledge, which inevitably affect individuals' professional and academic choices.

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and work for a period of time in their home country.

However, despite such similarities, these programs differ, particularly in terms of their funding model. Scholarships in Latin America can be classified into

design that could be revised. In fact, rankings so far have not been proof of higher education quality or teaching quality (Hazelkorn & Mihut, 2022). Considering this, it is a task for researchers and policymakers to address these issues in scholarship programs to ensure more equitable access for students. The focus on ranking systems only generates inequality of access and has so far made no significant contribution to society and the public good. Thus, scholarship programs, researchers, and educators, in general, should be more critical of ranking systems and how these are used for government scholarship programs.

national higher education scholarships for students from the global south.

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size of a higher education system to ensure that the receipt of a qualification is meaningful within a human capital system. It considers higher education in relation to the economic value of the qualification being sought. However, Marginson contends that there is a point within high participation systems in high- and middle-income countries where Gross Tertiary Enrolment Rate (GTER) approaches 50 percent and the focus shifts to issues of access as *inclusion* and policy begins to address underrepresented groups (2016). This can be seen in the UK, for example, where the focus has been on lower socioeconomic groups and, in the US, with affirmative action programs for underrepresented racial groups (Jerrim & Vignoles, 2015; Wilson-Strydom & Walker, 2015). There have not been equivalent demands for equity in the internationally mobile student populations in the way that there have increasingly been within domestic higher education systems (Brown & Tannock, 2009; Tannock, 2013).

Whilst the shift to access as inclusion is happening in these higher-income, higher-participation contexts, where places are limited in higher education, such as in sub-Saharan Africa where GTER is approaching 10%, focus is still on access as *fairness*, i.e. increasing the number of places available to ensure that the demand for higher education is met (Ahunanya et al., 2013; Aluede et al., 2012; Darvas et al., 2017; Oanda & Jowi, 2012; Varghese, 2015). Individuals that are able to access higher education in low GTER contexts tend to be those who have been historically privileged with the source of the demand for higher education being the socially, politically, and economically powerful. Under these conditions, there is little impetus for the state or private higher education providers to consider underrepresented groups in their plans for increasing access.

This has resulted in studies of access in higher-partici-

programs must be understood.

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Excellence Initiatives for the Internationalization of Higher Education: The Case of the Brazilian Capes-PrInt Program

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A recent British Council study on international higher education in Latin America (Usher et al., 2019) analyzed the internationalization level of Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico. Some similarities were found among them, such as having lower prestige universities, lower demand for inbound mobility, and language barriers, considering these are Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries, with few English-taught programs and weak command of English among academics. Thus, internationalization is seen as a policy area of low priority in these Latin American countries, receiving scarce funding, and, in the cases of existing monetary resources, focusing its efforts on sending graduate students or post-doctoral researchers abroad to expose them to high-quality research environments and other languages (Usher et al., 2019). Gacel-Ávila (2020) adds that, although Latin American countries have launched significant national initiatives and programs, they lack continuity and long-term funding. Therefore, “public and institutional internationalization policies need to be strengthened in order to avoid HE [higher education] in LAC [Latin America and the Caribbean] losing its relevance in the current global context” (Gacel-Ávila, 2020, p. 153).

In Brazil, Capes, the funding agency linked to the Ministry of Education, launched the Capes-PrInt call in 2017, intending to finance the expansion of the internationalization of graduate programs for four years.

The Capes-PrInt program differed from previous initiatives from the Brazilian government because it based itself on an active and autonomous role of the winning institutions, who would define the projects, international partners, and research areas to be prioritized (Ergin & Leal, 2019; Marconi et al., 2019; Morosini,

2019). Even with much less financial support than previous programs, such as the Sciences without Borders (de Wit et al., 2019; Ergin & Leal, 2019; Marconi et al., 2019), a focus on institutional strategic thinking, research, more experienced researchers, and graduate programs were seen in Capes-PrInt, as well as the incorporation of internationalization dimensions other than student mobility (Ergin & Leal, 2019; de Wit et al., 2019; Marconi et al., 2019; Feijó & Trindade, 2021).

The selection results, published in 2018, reveal the government’s interest in investing in the so-called “research universities,” which are the more internationally linked institutions, with the potential of occupying high positions in international university rankings and becoming more competitive globally (Ergin & Leal, 2019; de Wit & Altbach, 2021). This desire is reminiscent of “excellence initiatives” that have been created by emerging and developed countries (Ergin & Leal, 2019), which, according to de Wit & Altbach (2021), “have brought about a differentiation within national systems, by separating an elite sector of world-class universities from other, more nationally and regionally oriented, research universities” (p. 309).

Feijó and Trindade (2021) add that such programs can enhance inequalities since they privilege institutions with previous experience in actions aimed at the development of internationalization. Marinoni and de Wit (2019) agree with the risk of negative consequences in terms of equality, especially if “this process is undertaken only by higher education institutions that are already engaged in it and not by those that are not and are therefore more in need of it” (paragraph 21). In addition, Ergin and Leal (2019) highlight that excellence initiatives have brought challenges such as “difficulties

in measuring educational quality, exclusive centrality of research, disregard of local/original features of universities, and the dominance of economic rationales” (p. 24-25).

One of the eligibility criteria for the Capes-PrInt application was for institutions to have an institutional plan for internationalization, or a similar document, approved internally. Such a plan, however, would not be part of the application documents analyzed by the evaluating committee. Most universities did not have an internationalization plan at the time of the call (McManus & Neves, 2021) and there was/is no national policy for the internationalization of higher education institutions in Brazil (either public or private) providing guidelines. Therefore, all institutions intending to apply for the call, in addition to designing their funding proposal, had to design an institutional plan for internationalization and have it internally approved within a few months.

This lack of importance given to the internationalization plans in the selection process is what arose our interest in researching such documents. In the scope of

related to the absence of a national public policy for the internationalization of higher education in Brazil, which would define the country’s interests, priorities, and aspirations, guiding the universities in their strategic planning, helping shift the perspective to one more connected to the local and institutional characteristics and context. The extension of the program’s period of implementation due to the pandemic does not allow us, yet, to assess if or to what extent the investment in these “excellent” institutions has deepened the inequalities in the development of internationalization between them and those institutions not awarded the grant, but it is, without question, an aspect for further investigation in the upcoming years.

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Bourdieu's symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) is premised upon the belief that "language itself is a form of domination" (Schubert, 2012, p.179) and language is "an instrument of power and action" as much as a communication trajectory (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992, p. 111). Symbolic violence is manifested through symbols as means of communication, cognition, recognition and feeling (Bourdieu, 2001, p.2). Education constitutes symbolic violence *par excellence* (Burawoy, 2019). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) reveal the fact that "all pedagogic action (PA) is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (p.5). In other words, the imposition of a language is actualized through pedagogic action to reproduce social classification, especially the dominance of the elite culture, in this case, the Western knowledge. Phan and Barnawi (2015) find out that English's hegemony in IHE "penetrate[s] into the policy, curriculum, pedagogies, and practices" (p.562).

e Reproductive Role of the Dominated

Why do the dominated Chinese languages not resist the suppression of English in China's IaH? Bourdieu (1993) posits that the dominated are unable to achieve such self-awareness of resistance. Domination as a result of symbolic violence comes into effect when the dominated take the power relations for granted and perceive the existence of affairs in society as "natural, a given and unchangeable" (Lévy-Björkert et al., 2016, p. 148). When it comes to the discussion of IaH, English has acted as a representative language without doubts and hesitation from neither the Chinese government nor scholars in China, with compulsory English courses offered to undergraduate students to strengthen their capabilities (Gu & Lee, 2019). Meanwhile, individuals have inadvertently become complicit in domination because they do not realize their role of producing and reproducing domination and subordination (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). When students and staff in China's HEIs genuinely believe English is the legitimate symbol of international higher education and learning English is the only way to improve their global competitiveness, the domination of English becomes "imperceptible, insidious and invisible" (Lévy-Björkert et al., 2016, p.148). The legitimation

of English as a symbol and its meanings are not only accepted but also internalized as the automatic ruling of Chinese, which masks the underlying power relations.

Consecration of English as the Dominant Language

School systems "consecrate" the culture of the dominant with language as the medium. Bourdieu (1993) argues that all evaluative terms such as international are essentially "euphemized versions of social classification, a social classification that has become natural and absolute" (p. 178). Since language proficiency of teaching staff is considered to be of great importance to advancing the progress of IaH (Beelen, 2011), symbolic violence is established by blaming individuals involved, in this case, including faculty and staff for lack of English proficiency as the cause of their poor internationalization performances. The consecration of English in IaH proves that the linguistic hierarchy of English over Chinese is successfully and insidiously reproduced. Apart from economic capital, English proficiency functions as a threshold and a gatekeeper (Guo et al., 2022) to produce inequality among faculty and students, thereby discriminating against those who are not linguistically eligible. Emphasizing English competency in IaH evaluation favors the dominant upper- and middle-class in China, because of their advantage in the competition of linguistic and cultural capital.

Conclusion

English and its ascendancy in China's HEIs as a tacit means of IaH can be analyzed from the critical perspective of domination and oppression in pedagogic action, which is exactly what Bourdieu's symbolic violence argues. The performance is mainly based on the reproduction of the dominated and the consecration of language. For educators, language should not be considered a competition indicator for spaces in educational systems or a restraint for teaching and learning, but it should serve as a channel to explore different linguistic spheres and reach diversity (Fabricius et al., 2017).

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Conceptions of Power & Equity as Moderating Forces in International Higher Education and International Relations

Jonah Otto

Perceptions of the nature and functioning of the world are broadly influenced by societal paradigms that impact nearly all fields of study, including political science, environmental science, educational

inclusion, which has provided scholars and practitioners with an updated understanding of power and equity in the field (Özturgut, 2017; Jones et al., 2021).

This heightened intensity of consideration is warranted given the subsequent global crises that have resulted in imbalances between stakeholders, which lead to further inequities in these relational contexts, resulting in a cycle that is hard to break (Brandenburg et al., 2020; Buckner & Stein, 2019; Marginson, 2022). In the IHE space, the beneficiaries of power imbalances have largely been the higher education institutions (HEIs) of the West/Global North, where, intentionally or not, these institutions have exploited the advantage granted by systemic inequity. Examples of this exploitation of the dominant relational position include the prevalence of English as the preferred language among a majority of international scientific journals/publications (Valcke, 2020), colonial practices at international branch campuses (Clarke, 2021; Xu, 2021), one-sided dealing in global partnerships (Lanford, 2021), neglecting engagement with higher education institutions in the East (Altbach & de Wit, 2015) and Global South (Dutta, 2020), refusing to accept or recognize Indigenous knowledge (Huaman et al., 2019; Patel, 2017) and the pervasive use of university ranking systems (Hazelkorn, 2015; Marginson, 2007; Marope et al., 2013). Findings such as these have contributed to what has become an evolving paradigm shift in IHE as an academic field and as a professional practice, acknowledg-

ing a need to realign the internationalization of higher education to improve overall outcomes for all stakeholders in the global society, not just those that benefit from relational power imbalances (Jones et al., 2021). Thus, modern conceptions of power and equity can be understood as moderating forces which influence the theoretical underpinnings and practical outcomes of IHE.

While the aforementioned (and non-exhaustive) list of practices may be problematic and produce uneven outcomes within the context of IHE, one can understand how troubling this also is for countries at the lower end of power and equity imbalances, when considering the sizable role that IHE plays in the broader realm of IR. While the theory of soft power investigates the overall strategies countries employ in an effort to influence one another without use of direct military or financial force (Nye, 2004), scholars have identified higher education as a key soft power strategic area (Wojciuk et al., 2015), as HEIs/IHE can be used to proliferate a country's political ideals, instill sympathies for the country of the host institution in its international students/faculty members and to forge personal relationships with future leaders from abroad (Nye, 2005). It can then be argued that the influence of power imbalances in IHE occurs at multiple levels of analysis – not just at the institutional level, but also at the country level. As opposed to previous interpretations of IHE that postured the concept as a neutral process and neglected relational dynamics (de Wit, 2023), the updated conceptions of power and equity have enabled scholars to also recognize unequal outcomes in the IR space as it pertains to higher education, and recent studies have thus called for new approaches to realign and balance the dynamics in these relational contexts. These new approaches, including knowledge diplomacy (Knight, 2017, 2022) and cultural diplomacy (Canales, 2023), seek to remove power imbalances from the relational equation by focusing on equity between partners to produce mutual benefit and exchange instead of exploitation, coercion, and influence. HEIs and governing bodies are then encouraged by researchers and the broader public to engage with stakeholders across their campus, in their local constituencies and in their broader partnership networks to design their international missions and strategies in a way that accounts for potential externalities, that is, how programs/initia-

tives might cause unintended harm upon represented, unrepresented, known, or unknown stakeholder groups. Here it is again evident that changing understandings of power and equity serve as a moderating force on the interplay between IHE and IR.

Particularly as critiques of IHE (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011) and calls for a realignment toward global social responsibility and the internationalization of higher education for society (Jones et al., 2021) continue to rise, and as the evolution of the role of IHE in IR and diplomacy persists (Canales, 2023; Knight, 2022), it is imperative to recognize how updated conceptions of power, equity and other moderating forces influence fundamental changes of perspective in these fields. Further research should then work to build conceptual frameworks that map out the nature of this influence so that the relationship between moderating forces, theory, practice, and outcomes can be better understood. Consequently, the results of these studies could inform policymakers and practitioners so that the field may adjust more quickly to produce better outcomes for the global society, namely, increased value and quality of IHE for stakeholders, regardless of their national context or their relative power.

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ability policies advance social justice, given the perpetual inequalities underpinning the African context both in higher education and the labor market. To date, it appears that there have not been attempts to contextualize the framework to Africa.

is could create a non-exclusionary approach to developing policies, translating to equity and dismantling power structures that limit the development of employability within African higher education. It is also crucial to contextualize the policies to the realities of the African labor markets and universities, since there is a tendency for policy borrowing.

is analysis drew on the ideological representation and nature of the policies, revealing the complex social, economic and cultural bases for social justice. Neoliberal higher education and the labor market seem to influence the epistemological and sociological underpinnings of knowledge in employability policies.

the article argues for a novel lens for reframing employability policies in Africa. In the end, there is a need for robust institutional employability policies which universities still lack across the continent.

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b. Textual discursive phenomena and discursive practices such as intertextuality?

This short paper pilots a larger study and provides a use case of critical discourse analysis (CDA) in examining power in the policies, processes, and practices of international HE.

Project Context

Established in 2015, SHARE was a project funded by the EU to promote interregional cooperation between the EU and ASEAN. The project aimed to improve the quality, competitiveness, and internationalization efforts of the HE institutions in the ASEAN region (SHARE, 2021). From 2015-2022, the SHARE project implementation team, a consortium of EU and ASEAN organizations, worked toward these goals by leading policy dialogues with EU and ASEAN leaders, developing ASEAN quality assurance and credit transfer frameworks, and supporting intra-ASEAN and EU-ASEAN exchange scholarships (SHARE, 2021; SHARE 2022).

Following the close of the SHARE program in 2022, the networks established by SHARE are now part of a new EU-ASEAN initiative within the EU Global Gateway (EC, 2022; EC, n.d.). Cooperation will continue through the ASEAN HE space 2025 implementation plan (SOM-ED, 2022). Thus, understanding the function of the SHARE program in relation to past and ongoing interregional cooperation efforts merits further analysis. While the EU is effectively a supranational authority with pooled regional sovereignty, the primacy of national sovereignty among the ASEAN member states directs a more flexible mode of cooperation. As such, the EU model of regionalisation of HE and the related policies and programs may not perfectly transfer to the ASEAN region.

Methods

CDA offers a collection of methodological approaches to examine how power operates in discourse. This study employs intertextuality and Fairclough's (2004) ways of representing assumption as a frame of analysis.

Intertextuality and assumption work in concert to understand external relations in text: intertextuality

“opens up difference by bringing other ‘voices’ into a text,” while assumption “reduces difference by assuming common ground” (Fairclough, 2004, p. 41). *Intertextuality* seeks to identify the other voices or texts that are significant within a text and are “potentially incorporated into the text” directly or indirectly (p. 47), allowing the researcher to make visible the reproduction of power in discourse. *Assumptions* help to investigate power relationships by examining apparently common beliefs within a text. Fairclough (2004) proposes three types of possible assumptions: existential (assumptions about what exists), propositional (assumptions about what is the case), and value (assumptions about what is good or desirable) (p. 55).

Using this CDA framework, we examine five policy documents related to EU-ASEAN interregional HE cooperation:

1. The SHARE policy dialogue 15 program book (EU-SHARE, 2022)
2. The Roadmap on the ASEAN HE space 2025 (SOM-ED, 2022)
3. SHARE program results (SHARE, 2022)
4. EU-ASEAN: Global Gateway factsheet (EC, 2022)
5. The Global Gateway infographic (Delegation EU-ASEAN, 2022)

Document Analysis

Intertextuality

When examining intertextual relations of the five doc-

2021-2025. The documents also refer to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the UNESCO Roadmap on HE 2030. The Global Gateway factsheet (EC, 2022) and the infographic (Delegation EU-ASEAN, 2022) reference the SDGs and indirectly reference (without attribution) the “Team Europe Approach” of EU capacity development strategy and the tagline used across Global Gateway publicity of “Europe’s offer” to its partners.

Assumptions

The following section summarizes the findings of our analysis of existential, propositional, and value assumptions, as laid out by Fairclough (2004), in these policy documents.

Existential

1. There are developed and underdeveloped HE systems (SHARE, 2022)
2. It is possible to define high quality education and research (Delegation EU-ASEAN, 2022)
3. There are problems with the state of ASEAN HE that can be improved (SHARE, 2022).

Propositional

- 1.

how these power dynamics manifest in a new phase of the EU-ASEAN partnership for HE.

In future iterations of this project, we aim to include a wider variety of data sources, including interviews with key stakeholders, speeches, and workshop interventions, using multi-modal CDA, to create a more holistic view of the EU-ASEAN partnership for higher education. We hope that such an analysis would contribute to the study, as well as to the support, of policy and practice in future inter-regional partnerships in higher education.

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From the Regional to the Global: Why Higher Education Regionalization Matters for UmtTvens fhioult/ les/SAO (r)13 (c

and a global trend. Particularly, drawing on the nd-

local mandates, such as training graduates that can contribute to the local and regional economy and understand cultural diversity in the region.

Findings from this study suggest important relationships between internationalization, HER, and global higher education. Concretely, from universities' perspective, HER is part of internationalization which helps universities to look outwardly towards the global higher education field, through mechanisms of gaining global status and obtaining international resources. In addition, HER is also considered a bridge between universities' local mandates and global ambitions. Specifically, HER helps universities to look inward towards their important mandates to serve the local community, while at the same time not losing sight of their global ambitions.

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brain drain? is is a crucial question for future research on crises-driven internationalization.

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culture (e.g., learning environments; see also Lindner (2020)'s research culture and wellbeing barriers) (Wil-

and underrepresented applicants.

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