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What alternatives can BRICS countries offer to the world of global higher education? A thematic policy analysis of the WCU policies of BRICS nations through the lens of 'multiple modernities'

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Declaration

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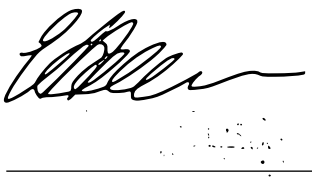

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Summary

The formation of higher education policy in BRICS nations, particularly in recent decades, has been increasingly affected by the advent of global educational trends, particularly those which have been laid down by the leading nations of higher education in Europe and North America. These trends represent the latest form of Western modernity. It is, thus, reasonable to question whether this form of modernity is suited to a non-Western political, social, or economic context. In this regard, the example of BRICS nations is critical in terms of assessing whether Western standards of higher education can be implemented in non-Western, or post-Western nations.

This thesis specifically explores the implementation of a new model of higher education institution in BRICS nations: the World-Class University, or WCU. Formulated as a strategy of European and American 'university excellence' during the 1990s and 2000s, this initiative involves the implementation of university standards. The model especially advances the cause of autonomy in governance, excellence in research and development, the attraction of foreign scholars and academics, and collaboration between universities and the private sector. Success is measured through the status of institutions in the university rankings, nationally and globally. The process of WCU formation, according to leading experts of international higher education, has been shaped by 'three global educational trends': internationalisation, commercialisation and massification. A review of the key literature reveals that all three global trends are present in the Western policy agenda, and, moreover, that Western universities have passed through all three of these stages/trends in order to construct WCUs. However, for countries like the BRICS nations, it is a primary task to go through all three stages in order to build WCUs.

This thesis explores the development and implementation of WCU policies in the five BRICS nations: Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. Analysis of the higher education policies of each country pays attention to the unique historical, political, social, and economic factors which have influenced the development of their respective higher education sectors. In examining the extent of the implementation of WCU initiatives in each BRICS nation, this thesis also assesses the success of these measures, per country. More crucially, as BRICS nations provide the researcher with an opportunity to explore the idea of an 'alternative' to Western modernity, this thesis posits a conclusion on whether such an alternative has been produced by the BRICS in respect of the model of the WCU, one which is uniquely suited to the non-Western and post-colonial context of the BRICS cooperation.

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Part I. Introduction, trends, and methodology of the thesis

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Higher education development is one of the central educational but also economic issues for national governments all over the world. This form of national development has become synonymous with economic prosperity, prestige, a strong capacity for technological innovations, and even the symbolical influence of a particular country upon the wider global community. I began to formulate this conclusion while I was pursuing my undergraduate degree in Russia, and a Masters degree in Brunei and the United States. Having the opportunity to study, work and live in different countries, I have noticed that, although being ideologically, culturally and politically different, these countries hold very similar views on the trajectory of their university development. To be precise, nations with emerging economies such as Brunei or Russia, aim to create a model of university very similar to the well-known world-class universities of Europe and North America. For example, Brunei, being an Islamic country heavily reliant on an oil export-driven economy, promotes a world-class university model using the ideas and techniques of Western universities, which are founded upon values that differ to the cultural ethos, values and systems of governance common to Brunei. And yet, I also noticed that there

were differences and local priorities that did not necessarily fit a simply 'global' discourse on HE.

Since then, what began as a general observation has been turned into a much deeper research interest which became the foundation of my doctoral research. I have come to understand that the development of higher education is one of a number of themes which can be analysed as a part of a broader discussion on the issues surrounding the separation of so-called the 'Global North' from the 'Global South'. In order to narrow down my research focus, I primarily concentrated upon a systematic analysis of policy documents issued by the national governments of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) nations which are dedicated to the creation of the best model of university, known, in this context, as 'world class universities' (WCUs). Nations that position themselves into groups of aligned states can, inevitably, pose a direct challenge to mainstream perceptions of the existing global order, especially when they offer us an alternative vision of globally recognised institutions, or systems of learning. And yet, there is no straightforward definition which can provide an explanation of what a WCU is or is meant to be. In the available literature, one can identify some of the characteristics of a WCU, including references to a 'culture of excellence', 'favourable government' or to the generation of 'a high research output' (Altbach, 2003).

However, when thinking of the image of a WCU, there is a tendency to imagine the prototype of a university similar to the world leading universities, such as Harvard, Oxford or Cambridge. The concept of WCUs is, indeed, associated with the type of university which has the characteristics and traditions of the old and famous universities of the West. Moreover, an influential image of WCUs is also provoked by the establishment of different tools which measure the 'world-class' aspects of a given institution. These measurement instruments became the world-class university rankings, which provided characteristics/criteria by which the best of the Western universities had

already been evaluated against the world-class aspects of other universities. Thus, from the year 2000, university rankings became a powerful instrument in global higher education which, not just university policymakers, but national governments the world over, became increasingly reliant upon and beholden to (Hazelkorn, 2015). Therefore, a combination of global educational trends, the formation of WCUs in the West, and their measurement through so-called 'world-class' education ranking criteria, prompted policymakers in developing world countries to re-calibrate their higher education policies towards the objective of WCU-creation.

1.2 Broadening the field: thematic policy analysis

The transformation of higher education policy began in the 1990s, when certain international trends became noticeable, global and influential. However, even if the 1990s was the period when global trends were identified as actual trends, their existence could still trace back to the beginning of the 20th century. In the literature which emerged on the subject, these trends are defined as massification, internationalisation and commercialisation (Altbach et. al, 2009). At the beginning of the 20th century, particularly in America and Europe where the secondary school system would become institutionally grounded, mass enrollment into elementary and secondary schools contributed significantly to the enhanced university intake. The contemporary understanding of commercialization was formed during the Cold War period, when technology defined the capacity of nations to succeed in the military and ideological race between the Western powers and the Eastern bloc. However, while Soviets invested in state-planned science, the US and Europe, even despite state investments, opened up the possibility for research centers and universities to openly collaborate with philanthropists and private

organizations "to push out the boundaries of scientific knowledge and technological innovations" (Martorell, 2011, p.275, Thelin, 2004).

The seeds of internationalization, which were first understood mainly in terms of student mobility, originated with the first universities in Medieval Europe during the 10th-12th centuries (Cobban, 1990). 21st century internationalization is a more complex process, however, with a centrality of access to Western knowledge and learning still at its core. Internationalization became a consequence of the globalization and economic growth of emerging economies which reoriented their overall economic strategies towards knowledge production, rather than industrial production. Nations belonging to the group of 'Asian Tigers' (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, and later China and India) concentrated their policy efforts on human capital development and education. Supported by their families, or by their governments, streams of Asian students flocked to the universities of North America and Europe where they came to represent the largest proportion of international students.

This is why I argue that Western countries have passed all of the stages of this type of university development, where global trends are comparable to flag posts of development of globalised capitalistic societies. Indeed, the path of the Global North has clearly pre-established certain rules which are now necessary to achieve the status of a 'world-class university'. Therefore, in order to 'fit into the system' and be able to compete with the West, countries of the Global South decided to incorporate these same trends into their educational policy programs in order to lay foundations for the establishment of world-class universities within their higher education systems. Thus, a *thematic analysis* shall be applied as an instrument of policy analysis to understand how BRICS governments have responded to the creation of WCUs and how these trends are incorporated in their policies.

1.3 Deepening the field: a historical analysis of higher education through the lens of 'multiple modernities'

In the BRICS context, it is also difficult to discuss the transformation of a university into a WCU without a wider understanding of the cultural, economic and political situation which existed in BRICS countries over time, especially in the last 20 years. This is why, alongside thematic policy analysis based on the three global educational trends, the discussion will be framed by a consideration of the concept of modernity – a mode of 'contemporary', which is often defined as the borderline between advanced countries of the North and the 'backward' societies of the South. It is worth mentioning that every country of BRICS experienced one Western influence or another in the formation of its university system. Before their interaction with Western powers, China and India had a sophisticated ancient system of higher learning; Brazil and South Africa had a particular organization created by native societies with their own method of learning, and Russia, the closest and probably the country with the deepest connections to Europe, based its education on religious Orthodox traditions of monastic learning. However, the 18th and the 19th centuries became the centuries of interaction with European modernity for these countries, and the establishment of university systems based on Western ideas of a university. In this sense, the 21st century has become a symbolic time when the universities of the non-Western world experience significant transformations using the concept and model of the Western world. Therefore, through the lens of modernity, it is easy to trace tensions between 'native' and 'modern' ways over the timeframe of the formation of university systems based on the Western idea of a university. Thus, I use the theory of modernity as a narrative, or lens, through which I show the evaluation of the BRICS university system up to today – the stage of world-class policymaking.

Therefore, my main research question is split into two sub-questions. Firstly, if the emerging countries of BRICS identify themselves as an alternative to the current hegemony of the Western order, why do BRICS nations rely on policy instruments taken from the West? Secondly, having the ideal of the modern Western-type university as a model, can BRICS countries create their own version of WCUs, reflected by their historical, cultural and political narratives? To answer these questions, the following research structure is provided.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided into three parts. Part I consists of two chapters which are devoted to a review of relevant literature and an outline of the methodology of this thesis. Chapters 2 and 3 provide a conceptual framework for a thematic policy analysis of BRICS WCU programmes, while also specifying the socio-political and politico-economic backgrounds of the concerned nations that explain the consequences leading to the formation of trends in its contemporary forms. Chapter 4 formulates the methodology of this thesis. Alongside the theoretical framework based on the theory of modernity, part of Chapter 4 discusses the process of data generation which was undertaken during my research work on primary sources related to China, Brazil, South Africa and Russia. Part of the time allocated on my PhD research project was spent working in the field with primary sources, including work with original policy documents, the conducting of interviews with policymakers and academics. I conducted research in four of the five countries that form the focus of this study, and I had an opportunity to see, first-hand, how the idea of WCU became embodied in the realities of every country of the BRICS union.

In Part II, Chapters 5 and 6 are dedicated to a policy analysis of WCU-creation in Russia and China, both of which belong to the leading global powers, with large Western-style economies, and who are also permanent members of the United Nations Security Council; they are both considered senior partners among the BRICS nations. Part III allocates three chapters, 7, 8, and 9, respectively, to South Africa, India and Brazil, which represent the regional powers with 'emerging' economies; these are the junior partners of BRICS. The dissertation ends with the conclusion, involving closing remarks and a summation of the findings of my research, in Chapter 9 (Tab.1).

Table 1. Chapter outline. Source: Likhovtseva, 2019

Part I. The construction of the thesis	Part II. Global Superpowers: Russia and China	Part III. Regional powers: Brazil, India, South Africa
1. Introduction 2 & 3. Conceptual framework 4. Methodology	5. Russia 6. China	7. South Africa 8. India 9. Brazil 10. Conclusion

2 Trends in global higher education

The second chapter provides an analysis of global trends, which became the conceptual basis for this dissertation. These are identified from the literature as 'commercialisation', 'internationalisation' and 'massification', all of which relate to the theme of globalisation (Altbach, 2013, Knight, 2012). The analysis includes an investigation of factors which shaped the face of the modern Western university, which were spread further to the rest of the world, including universities of BRICS nations. To continue an analysis devoted to global trends, it is important to explore two factors which are identified as major causes of the existence of global university trends, namely the neoliberal direction of the policy choice, and second, the economic shift from industrial to knowledge production. The aim to introduce two factors in this analysis is not to investigate, in-depth, the concept of neoliberalism and the knowledge economy, but to show how these two concepts built the foundation for the formation of contemporary educational trends. I began this discussion with an introduction of the fundamental idea which lies behind the BRICS cooperation, followed by a discussion of the influence of neoliberalism and 'knowledge economies' upon higher education policy-making. The final section of Chapter 2 will outline the first trend of my conceptual framework – internationalisation.

2.1. The unity of BRICS

In 2001, Jim O'Neill made the observation that there were a certain number of emerging markets states whose economic growth could overtake the economic growth of countries belonging to developed countries of the G8 group (now reverted to G7 after the expulsion of Russia in 2014) (O'Neill, 2001). According to the analysis provided by O'Neill, these emerging economic powers are Brazil, Russia, India and China, united under the acronym of BRICs (O'Neill, 2001). Initially, the idea of BRICs had been seen only as an economic phenomenon, without their consolidation into any political entity. However, the events of early 2000s, including the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, combined with the Global Economic Crisis of 2008, challenged the view of the unipolar global dominance of the West, not just in the economic sphere, but also in geo-political terms.

The first summit-meeting of BRIC was held in Russia in 2009, where all four nations of the new alliance agreed to "promote dialogue and cooperation among [BRICS] countries in an incremental, proactive, pragmatic, open and transparent way" (BRICS, 2009,n.p). In 2011, South Africa joined the BRIC union in order to recast the country's "international relations after decades of isolation" during the time of the apartheid (Zuma, 2013, p.17). According to Zuma, the formation of BRICS represented an attempt to strengthen 'South-South' cooperation which hitherto had only a local and non-systematic character (Zuma, 2013). Originally clustered together in an economic and financial pact, BRICS nations quickly shifted toward political cooperation, adding new meaning to their partnership. Schweller and Pu point out that the emerging powers of the Global South, such as BRICS, offered a far more ideologically diverse geopolitical alternative in opposition to the more established view of the Western world (Schweller & Pu, 2011).

Ujvari states that BRICS nations had a mission to reshape the international order, re-creating the global balance of power, one which had always been unequally distributed between the Global North and the Global South. (Ujvari, 2015). Sakwa states that BRICS nations advocated for a much greater representation of the Global South, especially at the supranational level, including the presence of these nations at the UN Security Council (Sakwa, 2019).

However, the main critique of the BRICS alliance rotates around issues concerning the political, economic, societal and cultural differences of each member. These differences have caused a situation where the BRICS group have not produced any tangible results which impacted upon their national development. For instance, several projects dedicated to cooperation in higher education, such as the BRICS University League and the BRICS University Network, have so far not led to any real actions. Li concludes that BRICS has "a long way to go before they can manage to find the common ground necessary to act as a unified geopolitical alliance" (Li, 2014, p. 14). A similar conclusion has been expressed by Ikenbury, who states that the BRICS represent, not an alternative model to the Western alliances, and especially not to the American-led geopolitical alliances and trading blocks, but rather an agglomeration of countries attempting to catch up with the developed world (Ikenbury, 2008). The simultaneous formation of higher education policies dedicated to WCU-creation in BRICS countries forms part of this 'catch-up' process.

Finally, there is the consideration that BRICS is a convenient tool for China to expand its influence in Africa and South America. China, for example, plays a significant role in the recently-established New Development Bank, the primarily aim of which is to provide subsidies for the infrastructural projects of BRICS countries. Indeed, China, having much higher material capabilities that the other BRICS countries, has offered to contribute more financial resources towards the key infrastructural projects of BRICS by comparison with what is put forward by other members of the union. By adopting such a position, China

clearly demonstrates its willingness to dominate the alliance, and through the platform of BRICS, establish a form of hegemony over their fellow members.

Despite this critique, I argue that the fundamental pillar of the partnership between the BRICS nations lies in the somewhat symbolical proposition that the togetherness of these countries demonstrate a multiplicity of pathways for national and regional development around the world. After all, the history of BRICS nations was influenced by the West, either through colonialism in the case of Brazil, South Africa and India, or through the close integration of Western-style policies and innovations in the political institutions and socio-economic affairs of Russia and China. In contemporary development, all of these countries are still attempting to overcome their past dependency. Kirton points out that, as territorially large nations, BRICS have a significant influence within their respective regions, and a coalition of such powers can be interpreted as a symbolic statement to the West (Kirton, 2015). BRICS, as a union, therefore should be perceived not only as a cooperation which produces results, but rather as a coalition which produces meanings.

Nevertheless, even as an alternative model to the West as a geopolitical alliance, BRICS countries are still influenced by Western-style policymaking. The WCU agenda in higher education can be considered to be purely Western, in the sense that the features of a WCU primarily belong to the prominent universities of the West. In Chapter 1, Section 1.3, it is was summarized that before close interaction with Western modernity, every country of BRICS had their own system of learning. With the incorporation of Western institutions in national socio-economic life, these traditional or indigenous systems of learning were either altered significantly or abolished entirely. A more detailed treatment of indigenous systems of knowledge and learning will follow throughout this thesis.

Nowadays, the contemporary universities of BRICS are synchronizing their development agendas with the Western university policymaking approach. The advent of neoliberalism in the political domain and an economic shift towards knowledge production in developed

countries snowballed globally, resulting in changes in the policy approaches of emerging powers toward higher education. Therefore, the following sections of this chapter will be dedicated to a discussion of these shifts, and their impact on the WCU agenda of BRICS.

2.2 Neoliberal patterns in global higher education

The dominant theory of the contemporary political discourse is neoliberalism (Harvey, 2007). Economic theorists say that neoliberalism has "replaced" the existing paradigm of the Keynesian economic model, which had taken "control over markets, as well as state interventions in the economy, in contrast to neoliberalism" (Palley, 2005, Lapavitas, 2005, p. 30). As a terminology, neoliberalism became known in 1938, when a number of leading European intellectuals agglomerated in the discussion of the future of liberalism after the introduction of the Keynesian model as a solution of post-depression American recovery (Henry, 2002). Henry points out that, at first, neoliberalism had been introduced as an adoption of the core principals of liberalism to the conditions of the contemporary world: namely individualism, market freedom and private property rights (Henry, 2002).

However, in spite of the fact that some mechanisms of neoliberal ideas were already implemented after World War II in Germany and France, the major transition of Western powers to neoliberal politics is considered to have occurred only with the rise of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher to leadership (Harvey, 2007, Henry, 2002). Therefore, in contemporary literature, neoliberalism is understood very broadly, but Gamble observes that "there has never been one neo-liberalism" (Gamble, 2009, p. 71). However, despite the complexity of the notion, it can be concluded that there are two primary visions of neoliberalism (1) as an ideology and (2) as a mode of governance (Steger & Ravi, 2010). Both versions either had an influence on policymaking or were incorporated as policy

tools in reforms. I shall outline the position in theoretical understandings of neoliberalism to show how these visions connect with the transformation of higher education.

(1) The first approach considers neoliberalism as *an ideology* (Harvey, 2007). The notion of ideology is very complex, and, in itself, it has a very strong connotation. Despite the variety of meanings, in this work I define the notion of ideology as a number of certain rules, practices, and beliefs which shape government policy rationale. Duménil and Lévy state that neoliberalism is an *ideology of the return* of "hegemony of the financial fraction of the ruling classes", which means that power of 'finance' became influential not only at the level of the economy but also penetrated into social and political spheres (Duménil & Lévy, 2001, p.578). Moreover, the traditional understanding of government, as a ruling system, would be altered by the adding on of new political and economic actors, such as influential business and transnational corporations, international organizations and other affiliated groups. All these groups connected with market influences on governments to promote the interests of corporations, firms and private sector in general. Munck states that neoliberalism refers to an ideology of market rationality, "market efficiency and effective distribution of resources" (Munck, 2005, p.61). In a broader, and even more critical sense, the power of finance, as well market rationale can be translated, or even reduced, to the power of profit. Social spheres, such as healthcare and education, are subordinated to market mechanisms.

The ideology of neoliberalism also introduced a new language, which reframes traditional concepts. The borders between market language and policy language became blurred: citizens became 'consumers', education was perceived as 'service' or 'investment', and policies would be replaced by 'missions' (Holborow, 2015). Universities also began to experience a transformation under the drive of neoliberal ideology during 1980-1990; the results of adapting new rules and ideologically-driven policy reforms. The shift from the purpose "to educate citizens in general" and "to share knowledge", moved to the purpose

of promoting "knowledge as a commodity" (Lyotard, 1984, p. 5, Calhoun, 2006, p.19). Commodification, in this sense, links with the creation of new goods and services, with something which can be bought and sold, turning higher education into the "object of the profit" (Ball and Youdell, 2007, p.10).

(2) Neoliberalism as a *mode of governance.* This understanding of neoliberalism might be seen through a prism of a neologism of "governmentality", which Foucault introduced as a theoretical premise for the retrospective historical analyses of "the genealogy of the modern state" (Foucault, 1997). According to Foucault, government itself associates with a more than irrational implementation of power and connects with a "specific form of reasoning", regulated by so called "governmental technologies" (Foucault, 1988, Lemke, 2000, p.6). Gordon points out that "rationality of government" is understood as "activity or practice" (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). This position can be explained as an example of how governmental technologies are used to transform education. In spheres where there would be no intervention of neoliberal reasoning, governments created it. In higher education, the purpose of which was to educate people, or make people good, a government builds frames in which higher education can be placed in market conditions. Therefore, through governmental technologies, education would become a part of the market. An elimination of government from core social spheres, including education, was the policy signature of Thatcher and Reagan. These policy practices soon spread beyond the English-speaking world (Quiggin, 2018). These practices are:

a) *Privatization.* In the West, privatization of previously state-owned services occurred in the 1980s, commenced by Thatcher's government, who sold major state enterprises such as British Airways, British Telecom, British Steel, and British Gas (Edward, 2017). Privatization was interpreted by Thatcher's government as "reversing the corrosive and corrupting effects of socialism" dominant in the Soviet Union during the 1980s (Thatcher, 1993, p.1385). In this sense, privatization had a symbolical freedom, which defined the

democratic states of the West from the authoritarian regimes of the Soviet East (Thatcher, 1993). This wave spread all over the world. Between 1977 and 1999, 2,459 deals in 121 countries saw state assets privatized (Bortolotti et.al, 2003). The first attempts of efforts of privatization began with the manufacturing, agricultural and banking sectors. The second wave touched the infrastructure and public utility sectors. Finally, the third wave of privatization was linked to the primary public services, such as education and health.

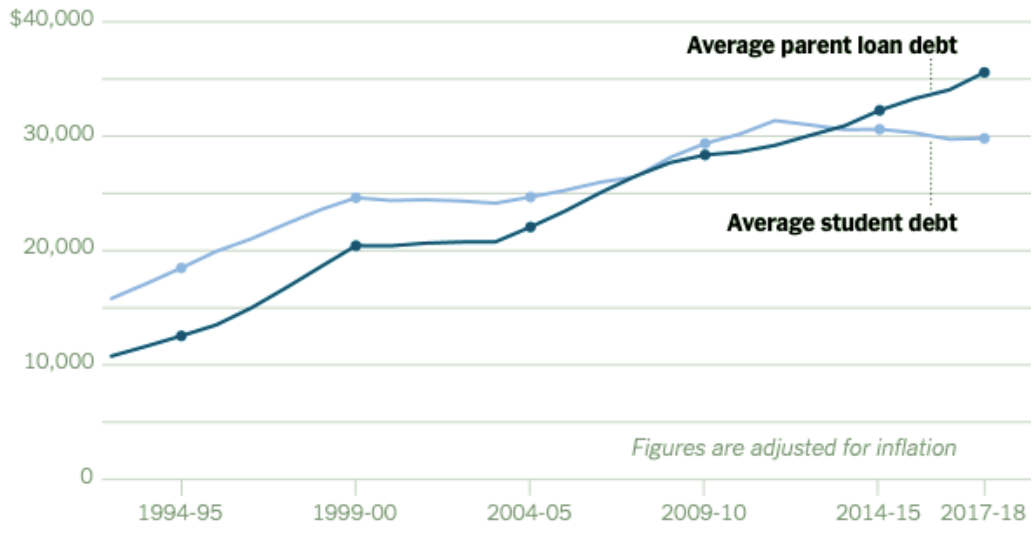
c) *Financialization.* Konczal defines financialization as an "increase in the size, scope, and power of the financial sector— the people and firms that manage money" (Konczal, 2014, n.p.). Palma states that financialization acts as a neoliberal 'technique o power' to preserve a certain social order (Palma, 2009). This order was based on the principle of return of financial investmens and costs of their transitions – to extract "as many dollars as possible out of every deal" (Eaton, 2016, Russel et.al, 2016, p.7). Financialisaton also penetrated the area of higher education. During the last five years, investments in higher education increased slightly, or remained stable. Average public investments in tertiary education among OECD countries account for 1.6 percent of total GDP (OECD, 2016). However, in spite of this stability, private funding sources have become very important for higher education development. This is determined by the fact that public expenditure cannot fully cover all university needs, such as infrastructural development, research initiatives, non-tuition fee students, and salaries of professors and staff. The university 'body' rapidly expanded with an increase in student enrollment, government and market demand for innovative research, which involved up-to-date technology. Thus, to generate sustainable income and to survive in the comparative marketplace, institutions of higher education, especially those which depend on public sector provision, were encouraged by the government to play in a marker arena the role of the corporate service providers.

Universities became part of financial deals in money generation. One example of this is the diversification of university programmes and places, without proficient scholarships.

Therefore, in countries like the U.S., where a loan system was traditionally available, there was an increase a dependency of students on educational loans, as a consequence on payment of a student debt (Fig.1). Personal investment of students in higher education turned into a high-debt payment (including interest rates) as part of the cost of transaction.

Based on my investigation, it can be concluded that the difference between the two visions of neoliberalism is insufficient and can only be explained by the extent of its influence on a country. Neoliberalism, when perceived as an ideology, is colossal in its totality, and is transforming all spheres of human life. Neoliberalism as a mode of governance has a more precise function because neoliberal technologies can only spread to certain specific areas of society, such as education and the economic sector. However, both approaches include various techniques, such as privatisation and financialization, which better define neo-liberal policymaking for higher education.

Figure 1. Correlation between student-parent university loans and debt, 1994/5-2017/18. Source: Mark Kantrowitz, n.d



However, in order to understand the logic of the formation of WCUs in BRICS nations, we must observe neoliberalism from the position of a mode of governance, the techniques for which laid the foundation of WCU policies themselves. Throughout this thesis, the

changes which have occurred in the higher education sectors of BRICS nations will be shown in connection with the privatisation and financialization of the university sector. Some countries, like Brazil, heavily relied on privatisation during the 1980-1990 period, as a 'safe' choice to keep its trend of massification going.

2.3. Knowledge economy patterns in global higher education

Another factor which influenced the formation of global educational trends is the factor of the knowledge economy, as a direction for modern economies. In 1996, the OECD (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) published a report providing a definition of the trends and purpose of the knowledge economy. For many national governments, this report became the beginning of a reorientation of national economies and policy directions towards a knowledge economy (Godin, 2006). According to OECD, the knowledge-based economy is an *economic model* which is "directly based on the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information" (OECD,1996, p.7). It is also linked with public investments in "high-technology industries, more high-skilled labor and associated productivity gains" (OECD,1996, p.7). The key variables in this definition are *"production, distribution and use"* which means that all of those parties which are involved in the knowledge economy should create conditions for the development of these three variables (OECD,1996, p.7).

The *Production* of knowledge changed along with the development of various stages of the economy. During the Industrial Revolution, the production of knowledge was based on individual inventions or discoveries; by the beginning of the 20th Century, it had shifted to a collective/institutional model, in which universities became vastly involved (Langrish et al., 1972). During the 20th Century, Great Britain and the U.S. integrated a vertical system of knowledge production, mainly in the private sector (when a company controls an entire system, or a supply chain of production), while, in Germany, the universities were invited

to become knowledge producers. Italy and France also established an institutional variety of knowledge creators, such as private firms and universities (Reich, 1985). Nowadays, the production of knowledge is concentrated as a hybrid system which takes elements of every discussed model and involves both the private and public sectors.

Drucker, who has shown the difference between manual and knowledge workers and predicted that the expansion of information and telecommunication technologies would increase the demand for knowledge workers, concluded that knowledge is the only one meaningful resource today (Drucker,1993). Drucker arrived at this conclusion, through a study in which he has shown that the industrial sector lost some of its value in the creation of economic revenue, which is now extracted mainly through intellectual or intangible resources. Knowledge has now been materialized in products, technologies, processes, algorithms, structures or systems which can be economically exploited. Toffler claims that knowledge is the main driver of the upcoming powershift, determined by the competition for knowledge control (Toffler, 1991). This 'forecast' of the 1990s is clearly visible today in the example of the shifting of knowledge control from the U.S. to China, which increased knowledge production from the 1990s until 2019. Wilsdon and Keeley state that China represents the "world's largest technocracy", by investing in education, research and innovation based on this research (Wilsdon and Keeley, 2007, p.6). State expenditure on Research and Development (R&D) in China grew two-fold between 2000 and 2018, from 0.9 percent in 2000 to 2.1 percent in 2018, narrowing down the gap with the U.S. with its expenditure of 2.8 percent in 2018 (OECD, 2019).

Reformed by the neoliberal vision of policymaking, through privatizations and reduction of public funding, contemporary universities started to combine research, teaching and R&D activities to be more innovative and competitive at the same time. For the same reason, national governments put investments into the R&D of the university sector. For instance, China launched the "863 Program" for R&D and "Program 973", oriented on

industry-university-research cooperation (CIF, 2019). Throughout the last thirty years, the circulation between industrial-university research existed in Silicon Valley in the U.S. Through the Government Patent Policy Act of 1980 (The Bayh-Dole Act), the U.S. government gave rights of ownership of intellectual property sponsored by the federal government to the universities, small-businesses and non-profit organisations (96th Congress, 1980). After 1980, universities started to engage in technology transfers to cooperate with industries in transferring patents and discoveries to the industrial sector, (Stevens, 2004). Resulting from this law, and as a consequence of ongoing partnership between the universities and industry, the creation of contemporary corporate giants, such as Microsoft and Apple, became possible.

Distribution and use of knowledge. A knowledge economy requires, not only production, but also the distribution and use of knowledge. The distribution and use of knowledge is a key factor in economic growth which "increases in real income and rising living standards" (Hogan, 2011, p. 6). Romer developed an economic growth theory based on endogenous technological change (Romer, 1994). Romer's idea of economic growth is based on the link between the development of new ideas (knowledge) and the number of people involved in the knowledge sector (Romer, 1994). Innovations implemented using this knowledge increased the productivity of various economic sectors, even those which are traditionally considered to be "low-tech" sectors, such as the production of food or agriculture. Therefore, the distribution of knowledge among industries is important for continuous economic growth.

Schultz also highlights that people "are important part of the wealth of nations" (Schultz, 1961, p. 2). Investments in people who work in knowledge sectors is necessary, because technological growth depends on the capacity and competences of people who produce ideas. In other words, a high level of human capital is a key factor for the development of a knowledge economy. The OECD defines human capital as "the knowledge, skills,

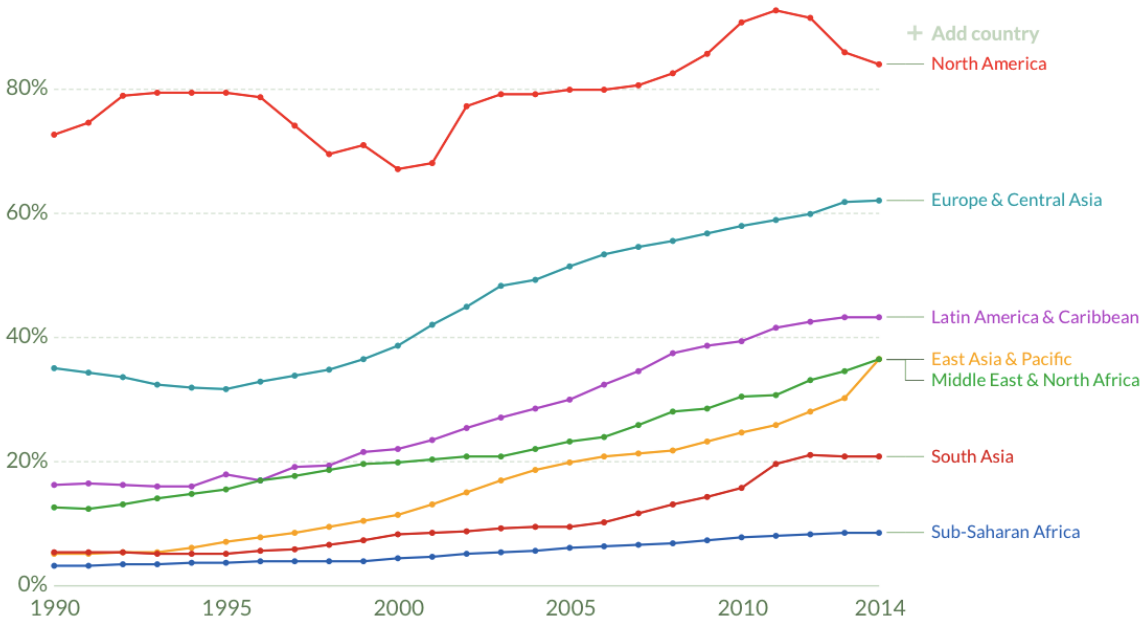
competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being" (OECD cited in Keeley, 2007, p.29). Universities, in this sense, are not only producers of knowledge, but they also act as distributers and users of knowledge.

In this sense, higher education accumulates all three functions given under the OECD's definitions: it provides "knowledge, skills, competencies" which are necessary for a quality workforce (OECD cited Keeley, 2007, p.29). An agenda to invest in human capital penetrates, not only government or business circles, but also becomes a part of a social lift, where a university degree is necessary to be employed in the knowledge sector. That is why over the last 30 years there was an increase in students in universities, especially in countries which are still considered as developing. For instance, the gross enrolment ratio in the developing countries of Latin America in the 1990s was 16.2%, whereas in 2014, it was 43.3%, in East Asia and the Pacific in the 1990s, it was 5.2%, whereas in 2014, it was 36.5% (World Bank EdStats, 2017) (Fig.2). This phenomenon is known as the massification of higher education.

Thus, based on the analysis of this sector, it can be concluded that a willingness to switch national economies to a knowledge economy model would be closely connected with the development of higher education. Universities became the centres of "the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information", and WCU polices would be seen as one of the strategies to accelerate this direction (OECD,1996, p.7). Two themes originated from the discussed sections and are incorporated into the analysis of this thesis. Firstly, the knowledge economy is one of the powerful instruments of global influence, and those nations, where a knowledge economy was more developed, became active players on the global political and economic arena. As an example, we can see the rising influence of Chinese technologies, which gradually fill international technology markets. Osawa and Mozur conclude that contemporary China has reached "a critical mass of expertise, talent

and financial firepower" (Osawa & Mazur, 2014, n.p). Secondly, the investments in the knowledge economy are tied with investments in human capital, a major part of the WCU agenda of all analysed nations of BRICS. Therefore, both themes of knowledge economy will be presented under the thematic policy analysis, whose full logic will be explained later in Part I of this thesis.

Figure 2. Global University Enrolment patterns, 1990-2001. Source: World Bank EdStats, 2015



Finally, let me summarise the importance of two factors: neoliberalism in policy approach and the knowledge economy as an economic vector in the formation of global educational trends. Firstly, using the neoliberal framework of policymaking, national governments have changed their approach to higher education. As was discussed above, governments introduced reforms which allowed universities to act as providers of educational services. Neoliberal reforms were connected with the privatisation and financialization of non-economic spheres of society. Ball similarly emphasizes the undeviating influence of economic imperatives upon higher education (Ball, 2007). Under these circumstances,

universities expanded their functions beyond classical traditions of teaching and research, and became more engaged in market spaces, including basic commercial operations such as the increase of fee-paying students and merchandising of a university 'brands' through the university shop. Therefore, the neoliberal policy framework has become a foundation for the commercialisation of universities.

The influence of the knowledge economy appears in government programs to modify universities towards the knowledge economy agenda. Altbach claimes that "research universities are at the center of the global knowledge economy" (Altbach, 2013, p.1). In a broader sense, it means that universities became powers which incorporate themselves into all elements required by the knowledge economy: knowledge creation, distribution and use. The most successful universities have become globally connected with private companies and have started to accumulate large amounts of funding for their research.

However, it is impossible to derive a direct conclusion that a neoliberal policy framework can be the only foundation for commercialisation, and that the knowledge economy can provoked only internationalisation and massification. The point is that both factors are interconnected and equally contribute to the foundation of four global educational trends. Thus, in the final analysis, we can distinguish three main trends giving shape to higher education today, namely *commercialization, massification, and internationalization.* In the next three sections, a working definition, along with some of the key components of each trend will be examined in greater detail. I shall base this examination base upon real policy examples and some important statistical information; in this respect, particular attention will be paid to the BRICS countries.

2.4. Trend № 1: Internationalization

The first trend that emerges from the literature, and which is central to the framework of this thesis, is the trend in higher education known as *internationalization.* Teichler argues that the contemporary notion of internationalization is a relatively recent phenomena, because of its complexity and it's multi-dimensional function (Teichler, 2017). The complexity of the notion will be discussed in its four modes:

(1) Internationalization in a direct sense, as a form of *student and academic mobility* (Knight, 2012). Student and academic mobility is defined as actual movements across countries (Teichler, 2017). Mobility is associated with an actual move that had a different purpose over the years. In the European context, student mobility emerged in the period of the early Middle Ages, when students started travelling from one university-center to another in order to learn a specific target of knowledge (Leed, 1991). However, after the Enlightenment and formation of nation-states, student and academic mobility changed their character, and became more oriented on the entablement of political and economic connections between states. In the contemporary world, student and academic mobility connects with economic and cultural globalization, the colonial past and an idea of nations creating a 'common educational space' (King et.al, 2010).

(2) Internationalization as an *auxiliary tool* for the exposition of a worldview. This pattern was inherent for the era of the Enlightenment, and the colonial domination of the West. European university models spread far beyond Europe and were established in places which already had their own ancient systems of education, such as China and India (De Wit, 1999). More politicized examples of internationalization occurred after the Second World War, where international student exchanges also became a measure of successful foreign policy in a duo-polar world competition.

(3) Internationalization, used as a *policy instrument*, contributing to the socio-economic development of a country (Warner, 1992). A policy instrument has to enhance the ability of a country/university to compete in the international economic market. Policy functions of this mode are very broad and vary depending on the purpose and the concrete goal of a university or a country. On the one hand, it may serve as a tool to an increase of a university's presence in the international arena, but, on the other hand it may give a country an opportunity to attract foreign talents as investments to the local labour market to work on domestic and international enterprises (Johnston & Edelstein, 1996).

Nowadays, internationalization associates with all three modes, which are incorporated into contemporary policy making and university strategy. Therefore, the aim of this section is to, firstly, show how the processes of internationalization developed in early universities until now, and secondly, to analyze why internationalization has become one of the top priorities in the agenda of a contemporary higher education.

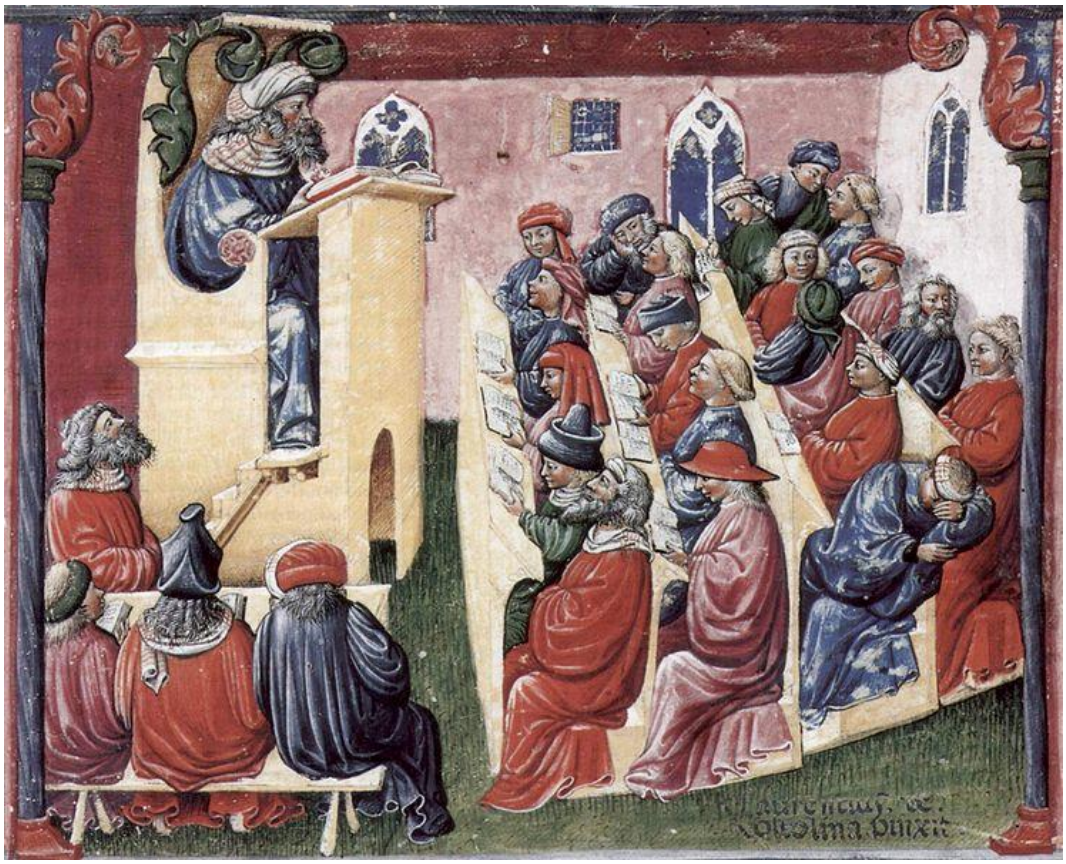
2.5. Student mobility from the Middle Ages until the present

Internationalization via student mobility is not a recent phenomenon. However, it is an extremely complex phenomenon because it involves many variables: states, universities, students. In this thesis, it is important to show how internationalization is defined through mobility. Therefore, I will discuss only certain aspects of student and academic mobility, which are necessary for an understanding of my research question.

Starting in the Middle Ages, the circulation of students and academics between different universities and centers of learning was intensive. Abelard wrote: "for what is unknown to the French schools will be revealed across the Alps; and what you cannot learn among the Latins, fluent Greece will teach you" (Abelard, as cited in Leed, 1991, p.148).

European scholarship benefited from foreigners: ‘academic pilgrimage’ or ‘wandering scholars’ was a form of collaboration in scholars’ communities to explore and expand incomplete knowledge which was not available at a home university (de Ridder-Symoens, 1992, Leed, 1991) (Fig.3). Outside of Europe, student mobility was also known. For instance, in the East Asian Confucian World, student mobility was more institutionalized. Students from various parts of East Asia came to China in order to obtain civil service examinations and learn the principles of the ancient Chinese bureaucratic system (Kim, 2009).

Figure 3.A university lecture, 14th Century. Source: Laurentius de Voltolina, n.d



The transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and later to the Enlightenment, brought crucial changes to the university’s nature. This paradigm shift in the nature of the

university occurred for several reasons, which Rüegg calls the "revolutionary dimension" (Rüegg, 2003). Firstly, the great discoveries of Columbus and Vasco Da Gama, followed by major geographic and economic expansion, created new approaches in science which allowed scholars to step beyond conventional borders (Rüegg, 2003). Universities became residential, and the wandering period of scholarship came to an end (Leed, 1991).

Secondly, the Reformation of Martin Luther entailed the secularization of universities, opened up new forms of communication and led to the formation of a "new cultural self-consciousness", "the humanistic permeation and ossification of dynamic concessionally bounded universities" (Rüegg, 2003, p.14, Hammerstein, 2003). Thirdly, incipient urbanization, as a consequence of immigration from the countryside to the towns, laid the forefronts of commercial, political and cultural life (Hammerstein, 2003). The fourth reason correlates with the beginning of the European policy of regionalism, and later with the transformation of these lands into centralized nation states.

For student mobility all these factors had meaningful consequences. Regionalization and the establishment of national residential universities reduced the stream of students circulating among different places of study. Intellectual migration became more selective, because the conditions offered by the universities, and cities where they were located, depended on "commercial links between towns and regions, and the political attractions of a place (scholarships offered by the university, and the political and dynastic relations)" (de Ridder-Symoens, 1992, p. 288; de Ridder-Symoens, 1996).

In the 17th Century, another type of intellectual mobility was introduced - the Grand Tour. In the European context, and especially in England, the idea of a Grand Tour meant study-travel without any recourse to the actual institutional affiliation to a university (Bevis & Lucas, 2007). The Grand Tours enabled the educated elites to obtain some "veneer of cosmopolitanism" before they proceeded with their duties in their home countries (Bevis & Lucas, 2007, p. 28). In the 18th and 19th Centuries, student mobility developed a more

pragmatic character. Despite the desire to travel for knowledge, as it was before, student mobility became a part of a more complex process connected with industrial and scientific revolutions. Education became more fractured and professionalized, and due to the rise of patriotic movements, had to benefit a country (Bevis & Lucas, 2007).

Hammerstein points out that "the universities, scientific education and training in the United States was part of national prosperity and countries' international prestige" (Hammerstein, 2003, p. 640). Non-western countries experienced the processes of student mobility similar to Europe, but this mobility was mostly oriented around technology and knowledge transfer from the West. Japan would be the most famous example where the government of the Meiji period organized travels with educational purposes abroad to 'learn from the West': machinery and geology from Britain, mathematics from France, physics and medicine from Germany and law from the U.S. (Nakayama, 1985). However, this nature of educational mobility was connected with a country's colonial affiliation; its political and economic ties with the metropole. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, young Indians who went to Great Britain to study, often did so with an intension of preparing themselves for entry into the Indian Civil Service. During the twentieth century, educational mobility turned into a tool of political influence of the West against the East. I will discuss their patterns in greater detail in the next section.

2.6. Cultural and economic globalization and internationalization

Contemporary student mobility is hugely influenced by *cultural and economic globalization.* Globalization is defined as a "process associated with the integration of societies and may be measured in terms of flows across national borders: these flows may be economic, cultural, political, social, technological, environmental, human (travel and

migration), biological (diseases), or virtual (cyber, telecommunications, and internet)" (Goldin, 2016, p.129).

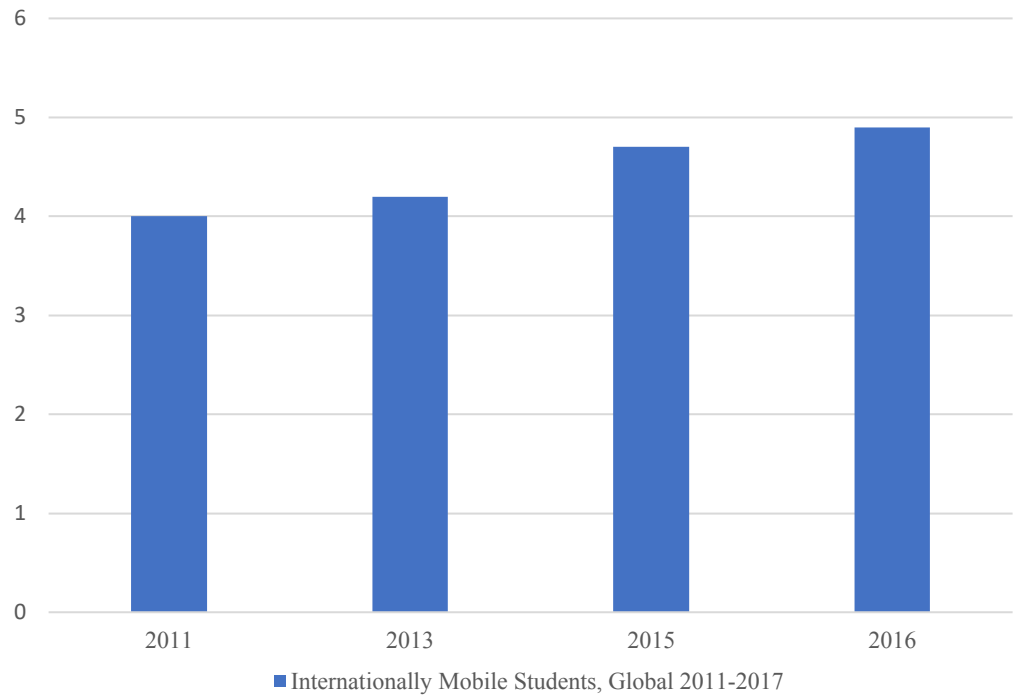
From the position of *cultural globalization,* contemporary academic and student mobility associates with the politics of recognition and identity politics (Gutmann 2003, Taylor 1992, Young 1990). Taylor's "politics of equal respect" builds on mutual intercultural dialogue, where "the integrity of cultures has an important place" (Taylor, 1992, p.61). An idea of mutual respect comes under a notion of multiculturalism, emerging in western liberal democracies in the 1980s and 1990s. Multiculturalism can be seen as "institutional, political and legal arrangements which ensure the recognition and fair treatment of certain cultural identities within democracies" (Wieviorka, 2014, n.p). Kymlicka explains multiculturalism via the prism of uniqueness of cultural membership and self-identity through it (Kymlicka, 1995). Higher education adopted multiculturalist patterns, from a position of diversity within an academic community. Within such an approach the English language would become the modern language of education; the university curriculum became more adoptable for international students to prepare them for 'global citizenship'. Under these conditions, a number of exchange programs were created. One of them is the Erasmus +, initiated by the European Commission, whose goal was to "support mobility in the education" for the mutual benefits of individual and organisations (EACEA, 2019, n.p). Erasmus+ has become a platform which offers to provide an insight into the daily life of various European societies and cultures, especially for foreign students who have come to study in Europe from non-European countries.

From the position of *economic globalization*, student mobility is linked to a *technological boom*. As such, the process of internationalization has significant links with the so-called Information and Communication Revolution (ICT) of the 1990s, which changed the landscape of traditional business and the working environment, mainly as a consequence of international migration. Since the early 1990s, there was an increase in the flow of

students and highly skilled professionals from developing countries to the U.S., Canada, the UK and Australia. Under these circumstances, higher education became an important channel for the U.S. private sector policy to recruit the most talented graduates. According to McKinsey Global Institute, during the past three decades, immigrants from developing countries "contributed as estimated 40 percent of labor growth in advanced economies: more of these workers have arrived with advanced skills" (Manyika et. al, 2012).

However, with an increase of job opportunities in developing countries, migration trends have changed over the last five years. Multinational corporations established their offices abroad, which required highly-skilled labour forces within the countries where they are established. The survey conducted by the international ranking-creating agents shows that 40 percent of students associated mobility with their future employability and career prospects (ICEF Monitor, 2017). This means that, after graduation, students like to feel competitive within the pool of job seekers, especially in large corporations. For instance, Google reported that, in 2014, their company had 70 offices in over 40 countries around the globe and employed around 38%, or 19,688, outside of the U.S. (Statista, 2016). The Chinese e-commerce corporation, Alibaba Group, "had 36,450 full-time employees, and the majority of employees are based in China" (Statista, 2016, n.p). Significant numbers of graduates who received their education abroad have returned to their home countries. According to the Chinese Ministry of Education, between 70 and 80% of their outbound students return to China after their studies abroad, due, in part, to the strong Chinese economy (Chinese Ministry of Education, as cited from ICEF Monitor, 2016) (Fig.4).

Figure 4. Internationally Mobile Students, Global 2011-2017. Source: IOM's GMDAC based on UNESCO, 2018



2.7 Internationalization as an auxiliary tool

The world wars and the economic crisis of the early 1930s caused the creation of a new world order, which reshaped the academic world. Universities, and higher education in general, became an instrument of influence, or soft power, which, in literature, is defined as the non-military influence of one country over another (Nye, 1990). Higher education, through internationalization, became a key tool of soft power influence.

Post-War higher education also turned into an instrument of the duo-polar world standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States. In the USSR and the U.S., a significant number of international exchange programs were established. The Americans created an educational exchange program the Fulbright, to promote "a liberal voice of America all over the world" through an "appealing humanitarian scheme", one of "the world's most significant international co-operative enterprises" (Lebovic, 2013, p. 281). However, in

spite of this populistic exaltation of global partnership with the U.S. and the rest of the world, the Fulbright had a major political motivation to invest in educational exchange with foreign countries. Arndt characterized the Fulbright as having a "built-in tension between the cultural and the propagandistic aim" of such activities (Arndt as cited in Bettie, 2014, p.133). Cultural and educational exchange, in this view, had potentially short-term and long-term impact affects: to build friendship with Western countries, on the one hand, and spread this influence on non-allied Eastern countries, which were under the hegemony of the Soviet Union (Bettie, 2014). Kellermann analyzed data in the period between 1947 and 1953, calculating that approximately 10,000 "German leaders, trainees, university students and teenagers" participated in the educational exchange with the U.S.: by 1955, he concluded, "25% of the Bundestag and 17% of the Bundesrat were former exchange participants" (Kellermann, 1978, p. 261, p.243).

For the Soviet Union, the aim of attracting of international students was a geopolitical step in demonstrating the victory of the socialist regime over Western capitalism. In the beginning, the whole Soviet project was based around the idea of a global socialist revolution and Communist internationalism. After the Second World War, in the context of decolonization and formation of a new international duo-polar order, the Soviet Union actively interacted with developing countries, supporting many socialist regimes in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and countries of the Eastern European block. Following this logic, the Soviet policymakers signed international agreements with socialistic-oriented states and introduced special quotas for foreign students in the Soviet universities.

In 1960, the Soviet government founded the Peoples' Friendship University (PFU), which fully concentrated on integration with an international community of students and had a broad spectrum of taught disciplines. In 1975, the PFU had more than 5,600 graduates; among these were 4,250 students from 89 foreign countries (The Peoples' Friendship University, 2019). However, if we estimate foreign student enrollment in institutions of

higher education in the United States and the USSR, from 1975 up to 1990, we can see that the international student population in the United States was in three times larger than that of the Soviet Union by the end of 1989. At the same time, most students in American and Soviet universities were mainly from Asian regions (The U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991).

The seemingly wide gap in the numbers of foreign students between these two powers is explained by the strategy which each country had chosen. The Soviet Union was oriented mostly on undeveloped ex-colonial countries which recently gained independence from the West, and upon countries which were sympathetic to the socialist regime. It required colossal long-term investments into the regional development of these new allied nations, especially in the social-economic sector. Selected quotas on international students in the Soviet universities were limited; however, this allowed the Soviet Union to prepare cadres for its comrade countries. Indeed, the U.S. was focused mainly on alliances with English speaking mostly in the western world, and Japan.

After the fall of the Iron Curtain there was a rearrangement of power in the world. Higher education became generally less politicized, but education remained a tool of soft power for many nations. China, as a new emerging power, provided scholarship for international students, but also offered well-paid fellowships for junior and senior researchers from countries where China had potential economic and political interests. During my visit to Shanghai, in May 2019, I had a private conversation in which it was reported to me that "China is very generous in terms of providing funding for foreigners", but that "China wants to receive information in return, even if it is sensitive information, which can be addressed only behind closed doors" (Likhovtseva, personal conversation with a member of delegation to the Shanghai Forum, May, 2019).

2.8 Internationalization as a policy tool

By the end of the 20th Century, internationalization was being used as a policy tool fby many countries. Altbach refers to internationalization as "specific policies and programs undertaken by governments, academic systems and institutions, and even individual departments to support students or faculty exchanges, encourage collaborative research overseas, set up joint teaching programs in other countries, or a myriad of initiatives" (Altbach, 2008, p. 123). This definition is very broad, but reflects a key message, that internationalization is used as a policy tool by different actors ("government, academic systems and institutions") who are involved in the work of universities (Altbach, 2008, p. 123).

Firstly, the incorporation of internationalization strategy in policy links with an *enormous economic growth* of developing countries, such as the Asian Tigers, together with India, China, and Latin America. The available data shows that, during the period of 1950- 2000, world GDP per capita rose by 185% (Findlay & O'Rourke, 2007). This economic growth contributes to rapid escalation of living standards and opens perspectives for developing countries of rethinking their investments in both physical and human capital, educational institutions, "research and developments, and technological progress" (Findlay & O'Rourke, 2007, p.520, Goldin, 2016). If we look at the agenda of the main international institutions, it becomes clear that the trademark of the 1990s was a striving for economic prosperity.

Another reason for the incorporation of internationalization into the policy package is the economic return from investments in human capital. Among emerging economic powers, China was the first to realizing the potential high rate of returns from human capital. A number of international programs oriented on enhancing the level of human development were established. Beginning with the 'open-door' policy of 1978, when Chinese students

and scholars were sent to Western and Japanese universities to gain experience in areas where the country had a lack of knowledge, further actions continued with the creation of the Project 211 in the 1990s (Hayhoe, cited in Jokila, 2015). The core sense of the Project 211 was based on connectivity between Chinese educational practices and the mainstream international trends in research. This political decision was taken to improve the capacity of regional manpower and involved 100 of the best regional universities to participate in the creation of the development knowledge economy in China.

Thirdly, the robust boom of internationalization at a policy level links with *globalization,* especially with it's aspect of free-trade agreements (De Wit, 2017, Altbach, 2008, Knight, 2012, Scott, 1995). Traditional trade patterns which prevailed over the years between rich and poor countries were demolished during the 1990s. This gave additional opportunities for investments in capital goods and technologies. International institutions, such as EPU, EEC, and GATT gave incentives for the opening of new markets, an increase of share of manufacturing output, but also for a wide international participation in higher education institutions and people's mobility (Findlay & O'Rourke, 2007, p. 525). In 2004, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) highlighted the "four modes of commercial supply of services" in cross-border higher education: (1) program (distance education and commercial franchising), (2) people (study abroad), (3) institution (branch campuses, satellite universities and etc.) and (4) academic mobility (professors, researchers working abroad) (OECD, 2004, p. 35). Such a commercially-oriented, borderless and transparent system would allow educational institutions to freely participate in the educational market and maximize international student flows.

The fourth reason, and also the most influential at the level of policy discourse, is linked with the *invention of global university rankings.* There are international private agencies which measure the capacity of universities, based on certain indicators which define the best universities in the world. These agencies included the Shanghai Jiao Tong University

(Shanghai ranking), The Times Higher World University Ranking (THE) and the QS, or Quacquarelli Symonds Limited. One of the indicators which divided a good, from a not so good university, is internationalization. Methodologically, the Times Higher World University Ranking and the QS are constructed in this particular way; to measure the internationalization domain of a university. Both of rankings concentrate on the impact of internationalization upon a university's development, namely: 1) "the ability of a university to attract undergraduates, postgraduates and faculty from all over the planet", 2) "the proportion of international students and staff" 3) "the numbers of exchange students arriving and departing" and 4) "the number of nationalities represented in the student body, the number and strength of international partnerships with other universities and the presence of religious facilities" (QS, 2019, n.p, THE, 2016, n.p). These ranking criteria indicate that those universities, whose internationalization index is low, reflect the overall position of a university in a ranking system. This methodological approach of global rankings has become a highly influential mechanism in the creation of a so-called international university environment for both the well-known and peripheral universities. Therefore, to succeed in international ranking competitions, nation-states and universities incorporate internationalization as a policy strategy to enhance their indicators in global university rankings.

Before we continue our discussion on the other trends, specifically massification and commercialization, it is important to acknowledge that general conclusions summarizing the key points of the trend of commercialization will be provided at the end of Chapter 3.

3 Massification and commercialization of higher education

3.1 Trend № 2: Massification

Chapter 3 continues the analysis of the three global educational trends which form the framework for the discussion of higher education policies in the BRICS countries**.** The first part of the chapter is devoted to an analysis of massification, which became a global phenomenon during the 1990s. I begin with a short introduction of the historical narrative, required for an understanding of the consequences of events which led to contemporary forms of massification. After this, I shall discuss the definition and historical origins of massification and the main factors shaping this trend. The second part of this chapter is devoted to another global educational trend – commercialisation. These sections will also analyse notions of commercialisation, along with its historical roots and the factors which shaped this trend.

By the end of this chapter, the thematic framework based upon the three key trends, plus globalisation, will have been constructed. This framework shall be the foundation for the thematic policy analysis of the BRICS nations presented in Part II and III of this thesis.

3.1.1 Definition of Massification and its historical roots

Within the existing scholarship, there is a scholarly consensus on massification and its definition (Scott, 1995, Akalu, 2016, Douglass, 2005). In order to show this consensus, the most important definitions of massification will be examined. Scott sees massification as a trend of higher education connected with the rapid expansion of student enrollment at universities, which occurred at the end of the 20th century (Scott, 1995). Akalu also connects massification with actual growth in student enrollments (Akalu, 2016). Douglass also refers to massification as an increase in participation in higher education (Douglass, 2005). Therefore, based upon these definitions, and other studied materials, it could be concluded that these understandings of massification are similar, and generally connect with an increase of student numbers in universities over a certain period of time.

However, the reasons for this expansion are different. I shall introduce and discuss them in order to construct a thematical framework for further policy analysis:

(1) Massification occurring due to change in the structure of the labor force

(2) Massification is caused by economic growth. Under this influence, two major factors connected with economic growth will be considered, namely technological changes and investment of national governments in human capital development. With the emergence of new forms of economic activity, rise of non-agricultural sectors and service-producing industries, there was a demand for new types of skilled labor force. Therefore, universities would become significant economic and political forces for human capital production (Bricall, 2011).

(3) Massification is caused by an increase in influence of information and communication technologies: the agenda of lifelong learning

(4) Massification connects with the democratization and development of human rights (Barcan, 2013; Schofer & Meyer, 2005).

In order to continue further analysis of massification, I will trace changes which occurred in universities over recent decades and show what influenced the participation of students in higher education in general and will highlight historical evidence for what caused this shift in university participation. As discussed in Chapter 2, the origin of the European university is associated with urban development, international trade and, additionally, the impact of the Crusades (Cobban, 1990). The growing Medieval cities became the heart of university life: universities "grew as a natural expression of spiritual, intellectual and social energies" (Powicke, 1967, p.157). Universities would be granted special privileges from the Church and local authorities, such as the unique rights or protections of masters and scholars, license for freedom of teaching, exemption from military service, and other liberties (Norton, 1909). These steps, which were accomplished through the alignment of "political, religious and dynastic interests", would be aimed at increasing the population of students in European universities (Wieruszowski, 1966, p. 177, Norton, 1909).

Due to the common European tradition which existed in the medieval period, such as the universality of the Latin language, the similarity of texts, teaching methods and degrees, the "European universities had no national, social, intellectual or linguistic requirements for admission" (Schwinges, 1992, p.171; Peset, 2011). However, once admitted to their university, students would be subscribed to a well-structured hierarchical organization. A student's place within a university was based predominantly on his position of birth and land or property ownership, as well as the social status of his family within society (Schwinges, 1992).

The period of the Renaissance, with all its social and political changes, was directly linked with the transformation of the European education system. These transformations were drawn from the Reformation and the Scientific Revolution of the sixteenth century, which contributed to a rethinking of economic and social life. Firstly, a radical shift was made in the perception of man and his role in a society. Henry points out that the average Roman

Catholic was not allowed to read or interpret the Bible on their own (Henry, 2002). Henry continues that, in sharp contrast to this Catholic tradition, Luther encouraged Protestants to study the Bible for themselves and rediscover the truth of the Holy Book (Henry, 2002). According to Marshall, access to the Protestant vernacular bible was a fundamental reason for the improvement of literacy among common people, and, consequently, the growth of a well-read and informed public (Marshall, 2009). Thus, the Reformation brought about radically different attitudes towards the world, to nature and the place of man in society.

During the 16th Century, new universities were founded. The first 'boom' in university establishments began in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire — Tubingen, Basel, Frankfurt an der Oder and Leipzig, had, by the seventeenth century, sprung up all over Europe (Peset, 2011). As I pointed out in Chapter 2, the formation of centralized absolutist states in Europe, such as the kingdoms of Britain, France, and Spain, brought new patterns and structures into the university environment. For many absolutist states, a university became an "ideological weapon" to foster a state bureaucracy (Di Simone, 1996, p. 298). Under the new rules, higher education institutions became a more closed and elite social institution, which aimed to prepare aristocrats for their future careers.

Over the course of the 18th and19th Centuries, the process of rapid university expansion in Europe commenced, and the percentage of students who proceeded to institutions of higher learning grew steadily. According to Parsons and Platt, this growth was associated with the realization that the advantages from education for both the individual and the whole of society were greater (Parsons & Platt, 1973). After the nineteenth century, the secondary education system became institutionalized. Mass elementary and secondary education rapidly developed in the U.S. and would significantly contribute to student university enrollment in American universities at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A range of momentous occurrences, such as the Industrial Revolution, the two world wars, the socialist revolutions in China and Russia, the democratization of the West and the military build-up of the Cold War, had an impact upon massification. Countries all over the world began to invest in universities to enhance human intellectual development, improve economic capacity, increase national military strength, and enhance the level of competitiveness and cooperation between nation states.

3.1.2 University models and the idea of 'policy borrowing'

Before moving on to a further analysis of educational trends and their influence upon the formation of WCU polices, I would like to discuss the models of university development which have become the cornerstone of change for the global higher education landscape. A discussion of these models, as well as their overall significance, is crucial not only for a comprehensive understanding of the formation of university trends, but also to enable the reader to conceptualization the model of the WCU itself. Four distinct models evolved on both sides of the Atlantic; in both Europe and North America, all of which continued to shape contemporary higher education: Napoleonic, Anglo-Saxon, Humboldtian and Anglo-American (Sam & Van der Sijde, 2014).

Napoleon Bonaparte personally and directly influenced the development of the university in revolutionary France. After 1815, French higher education would adopt the course of distinctive professionalization, with a strict presence of centralized administrative control from the government (Neave, 2003). For the first time in university education, distinctions were drawn between the faculties of letters (humanities) and the sciences (Rüegg, 2004). Schools and colleges similar to those of the Ecole Polytechnique became

training centers for engineers and officers of the artillery (Rüegg, 2004). Napoleon's new vector in regard to education policy placed a big emphasis on the ability to obtain professional skills rather than training in research or classical education in the medieval sense. Gellert summarizes that the Napoleonic model became the starting point for the development of professional training education, leading to specified knowledge and skills being increasingly required for employment, ultimately benefiting both society and economy (Gellert, 1993).

In opposition to the Napoleonic model was the Anglo-Saxon university, represented by the classic examples of Oxford and Cambridge. Rüegg adds that, somewhat in contrast to the universities of continental Europe, Anglo-Saxon universities preserved the structure of the European medieval universities (Rüegg, 2004). Sam & Van der Sijde emphasize that the Anglo-Saxon university became distinct by its nature of corporate and collegiate autonomy, where both self-governance and academic disciplines were regulated only by the general guideline-framework of the government (Sam & Van der Sijde, 2014). Anglo-Saxon university education had structures which were borrowed from reforms introduced by the Bologna process; one such structure was the 'two tiers' degree programme structure – undergraduate (Bachelors) and postgraduate (Masters and Doctoral/PhD) (Sam & Van der Sijde, 2014). In a broader sense, 'character-building' would be the primarily goal of the Anglo-Saxon university, rather than the accumulation of critical skills and knowledge necessary for a concrete profession (Arthur et.al, 2007). Obviously, character-building could also be considered the formation of 'soft skills' and professionalism necessary for adaptivity in a changing environment or in challenging situations (Arthur et.al, 2007)

The Humboldtian university model emerged in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century as the result of complex socio-political changes in Prussia (Szczepanski, 1968).

The key principals of the Humboldtian university amalgamated two holistic components: learning through research and academic freedom (Elton, 2008). Humboldt introduced new methods of learning, where the student operated in the mode of discovery – learning through research, which was an innovation when compared to learning according to a set-type curriculum (Elton, 2008). Science and knowledge became key to the development of German society, especially for the large-scale industrial and economic development of the nineteenth century. Academic freedom was connected with freedom in teaching and research without interference from the government (but with the assistance of government funding) (Elton, 2008). The Humboldtian university model has become the best-known model for what is now known as the 'research university'.

Finally, in literature there are several interpretations of how the formation of the Anglo-American university model occurred. Carlsson claims that the Humboldt University in Berlin became the prototype for the Anglo-American university, while Turner argues that American universities "were unique creations which combined elements from the British, German and other European university systems with local inventions" (Carlsson et.al, 2009, Turner, 2001 as cited in Ash, 2006, p. 249, Gallacher, 2011). American universities evolved as a result of three patterns, or trends, which are also reflected in the idea of the contemporary WCU. These patterns were (a) decentralisation, which contributed towards the foundation of a significant proportion of privately funded universities like MIT, (b) academic research oriented around practical results and (c) a diversification of academic programmes, which allowed for an increased number of students flowing into institutions of higher education. These features were linked, and together they portray a distinctive picture of American-type university.

Decentralisation, and limited funding from the government, allowed research institutions and universities to participate in the first commercialisation activities, including patents, licensing, and R&D cooperation with private sector (Carlsson et.al, 2009). Moreover, the

diversification of educational programmes increased student enrollment into institutions of higher education, from community colleges to universities, which, in turn, allowed for the 'production' of skilled human capital required for the economy (Graham & Diamond, 1997). Within contemporary policymaking, the 'hybrid' model of the Anglo-American university would become the leading model for the national educational systems of many countries. Those pillars of American higher education were transferred, not only on local policy-levels, but were introduced by transnational organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD.

Thus, the model of the Anglo-American university gained popularity outside the United States, and many nations followed this model closely in the development of their systems of higher education. However, it is far too speculative to suggest that international higher education became 'Americanized'. Therefore, throughout this thesis I use the terminology 'Western university', because even American higher education had combined features of European universities at first. Similarly, modern WCU policies result from westernization in global higher education, but not necessarily Americanization. The model of the new university of the 21st Century, the World Class University, has features of all university models, including prominent features such as democratic university government, freedom of research, diversification of academic disciplines and a strong science-oriented strategic vision. A detailed analysis of these features is provided later in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.

Finally, I would like to point out that transnational organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD have framed certain socio-economic directions for global development, including the development of a specific model of global higher education. The question of establishing WCUs was addressed by the World Bank through a series of academic publications and reports. The OECD have placed a massive emphasis on the role of higher education in the formation of the knowledge economy, helping to overcome poverty and

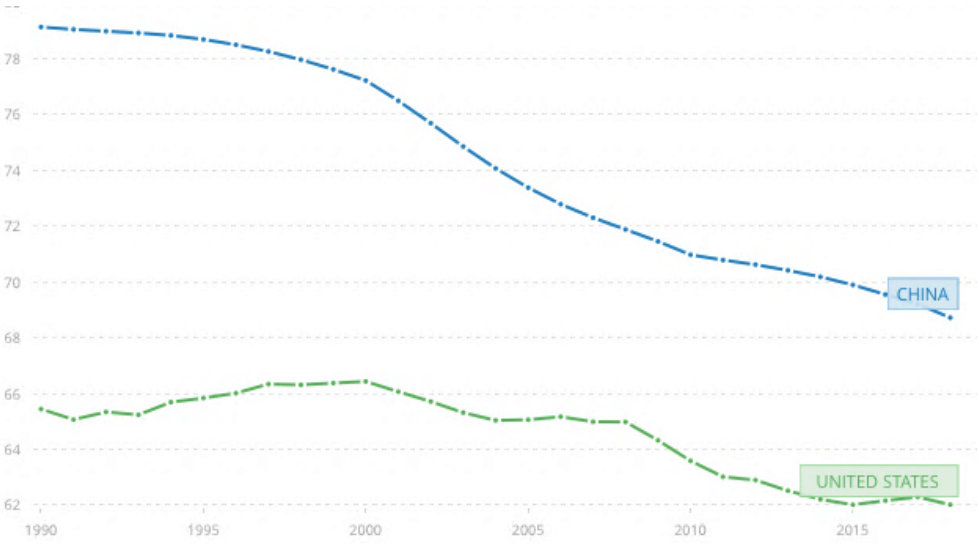
strengthening the economic position of poorer nations. However, despite acknowledging the importance of world class higher education, both the World Bank and OECD criticize the national governments of developing countries for 'borrowing' world-class university strategies from developed nations. The World Bank analysis of WCU strategies concludes that "not every country needs a world class university" unless they have first established comprehensive systems of tertiary education (The World Bank, 2011). However, many developing nations, including BRICS, are still criticized and pressurised by these same transnational organisations for not maintaining better standards in their higher education systems (Okuda, 2019). Thus, in the context of higher education development, 'policy borrowing' means the adaptation of successful examples or models from elsewhere in the world to achieve policy goals (Phillips & Ochs, 2003). For BRICS nations, such goals would become the creation of World Class Universities through the implementation of policy practices reflected by global trends. The successful cases have utilized all means to incorporate the policy vectors of leading western universities which appear in the top-ten of the global university rankings. Therefore, aside from the wider global agenda, international university rankings steer the power of competitiveness between universities of the West and the developing world. The details of this phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

3.1.3 Massification occurring due to changes in the structure of the labor force

Improvements in medical technologies, wider access to health care and a decline of warfare led to a reduction of infant mortality on the one hand, and an extension of life expectancy on the other. All these factors led to a demographic explosion, which was important for an increase of labor participation in work, including an increase of women

in economic activities (McNamara & Blight, 2003). In the United States, the labour force grew sharply from 62 million in 1959 to 149 million in 2005 (Lee & Mather, 2008). China accumulated one of the largest labour force capabilities in the world, with the highest participation of workers in their economy – 68% of the population, from the age of 15 (Fig.5). According to OECD, the female labour force in the job market grew from 54% in 1980 to 71% in 2010 (Thévenon, 2013).

Figure 5. Labor force participation rate 1998 -2019, total (% of total population ages 15+). Source: International Labor Organization, 2019



An increase in the female share of the labour force connects with the development of service industries, and the expansion of public sector and white-collar jobs (Pissarides et al, 2005). Traditionally, female labour was considered as a labour of home-based production rather than a market-based labour force (Jaumotte, 2003). However, with an alternation of the mode of production from agricultural employment to manufacturing and knowledge production, along with an expansion of managerial and professional jobs, the labour market soon required skills provided through higher education. This led to a significant decline in low-skilled jobs which necessitated little or no education. Such changes brought a new economic demand for a new

brand of qualified workers, which, in turn, increased interest in higher learning among women, increased female employability and allowed women to enter the labour market. Over the past 40 years, the number of women attending university increased in regions where women were traditionally excluded from education: 35% to 56% in Latin America and the Caribbean, 31% to 33% in South and West Asia, 22% to 46% in Sub-Saharan Africa (Parvazian et.al, 2017).

On the other hand, education, particularly higher education, became the core of modernity and change (Pissarides et al, 2005). Women became massively involved in economic activities, due to change of the production system, which at the same time, influence on changes in the value system. It had an impact on traditional family structures: the divorce rate increased, as well as cohabitation outside marriage, while the fertility rate continued its downward trajectory (Gilbert, 2008). New and more progressive ways of living, imposed by the values of modernisation, would become associated with "independence from traditional authority", "willingness to plan and calculate future exigencies" and "openness to new ideas", which then influenced societal views on education (Benavot, 1989, p.16). Entry to higher education also became a significant symbol of modernity for women, and an expression of new norms in individual beliefs and values. The new values informed the education policies which promoted female education and reduced social barriers in order to further reduce the gap between male and female participation in schooling. Moreover, changes in the value system were supported by numerous studies demonstrating the positive influence of the economy on participation in higher education. Knowles notes that gender inequality in education reduced the availability of skilled human capital, with a consequent negative influence upon general economic growth (Knowles, et. al, 2002). Therefore, in order to promote and establish stable participation in higher education, especially in developing and poorly developed countries, a series of policies were created, including measures such as building schools in rural areas, the distribution of material cash transfers and the construction of women's universities in Arab countries (Heath & Jayachandran, 2017).

3.1.4 Massification intensified by an idea of economic growth

In order to develop the thematical concept of his thesis we need to discuss several perspectives which connect economic growth with massification in higher education.

(1) One of the main components of economic growth are *technological changes* (Patrinos, 1994). It is considered that industrialization has induced structural changes in the production mode. According to Kuznets, a shift of production from agrarian to non-agricultural sectors broke the ties of traditional economic activity based on the attachment to small-scale personal or family-unit work (Kuznets, 1979). The growth of various enterprises opened a flow of new professions, which had never been in demand before. An acceleration of automobile and aircraft production occurred after the First World War, followed by the development of the electronic, computer and space industries (Kuznets, 1979). Ultimately, the demand for labour in these new industries required new skills and qualifications (Kuznets, 1979). This shift from manual to knowledge professions is also explained by Romer, whose ideas were discussed in the context of the knowledge economy and its influence upon global trends (Romer, 1994). Arguably, the interest in higher education became stronger, not only as a government agenda to facilitate growth, but also from individuals themselves who wished to participate in the new developing knowledge-dominated economy. Kuznets concludes that education has become a "basis for judging the equipment of […] participants" and their ability to participate in "economic activity associated with modern economic growth" (Kuznets, 1979, p.124).

Proponents of New Growth Theory ("endogenous growth") claim that the rate of return from investments in education in general, and higher education in particular, increase the long-term prospects of economic growth (Balducci, 2009). If, previously, economists had focused on

the function of capital stock, namely the direct accumulation of physical capital and technology as key components of long-term growth (the Solow Model or exogenous growth), the New Growth Theory saw continuous innovations, knowledge development and effective human capital as a basic formula for prospective long-term economic growth (Lendel, Allen & Feldman, 2009).

(2) The second component of economic growth correlates with *investments in human capital*. In the contemporary world, economic development reflects a sustainability paradigm, which is based on the capacity of a population to contribute to economic growth without damaging the local environment (Liu el.al, 2017). In Chapter 2, I introduced an idea of human capital as part of a knowledge economy agenda. However, in this section, I would like to demonstrate a closer correlation between the theory of endogenous growth and the policy of strengthening investment in human capital. Schumpeter argues that the innovation and technology sectors support regional economic development and maintain economic growth at a sustainable level (Schumpeter, 1939). However, in order to equally distribute innovation production within a country, investments in human capital must also be proportionally distributed. In this context, higher education has the function to provide people with training and resources to increase the pool of local talent capable of producing innovations.

The example can be taken from a developed country such as South Korea, where, in 2017, the enrollment rate in universities averaged 67%, and the innovation index was 57% (The Global Economy, n.d, Statista, 2019, the World Bank, n.d). In South Korea, investments in higher education encourage faster economic growth due to an increase of ideas, which contributes to innovation development from an educated population (Lindahl & Canton, 2007). South Korea, with the reinforcement of natural science and engineering majors, proved its reputation as a world-leader in the production and exportation of electronic and automobile products (Perez, 2010, Kwack & Lee, 2006). In comparison to South Korea, there is Cambodia, which is among the least developed nations, and by 2017 had an enrollment rate of 13%, and an

innovation capacity of 27%, accordingly (The Global Economy, n.d, Statista, 2019, The World Bank, n.d). Countries with a lower capacity for innovation are linked with little tertiary education enrolment. This phenomenon is clearly observable in Vietnam, Cambodia and the Philippines. Writing during the 1990s, Benhabib and Spigel argued that the lack of well-educated working populations in these countries indicated that they did not have sufficient potential to create or accumulate innovations (Benhabib & Spigel, 1994).

In understanding the crucial role of human capital for a local economy, especially for a contemporary knowledge economy, national governments began constructing policies which aimed to contribute to an increase of student enrollment at universities. Psacharopoulos concludes that the rate of return from investments in education was higher than investments into physical capital (Psacharopoulos, 1985). Balci analyzed innovation-based production in Turkey and found out that analytical learning and research contributes to innovation activities (Balci, 2019). Learning environments create the ecosystem required for innovation where key ingredients of innovation, such as human capital, a market demand for research products and government funding opportunities, are all united under the same roof. One of the most prominent examples of this unity can be observed from the enormous economic leap taken by the group of small Asian countries known as the 'Asian Tigers' (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong-Kong). According to Becker, a lack of natural resources and the postcolonial experience of past dependency, forced these countries to build new economic systems based on well-educated and productive labour forces (Becker, 1993) (Tab.2) Oriented on Confucian values in education, with a dominant position of "nation-state policy drivers" and "close supervision and control", national governments began investing in various types of educational activities and participation in these activities (Marginson, 2011, p.594).

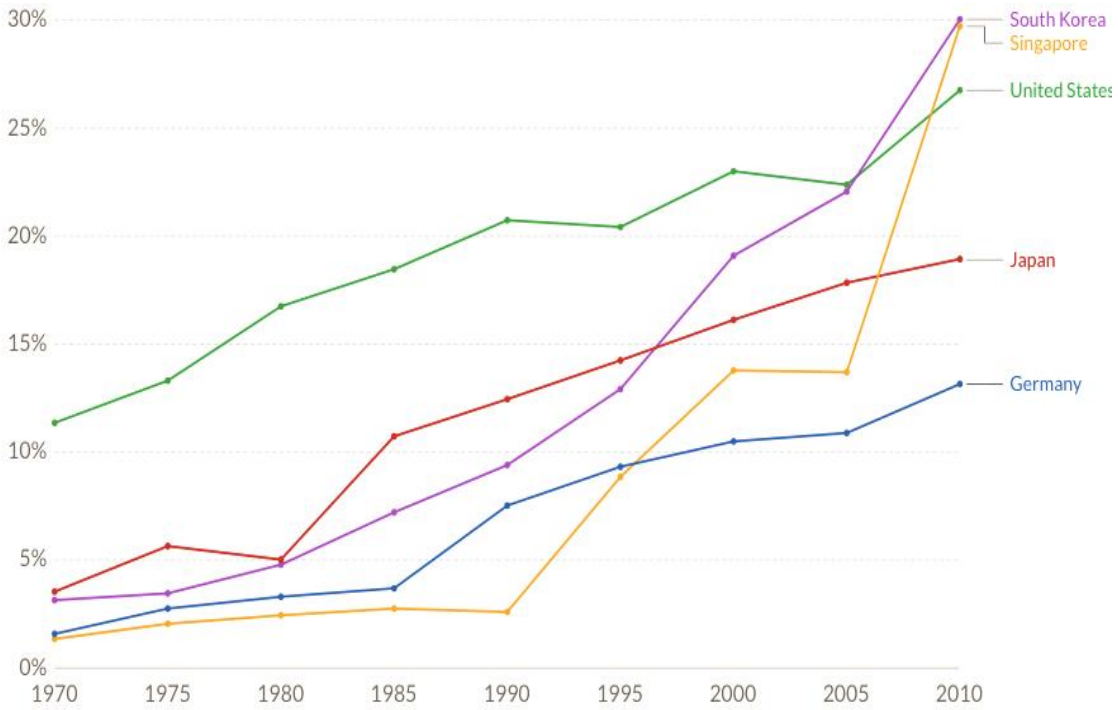
Thus, throughout the last 40 years, the level of enrollment in the institutions of tertiary education in Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea was significantly higher even in comparison with leading western countries, such as Germany or the U.S. Huff points out that

with the extension of education and tertiary education, Singapore changed from a backward country to the center of the technological industries, and the most prominent oil hub of the entire South East Asia region (Huff, 1999, Perez, 2010) (Fig.6).

Table 2. The Global Competitiveness Report 2015–2016. Source: The Global Competitiveness Report 2015–2016, 2015

Country	Rank in the world (Rank/140)	
	Capacity for Innovation	Tertiary education enrolment (gross %)
Cambodia	113	101
Singapore	19	9
South Korea	24	2
Vietnam	81	87

Figure 6. Share of the population with completed tertiary education, 1970-2010. Source: The World Bank.



In the context of human capital development, purpose of education is to distribute knowledge, create ideas and create an environment where a person is not only a knowledge carrier, but also a knowledge creator, a new driving force of science and technical progress, research development, as well as innovation activities (Audretsch, 2007). Thus, an increase of participation in higher education became a key component of national human capital development, and for the long-term economic development of growing economies.

3.1.5. Massification influenced by the agenda of lifelong learning

The agenda of lifelong learning connects and, in many ways, continues the theme devoted to investments in human capital development. The concept behind lifelong learning (or lifelong education) became known during the 1970s as an emphasis on the process of learning over the course of a person's life (OECD, 2001). In the context of higher education, a vision of lifelong learning was built on learning opportunities which helped learners to continue their education at different stages of their life, and development of the learning culture of members of the whole society (Walters, 2006). In 1972, the Faure Report stated that lifelong learning is a necessary component in the reality of an interconnected intentional community to build sustainable democracy and fulfill the life of the human being (Faure et.al, 1972). Already in the 1970s and 1980s, the goal of established lifelong learning was reflected in the many educational policies and included many economic benefits from lifelong learning. Jarvis points out that lifelong learning policies were a reaction to strong influences of globalization and economic shifts towards a knowledge intensive direction, which required a higher demand from an educated workforce (Jarvis, 2007).

Since 1995, the European Union created policies which emphasized the effective rate of return from the lifelong learning process (Jarvis, 2007). The EU Commission paid particular attention to an employability aspect which is important in the context of strengthening European competitiveness in the global market. Universities, at this point, took the position of key players in a proclaimed political and economic agenda. For instance, the British government asserts that "higher education must expand to meet rising skills needs" (Department for Education and Skills, 2003, p. 4). The Chinese government also implements lifelong learning to meet economic objectives, such as economic welfare and growth. The task of education, in this case, is to provide a diverse audience with the necessary skills which can be applicable to a constantly changing market environment (Dahlman, Zeng & Wang, 2007).

From the perspective of massification, the lifelong learning concept represents a much greater involvement of mature students (who enter university over the age of 23) in higher education. This enhanced enrollment affects postgraduate studies, which aim to enhance professional skills and broaden the knowledge of students. Over the last number of years, there has been a sharp and systematic rise in numbers of learners attending postgraduate programs. In Ireland, the number of participants in postgraduate education increased from 5,339 in 2004/2005 to 20,955 by 2012/2013 (HEA, 2005, 2013). In the EU, in general, the percentage involved in formal or informal training increased by 5% during the 2007-2011 period (Eurostat, 2015).

A supplement to a lifelong learning educational idea was online courses, which started rapidly developing in late 2000s. Online learning is a mechanism which allows any individual to receive a university qualification or a course certificate by studying online. Theoretically, such a method provides broad educational opportunities to people who have experienced lack of financial resources, or time (especially for working students) to receive a university degree. Currently, the most popular online learning platforms, Coursera and Edx, have offered more than 1,500 courses from universities all over the world, and have enrolled nearly 25 million learners. However, there are interesting patterns that occur, in spite of the mass character and

popularity of MOOCs. Firstly, the majority of MOOC takers are college graduates. According to Glass, four out of five MOOC students in the U.S. are college graduates and in BRICS countries, four out of five students already have a college degree (Glass et.al, 2016). Secondly, Glass et.al studied the geolocation of IP addresses of American users of the educational platform Harvardx and found that learners from wealthier neighborhoods were a more dominant group among MOOC users (Glass et.al, 2016).

Thirdly, the population of students from developing countries represents only one-third of the total students of MOOC: "less than 4 percent of students enrolled in Coursera courses reside in Africa and a mere 15 percent of students enrolled in MITx and HarvardX courses live in BRICS nations" (Glass et.al 2016, p.44). However, based on discussed patterns, it can be concluded that the majority of learners taking MOOC lessons, even learners from developing nations like BRICS, are people who are already involved or had been involved in the process of studying at university. Therefore, MOOCs are oriented around members of the public who are motivated to continue their life learning experience. Mostly, these are currently enrolled students willing to broaden their horizons on particular subjects, or professionals who are motivated to expand their employment skills and increase their level of competitiveness (Milligan & Littlejohn, 2017). In theory, MOOCs make university courses available for every person in the world who has access to the Internet. However, this mass interest in online learning came from people, in countries which promote the concept of lifelong learning in their national educational strategies.

3.1.6 Massification caused by democratization of institutions, including institutions of higher education

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall there has been a major transition from autocratic to democratic regimes, which also involved changes in higher education sectors (Wells, 2008). By 2000

"more than 100 developing and transition countries ended military or one-party rule" (UNDP, 2001, p.10). Well points out that the transition to democracy improved countries' "social, economic/or political conditions" (Wells, 2008, p.106). The democratization of educational sectors, in the first instance, connects with opportunities that were granted to underrepresented groups to equally receive access to education, in general, and higher education in particular.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed that "every person has the right to education" and that "higher education shall be accessible to all, on the basis of merit" (UN General Assembly, 1948). Trow concludes that "the watershed between the old university and the new was 1968"; namely since the revolutionary transformation of universities, from the elite and closed university system of the past, to an 'open university system' which opened to all classes of people for whom higher education had once been a distant dream for many generations (Trow, 1979, p.183). In the previous section of this chapter, I already discussed patterns dedicated to the access to university of women and the idea of lifelong learning, which allowed a mature population to come back to higher education. However, it is important to discuss communities which previously were excluded from university education, including minorities and people with disabilities.

Tapper and Palfreyman point out that, even in countries such as the Unites States and Australia, where universities establish their own regulations in terms of tuition fees, and the general rules of student admission, the state has control regarding equal access to educational resources, which has to be assessable to disadvantaged members of a community (Tapper & Palfreyman, 2005). In countries of BRICS, especially in South Africa and Brazil, where participation rate and excess to higher education was limited, national governments started to create programmes which enhanced the possibilities to reduce inequalities in access to higher education. For instance, in Brazil, the government introduced scholarship programs for disadvantaged communities, as well broadening the possibility for private providers to enter

the higher education market. Due to these measures, between 2001 and 2011, the percentage of students studying in institutions of higher education increased by 90% (Pini, 2015).

In 2015, South Africa had one of the highest inequality rates in the world (Gini coefficient of 0.63), which meant that a high percentage of the population was excluded from basic life chances, including the chance to get a higher education (The World Bank, 2019). The post-apartheid government of South Africa built its social policies to fight inequality and poverty issues, including racial and financial inequality in access to higher education. For example, one of the reforms aiming to reduce a gap in access to higher education was the introduction of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). The Aid Scheme aimed to provide an opportunity for poor students to receive a loan/bursary to study in universities in South Africa. All of these policies will be discussed individually and in greater detail in the chapters devoted to South Africa and Brazil.

Diversity and equality also became a new theme for European Universities, as a mark of educational inclusion. During the course of my PhD studies, I was involved in the project LUPSRUSS devoted to the integration of people with functional variations in urban life in Russian and Sweden. Part of this study was about participation of people with disabilities in local political life of Saint-Petersburg, Russia. However, during the interview period, we discussed various issues of urban planning, including access to higher education. Saint-Petersburg is a city with a vast historical urban infrastructure, which is why the main concern for people with functional variations was physical access to buildings and transportation. Most of the historical building where universities are located are not accessible. That is why, despite the existing programs aiming to help people with functional variations to adapt to the urban environment, such as “An Accessible Environment”, many people with disabilities still prefer to study at home through online courses, rather than physically attend universities, because the university environment is simply not accessible.

In Europe, the Bologna Declaration became a mechanism to promote equity and accessibility for excluded communities (Riddell, n.d). In general, the discourse on disability rights shifted in Europe from an "explicit care model" to the vision of "human rights perspectives" (Biewer et.al, 2015, p.279). The "European disability strategy 2011-2021" has created a framework which connects education, employment and poverty reduction for people with disabilities (European Commission, 2010). Since the early 2000s, universities in Europe established their own legislations and strategies to involve people with disabilities in higher education. For instance, under Austrian legislation, every university had to establish a disability service to support students; in Spain, there is a financial scheme for students with disabilities who want to continue their studies at third level (Biewer et.al, 2015).

Thus, democratization of institutions helped to increase the percentage of students who were traditionally were underrepresented in the student population, including minorities and people with disabilities. For instance, in Ireland in 2017, the number of students with disabilities grew from 3,800 in 2008 to more than 12,000 in 2017 (O'Brien, 2017). Obviously, democratization is having lesser impact on massification in comparison to other processes, such as changing structures of the labour force or competition of countries for economic growth, and transition to a knowledge economy model. However, on a larger scale the democratization of institutions indicated changes in the society which brought new streams of people into universities, which in total, became a part of the trend of massification. Later in this chapter, I provide a summary of this section, and connect massification with the other three trends, internationalization, commercialization and globalization, as a part of the conceptual framework of this thesis.

3.2 Trend №3: Commercialization. Introduction and definition of commercialization

The critical review of the literature reveals that commercialization is also one of the most influential trends and therefore is considered here as the third pillar of the framework to be used in this thesis. However, commercialization is more complex than the previous two trends, internationalization, and massification, and has several other alternative meanings (such as 'commodification' and 'marketization') which are similar, but not identical to the notion of commercialization. When I started my research, I paid attention to the fact that different scholars introduced different terms to describe actions connected with commerce, and in the broader sense - money making. Because a nation's commercialisation more often appears as the actual policy of governments, university strategies[1], and research papers, I shall use the term 'commercialization' to avoid any confusion in terminology.

Commercialization is a concept borrowed from business and commerce, which transferred to the activities of everyday life, and identified as "the process of transforming ideas, knowledge and inventions into greater wealth for individuals, businesses and/or society at large" (Australian Government, 2013, p. 37). The definition is derived from reports of the Australian Government, which, like many other governments incorporated commercialisation strategies to increase the 'wealth' of institutions of higher education. Bok notes that commercialization "refers to efforts within a university to make a profit from teaching, research, and other campus activities" (Bok, 2003, p.3). Bok's definition put forward an action connected with the actual profit generated from different sources: whether it is the introduction of tuition fees or the establishment of university shops selling products associated with a university. Harman and Harman provide a far more precise definition of commercialization, which states that commercialization is "the process of turning *scientific discoveries and inventions* into marketable products and services" (Harman &Harman, 2004, p. 154). Jolly provides a similar

[1] For instance, in Ireland, Maynooth University has a special commercialization office, which is responsible for the commercialization of university research, and its connection to wider enterprise.

understanding of commercialization and shows that commercialization is the activity of turning technological discoveries into market-competent products (Jolly, 1997). Both Harman and Harman, and Jolly, concentrate only on research activities of a university which lead to profit generation, leaving behind other possibilities of a university to increase its income. However, all these definitions have a common component which unites all of them, namely: profit-activity, orientation on market needs, and transformation of knowledge into products and services. In other words, the necessity to generate profit from multiple sources.

Following from the previous section, I will begin an investigation with historical observation of commercialization. Based on the literature review, I shall provide and analyze definitions of commercialization relevant to the higher education sector, and will examine the reasons why commercialization has taken place in modern universities and become hugely influential. By the end of this section, I will demonstrate the tangible application of commercialization in universities (such as cooperation with industries and entrepreneurism) and will provide the refined dimensions of a final framework policy analysis of the higher education sector in BRICS.

3.2.1 Commercialization in universities: a historical perspective

Medieval universities had very limited financial resources. However, similar to contemporary universities, they had several different types of income: "internal and external sources: matriculation and graduation fees, dispensations, salaries paid by the king, duke, or town, gifts and legacies, grants and endowments given for the permanent support of the university, collection of valuable objects and finally donations" (Gieysztor, 1992, p. 133, de Ridder-Symoens, 1996, p.185). With the establishment of actual university premises (right up to the 13th century, lectures, examinations and meetings were held in rented houses) universities began generating additional income from renting university properties (Gieysztor, 1992).

From the fourteenth century onwards, universities would become a very important part of intellectual and cultural life in European society. Municipal authorities, local rulers and ecclesiastical dignitaries started to provide more financial sponsorship, or established universities under their patronage. Before the Peace of Westphalia, and the final formation of European nation-states in the 17th Century, universities already were under a transition from self-funded to publicly funded institutions. However, this transition led to an important compromise where universities exchanged their independence for financial subsidies from local authorities (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996). For instance, the University of Copenhagen was reopened in 1536 as a Lutheran institution, whose foundation was based on several streams of income, including exemption from taxation, royal subsidies and royal scholarships for poor students (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996). In Asia, specifically in China up to the nineteenth century, centers of higher learning were specifically subsidized by the imperial government, to produce cadres for the imperial system of administration.

With the reformist's ideas of the Enlightenment, new patterns of financial distribution were incorporated into European universities. More centralized budgetary systems were introduced to control university expenditures to make these expenditures less scattered between private and public sources (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996, p.187). After the French Revolution there was the creation of new institutional agencies: national ministers of education, whose functions covered administration and control of universities. During this time universities became fully dependent on governmental provision and financial control of the state (Gerbod, 2004). For example, German universities availed of state funding of up to 80%, the universities of the Russian Empire accumulated up to 70% of their funding from state grants, and state funding covered 90% of university expenditure in two Swedish universities. In Britain, only a few universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, had sufficient endowments to maintain their independence from the government (Gerbod, 2004).

The Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe provoked more closer connections between universities and the industrial sector. In Germany, middle-level technical schools (gewerbeschulen) were opened to foster the economic development of the country; in Sweden, technical institutes were created in order to educate workers in technical specializations; in France, the first technical schools were considered to be a preparation for a generation of new specialists who understood the specifics of manufacturing and scientific practices (Guagnini, 2004). This process involved the promotion of technical education necessary to gain practical skills applicable in the work of growing industries.

The first attempts to transform scientific achievements into "commercially valuable solutions" began at the end of the nineteenth century (Guagnini, 2004, p.618). For instance, a number of scientific experiments conducted in laboratories led to a boom of electric industry and the improvement of the state of technologies (Guagnini, 2004). According to Shils, European governments established special grant committees to allocate funding for the most prominent spheres of research; this, in addition to funding from their ministries of education, enhanced dependency of universities on public provision (Shils, 1992). The dependency on public investments reflected the general trend of university synchronization with the national agenda on cultural and national building during the interwar period. All over Europe, material dependence of universities from the state led to a situation where a government could interfere in spheres, where previously, universities had freedom of choice, including the appointment of tenured professors, study regulations or curriculum preferences (Gerbod, 2004). After the Bolshevik Revolution, when universities became fully sponsored by the Soviet government, universities became a part of "government construction" in the economic and political course of the state (Josephson, 1992, p.591). Another ideologically-driven example of this came from Hitler's Germany, where universities were fully subdued to the regime of the new Nazi state (Gerbod, 2004).

In contrast to Europe, universities in the United States were mostly excluded from the public funding and had to rely on fees paid by students and philanthropy. Another major difference of the universities of the New World, was the emergency of a new type of university – the research university, which combined the features of the classical university models of Britain, France and Germany. The demand for research universities in America was provoked also by the industrial development. For instance, Kevles states that the combination of the scientific development of chemistry and steel influenced its general application in industries of steel, rubber, chemicals, drugs, and many other (Kevles, 1979). During this period of growth, there was a demand for professionally trained chemists and physicists, whose proportion in the US labour force increased by six times between 1900 and 1940 (Goldin & Katz, 1999). Between the period from 1900 to 1934, some 200 new universities were opened, 165 of which were private institutions (Goldin & Katz, 1999).

The role of private philanthropic foundations became important in providing grants for universities, to supply industries with new research (Shils, 1992). Philanthropy is one of the main unique institutions of US which subsidized higher education. Kiger points out that philanthropic foundations had seen as a goal to "share wealth in order help others" and "foster social progress" (Kiger, 2000, p.167, Zunz, 2011, p.15). For instance, Zunz says that Andrew Carnegie felt a moral obligation of giving back "to society that he had taken" (Zunz, 2011, p.15). Thus, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, gave funding to universities to foster medical research in America (Thelin, 2004, Shils, 1992).

The post-war recovery required massive re-investments in the economic and social sectors (Ruegg & Sadlak, 2011). Under these conditions, universities were faced with much greater intellectual, educational and financial challenges (Ruegg & Sadlak, 2011). Viewing higher education as an institutional tool for human capital development, state and local governments invested in universities, which led to an expansion of the higher education sector. Moreover, the Cold War competition in military development between the Eastern and Western blocs

closely linked scientific discoveries with the industrial sector. From the 1950s onwards, the best and the most prestigious American universities started receiving a large portion of, not only private, but Federal grants for research in various sectors of science (Thelin, 2004).

New events in American higher education, touched the global system of higher education in general. For instance, in Western Europe private companies increased their R&D (research and development) interests, and gradually became involved in the work of university laboratories (Watson, 2011). After the incorporation of the Bayh-Dole Act into American public policy, universities became free to preserve their own rights on innovations, which led to the wider cooperation between industries and academic science (look at Chapter 2, section on knowledge economy).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the majority of universities of the Soviet republics experienced a number of problems, including a lack of financial resources coming to the universities. Universities of the post-Soviet space were forced to adapt to the new global economic environment and create strategies to find additional sources of income. The post-Soviet era is characterized as a new stage in global order, coordinated by pre-established economic and political forces: the position of neoliberal discourse in policy and the knowledge based economic direction was significantly enhanced. By the end of the 1990s, the influence of globalization on higher education became stronger. An openness in the global education market created a high level of competitiveness between universities and forced universities to implement market-based mechanisms in their strategies of development to win the war for financial resources, which came from both: public and private sectors. A continuous change in the social, political and economic discourse led to the gradual spread of higher education, and the growth of university bodies. Based on these conclusions, the necessity for a greater allocation of financial resources to universities has expanded. Nowadays, income generation of universities is associated with the model of a business corporation.› Universities generate profit from research, teaching, and different services. In this case, commercialization, as a

word from a business environment, has become associated with the financial activity of income generation of contemporary universities.

3.2.2. Reasons for the rise of commercialization

There are several reasons which led to the contemporary form of commercialization. I will introduce and discuss them in order to provide a richer and more nuanced understanding of this key framework concept that will be used later in the policy analysis that is at the core of this thesis.

a) Reduction in public funding

The data provided by the OECD shows that "between 2005 and 2013, the average share of public funding [among OECD countries] for tertiary institutions remained stable at around 71%", which means that only 30% of university income originates from private sources, such as tuition fees, university - business partnerships, etc. (OECD, 2016, p.211). However, in spite of the large proportion of public investments, government shares gradually began to shrink due to the budget reduction in funds allocated for higher education. According to the OECD, "on average among the 18 OECD countries for which trend data are available, the share of public funding in tertiary institutions decreased slightly from 79% in 1995 to 77% in 2000 and to 73% in 2005" when "the proportion of expenditure on tertiary institutions covered by individuals, businesses and other private sources, including subsidized private payments, ranges from less than 10% in Austria, Denmark, Iceland and Norway, to more than 60% in Chile, Japan, Korea and the United States" (OECD, 2008, p. 243; OECD 2016, p. 213). Such huge gaps in the private income of higher education institutions among OECD countries is explained by the presence of sustainable public funding within the higher education sector.

The inverse of this scenario is found in countries with a limited availability of public funding, where the proportion of private investment is higher.

b) Massification

There has been an increase of social and individual demand in institutions of higher education, which led to massification of higher education, the features of which were previously analyzed in detail. However, in the context of the discussion of commercialization, a small detail has to be added. Altbach, Reisberg, and Rumbley explain that wider participation in university education has been connected with an actual shift in attitudes towards higher education (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley, 2009). Previously, postsecondary education has been seen as a public good, serving to improve the development of a society (Altbach, Reisberg, and Rumbley, 2009). Public goods are defined as non-excludable and non-rivalry, and are capable of producing positive externalities for the whole of society (Tilak, 2008). Non-excludability means that goods become assessable to everyone who wishes to have them, and non-rivalry applies to goods which are consumed without any fear of supply depletion. Higher education, as a sector which produces 'knowledge', a product which is both non-excludable and non-rivalry, is traditionally defined as a public good. During the Soviet era, in particular, education was considered to be a public good because it was free, benefited the whole of society and did not have any overt commercial aspect. A similar view was adopted during the Maoist period in China (1948-1978) where the universities were founded and supported by the government, making higher education "a matter of common public interest and state intervention" (Tian & Liu, 2019, Marginson, 2018, p.328).

Nowadays, such attitudes have faded, conceding to a new era where higher education has become oriented around individual benefits, which is mostly seen as a private matter (Altbach, Reisberg, and Rumbley, 2009). This is why it can be asserted that "those who benefit the most from education – the individuals who receive it – should bear at least some of the costs"

(OECD, 2014, p. 236). In this context, there is a reverse effect, where universities do not have sufficient public resources to satisfy the excessive demands of higher education.

c) Epistemological shift - knowledge became a commodity

Under the pressure of neoliberal policymaking, higher education is "increasingly being located within the demand of economic productivity and its requirements for particular kinds of knowledge and skills" (Badat, 2004, p.36). Knowledge, in this sense, became a commercialized resource, which universities used for financial gain to sell it as a product to students, governments and the private sector. There are many discussions about different categories of knowledge. Drucker points out that, in contemporary studies on knowledge, "we have moved from knowledge to knowledges" (Drucker cited in Burke, 2012, p.7). However, traditionally knowledge was that which "deals with value judgments, ethical, cultural, aesthetic, and philosophical argument, and speculative science" (Gould 2003, p.102). The classical understanding of knowledge is rooted in ancient Greek philosophy, and this has continued through to modern times (Hesse, 2002).

The scientific revolution brought about a new perception of knowledge; since the mid-eighteenth century, there has been a school of thought that has found knowledge to be 'applicable' or "useful" to modern life. Burke shows that symbolic knowledge would become employed in many spheres of human activity: mathematics and physics is applied to the construction of aircraft, ships and vehicular transport, geographical knowledge, for instance, is utilized and deployed in warfare and the study of classical rhetoric has been found to be of practical use in the domains of law and politics (Burke, 2016). The symbolic nature of knowledge was constantly illuminated by the utilitarian context of social needs. However, one must remember that in the historic context of the origins of massive industrialization and the rise of the industrial economy, universities began changing their orientation; they contributed to industrial progress, military strength and social welfare, and required collaborative rather than individual effort.

Within the existing discourse on commercialization, one of the key precepts is the perception of knowledge as a commodity. The first move in this direction was made in the 1950s when the two major geopolitical spheres, the Soviet and Western blocs, would use (in their own particular way) university research to enhance technological progress. Later, with greater cooperation between universities and the private sector, knowledge received a status of a valuable commodity that could be turned into a form of capital and "captured through a monetary exchange relation" (Burke, 2016, Deflem, 2003, p.71).

Moreover, as they are now seen as places of knowledge production, universities revolve around "economic and practical values" to play a significant role in social development and knowledge-based economy functions (Powell & Snellman, 2004, Peters, 2003, Patrick, 2013, n.p). Gould notes that knowledge as a commodity can be practically used "for the world of work, professional training, policy development, inventions, and patents" (Gould, 2003, p.102). Additionally, it can also be observed in the agenda of policymakers that knowledge has to be applicable for society and economy. For instance, during an OECD council meeting in May 2014 Japanese Prime Minister Abe claimed that: "Rather than deepening academic research, that is highly theoretical, we will conduct more practical vocational education that better anticipates the needs of society" (The Japan Times, 2015, n.p). Thus, the commodification of knowledge is an inevitable process which forms part of a commercialization trend.

3.2.3. The two streams of university income and its relation to commercialization

As was discussed in section 3.2.2 of this chapter, commercialization is a trend of higher education under which universities form non-traditional (public) ways to sustain their income.

In the contemporary university, there are two major forms of university non-public income (Bok, 2003):

1) Fee-paying students

2) Private sector collaboration activities

(a) Fee-paying education as a part of commercializing

The case of leading American universities provides a useful illustration, where a constant growth in tuition fees can be observed over the last thirty years. During the period between 1980 and 2014, the amount of money paid by students for their degree doubled (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Russian universities, which were traditionally fee-free for their students during Soviet times, have significantly reduced subsidized positions, substituting them with fee-paying places. Moreover, a gradual rise in tuition fees has been observed over the last 15 years equally in private and state universities (Tab. 2)

Table 3. Average cost of study in public and private universities in Russia, 2000-2015 (selected years). Source: Karachieva, Jujakova, 2015

	2000	2004	2008	2012	2014	2015
State universities	14	28	30	55	64	72
Private universities	17	26	38	60	65	72

To maintain stable positions in the university market, the Swedish and Finnish governments introduced tuition fees for non-EU students as one of the necessary steps to improve the financial stability of university funding (ICEF, 2016). It is noticeable, however, that public institutions of higher education are still adapting to the trend of commercialization, particularly in countries where higher education was long enough under the control of a public sector. In contrast to private universities, which over a long period of time have gathered experience of generating income from activities other than students' fees, public universities

can see tuition fees as an important source of income. For instance, in the top private universities, tuition fees do not account for the largest segment of university income. According to Yale University's financial report, the income generated from student fees, including tuition fees, accommodation costs and other charges, accounted for 9.4% and 9.3% of the university's total operating revenue in the 2015-16 academic year (Yale Financial Report, 2016). The largest proportion of Yale's funding came from medical and scientific research, respectively (Yale Financial Report, 2016).

Less wealthy institutions, such as public universities, demonstrate a larger proportion of tuition fees in their financial reports. In the City University of Hong Kong, tuition fees and other costs amount to approximately 35% of the total university income, Trinity College Dublin it accounts for 39% and the University of Cape Town, 47% (City University of Hong Kong, 2016, Trinity College Dublin, 2016, University of Cape Town, 2015). This comparative example shows that, in the case of public universities, the proportion of tuition fees varies from 30-40%, which has a significant impact upon the university budget, and, as a consequence, a dependency on income from student payments.

Finally, to increase the demand of fee-paying students certain universities have established overseas campuses to enroll more students directly in the countries of their origin. In 2017, there are now 269 international branch campuses (IBSs) located all over the world, with the dominant locations being Singapore, China and the United Arab Emirates (C-BERT, 2017). Courses are structured around technological specializations (engineering, IT, etc.) and combined disciplines such as business and finance, communication and global finance, economics and sustainable development, and many other courses which can be attractive for potential overseas students.

(b) University - industry collaboration as a part of commercialization

The second major type of income from commercialization is the extensive interest of corporations in collaboration with universities for the purposes of obtaining research, technology transfer and well-trained specialists in the most innovative and profitable areas, such as biotechnology, computer science, and medicine.

Due to the global economic changes of the 21st Century, which I have underlined in chapter 2, academic and business cooperation has become more intensive. One of these ideas, which is important for this section, is the development of knowledge-intensive industries, who 'buy' their knowledge from the universities, and have a key role for a knowledge-based economy. For instance, the Silicon Valley region is surrounded by high-tech companies and universities and has well-developed research-based infrastructure that helps to promote knowledge development, which actively converts into innovative products and services. In this scheme, universities, as places of knowledge creation, provide companies and industries with a vital research environment and highly skillful human capital, whereas companies allocate financial resources/investments and business opportunities for universities to commercialize their R&D.

The world's top universities are leaders in this race. Among the private universities, Stanford University offers a series of engagement opportunities for "mutually-rewarding synergy" which benefits both industry and academy (Stanford University, 2016). Leading universities, such as the University of Oxford, have long-established connections with companies such as Rolls Royce and Invensys, which, in turn, support the work of University Technology Centers (UTCs) (University of Oxford, n.d). Growing university-industry cooperation has become more noticeable in BRICS institutions of higher education. Among the BRICS universities, top Chinese schools are more active in this field: Tsinghua University in China has signed a strategic cooperation agreement with more than 190 key national enterprises "to promote the application and socialization of university technological achievements" (Tsinghua University, n.d).

3.2.4 The 'Entrepreneurial university'

Continuing on the theme of higher education-private sector cooperation, it is very important to mention that commercialization, in many ways, is seen through the prism of entrepreneurialism within universities. In this respect, the different business activities of a university are united under the umbrella of the so-called 'entrepreneurial university' (Martin & Etzkowitz, 2000, Tuunainen 2005, Clark, 1998). We have now seen how universities tend to collaborate with the private sector to gain profit from their research activities. However, the entrepreneurial university involves more than just cooperation: it is a complex organization, which, on the one hand, is centered around income generation from different forms of business activity (not only student fees) while, on the other hand, being a center of innovation which positively affects the development of a region where a university located, and, as a consequence, has an added social mission of community development and its improvement (Audretsch, 2007). Being a relatively new model, the concept of an entrepreneurial university became a central point of discussion in the late 1990s. However, any discussion about the entrepreneurial university and its role and function is impossible without understanding the influence of neoliberal rationality on policy and knowledge-based economics. It was previously mentioned that the neoliberal agenda has organized contemporary political, social and economic life around the principles of market rationality, where a knowledge-based economy sees "production and diffusion as an engine of economic and social progress" (Shattok, 2009, p. 1).

The entrepreneurial university became an institution of higher education which was involved in an entrepreneurial interaction to generate economic value from teaching and research (Etzkowitz, 2016, Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, Kauppinen, 2013). Kauppinen emphasizes that entrepreneurial universities also provide services, such as lectures, workshops/seminars, as

well as expertise and advice in key areas of public interest; they also organize business activities such as the protection of intellectual property and start-up firm rights, and sell books, journal articles or research data (e.g. patents and copyrights) (Kauppinen, 2013).

To manage an entrepreneurial university the concept of new managerialism was introduced to an administrative university system (Steger & Roy, 2010, p.13). Originating in the 1980s, new managerialism was an instrument for improving public sector productivity and was based on mechanisms, values and practices inherited from private enterprise (Deem, 2001). In recent times, new managerialism has been gradually applied to the university system (Steger & Roy, 2010). In higher education, this concept takes many forms, but always includes key principles based on effective managerial practices to maintain and generate income, including an emphasis on marketing, visibility, cost effectiveness of learning, and other techniques. For an entrepreneurial university model, such a framework is important in terms of the fiscal efficiency of a university organization, as well as the regulation and measurement of staff and academic productivity.

However, according to Audretsch, the role of the entrepreneurial university is wider than the money-making interest (Audretsch, 2007). The mission of an entrepreneurial university is much broader and focuses on enhancing the economic potential of a region, boosting local economic development. For instance, certain Russian universities, which were traditionally involved in the Soviet military-industrial complex, began to expand their fields of research specialization in different directions. One example of a Russian university, which inherited the Soviet tradition of a university model, but changed its specialization from the "military and space exploration" to a multidisciplinary entrepreneurial university, is Tomsk State University of Control Systems and Radio-electronics (TUSUR). Established in 1962 as an institute focused upon military and space studies, it began to concentrate on research in engineering and IT. After 2000, TUSUR became "the leading entrepreneurial university in Russia" (Graham, 2014). TUSUR provided a platform for startups and attracted different

projects in their innovative business incubator. From 2006 until 2014, the amount of business projects created in cooperation with private sector was tripled from 25 to almost 100 in total (TUSUR University, n.d).

Another example is Aalto University in Finland, which merged with several state universities. After this merger, Aalto University started to establish laboratories, incubators and business accelerators to connect leading Finnish research projects with potential investors. In addition, to occupy a certain niche within Finnish expertise, Aalto University launched a special division to provide consultancy on areas such as patents licensing (Aalto University, n.d). In this context, Shattok states that entrepreneurial university organizations which rapidly react to market changes and respond to social needs, help transfer knowledge into social and economic practices (Shattok, 2009).

However, in spite of the seemingly positive benefits of the entrepreneurial university model, there are criticisms, which emphasize awareness on the future of the idea of an entrepreneurial university. It is noted that the entrepreneurial model is a product of the commercialization of higher education, which led to even wider commercialization of research. The comparative line is drawn between two models of university, which are based on research and science, namely: the Humboldtian university of the late nineteenth century and a contemporary entrepreneurial university. However, the main difference between the entrepreneurial university and Humboldtian model lies in the perception of science, research and knowledge. The Humboldtian model is based mainly on "a community of masters and disciples, wholly dedicated to the search for the truth" (Peset, 2011, p.159). In contrast to an entrepreneurial model where financial benefits from research are significant, in the Humboldtian model, science was cultivated only 'for the sake of science', without any financial benefits or material premises.

Thus, the entrepreneurial university is a university model with a distinctive commercialization activity in various areas: research, teaching, managing, etc. In this regard, opponents of

commercialization say that research, science, and even knowledge in general, is seen as a commodity today, not only in the entrepreneurial university, but in any university, which has a commercial aspect to its activity.

3.2.5 Summary of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3

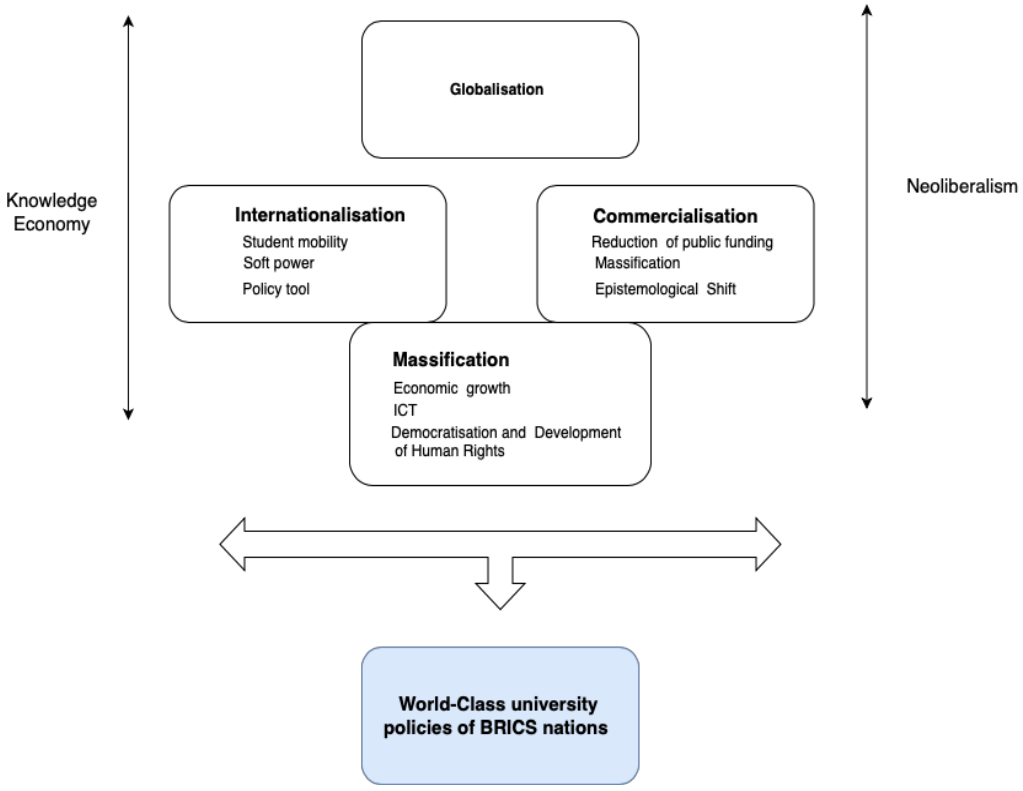
Chapters 2 and 3 provide a comprehensive analysis of the main trends that currently dominate in contemporary higher education. As revealed in the literature and in policy documents, global educational trends are internationalization, massification and commercialization, with a strong presence of the domain of globalization in each of them. It has been shown that every trend has its own history, prerequisites and conditions for development. Based on my analysis of every trend, I have constructed a thematical framework which will be used for a further policy examination of the main higher education policies of BRICS aiming on construction of WCUs (Fig.7). This theoretical framework, a thematic framework, will be the core instrument for my policy analyses, the methodology of which I shall outline in Chapter 4.

A thematic framework is shaped based on an outcome of the investigation of three main trends and globalization within them, which, I argue, leads to the contemporary formation of the national educational policies of BRICS nations. To understand the development of these trends I have examined different economic, political and social factors and their influence upon the current educational discourse. In this framework, however, I decided to include only those factors which are relevant and common for all BRICS nations.

I shall summarize the findings of the first two chapters. Firstly, the beginning of Chapter 2 provides introduction to the factors which influenced the formation of global trends, namely the neo-liberalization of public policy and changes in the economic direction of nations from industrial to knowledge production. The second part of Chapter 2 was devoted to the internationalization of higher education. Internationalization is built by an increase of global

competitiveness in the economic sector and the multicultural paradigm in both international and local policy. In literature, this trend is seen thought the lens of (1) *student mobility,* which began since the formation of the first centers of learning 2) *soft power,* by the use of which states could compete for the regional and global influence; (3) *policy tool,* which mostly applied in the area of economic development as a drive for economic growth. All three elements became a part of the thematic framework analysis and reflect the current situation existing in the policy field of WCU agenda of BRICS nations.

Figure 7. Thematic Framework. Source: Likhovtseva, 2019



Chapter 3 began with the analysis of definitions of massification, which, in literature, is understood as an increase in participation of people in higher education. The main factors which shape massification similarly to internationalisation are connected with the idea of economic

growth of a country, but also, specifically, through an aspect of human capital development. Moreover, massification was also influenced by political factors, such as democratisation of societies after the fall of the Soviet Union, and greater promotion of human rights in the world. The second part of Chapter 3 discusses commercialisation, which is the third pillar of the thematical framework of this thesis. The literature review indicates that commercialisation is a trend which derives from the world of business and commerce, and means actions undertaking by a university to generate profit.

The section explains what factors influence the formation of commercialisation activities, such as the reduction of public funding, massification and general epistemological shift in perception of knowledge. Finally, the discussion on commercialisation ends with an explanation of a new university model – an entrepreneurial university, which absorbs all activities which a university has to commercialise its research and teaching services. I concentrate on a reduction of public funding, the entrepreneurialism of universities, including collaboration with industries, and the changing perceptions of knowledge.

Additionally, I do not put globalization as a separate factor on its own, because globalization already presents in every trend, and indicates various changes in different sectors of human society. However, globalization presents within my framework as an influential factor, which has a direct impact on national policies of the BRICS alliance. Thus, the thematic framework provides a structure of policy analysis of this dissertation. Every policy of the BRICS nations dedicated to the formation of WCU's in BRICS will be examined under the thematic framework of three trends, as well as globalization. Moreover, the components of this diagram, such as neoliberalism and a knowledge-based economy, represent changes which BRICS experienced in their economic and political development. Alongside trends in the creation of WCUs, these changes will also be discussed in the following chapters dedicated to every country of BRICS.

4 Methodology

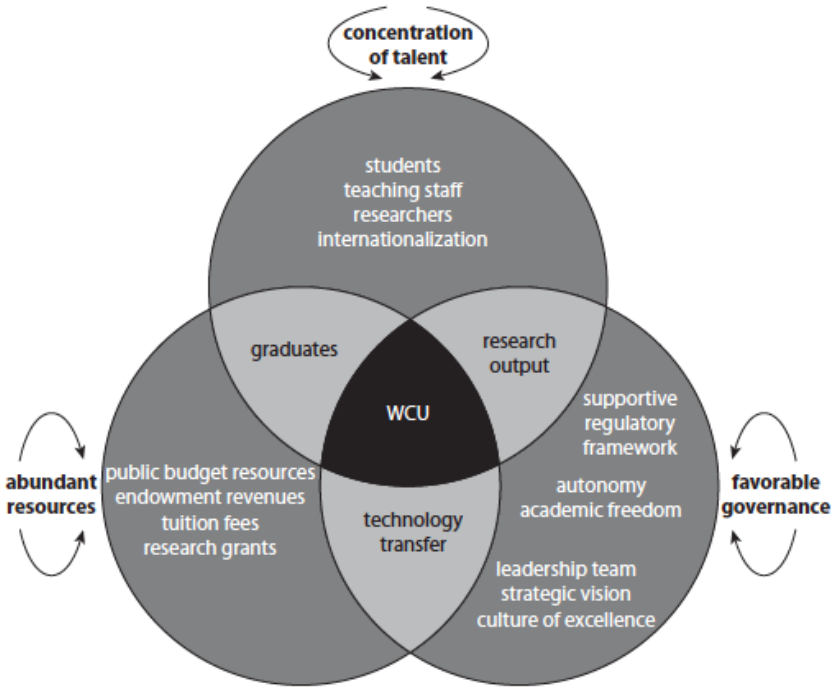
In chapters 2 and 3, I examined literature dedicated to current trends existing in higher education, and based on this investigation, I developed a thematic framework which helped me in the analysis of key policy documents on higher education of BRICS nations in later chapters. Having this framework allows me to develop further methodological issues, such as an accurate formulation of the research question, and an explanation of a theoretical framework and data generation.

Thus, in the first part of this chapter a *research question* is formulated which concerns the idea of the development of World Class Universities and the overall importance of WCUs for BRICS nations, as a vehicle to implement HE policy. The second part deals with *the theoretical basis* of the methodology, namely the theory of multiple modernities, which I use as the theoretical framework for this thesis. The third part is devoted to an explanation of the *mechanisms of policy analyses* through the established conceptual thematic framework. The fourth part shows the rationale of policy selection. Finally, the last section gives an outline of qualitative methods utilized in my research, including the case-study approach and the procedure of data generation.

4.1 The idea of World Class Universities (WCU)

A recently-established conceptual framework shows that global higher education is gradually becoming more and more massified, global and international while, at the same time, expensive and commercialized. On the one hand, higher education, being both massified and expensive, has to offer some reliable criteria so that the best university practices can be identified. At the same time, society must be able to understand these criteria, and to make distinctions between good and not so good universities. One way in which these criteria are offered is by use of the concept of the so-called World-Class Universities (WCU). WCUs are said to be institutions of higher education that attract rich material resources and human talents, and are characterized by favorable government, a *culture of excellence* and wide academic freedoms (Salmi, 2009) (Fig.8). According to Ramirez and Tiplic, the idea of a WCU postulates excellence as a goal which directly links with the 'best practices' of university organization and management (Ramirez & Tiplic, 2014).

Figure 8. WCU synergy. Source: Salmi, 2009



In their definition, Salmi and Ramirez and Tiplic state that culture of excellence is one of the key components to build a WCU. A university which has a culture of excellence can attract rich material resources and talents. However, in the context of higher education an idea of excellence is relatively new, which derives from the world of business corporations in 1990s. The most famous critique addressing the problem of the culture of excellence was developed by Readings, who states that universities turned from "the ideological arm of nation-state" into business corporations (Readings, 1996, p.20). According to Readings the social role of a university was transformed into a client-oriented model, where excellence identifies as a 'better choice' for students-consumers to invest in their studies (Readings, 1996). 'Better choice' can be considered from a position of future employment, opportunities of networking, provided within university walls, and quality of conducted research. For instance, according to QS employability rankings the first three universities in the world, which prepare "adequately for full-time employment" are MIT, Stanford and UCLA (QS, 2019, n.p). Salmi's, Ramirez and Tiplic's definitions of WCU are very utilitarian. They repeat Readings's idea on the manner in which a culture of excellence 'attracts' resources (human or material), but does not create societal values or values not connected with the world of business and commerce. Moreover, utilitarian relationships leave behind those universities and countries which did not transform their systems towards WCU excellence.

Altbach and Van Der Wende provide the definition of a WCU based on the capacity of *a university for knowledge creation*, the *education of a highly-skilled workforce* capable of producing technological and intellectual leadership through which they can respond to the *various needs of a society* (Altbach, 2007, van der Wende, 2009). Altbach and Van Der

Wende's definitions of WCU specifically concentrate on human capital and knowledge production, in which WCU has to play a key role. However, there is no direct correlation between those countries with a high number of WCUs, such as the US and the UK, and innovational capacity and human capital development. For instance, the US has the largest proportion of WCUs in the world but occupies only 27th position in the world in the Human Capital Index, while Slovenia has no of WCU and is located in 13th place respectively (The World Bank, 2018). Talking about innovations, the US has the 3rd highest position in the world in Innovation Index 2019 (Cornell, ISEAD &WIPO, 2019). However, again, the process of creating innovation is more complex, and includes the general wealth of a country, political conditions and many other factors (Merx-Chermin & Nijhof, 2005).

4.2 How to identify a World-Class University?

Over the past few years, many countries and educational institutions from different parts of the world increased their participation in the competition for academic excellence (Wang, Cheng & Liu, 2013). In this situation, World-Class Universities have to be distinguished from a number of rapidly growing institutions of higher education. Global university ranking became the mechanism which divides WCUs from the rest. The university ranking system was created and instituted only 10 years ago and became a fast-growing business which has an increasing impact on the development of higher education. The ARWU (Shanghai ranking), QS World University Ranking and The Times Higher Education (THE) university ranking schemes constitute 'the Big Three' of the ranking business in higher education. The methodologies of these rankings, although very different

in detail, are generally aimed at measuring the capacity of the universities to attract talents and resources on a global scale.

Global rankings absorbed global educational trends and built their methodology in synchronization with them. Thus, the rankings are concentrated on quotation indexes, academic reputation, and the reputation of graduates among employers, investment the university receives from different sources, the number of international students and international professors, the quality of teaching etc. Arguably, the higher the position of a university in the ranking system, the more a university is qualified to be considered a 'world-class university'.

There are different views on global university rankings. On the one hand, global rankings provide "awareness about higher education" and "promote transparency of institutions" (Millot, 2015, p.156). On the other hand, global rankings set up standards which universities have to follow in order to survive in the global higher education market. For many years, positions of global rankings have preoccupied by universities of the western world (Tab.4). Cantwell and Taylor criticize global university ranking for encouraging of emerging powers, like BRICS, to follow standards of universities existing in western powers to achieve the same level of competitiveness in the reality of market economy and neoliberal governance (Cantwell & Taylor, 2013). I would expand this conclusion, to the point, that, through rankings, western educational culture spread to emerging nations, and forced them to leave behind their own unique features that traditionally existed in local systems of higher education. Ramírez states that rankings "symbolically communicate high aspirations" to promote "high international standards" for policymakers of developing nations (Ramírez, 2013, p.132). It leads to the situation in which, in order to succeed in a ranking game, emerging powers 'adjust' their universities towards particular educational

programs related to the global labour market and knowledge economy needs (Morley & Aynsley, 2007). I do not have a specific goal in my doctoral thesis to analyze a methodological approach of the ranking system, I just look closely at ranking systems to demonstrate that the mechanisms behind a ranking system are important for policymakers who take global rankings as a mechanism of creation of WCU.

Table 4. Position of Western Universities in Global Rankings. Source: QS, THE

	QS	THE	ARWU
2010	The University of Cambridge (UK)	Harvard University (US)	Harvard University (US)
2015	Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (US)	California Institute of Technology (US)	Harvard University (US)
2020	Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (US)	University of Oxford (UK)	Harvard University (US) for 2019 (US)

4.3 WCU criteria

The scope of my literature review revealed that there are common criteria which define WCUs, namely: high caliber of faculty and students; international presence; creation of alliances and global networks; diverse disciplines and technological advancement; strong research reputation; a good governance; and financial stability of a university (Niland,

2000, Salmi, 2009, Altbach, 2007, van der Wende, 2009). In the following analysis I provide a detailed explanation of each criterion, and will combine them into clusters, according to similarity in meaning.

(1) High caliber of faculty and students: quality of faculty and students is associated with a significant proportion of top academics and students. Academics are, themselves, obliged to hold a doctorate, or an equivalent qualification, from a top university (Altbach, 2011). Another important criterion, which defined a high caliber faculty, is the number of peer-reviewed publications achieved by members in high-ranking academic journals, as well as their participation in a research process, whose outcome has to be recognized at both national and international levels (Palfreyman & Tapper, 2009). With regard to student bodies, it is important to say that, despite the massification of higher education, and general increase of student enrollment in universities, the process of student admission for WCUs is very precise, especially for graduate students who are more actively involved and engaged in research activities within these institutions (Salmi, 2009).

However, there is a critique on the domination of the English-speaking world in the WCU league, and the English language itself, especially in peer-review processes of publication. For instance, in the top 50 of the system which ranks scientific journals - Scimago Journal & Country Rank- only one journal is published in the Netherlands; the remaining 49 are published either in the US and the UK (SJR, 2019). There are several views on this issue. On one hand, the English language can be seen as a bridge connected developing nations with the knowledge of western powers, which is necessary to create a knowledge economy (Hyland, 2016). On the other hand, in the context of globalisation, the English language became a connector between nations in the global knowledge network (Liu, 2004). In the

area of higher education, WCUs can serve as the catalysts of this connection, through the language, academics and research.

(2) International presence, and the creation of alliances and global networks: in previous chapters, I discussed internationalization as a primary trend in higher education, one which directly maps university policy. For WCUs, the international dimension is a key component of world-class acknowledgment. A WCU has to have worldwide recognition as a leading institution within a wide chain of international partnerships, and in the face of other leading international universities, NGOs, private corporations, and multinational organizations. Moreover, the international prestige of a WCU attracts talented students and academics from overseas, which also becomes an indicator of a world-class standing (Lee, 2013).

(3) Diverse disciplines and technological advancement: From a technological standpoint, a WCU presents technologically smart and intensive organization, with up-to-date infrastructures, research facilities, libraries and a well-established ICT (Lee, 2013). Moreover, WCUs are characterized by the availability of a variety of first-class subjects and specializations, many of which are in demand within the contemporary labor market. The WCUs are able to redevelop their curriculum based on a ***student-based approach*** - to create good programs to satisfy the demands of the students, and a ***skills-based approach***— to tailor the graduates according to the norms and requests of the employer.

(4) Strong research reputation: many scholars associate WCUs with research activity. According to Marginson, the importance of research is crucial for the WCU (Marginson, 2014). Firstly, as a part of the commercialization process, research is seen as an 'exchange coin' for collaboration with external partners, including university/industry cooperation;

secondly, knowledge in an economic sense, "flows freely across borders", without losing its economic value; thirdly, research is an indicator of success in global economic competition between nations and individual universities; fourth, as was mentioned before, research initiatives have become a priority since the existence of the Humboldtian university and, lately, have been founded on the rising model of American universities (Marginson, 2014, p. 17). Based on these assumptions, Lee points out that, in many ways, WCUs function as a research hub, through which "they distribute knowledge and technology to society" (Lee, 2013, p.237). Thus, WCUs accumulate all resources necessary to research production. In Chapter 2, we already discussed the importance of knowledge in the new economic mode of knowledge economy. WCUs are seen as one of the centers which create and distribute knowledge intensifying capacity of a state to knowledge economy.

(5) Effective university governance: despite having a strong bureaucratic organization, the governance of a WCU is able to function effectively, taking into consideration the interests of the academic and student community (Altbach, 2011, Shattock, 2010). Academic autonomy and intellectual freedom are the core features of WCUs, allowing greater involvement of academic bodies in the decision-making process, including independent priorities of research themes, academic goals and curriculum creation (Salmi, 2009). Altbach points out that "without academic freedom, a research university cannot fulfill its mission, nor can it be a world-class university" (Altbach, 2011, p.16). Many leading WCUs of the developed world, emphasize academic freedom as a key value of higher education. The University of Oxford, as a WCU and first in the world university rankings, puts academic freedom in its vision of university development for 2018-2023 (Oxford University, 2018). However, in the context of many developing countries,

academic freedom is a very biased concept. For instance, China as a leader of emerging nations in bridging their universities to the world-class level, has strong priority in censorship of 'sensitive topics', including themes related to actions of the Communist Party of China (Likhovtseva, personal communication, 2018).

There is also a tension between strong bureaucratic organization and academic freedom. Martin states that in the last 20 years centralized top-down management replaced the autonomy of universities (Martin, 2016). By et.al. summarises that centralization connects with neoliberal policymaking proclaiming "audit culture and managerialism" (By et.al, 2008, p.21). The phenomenon of managerialism, and its formal structure known as New Public Management is a specific form of coordination of publicly provided services, which is characterized by privilege on new values, oriented on efficient money distribution, "competition and markets, consumerism and customer care" (Butcher, 1995, p. 161). Flynn says, with the growth of the role of private sector in national economies, the developing of international trade and increase of international market competition in the 1980s, "governments became responsible for their national competitiveness" (Flynn, 2000, p.33, p.43). As a result of this governments had to adopt market style techniques to support the private sector and "represent the interest of business as being the same as the national interest" (Flynn, 2000, p.33). Such series of administrative reforms touched all spheres of public life, including higher education. In this sense a framework of New Public Management signaled organizational and structural changes in universities, which limit academic freedom. It means that decision-making process related to student's recruitment, teaching programmes and research activities concentrate in the hands of university administrators, rather than in those of academics themselves.

Another specification, which is typical for universities of developing countries, such as BRICS, is the participation of an international advisory board in the strategic planning of university development. Tyeb provides the example of the Saudi Arabian King Abdulaziz University (KAU) which is on it's way to WCU status using consultancy of an international advisory board – "international academic and industrial authorities"- to approach the "best practice […] from distinguished and acclaimed international authorities" (Tayeb, 2016, p.13). Similar examples will be demonstrated in the context of Russian universities, where consultancy of established western academics is part of national WCU development. In this sense, freedom of universities is limited by the 'expertise' of western advisers, whose names and opinion are important in the development of non-western 'wold class to be' universities.

(6) Financial stability: funding is the key and critical factor in maintaining a university at a top, world-class level, and remains the most problematic aspect in the attainment of rankings. Many authors have argued that, without sufficient income, it is impossible to build and run a WCU. However, Altbach observes that WCUs, having first class facilities and infrastructure, more than other institutions, are able to generate income through private resources, and are less dependent on public financial support (Altbach, 2015). Cremonini et. al. mention that the WCU has to be based upon an efficient policy that allows the university to financially benefit from a broader engagement between business, research and education (Cremonini et. al, 2014). The criteria of WCUs are closely identified with global trends, commercialization, massification, internationalization. The WCUs' criteria are aimed at the creation of centers for the attraction of the best human and technological resources, and therefore, these universities also become centers for the development of

high-end, advanced technologies and/or companies which develop these technologies (Parker, 2014).

Following examples of successful WCUs, such as Harvard University and the University of Cambridge, national governments also use the criteria of WCUs to create specifically theoretical guidelines to enhance the capacity of local universities. Over the last 20 years, the response of governments has become significant, and in most cases, turned into the development of policies in which was framed the strategy of creating of WCUs in their countries. For example, in 2005, Germany, having one of the oldest and well-established education systems in the world launched an Excellence Initiative to be able to compete with other European universities and unify its institutions according to a WCU's patterns. The program allocated sufficient financial resources to improve the reputation of German research and science at a global level. The German government sponsored 37 small research groups (clusters of excellence) and 39 graduate schools in selected universities, and 9 entire universities to promote German science and research at a global level (Cremonini et al, 2014).

The emerging economies of BRICS have tried to establish themselves as centers of academic excellence and popular study destinations, and, therefore, develop knowledge economies with world-class universities as their centers. This is why Russia has started 'The program of Enhancing Global Competitiveness of Russian Universities' (so-called 5-100-2020 program). In 1998, China introduced its Project-985 and Brazil has successfully started and is now going to continue its "Science Without Borders" program.

Thus, these policies form the core object of analysis and research question of this thesis. Therefore, the main goal of this work ***is to examine actual policies and their historical***

background which form a path towards establishing world class universities in BRICS, as a means to implement policy, and discover ***what alternatives BRICS countries can offer to the world of higher education, in the light of a policy path created by Western world and global educational trends?***

4.4 The interpretative framework: historical analyses of higher education through the lens of "multiple modernities"

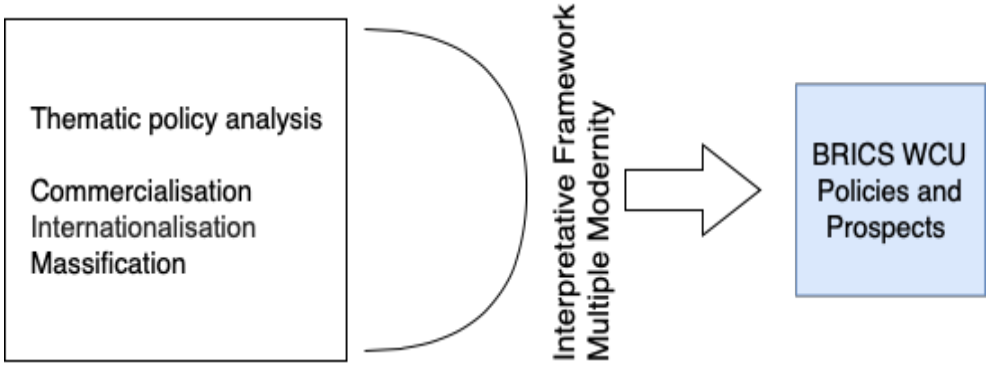
Having examined the concept of the WCU as an instrument to pursue the higher education policies of the BRICS countries, I now turn to the interpretative frame used to understand the role of WCUs in these policies. I use an idea of 'plural modernities', as developed by Peter Wagner. Wagner states that modernity for every nation is unique and has its own forms of 'experience and interpretation' (Wagner, 2008).

The framework of multiple modernities can provide the top-level of theoretical structure based on two opposing categories: unification (policies, cultures, ideas, institutions etc.) which is a consequence of globalization on the one hand, and its diversity which is stipulated by the cultural and historical specificity of every country, on the other hand. From this perspective the very concept of a world-class university is an idea which fits a framework of modernization theory and defines one coherent ideal for any system of higher education in the world. On the other hand, the multiple modernities concept requires different ideals for different modern worlds. With this in mind, the goal of using the frame of multiple modernities is to see how culture, politics and economy shaped BRICS countries in its unique own way. Based on this investigation we can trace how BRICS suggest alternative pathways for developing WCUs.

Thus, ***thematic policy analysis*** (commercialization, massification, internationalization) is used as an instrument to analyze policy documents of BRICS WCU strategies and policies**,** but ***theory of multiple modernities*** became a critical lance through which this analysis will take place.

The framework of my research instruments is the use of ***thematic policy analysis***. Let me start with the explanation of the theory of multiple modernities, and its importance for my work.

Figure 9. Policy analysis through the lens of modernity. Source: Likhovtseva, 2019



4.5 Modernity as experience and interpretation

The theory of multiple modernities is a relatively new idea which, at the end of the 20th Century, became an important division of the theory of modernity (Wagner, 2001). If, previously, popular discourse amongst social scientists was devoted to modernity, and its different aspects, today's theorists now pay significant attention to the multiplicity of experiences in our world in connection to its history, politics, economic and social development. The theory of modernity has a very wide-ranging historical narrative, from

the late Middle Ages until the late 20th Century, with many forms and explanations (Finlayson, 2005). I have to begin with the notion of modernity itself, and further, to show why this modernity received its multiplicity. Before I commence my analyses, it must be noted that in the contemporary social theory, there are many forms and angles to explain modernity itself, and the theory of multiple modernities in particular. That is why, since the breath of this dissertation is limited, I can only introduce the most relevant concepts to my research.

4.6 Definition of modernity

Modernity', or *modernus*, as a time concept originated in medieval Latin, in opposition to Antiquity, the ancient or traditional time (Calinescu, 1987). Bendix points out that a chain of historical events in Europe led to the 'the economic or political advance of some pioneering society and subsequent changes in follower societies", which can be called 'modern' (Bendix, 1967, p 330–331). Therborn concludes that modernity, whether or not it is characterized as a present, is always referring to the future, in the sense that "*the present, then is the beginning of the future"* (Therborn, 1995, p.126). Therborn identifies four historical entries (gates) to modernity, which connect with major historical events: 1) revolutions and reforms in Europe, beginning in the mid-17th century, 2) the war for independence in North America, 3) trade or threat, which was undertaken in non-western countries, since Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, 4) the colonization of Asia by the West, or 'colonial modernity' (Therborn, 1995). Every part of the four gates is associated with western culture and civilization, and, moreover, civilization in general, and in Europe, in particular, where this was seen as a superior conceptual framework in its overall development, which 'unlocked' modernity for the rest of the world (Therborn, 1995). In the contemporary world, gates to modernity still open through policy ideas originated in

the West. As we discussed early in this thesis, WCU is a purely western project based on a path which western universities went through in the 1980s-1990s. Trends of internationalization, massification and commercialization were experienced by the best universities of the West first, and only after some time these trends were incorporated into the policy making process of the rest of the world. For developing nations of BRICS, WCU associates with progress. Policy programs aiming at the creation of WCUs refer to the modernisation of higher education necessary for the future of a knowledge economy. In this sense, WCU is a symbol of modernity - the present time which refers to the promising future.

Wagner, continuing this line of reflection, specifies that modernity, in historical perspective, is seen as 'the history of the West'. The key events in European and North American history, such as the industrial, political or scientific revolutions, gave rise to particular ideas about 'being/present in modernity', which were promoted to the rest of the world (Wagner, 2001). Giddens, defined modernity as a system, based on four basic institutions; capitalism, industrialization, coordinated administrative power (for instance a state), and finally military power (Giddens, 1990). Both, Wagner and Giddens touch an important theme about history and processes happening in the West, which made an influence on other countries. For instance, modernity of higher learning began with the establishment of the western model of universities, even in parts of the world where traditional institutions of higher learning were already established. As it will be shown later, in India and China traditional schools were replaced by western-style institutions, because western learning gave a path to modernity and progress.

Taylor also continued that modernity started in the West, with intellectual and social changes. Intellectual changes were inspired by the flourishing of science and the strengthened position of rational thinking (Taylor, 1995). Social changes were actualized in the development of "certain institutions and practices", such as "market economy and

rationalized forms of administration" (Taylor, 1995, p.30). This started with Weber who introduced an idea of rationalization of a society, as a way of division between traditional society and modern. Ritzer goes further and draws parallel between rationalisation of western society and the fast-food franchise, McDonalds. Ritzer use the term McDonaldisation, which associates fast consumption and production simultaneously. The logic of 'McDonalisation' is based on the principle of extreme rationality, which includes efficiency, calculability, predictability and control (Ritzer, 1998). Universities, in this sense, became one of the first symbols of modernity which took an approach to rationalization. For instance, courtiers of the BRICS universities were established, or re-developed according to western standards of higher education, which during the late 19th and 20th century proved itself as more efficient. As the efficiency is understood an ability of western nations to use science to improve economic conditions and boom industrial and military capacity.

Rosa links modernity with the so-called acceleration of the world (Rosa, 2013). Rosa discovered that all spheres of human life experienced acceleration: arts, music and literature received its tempo and dynamism, the development of technology and innovation influenced human means of communication, and even perceptions of time and space, as well as economic growth, reshaped the mode of production, which became a mass phenomenon in the present time (Rosa, 2013). Rosa develops this concept of acceleration taking into consideration a theory of modernity, developed by Weber, in particular his principle of rationalization, which aims to minimize efforts, and increase effectiveness, - "achieve more in less time" (Rosa, 2013, p.50, Weber, 1946c).

Wittrock points out that modernity is considered to be a "new set of institutional projects" which became a symbol of modernity. Wittrock emphasizes two key changes inherited by modernity, changes in economics and politics, namely: 1) the rethinking of economic organization, specifically the reorientation of economic organization on market economy,

and 2) the establishment of a new political order based on active participation and popular involvement, which led to the replacement of traditional monarchies with democratically-elected parliaments (Wittrock, 2000, p.47). Today, these changes are connected with the transformation of national economies to knowledge economies with a premise of neo-liberal policy making of political sphere. That is why, in higher education, "new set of institutional projects" through WCU initiatives became a symbol of modernity, and modern higher education (Wittrock, 2000, p.47).

Eisenstadt concludes that modernity has to be seen in connection with the Enlightenment, which became a particular *cultural project* in France (Eisenstadt, 2000). Starting with Europe, modernity spread to America, and later, to the rest of the world (Eisenstadt, 2000). Universities were always a part of the cultural identity of a nation: they had an important role in the "developing of cultural values", "nation state identity building" and construction of culture-add infrastructure (Chatterton, 2000, p.166). DiMaggio observes that universities acted as a "canon" in validation of cultural and even personal development (DiMaggio, 1991, p.141). Old universities had a specific role to train "specialists in high culture", as well as produce "art habitus" in order to educate students in the certain patterns of culture (DiMaggio, 1991, p.148, Lash, 1990, p.196). In 19th century Britain, universities kept the canon for other cultural entities: museums, galleries, theatres (Chatterton, 2000). In the non-European context, cultural projects of modernity were also embodied though institutions of higher learning. For instance, Peter the Great started the Europeanisation of Russia in the 18th century. Peter the Great founded a new capital – Saint-Petersburg in 1703 as a 'window on Europe', in opposition to the old Russian capital - Moscow. Saint-Petersburg became a European city, which absorbed features of modern European capitals: from modern urban planning to the new structure of Russian government. For instance, an indicator of modern fashion, was a clean shaved face of nobility, instead of old-fashioned beards symbolizing old fashioned values of old Russia (Fig.10). In modern Saint-

Petersburg universities became one of the bridges which connect Russia and Europe. The Russian university model was built on the vision of the German and Dutch university systems, and, therefore, the first professors were also invited from Europe to work and teach in Russian universities (Avrus, 2001).

Figure 10. A barber cuts the beard of the nobility. Source: Russian lubok, 18th century

Thus, I have discussed several issues relevant to my research definitions, which can provide a first introduction to the concept of modernity. I have also argued that modernity can be

connected with the idea of the rationalization of human society, modernization through industrialization, ideas of progress and acceleration. Among other characteristics, one of the distinctive patterns of modernity is its connection with the western world, which some authors call 'westernization'. Many scholars point out that contemporary social, political and economic institutions originate from the outcome of historical events that have happened in the West since the Enlightenment and "a breakthrough to a new historical era" (Bendix, 1967, p.330–331). However, they are also an angle to look at non-western countries, adapted western institutions, from a variety of ways to implement and absorb western- instructions. In this case, the theory of multiple modernity can be that angle.

4.7 Why 'multiple modernities'?

Modernity, thus, provides a way of viewing the present, specifically in the context of developed western nation states, through the lens of various events which happened in the western world, and made a significant impact on western civilization, and later, on the rest of the world. As a result of these events, significant changes occurred in politics, economics and social life, which created new institutions and brought new patterns/rules of human existence. These spread around the globe, through the outcomes of western influence (for example, the colonial and post-colonial experiences of the third world) and globalization. These new institutions were integrated into culture, institutions and the way of living of non-western countries. In order to understand this idea deeply, let me explain western influence through the experience of colonization and re-colonization.

Three countries of BRICS were under the direct colonial hegemony of key Western European powers, primarily Great Britain and Portugal. Russia and China had neither been colonies, nor formal protectorates of the West, but were heavily influenced by the West. In Russia, this influence was conveyed through cultural connections and territorial proximity,

whereas in China, western influence manifested through trade and by limited colonial territorial expansion, notably at the hands of British and Portuguese imperialists, mainly along the Chinese coastline around strategic trading hubs. This is relevant to my thesis discussion on how western colonialism connects with the colonization of knowledge and the creation of modern Western-style universities. Both aspects of this variation of western colonialism are discussed in the chapters dedicated to the junior partners of the BRICS alliance; South Africa, India and Brazil.

Colonisation of knowledge can be seen, in this context, as the replacement, downgrading or ignorance of traditional knowledge systems in favour of the Western paradigm. The classical example of this derives from Nigeria and its system of belief and knowledge, known as Ifa (Taiwo, 1993). However, nowadays, knowledge of the Ifa system is treated as an aspect of cultural heritage, which is protected by major global organisations like UNESCO, but is not incorporated into the local higher education curriculum. In the Nigerian case, there is also a strong experience of western colonialism under British imperial rule, and, hence, the pre-dominant influence of a Western university model and a western system of knowledge which developed as a result of British colonial hegemony.

That is why the question concerning to what extent westernization should be incorporated into the experience of non-western civilization, remains open. Thus, the discussion about multiple modernities emerged "within civilizational analysis in historical sociology as a part of the cultural turn in social sciences" (Arnason, 2010 as cited in Maslovskiy, 2016). Generally speaking, civilizational analyses is a synthesis of the theoretical historic-sociological approaches to the conduct of comparative studies of different civilizations. I will not use the techniques of civilizational analyses in this dissertation, and I do not have a goal to outline the development of the theoretical foundations of civilizational analyses. I merely want to show, that the theory of modernity in general, and theory of multiple modernities became a standpoint for comparative study of civilizational analyses.

Obviously, any comparison brings noticeable patterns to our attention that there is a diversity of paths which were taken by different civilizations in the present time. Studying BRICS can provide alternative pathways to understanding society and higher education policy and socio-cultural conditions connected with it. Under these conditions, for the last two hundred years, the theory of modernity became a method by which to measure the presence of a civilization during a time of modernity.

Eisenstadt suggests that, whether the concept of modernity was developed by the West, or not, "it was from its beginnings beset by internal antinomies and contradictions, giving rise to continual critical discourse and political contestations" (Eisenstadt, 2000, p.7). Following this logic, the ideal model of 'present in modernity' is achieved differently by both the western and non-western worlds. Throughout the period of the long 20th century, such "antinomies and contradictions" were observed. For instance, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, based on a Marxist vision on political and economic direction, became an alternative response to western modernity, which had been seen as a contradictory path between theoretical pillars of modernity (democratic society and capitalist economy) and the real socio-political situation, which was eventuated within Russian society in the first quarter of the 20th century. Eisenstadt observes that this conflict, as with many other conflicts during the period of the 20th century, were affected by antinomies or poles, which lay in the utopia of the Enlightenment about "homogenization of major modern collectivities" on the one hand, and the "confrontation between pluralistic and universalizing orientations" on the other (Eisenstadt, 2000, p.10). This means that historical events such as the Soviet Revolution, were a reaction to the interference, or intrusion, of western modernity with its "construction of political order and political centers" (Eisenstadt, 2003, p 545). However, if we adopt this understanding, it is possible to notice that whether or not modernity is seen as a set of philosophical principles produced by European intellectual thought, it was not equally spread among European countries, and,

moreover it was not equally institutionalized (Wittrock, 2000). In the contrast, the relationship towards institutionalization was very complex in every European country, and until now has its own unique characteristics, which are different from 'idealistic' perceptions of modernity (Wittrock, 2000).

Wagner notes the periods between late 1970-s and 1980-s, where the major reaction on the domination of western modernity occurred from the non-western world: in a geo-political sense, it was the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the rapid Islamization of the post-colonial world as an alternative to the western tradition of world-viewing; in an economic sense, it was the rise of Asian political order and economies with specifically Asian characteristics. At the same time, Wagner indicates that multiple modernities, through an "experience and interpretation" of social, political, and cultural forms, which even can be similar in various societies, found its own unique way and developed its own particular configurations. For instance, in China and South East-Asia, 'Confucian modernity' can be seen as a response to western modernity, and a challenge to formulate their own cultural identity, by following patterns of 'Confucian modernity' on various levels of institutional variations, including education (Wakeman, 2002). Alongside Wagner, Knoebl states that, "the political elites were capable of stabilizing civilizational structures in the past and that even nowadays they are still able to formulate cultural counter-projects to Western modernity in many parts of the world" (Knoebl, 2010, p. 94).

Thus, the theory of multiple modernities gives us a broad picture on the origin of contemporary world order, with its institutions, economy and political realities. However, the theory of multiple modernities problematizes the 'trajectories' and 'configurations' of, and 'paths to', modernity, which over the long duration of time were ruled by western 'guides' to modernity (Arnason, 2002). In this sense, the framework of multiple modernities gives us a deeper understanding of the relationships of BRICS countries with the present. It means that, on the one hand, BRICS nations operate under the current

conditions of modernity, building and developing necessary institutions, produced by modernity in order to present them, *in modernity*, equally, alongside their western counterparts. However, on the other hand, the BRICS model itself became an alternative voice, where "civilizations, in their "plural" sense, exist and relations between them matter in world politics" (Bettiza, 2014, p. 2). Despite the cacophony of alternative voices, there is still a situation where the non-western world has to operate in both ways: to 'present in modernity' while keeping its own uniqueness of culture and values. In this sense, I can speak about the multiplicity of choices and reactions on modernity, and the strong resistance to homogenization and universalization, especially in a way of self-identity as a nation in a historical sense, such as the return to Islam in politics and even economics (for instance, Islamic banking) in South-East Asia. Nevertheless, being under the influence of globalization, pressures which originated in the West, the necessity for a knowledge-based economy for national development, non-western countries had to implement similar mechanisms on the way to a sustainable development and economic prosperity. One of these mechanisms is the formation of various policy programs, which are aimed at building a potential direction towards risen goals.

In the case of my research, it is the formation of educational policies, namely the formation of World-Class Universities, which BRICS states consider as an important component of national competitiveness and the means to implement HE policy. In the past two decades, international and multination agencies, such as the World Bank, OECD and etc., set up agendas, emphasizing the crucial role of education in the formation of a knowledge-based economy (as an example look at the 1998/99 World Development Report: Knowledge for Development, where the high-priority role of human capital in the building of national innovation systems was strongly emphasized) (Salmi, 2011).

As was explained above, the idea of a World-Class University, which until recently, was associated with the most prestigious western universities, became essential for policy

makers in developing countries. WCUs are seen as a model for the establishment of national centers based on an idea of excellence in research, innovation and production of human capital. In this respect, the WCUs of the West, especially universities of the U.S. and the UK, became a prototype for the emerging nations, including BRICS nations. Using western prototypes of university excellence, every BRICS nation has the basis to produce policies aimed at development of WCUs in BRICS. Arguably, in this situation, I can indicate that an increasing pressure toward the direction of a knowledge economy, put the non-western world in a position where western criteria (economic in particular) of 'being modern', again, became a central and guiding principle for the rest of the world. In this way, BRICS governments, to capture modernity in higher education, have to act in accordance with framed long-term WCU strategies.

However, I have argued that the historical and cultural experience of BRICS nations are different from the experience of the western world. For this reason, the interpretive framework of the theory of multiple modernities helps me to create a narrative of WCUs policy creation in BRICS, which is necessary for the analyses of the principle policy documents. Using the lens of "experience and interpretation", I will demonstrate why the idea of the WCU became key for every country of BRICS, and whether the creation of WCUs is the best policy decision to increase the world-wide competitiveness of national higher education.

4.8 Rationale for the policy selection

Throughout this thesis, I used policy documentation that was mainly 'aspirational' in tone. Aspirational policies are those initiatives which set-up the agenda for a policy action (Rosli & Rossi, 2014). The very concept of WCU policies symbolizes the aspirations of BRICS governments to follow a certain direction to obtain WCU standards. Among BRICS nations

the WCU policy aspiration has a 'top-down' character, meaning that national governments establish an agenda, one that is "fully specified by policymakers", and adopt a centralized approach towards it's implementation (Rosli & Rossi, 2014, p.4). WCU policies in all five BRICS countries have this top-down nature. I assess a government's intention (aspiration) through their higher education programmes using the framework of the three educational trends, and applying the lens of multiple modernities, in order to examine the policy paths of these countries rather than merely analyze the outcomes of WCU policy implementation. In certain BRICS countries, and specifically in Russia, aspirational documentation has an evaluative guideline dedicated to an assessment of policy results. However, guidelines such as this have normative character arranged in the form of objectives and expected (but not actual) outcomes.

The rationale of the policy selection for this thesis was based on a particular logic. Firstly, policy documents on higher education have to be framed within the context of BRICS nations. Secondly, the selected policies must be devoted to the improvement of national higher education or direct creation of World Class Universities there. However, it is important to remember that there is no identical strategy on the creation of WCUs among the BRICS block due to the unique historical, economic and political experience of these countries. In this instance, the idea of the WCU as a way of viewing HE policy direction may be oriented on only one particular strategy and made an emphasis on this strategy over others. For example, Brazil has pushed forward internationalization as a key component of WCU, when China and Russia created a systematic policy approach, which are based on various tactics of successful WCUs (I shall reveal this theme later, in the actual discussion of existing policies).

Thirdly, the selected policies are different in their time frame, because, as I said before, over a long period of time, every BRICS country had different priorities and trajectories for the development of their higher education. So, whether or not the Chinese government

concentrated their efforts on the realization of WCUs programs in the late 1990s, the rest of BRICS countries only recognized the importance of WCU creation for their development after 2010. Taking these circumstances into consideration, I will not concentrate on the precise time of policy implementation, because each particular BRICS country has had an unequal entrance to the 'world of WCU'.

Relying on this logic, let me introduce the chosen WCU's policies of BRICS, which will be subject to the analysis contained in the next chapters. To avoid further repetition throughout the next 3 chapters, I shall provide summarized information about the selected policies by introducing the said policy, its commencement period and duration, the main goal of the policy, as well as the main participants (objects).

1) Brazil: "Science without borders" (Ciências sem Fronteiras). This program was announced by the Brazilian Federal government in 2011. The goal of the program is "to promote the consolidation and expansion of science, technology and innovation in Brazil by means of international exchange and mobility" (Science Without Borders, 2012). According to the title of the program it becomes clear that science has no borders, and the internationalization of science, innovation and technology can increase the level of competitiveness of Brazilian universities. The target group of participants was divided on two levels. On the one hand, approximately 100,000 scholarships were announced to support students at all levels of higher education to study abroad. On the other hand, the program was expected to attract international scholars who wished to conduct their research in Brazil, and to establish partnerships with Brazilian scientists for international research collaboration.

2) Russia: Russian Academic Excellence Project '5-100'. The Project '5-100' was launched by the Russian Government in 2013 with a total duration of 8 years (5-100, n.d). According to the official declaration, "the Russian Academic Excellence Project wants to tap into the full academic and research potential of Russian Universities while bolstering

their positions in the global education market" (5-100, n.d). The participants of the project include Russian Federal and Research universities, whose long-term strategies (roadmaps) are fulfilled by the general requirements of the '5-100' Project. "The main expected results of the Project 5-100 by 2020 is that Russia will have a group of leading contemporary universities with effective management structures and a strong international academic reputation which meets global development trends and can quickly adapt to global changes" (5-100, n.d, n.p).

3) India: University Grant Commission (Declaration of Government Educational Institutions as World Class Institutions). This strategy, allowing the Indian government to create a distinct category of WCUs, was announced in 2016. The general idea behind the Declaration lies in the attempt to provide financial assistance to 10 public and 10 private universities to "emerge as world-class Teaching and Research Institutions" (UGC, 2016, p.4). However, the Declaration is a working document, which is currently undergoing further development.

4) China: The 985 Project. This Project was initiated by the government of the People's Republic of China, in 1998. According to Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, "China must have a number of first-rate universities with an advanced level internationally" (People Online, 1998). Since then, one of the primary tasks for the Chinese higher education sector has been the development of world-class universities that are capable of global recognition (Zhang, Patton & Kenney, 2013). The Project was split into two phases: the first stage included 9 Chinese universities, but after 2004, the Project was expanded to encompass 39 universities.

5) South Africa. Based on the available material, it can be concluded that there are no existing policies specifically aimed at the creation of WCUs. However, there are now some recently established initiatives, entitled "Policy framework on Internationalization (draft)", that are being introduced by The Department of Higher Education and Training of South

Africa, in 2017. The policy goal is to create so-called 'comprehensive internationalization', which has to be "globally oriented and internationally connected". It involves "articulated institutional commitment, leadership, and internationally oriented curriculum and co-curriculum, academic staff with international competence, student mobility policies, and collaboration and partnerships" (Department of Higher Education and Training Republic of South Africa, 2017, p.3).

4.9. Data generation and use of the thematic lens

Firstly, I rely on a general case study approach which brings to my research rich analyses of each example which is a case of the creation of WCUs in the emerging economies of BRICS. Secondly, using thematic policy analysis means that I shall not organize opinion polls or sociological research of similar kinds. Rather, I shall work with different primary and secondary sources – policy drafts and documents, programmatic reviews and change-projects descriptions, statistical information available from open sources and a systematic analysis of critical academic literature. As the data were not sufficient for theoretical saturation, I also conducted several in-depth interviews with key actors in the universities sectors in the target regions during extensive field work in Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa.

Moreover, to answer the research question I have to put strict boundaries on the examined cases. The limitations of the case studies must consider time and place; time and activity; definition and context (Creswell, 2002, Stake, 1995, Miles & Huberman, 1994). Eckstein explains that a researcher can only "report and interpret <…> a single measure on any pertinent variable" (Eckstein, 2002, p.124). In the situation of case study policy analyses, the boundaries are indicated by place (BRICS nations), definition (WCUs policies) and

context (conceptual framework of 3 trends). Moreover, in BRCIS I only look at public universities for WCU thematic analysis.

Thematic policy analysis requires a variation of different types of data. I divided my data collection into two stages:

1) work with primary sources, and

2) work with secondary sources.

Let me provide more details about data collection:

A thematic framework allowed me to construct a complex thematic analysis using 'codes' – themes to analyze primary documents. I should also acknowledge that policy analysis is partially descriptive, because it introduces and explains the socio-economic, political and historical backdrop against which the policy was formed. However, Dunn points out that policy analysis is also normative, because it provides an evaluation of directions of what ought to be done in order to achieve the desired policy goals (Dunn, 2013).

An actual thematic analysis was conducted with a general identification of themes in each policy. I searched through texts to identify certain words and themes as flag posts for the identification of global trends. The theme of massification appeared together with the words 'inclusion', 'participation', 'access'. The theme of internationalization was highlighted with words; 'competitiveness', 'foreign', 'exchange', 'collaboration', and 'globalization'. The theme of commercialization was also linked with the words 'investments', 'internationalization', 'innovation', 'funding' and 'private sector'.

(1) In policy analysis, primary sources are original materials. They allow a policy analyst to understand and interpret a government's policy over a specific time frame. In this research work, primary sources come in the form of policy documents, speeches or statement made by politicians, statistical information provided by BRICS education ministries, including materials published in white papers and working documentation. The

key categorization of the selection of primary sources is that a policy document has to be 'firsthand', meaning issued directly by the policymakers and government officials of BRICS. The U.S. Library of Congress defines primary sources as "original documents and objects" (The Library of Congress, n.d, n.p). Policy documents in this sense, are the essential 'battle plans', outlining a nation's choices in terms of higher education development. One problem which occurred during my analysis of primary sources was working with documents written in languages which required translation. I am fluent in English and Russian, which gave me an ability to work with documents and data available on the Russian, South African and Indian government websites and databases. However, for Brazil and China, my lack of proficiency in Portuguese and the Chinese languages became a clear obstacle. Gadamer states that language is a key component of human life, which creates meanings rather than just transmitting them (Gadamer, 2004). This is why careful cross-language study translation plays a crucial role, because a correct translation of texts reflects the entire credibility of the study.

There are many forms of discussion representing cross-language translations. I specify those whose approaches I used for this thesis. Coseriu stresses that language structures can be different from each other, but they can still reproduce the meaning of the text (word) (Coseriu, 1978). Translation involves many linguistic layers, which, in the end, brings a "relationship of equivalence" in translation from one language to another (Pym, 2007, p.277). In policy research programmes inspired by global trends, in my case, by commercialization, internationalization, massification and globalization, the translation of terminology related to WCU-creation was not complicated, because it reflected processes happening globally rather than in one particular country. I clearly understood the goal, the terminology and the outcome of policy programmes. The main challenge was to locate key policy documents and literature, published in Chinese and Brazilian Portuguese languages, and to assign a translator (or a suitable programme) to translate the document into English.

For instance, I availed of the valuable assistance of translators based in Fudan University (to translate policies from Chinese to English), where I conducted my fieldwork in autumn 2018. Specifically, I used policy papers available on official government websites of BRICS nations, including:

1. the government of the Russian Federation: https://minobrnauki.gov.ru,

2. the Union of South Africa government http://www.dhet.gov.za,

3. the Indian Federal government: http://mhrd.gov.in,

4. the Brazilian Federal government https://www.mec.gov.br,

5. the Chinese Central government http://en.moe.gov.cn.

Moreover, I conducted a series of short interviews with state officials from every ministry of education within the BRICS block and key actors in the university sectors in the target regions. The premises of these interviews were to understand how high-ranking officials from BRICS education ministries arrived at the idea of creating WCUs in their countries. These interviews have to show the opinions of leading university experts of BRICS about whether these government programs are sufficient or effective enough for the improvement of BRICS higher education. I used data from interviews in order provide a specific expert insight into a particular issue. In my own research, I relied upon a semi-structured interview method. This form of interview method is especially useful because a semi-structured interview technique provides an opportunity, not necessarily to test a specific hypothesis, but rather to gather views and opinions on a particular issue of study (Gray, 2004).

The main questions which I asked during interviews with policymakers were related to the research question of this study, namely: What alternative do BRICS countries offer to the world of global higher education? What distinct features does your national higher education system have? Semi-structured interviews do not require any specific guidance or strict settings. Gray summarizes that through a semi-structured interview, a researcher

has the ability to create a conversational style of interview and gain better responses for discussed topics (Gray 2004). Some of my interviews would be digitally recorded, but for others, I simply took notes.

(2) Secondary sources provide interpretation and analyses of events or phenomena (The Berkeley Library of UC Berkeley, n.d). I examined the official reports of the OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank, which provide policy recommendations and interpret data on higher education development in BRICS countries. I used the works of many leading scholars in the field, including books and peer-reviews journal articles of Altbach, Salmi, Rozovsky, Knight, Clark and Marginson.

Thematic analysis gives a flexible approach to qualitative research and can be adapted to the specific needs of many studies. However, being flexible in its nature, thematic analysis gives very rich and complex insights in the interpretation of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). One of the issues of working with policy documents is being aware of the trustworthiness, credibility and transferability of the study. Rourke and Anderson state that data collection is a key component of research which contributes toward the trustworthiness to the study (Rourke & Anderson, 2004). Trustworthiness also closely connects with credibility of the study, with a focus on how well data addresses the research question (Polit & Beck, 2012). In this research, I am conscious of the particular research lens which I apply to it. I used a thematic policy analysis and the perspective of multiple modernities to examine WCU policy documents. Both trustworthiness and credibility are achieved through the careful selection and interpretation of data (policy documents) selected for this study. The process of selection was discussed in detail in the section above.

Transferability is linked with the reporting of research results. In qualitative studies, this often depends on the conceptualization of the analysis process. The aim of my research is to identity possible alternatives offered by BRICS universities, especially in terms of the WCU concept, in the development of global higher education. Therefore, I evaluate the

policies of BRICS on WCU development, I use a thematic analysis for this evaluation and implement the lens of multiple modernities to conceptualize my findings. Therefore, the results of the thesis outline the alternatives, or their absence based on this analysis. Koch states that transferability reflects the extent to which research findings can be applicable to another setting or context (Koch, 1994). On the other hand, Graneheim and Lundman point out that transferability is measured by a reader, along with their personal judgment on whether research findings are transferable to another context or not (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

4.10. Case study and the frame of thematic analysis

One of the approaches of qualitative approach to research is the case study. There are many forms and techniques that involve case study, but all of them are aimed at investigating a policy using the frame of a given context (Stake, 1995). In this thesis, especially for policy research studies, scholars use a particular type of case study – an embedded case. BRICS countries represent the case of emerging economies, united under the same umbrella of a fresh experience of modernity. The embedded case design is used when a researcher needs to integrate various types of knowledge in the particular case. Therefore, every country of the BRICS union represents a particular case in itself, which is analyzed via the thematical framework and their responses to modernity via WCU policies. An embedded case study approach is needed when a researcher has to understand complex contextualized problems (Scholz & Tietj, 2001). In my analysis, I look at BRICS countries and their WCU-creation processes by intertwining their historical, social and economic narratives, thus creating an interdisciplinary approach to our understanding of BRICS actualization of WCU policies.

(1) Every country of BRICS and its respective WCU policies is seen as a case, where the political, social and economic situation of BRICS nations itself create a context “in-depth

understanding" within which current policies have been developed (Creswell, 2002, p.61). I also bring historical perspectives into the discussion of policy development, since every policy originates within a specific historical context.

(2) All five countries are united, not only in accordance to their belonging to the one political block, and convergences and divergences in policy and practice across higher education policy in these countries, in their economic development, but also in their intention to establish a world class system of higher education through creation of WCUs. In this sense, the case study "is an explicit attempt to preserve the wholeness, unity and integrity" of current research (Punch 2005, p. 145).

(3) In purely conceptual terms, as a non-western model of cooperation, BRICS countries were an interesting example of the application of the theory of multiple modernities, simply because the experience of the modernity of these countries differs from that of the canons of the European system, and the ability to offer the prospect of the development of alternative pathways in modernity. On the one hand, the advancement of higher education institutions allows BRICS nations to become more modernized and developed; conversely, the WCU policy programs of BRICS are a trajectory of socio-economic change which may lead to "possible plurality of modern forms of life today" (Wagner, 2012, p.10). Up to this point, a case study approach has helped me to investigate these changes within "real life context' (Yin, 2003, p.13).

(4) Finally, the chosen case studies were investigated via the lens of collective evaluation techniques of case study, because in the process of examination I have to test all five cases (policies of BRICS) on the ability to create WCUs there and proceed with a detailed evaluation of their policies based on the 'four trends' scheme. As I have already discussed in the section devoted to theoretical assumptions, every policy will be assessed in terms of the internationalization, massification, commercialization criteria. The greater the presence

of each trend in the policy, then the greater the chance of this policy being successful in terms of WCU creation.

4.11. Fieldwork and personal experience

During work on my thesis, I had the privilege to conduct fieldwork in four countries of BRICS, bar India. In April 2017, I was an invited speaker in the conference FAUBAI 2017, held in Brazil, Fortaleza. FAUBAI is a global conference devoted to internationalization of higher education. During my stay in Brazil, I conducted several interviews which helped me to expand my knowledge and understanding on the current perspective on university internationalization, not only in Brazil, but in BRICS in general.

In August 2018, I conducted an archival work in the University of Stellenbosch and University of Cape Town, South Africa. I was able to identify archival resources necessary for the chapter devoted to South Africa, especially for its historical part, where we discuss South African history of higher education in the context of modernity. Moreover, I held several discussions with academics in South Africa who work in the field of economics and higher education. These conversations helped me to understand the post-apartheid context of university agendas in South Africa.

During September 2018-November 2018, I was a visiting fellow at the Fudan Development Institute at Fudan University China. Despite the extensive library research, I had a chance to see Chinese policymakers, researchers and academics who participate in the agenda of WCU-creation in China. However, there were several obstacles which I faced during these interviews. There was a general unwillingness to openly provide a critical vision on WCU-formation in the country, as well as language barriers.

Russia is my home country, and I visited it many times over the period of 2015-2019. In April 2018-December 2018, I became a research associate for the government agency

"Sociocenter" responsible for WCU policy, Russian Academic Excellence Project '5-100'. During this part-time work, I got a chance to not only contact policymakers and experts, but also gained access to unique data on higher education accumulated by the Ministry of Education. This knowledge and experience had a significant impact on the development of the chapter on Russia.

Throughout my time working on this thesis, I realized that policy analysis is a very dynamic process reflecting different aspects of a country's being. At the beginning of my research journey, I perceived BRICS as a monolith unity of emerging nations pursuing the agenda of the creation of an alternative world order to that of the West. However, over the course of the four years of working in the field of higher education policy development, I came to a conclusion that studying the BRICS alliance as a union of countries requires an in-depth understanding of the individual position of every BRICS nation in the first instance.

Sandywell observes that "a reflective practice never returns the self to the point of origin" (Sandywell, 1996, p.14). Sandywell shows that research can be perceived as a journey in which the researcher never arrives back at the same point from where they started. I feel that this idea echoes my own journey and experience working as a PhD fellow. The lens of global educational trends partially comes from my personal life experience: of growing up in post-Soviet Russia, where higher education underwent a boom of massification during the period of 1990 to 2000; of being an international Masters student in Brunei and seeing the transformation of Bruneian education towards a more global dimension; of studying at world class universities, such as the University of California, Berkeley, and Trinity College Dublin, with their overwhelming approach to excellence. For me, it was important that this thesis had several layers, every one of which uncovered the position of BRICS countries in relation to modernity, history and policy-development practices of the globalized world.

Part II. Russian and Chinese approaches to build world-class universities

5 Russia

Throughout the next chapters, to answer my research question which is ***what alternatives BRICS countries can offer to the world of higher education, despite the blind following of a policy path created by Western world and global educational trends,*** I will conduct a thematic policy analysis of BRICS WCU policies.

This chapter is devoted to Russia, my home-country. Among BRICS nations, the specifics of Russian higher education were the most known to me, which is why the length of this chapter is the longest in comparison to the length of other chapters on BRICS. Over the course of my research, I visited Russia many times, and even had the privilege to work in the agency which controls realization of the WCU program '5-100'. In this chapter, I will analyze how the history of the Russian universities changed over time, and what events influenced the formation of the contemporary Russian university. I look at these events through the prism of modernity, whose features have also spread to contemporary policy-making – as the idea of modernization of Russian higher education.

The detailed thematic analysis of the WCU policy '5-100'will be provided. However, in order to understand the urge of the creation of WCU policy '5-100' policy, it is important to provide and analyze structural changes which happened with Russian universities since

the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Finally, the conclusion, which shows distinctive features of the unique system of Russian education will be revealed.

5.0 The overview of the contemporary Russian higher education

By comparison with the nine centuries of European university history, the Russian higher education sector is relatively young, beginning its development only three centuries ago. In modern Russia today, there are 741 institutions of higher education (HSE, 2019). In 2019, the number of students attending institutions of higher education is just over 4.25 million (HSE, 2019). In 2018, Russia spent 3.5 percent of their GDP on education, which amounts to 10 percent of the overall federal budget, 1.6 percent of which goes to higher education needs (HSE, 2019). 30 percent of the population of Russia between the ages of 25 and 64 have higher education qualifications, a similar proportion to Canada (31.2%), Sweden (32.2%) and Germany (28.0%) (HSE, 2019). The majority of universities in the Russian Federation are publicly funded.

5.1 Reforms in Russian Higher Education: 2000-2010

The first decade of the 2000s heralded a major challenge for Russian higher education. A number of reforms were introduced, which hugely modified the Russian university system. They are:

a) The Bologna Process within Russian universities

One of these reforms was the introduction of the *Bologna system* for Russian universities. There were several reasons for its implementation. Firstly, the Russian system was not fully integrated within the wider global educational process. With respect to the important elements of higher education, such as student mobility or research collaboration, Russia

remained on the periphery of the global community, as did most Russian universities. To eliminate these gaps, the Russian government proposed the "Federal Target Program for the development of education between 2006 and 2010", where the Bologna Declaration became the guiding principle for future reforms (Telegina & Schwengel, 2012). In many ways, the Bologna Process had to be the tool which hastened the responses of Russian higher education to globalization, helping the Russian system to synchronize with European higher education, and the worldwide system as a whole.

Secondly, The Bologna Declaration by Russia was a political gesture aimed at eliminating a polarity between 'soft' and 'hard' power in Russia (Telegina & Schwengel, 2012). Traditionally, being an export-oriented country, Russia understood the necessity of investment in human capital, and a shift away from an export-driven economy, to a knowledge economy, where human capital is a key element. With the acceptance of the Bologna Declaration, Russia could find common ground with Europe, allowing the Russian universities to closely collaborate with the European educational and research community. In other words, the Bologna reforms opened symbolic doors to so-called 'European collective spaces', which helped Russian universities to establish an intellectual exchange between Russian and European higher education, following European standards of higher education (bachelor – masters) (Pursiainen & Medvedev, 2005).

Thirdly, the Bologna Declaration had to straighten the development of a knowledge economy (Pursiainen & Medvedev, 2005). In this sense, such unification of Russian higher educational programs, in accordance with leading European standards, has put Russian universities on the path of pragmatic modernization. It means that Russian universities can now follow a path of already 'modernized' European institutions, using their practices to achieve better results on the way to a knowledge economy

Thus, the engagement with the Bologna process became a starting point for further reforms, through which, goals were oriented on the recognition, inclusion and modernization of Russian universities. Moreover, the Bologna model had to reinforce Russian-European partnership, not only in the sector of higher education, but also to speed the processes of reorientation of Russian universities, away from the past Soviet tradition, into an internationally-recognized global model, the demand for which is indicated by existing trends.

b) University Restructuring

University restructuring was also a part of modernization of higher education. Two new university models were introduced. The first model known as a *Federal University* was designed to strengthen an integration between science, industry and teaching, and enhance the development of a knowledge economy in Russia (Decree of President of the Russian Federation from 05.07.2008, №. 716, 2008). In many ways, the concept of Federal Universities was conceived, not only as a step toward the creation of leading universities in selected regions, but so that these universities could become platforms for future WCU reforms. Even if there is no direct identification of world educational trends in the documentation of the Federal Universities, there are some distinct features of this policy, such as an emphasis on the role of international integration, modernization and enhanced partnership with the private sector.

The Federal Universities had to form on the platform of state universities across Russia, which merged with smaller regional institutions of higher education. For instance, the Siberian Federal University, established as the first experimental Federal University in 2006, was a product of the amalgamation of the Krasnoyarsk State University with five other local institutions.

The Siberian Federal University had to become a center of advanced education, research, and innovation, which promoted “new knowledge and technologies to meet the

challenges of social and economic development of the Siberian Federal District" (Siberian Federal University, 2019, n.p). Similar ideas were outlined with the further creation of the next series of Federal Universities. In 2010-14, a total of ten Federal Universities were established, based on the strategic, economic and geographical location of regional development (Fig11).

Figure 11. Location of Federal universities in Russia. Source: Likhovtseva, 2015

Moreover, not only strategic, but also organizational changes had occurred in the new university system. A 'panel of university trustees' was introduced; the reasons behind this decision were also very pragmatic. Members of trustee panels are actively involved in the problem-solving of various university issues, such as the attraction of additional university income from private sources and control over general university development (The Federal Law of 10 February 2009, № 18, 2009). Trustee panels were formed from the commercial, educational and political elites of Russia, along with leading international experts.

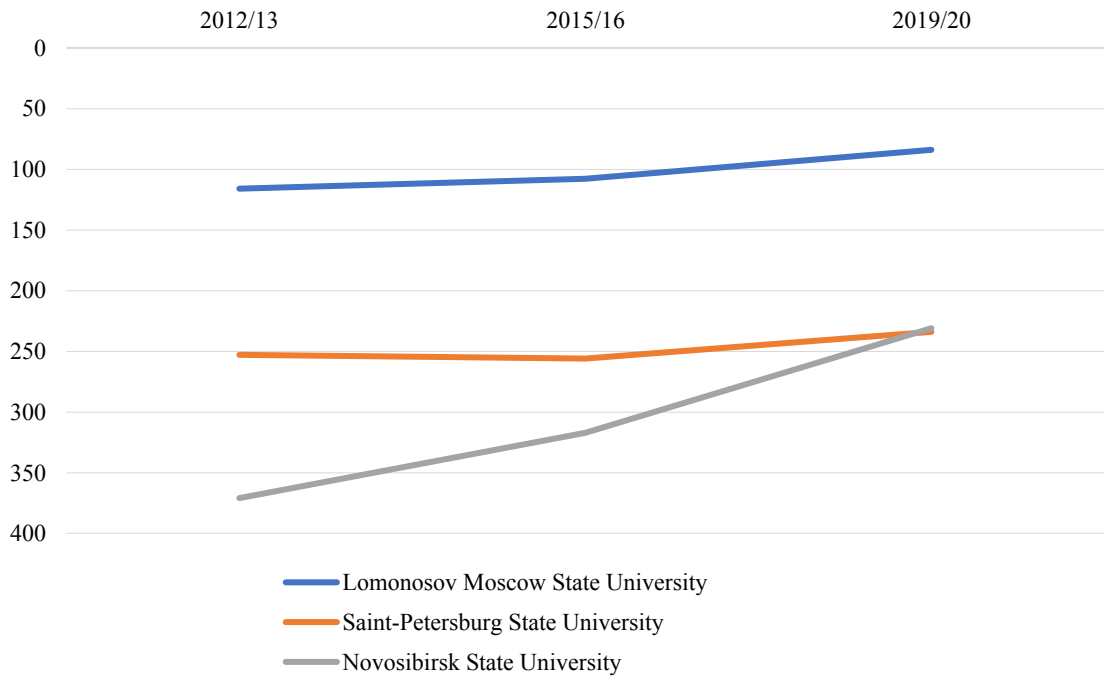
The second model, introduced by a new reform, was the model of a *National Research University* (NRU). The initial origins of the entitlement of NRUs lay in the Presidential Decree № 1448 from 7 October 2008 (Decree of President of the Russian Federation №. 1448 form 07.10.2008, 2008). According to this decree, the NRU is a university whose functions are targeted at the integration of science, technology and innovation in collaboration with the private sector, industries and government (Decree of President of the Russian Federation № 1448 from 07.10.2008, 2008). The NRU was created according to the model of American research-intensive universities, which prioritize R&D projects along with excellence in teaching and technology transfer. Moreover, the NRU, inspired by the example of American research universities such as MIT, are viewed as key players "in their scientific and technological contributions to economic development" (Vest, p. 37, 2007). Since 2008, the title of 'NRU' is awarded on a competitive basis. The NRU criteria involves advanced university infrastructure along with a high quality of teaching, international recognition, and performance in science and innovation research. Thus, both creations - the NRU and the Federal University - became a quantum leap towards the reorganization of the Russian university system.

If, previously, research and teaching belonged to different structural divisions (the Academy of Science and the State University), the NRU and the Federal University models had to bring together these two categories. Moreover, the Russian federal budget distribution in higher education rose from $24.4 bn in 2000 to $519.7 bn in 2014. This indicates drastic changes in the proportion of funding allocated to higher education since the introduction of the new university models. These measures allow selected universities to develop their own 'road maps', which emphasize strategic priorities for each university.

5.2 The reasons why “5-100” has emerged

A series of reforms from the 2000s, which were discussed in the previous section, initiated the start of the “5-100” program, which became the policy of national priority in higher education for the 2013-2020 period. The inspiration for the program emerged under the influence of global educational trends and a reorientation of the Russian economy towards a knowledge-intense economic model. Firstly, there was a clear understanding that Russian universities were underrepresented in the world university rankings. For instance, none of the Russian universities appeared in the top 200 of QS and THE (Times Higher Education) global rankings as recently as 2013 (The Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, 2019). Taking into consideration the influence of international rankings on the national higher education brand, it clearly signified that Russian universities had been left behind in the global university rankings (Fig.12).

Figure 12. Ranking of Russian Universities in QS Rankings. Source: Study in Russia, n.d,



Secondly, during the early 2010s, a series of national strategic plans dedicated to the various segments of the country's development, defined the crucial significance of gradual economic growth. It stated that economic growth should be achieved, not only by traditional means, based on the mechanisms of an export-oriented economy, but also utilizing resources which previously had been neglected, namely through highly skilled human capital and innovations. For example, according to the "Strategy for social and economic development 2020", education is cited as a key driver for the formation of human capital (Government of the Russian Federation, 2008). "Strategy for Innovation Development of the Russian Federation 2020" focuses on higher education as one of the main players for the creation of innovative products, which diversifies Russian economic development and intensifies economic growth (Ministry of Digital Development, Communications and Mass Media of the Russian Federation, 2011).

Thirdly, international/multinational agencies - The World Bank, the OECD, and the European Commission - apply their own visions to higher education, whose initiatives are also designed to intensify the development of global and local economies. For instance, the OECD produced a series of annual reports entitled 'Education at a Glance', which provides 'gentle' recommendations for OECD countries in specific areas for the potential 'improvements' of higher education. Some nations directly responded to these suggestions, taking into consideration the instructions of powerful agencies, manifesting different attempts to reconstruct national education systems.

Among developed economies, Ireland can be seen as a product of such transformations, where higher education was presented as one of the resources of recovery from a damaging economic crisis in 2008-2013. Policymakers in Ireland have declared updated goals for the higher education system, which have to be achieved by 2030. The new policy document, "The National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030" (also known as "The Hunt Report") emphasized that higher education was "a sustaining force for social and

economic regeneration" (Hunt, 2011, p.51). Repeating the OECD knowledge-based agenda, the "Hunt Report" claims that in order to succeed within a global higher education market, Irish universities have to move from being knowledge distributors, to knowledge creators, relying on the attraction of investments from different private sources (Walsh & Loxley, 2015). Walsh and Loxley indicate that, influenced by international pressure, in general, "The Hunt Report" mediates mainly through the European Commission and the OECD, balancing between local interests and growing international demand (Walsh & Loxley, 2015, p.1137).

In the case of Russia, the OECD observation of national higher education partially made an impact on contemporary policy. In a manner analogous with Ireland, the general comparison of indicators among the OECD countries placed Russia below average in categories of national expenditure on higher education (OECD, 2014). Moreover, according to the OECD indicator-based comparison, Russian higher education is fully dependent on public sources and had very little interaction with industry and commerce (OECD, 2014). If we look at this problem in a broader context, the underrepresentation of private income in the university budget generally signifies the limited capacity of Russian universities to interact with the private sector. The connection between universities and business partners are not adequately built in any spheres, neither in R&D, nor in technology transfer or interdisciplinary scientific collaborations.

Finally, the internationalization of Russian universities, in comparison with other OECD countries, has been represented relatively well. However, as was already mentioned, the national universities are only able to attract students from former Soviet states who are familiar with the Russian universities and can speak the Russian language, while other leaders of the internationalization race – such as the USA and the UK- successfully enroll students from all over the world. Without doubt, all three factors have become a signal for Russian policymakers to rethink the direction of Russian higher education.

Under these circumstances, the course of national policy makers was to choose the strategy of so-called *channeling*. According to Gornitzka, *channeling* is a direct response of policy makers to external pressures to avoid "major shock and crisis" in the different spheres of domestic public policy (Gornitzka, 2013, p.79). In the case of Russia, understanding that Russian universities have become uncompetitive on the international ranking game, provoked local policy makers to adopt radical measures (unfamiliar and new for the academic community). That is why the "5-100" policy is seen as a solution for the Russian higher education sector, which has now carefully absorbed all proposed reforms in areas that require complex measures in order to attain 'world class' status.

5.3 Towards the World-Class University: Program "5-100" as a project of modernity

Can the Project 5-100 be considered to be part of the context of Western modernity, which Russia is following, or, alternatively, is 5-100 a policy that could establish an alternative pathway of higher education offered by the Russian government? In order to answer this question, we must examine some of the common understandings of modernity, and, second, what makes Russia different in terms of how it has been identified as belonging to an alternative way of development, or to that path of development outlined under the theory of multiple modernities. I will begin with a discussion of the position of Russia in the context of orthodox (western) modernity.

According to the contemporary literature, there are several perspectives which can show Russia's path towards modernity. In my Methodology chapter I have already given a characterization of western modernity, which, in many ways, is based on principals of progress, market economy and modernization. To avoid repetition here, and in the

following chapters, I will concentrate on individual features which are only relevant to BRICS nations.

In the context of modern Russia, after the fatal break-down of the Communist regime, the choice to return to the bosom of Western civilization was clear. The official defeat of the Communist East became a symbol of the victory of the democratic free-market values of the West, and, as a result, the privilege of only one possible trajectory of human development. In the late 1980s, when the inevitable processes of globalisation began and the Soviet economy failed to compete, or 'catch up', with the developed world, Gorbachev underlined that: "Russia's trade, cultural and political links with other European nations and states have deep roots in history", united by Christianity and great European history" (Gorbachev as cites in Neumann, 1996, p.162).

Secondly, on a more pragmatic level, Russian officials associated the further development of the country with the principals of democracy and market economy. President Yeltsin, in his annual speech to the Federal Assembly in 1999, stressed that the idea of the synchronization of Russia with global tendencies (rapid growth of technological market, globalization and democratization) would bring the country to the top level/tier of the leading nations (Yeltsin, 1999). However, if Russia did not accept the obligation of following the flow of global tendencies, the country would always remain in the periphery of wider global progress, as a backward third-world state (Yeltsin, 1999).

Eurocentric attitudes were alluded to, not only by the political elites of that time, but by leading scholars who observed the standoff between the Western and Communist regimes through the lens of western modernity, deducing that the liberal Western tradition of development was more enduring. Thus, with the acceptance of the Western system of development in the beginning of 1990s, the post-communist countries entered a period of so-called 'transitology', which literally identifies a transition from a communist economic model to a capitalist-style economy and a democratic form of governance (Arnason,

2000). In many ways, transitology can be considered to be the combination of "measures and policy processes", the aim of which was to bring the post-communist countries to the level of advanced western societies (Arnason, 2000, p.89). Prozorova points out that transitology was "regarded as a cultural and political convergence of post-communist societies with the West" (Prozorova, 2017, p. 63).

Consequently, at the beginning of 1990s, Russia entered its own transitory period in order to return to civilization (Neumann, 1996). Apart from the key political and economic reforms, which included privatization, liberalization of economy and foreign trade, and democratization of political institutions, Russian policymakers were gripped by the idea of progress and economic development. However, from the 1990s to the late 2000s, even with the introduction of these reforms, Russia did not achieve major economic growth on a comparative level with the more advanced nations and even some emerging economies. A particularly noticeable underachievement has been observed in the areas of advanced technology and innovation.

Relying on the exportation of oil and gas, Russia could not overcome the stigma of being an over-dependent exporter of natural resources. In stark contrast, by 2016, among BRICS nations, the leader of high technology exportation was China (496 bn$), followed by India (13 bn$) and Brazil (10 bn$) (The World Bank, n.d). Respectively, Russia (7 bn$) and South Africa (2 bn$) occupied the last two positions, with the lowest indicators of high-technology products (The World Bank, n.d). That is why the theme of modernization became essential for Russian policymakers, especially during the presidency of Dmitry Medvedev.

5.4 Modernization as a pattern of Western Modernity

In avoiding any major changes to the political system, Medvedev's modernization mostly concentrated on the technological phase, oriented on a successful model of technological transfer from the US and Europe. In this sense, modernization is seen as "a global effect of the growth and diffusion of technically applicable knowledge" (Arnason, 2000, p.64). Such a vision of modernization is not only applicable to the 19th century transformation of European societies from agrarian to industrial economics, but also nowadays, throughout the transformation of emerging economies and post-industrial to knowledge-based economies and societies, which, in the case of export-oriented countries like Russia, is especially relevant. This wave of modernization which began in post-Soviet Russia had to reduce technological overlap and lead Russia to the stages of an 'intelligent economy', which is based around "unique knowledge, exporting new technologies and innovative products" (Autio-Sarasmo, 2016, pp.83-84).

However, Medvedev was not the first Russian leader to introduce the discourse of modernization as a distinctive pattern of modernity. It is considered that modernization as a driving force of societal progress commenced with Tsar Peter the Great in the 18th century, who had personally travelled to Europe "to study the civilization and technology of the West" (Massie, 1980, p.374) However, the Russian variety of modernization had a slower tempo than its European equivalent, due to the lack of important factors, including private investment in industrialization and the strong presence of a capitalist class. According to Pursiainen, "Russian modernization, unlike that of the West, was authoritarian and imperial, creating and preserving the military and bureaucratic complexes" (Pursiainen, 2012, p.27). For communists, modernization became a tool to overcome the industrial weakness of the country. During the first All-Union Conference of Leading Personnel of Socialist Industry, in 1931, Soviet leader, Josef Stalin, famously announced that "we (the Soviet Union) are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced

countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall go under" (The National Archives, 2019, n.p).

Scholars have now considered there to be several waves of Soviet modernization. Initiated by the Soviet government, the first wave of modernization began with rapid industrialization in the 1930s and 1940s, which was characterized by the enhanced role of centralized government in the Soviet economy, and elimination of market initiatives (Mau, & Staradubrovskaya, 2001). Noticeably, in the cases of leaders such Stalin and Peter the Great, the patterns of modernization had an absolutist character, in which the will of the patron was key in the decision-making and the navigation of a modernization strategy (Gavrov, 2002). On the one hand, under authoritarian modernization there were no major structural transformations, which also imply political and social changes (Gelman, 2017). Authoritarian modernization is derived from policy measures which are narrowly focused on spheres which enhance only the technological potential of the state to successfully compete with other nations (Gelman, 2017). However, alongside the technological transformation/ renaissance, Peter the Great had seen European culture as a cornerstone of further development in the Russian Empire, whereas Stalin rejected "alien information" as potentially dangerous to the development of the Communist state (Gavrov, 2002).

The second wave of modernization (some scholars define it as 'the late Soviet modernization'), arose throughout the period of 1950-1980, and is associated with a series of liberal reforms initiated by the Soviet government (Alexeev & Alexeeva, 2003). However, this liberation did not reduce the growing polarity between the Soviet Union and the West. In the West, this period is characterized by the broader involvement of companies, industries and universities in the process of rational usage of innovations. However, similar patterns can be traced during Soviet modernization. Therefore, the Western world could apply new technologies as an integral part of the market economy

to generate, not only military and industrial production, but also a diversity of consumer goods.

Meanwhile, Soviet officials continued following the principles of the planned economy, ignoring the wider context of market deficit owing to a lack of implementation of the products of modernization (Alexeev & Alexeeva, 2003). Thus, looking at the process of modernization in the Russian Empire, and later in the Soviet Union, it is suggested that modernization of these eras was initiated from the top, partially touching spheres where inevitable changes were required. However, if in the Russian Empire modernization was associated with the Europeanization of Russia, in the Soviet context modernization was an element of the program of Western modernity but contrived in order to be able to compete with the West.

With regard to Medvedev's idea of modernization, it is possible to say that it is a 'hybrid modernization'. This means that Russia has an imperative to modernize its economy in order to present itself in modernity on an equal basis with the West. However, in an analogy with Soviet-style modernisation, the priority is given to the partial improvements of economic and social sectors, while the political field is maintained under the status quo. Under these circumstances, the role of universities is quite complex. Up to the 1990s, universities formed a part of Soviet modernization, but were poorly incorporated into the socio-economic progress of the country.

In contemporary Russia, university modernization also became a part of the general tendency of modernization. If previously guided by the imperative of the Soviet planned economy, nowadays, universities have to adapt their strategies to satisfy two factors: globalization and the economic direction of contemporary Russia. Previously, I introduced a discussion of a series of key reforms of Russian universities since the 2000s. It is worth remembering that all of them were framed around the idea of modernization, which stimulated development and prompted the universities to follow a western model

of higher education development. In this sense, the 'Project 5-100' is a logical outcome of the course of Russian modernization, especially in a situation of globalization and mounting pressure from multinational corporations which place particular standards on higher education on a global level.

However, despite the fact that policy "5-100" is a modernist project, it still may be thought from a position of theory of multiple modernities. According to Therborn "the West is no longer uniquely rational and successful", which means that there are no obligations of owning the right to call 'Western modernity', as the only possible way of modernity experience (Therborn, 1995, p.127). In this sense, Russian modernity in the actualization of the present is also discovery of the future as an "open, unbuilt site, never visited before" (Therborn, 1995, p.127). In this respect, rethinking the path of Russian higher education, using the modernization discourse, could lead to a variety of experiences which may differ from the experiences of western universities.

Paraphrasing Therborn's paths to modernity, which I discussed under the methodology section, public policy itself can be seen, not only as an entrance to modernity, but also as a route by which the discourse of multiple modernities is kept alive. The following reflection will provide a narrative explaining why the Russian situation can be seen as a sort of particular modernity, which although not being excluded from modernity itself, has its own unique traits.

5.5. The Path of the Russian Universities

The reasons for the establishment of universities in Russia were, in many ways, similar to the contemporary situation with WCU policy formation. Upon closer inspection today, and 300 years ago, the initiative of university reforms came from 'the top', generated by

the policies of the Russian Imperial government and their successors. If current stakeholders are oriented around WCUs as a brand new and unfamiliar model of a university in Russia, strategically necessary to build Russian universities as an intellectual hub and increase a level of competitiveness of Russian higher education on the global arena, the ruling elites of the 17th century similarly saw the university as a tool that would narrow a 'gap' in development between the more advanced 'enlightened' nations of Europe and a traditional and 'backward' Russia. In both cases, the university becomes the purveyor of new knowledge, and an instrument of socio-economic improvements. However, with the presence of the religious education already strong in Russia, religious-run education institutions were mainly responsible for the education of the gentlemen of the cloth, just as they were in many countries in Europe (look at the example of The Slavic Greek Latin Academy).

The first official university of the Russian Empire was opened in Saint-Petersburg, in 1724. Just three decades later, in 1755, Moscow University was established. The Russian university model was built on the vision of the German and Dutch university systems, and, therefore, the first professors were also invited from Europe to work and teach in Russian universities (Avrus, 2001).

In order to compensate for the shortage of Russian academics, it was decided to educate the talented Russian students in the best European universities of that time. As a result of this, the returning foreign-educated graduates filled the faculty positions of the Russian universities, and gradually became the new academic elites (Andreev, 2009). Without doubt, the policies that led to the development of such an academic cadre helped Russian universities to form unique futures which shaped distinctive characteristics of Russian higher education. In my view, the replacement of foreign professors with Russian-speaking academics gave rise to the increasing influence of the Russian language, which also became the dominant language of teaching and research, instead of the traditional

European academic languages, such as French, German or Latin, which had, hitherto, been the developmental languages of the humanities and sciences.

By the middle of the 19th century academics began to participate in various works of government commissions, a new flow of young liberal-minded scholars created different university societies, which often had a politically-oriented character, and the student community itself became more diverse, and gained a wider access to university knowledge (Avrus, 2001). It is worth noting that from the middle of the 19th century, the Russian Empire was experiencing a whirlwind of reforming processes and social changes, which drastically transformed Russian society, including such reforms as the Emancipation of the Russian Serfs, or Judicial Reform of Alexander II. This period is often characterized by the rapid spreading of the Revolutionary movement in Europe, especially after the 1848 revolutions, and the infiltration of revolutionary ideas, which took root within the Russian intellectual community. Universities became theatres of political debate and venues for illicit meetings. Consequently, Russian universities were subjected to strong censorship, which led to the stagnation of the university system (Avrus, 2001).In these circumstances, the period from the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century until the October Revolution of 1917, with the exception of the 1905 Revolution, can be considered as a conservative era.

By comparison with Europe, Russia had fewer universities and students than Germany, France or Italy (for instance, by 1900, Russia had 10 universities and 16,500 students, while Germany had 20 universities and 32,000 students) (Avrus, 2001). Also, the majority of students in the Russian universities came from the upper-class families, which was a sign of major social stratification. Even after the Emancipation Reform of 1861, such class division and depreciation would remain largely unchanged. Based on the statistics of 1879, the highest number of students came from the nobility and clergy, whereas only 3 percent of students belonged to the peasantry (Andreev, 2009).

The history of the university in Russia at the turn of the 19th and the 20th century can, thus, be summarized. According to Andreev, the growth of Russian universities was accomplished by the example of the development of the European universities (Andreev, 2009). Andreev observes that the features which formed the Russian universities, occurred as patterns of 'its own time', which, in the future, had long-term consequences (Andreev, 2009). Based on the literature, one can distinguish three major features of the universities of the Russian Empire, which Russian higher education institutions still maintain today (Kolesnikov, Kruglov & Olesuk, 2003):

- Formation of the "course system", which required attendance of compulsory lectures and seminars. Implemented due to socio-political circumstances, this method was the opposite of the system of the classical Berlin university, where students could choose their courses freely by themselves. Such methods of course structure and allocation still prevail in contemporary Russian universities, where students are less flexible with their study preferences, and often depend on the structural curriculum, where 70% of the subjects are mandatory.

- Universities of the Russian Empire held 'corporative autonomy', meaning that universities were able to elect a university government/board and professors/fellows, as well as discretion in the sphere of finance and allocation of funds. However, with an increase in government pressure and censorship, universities began to adopt a very loyalist position which, had a negative impact on university life. This occurred because academic staff were evaluated, not upon the basis of their academic or scientific achievements, but for their level of loyalty to the Russian Imperial regime. This caveat of 'loyalty' is still evident in the Russian university hierarchy, especially among the ruling positions (for instance, rectorship), which must be appointed by the government.

- As I discussed before, the Russian language became the language of research and teaching. Today, even with attempts to create English-speaking courses to cater for the needs of foreign students, and an increase of publications written in English, Russian universities still cannot satisfy the criteria of the international university rankings.

5.6 The Soviet period of universities

During the early Soviet period (1917-1928), Russian universities, contrary to assumptions, had not experienced colossal transformations of the same kind that Russian society underwent during the Revolution and post-Civil War period. In many ways, this period can be described as a time of experiments. On the one hand, the early Soviet university was targeted to become a platform for the creation of a new type of intellectual - the Soviet intellectual (intelligentsia), while on the other hand, universities had to satisfy the needs of the Soviet economy in general, and industry development in particular. Petrov points out that, apart from the economic domain, higher education had to build a bridge between different social groups, thus connecting all members of the new socialist society (Petrov, 2003). This period can be considered as first example of *massification* of Russian higher education.

The first step toward solving the problem of exclusion was made with the creation of a number of new universities and faculties, which increased the rate of enrolment of students across the country. Between 1920 and 1926, the number of so-called 'Workers

Faculties'[2] rose from 54 faculties to 109, which, by the end of the aforementioned period, enrolled 46,000 students (Petrov, 2003). The creation of 'Workers Faculties' was also connected with the political and economic planning of the emerging Soviet state, which required a more qualified working force for the expanding industrial sector.

However, if at the beginning of university formation, an emphasis was made on wider involvement in the educational process, or *massification of* higher education, by 1930 the Soviet universities become more selective in their enrolment of students. Firstly, universities introduced entrance examinations, and secondly, universities only accepted students who had completed compulsory high school level, or tertiary college education. In many ways, this step was also determined by the strengthening of secondary and tertiary levels of education in order to enable the introduction of compulsory education for every citizen of the Soviet Union (Petrov, 2003). By 1930, the blueprint for the Soviet university had been established, and universities became a significant part of the Soviet state.

From an organizational point of view, the Soviet institutions of higher education "were governed in the top-down administrative manner", which meant that administrative decisions, student quotas and teaching plans were regulated by the All-Union Ministry of Education (Kuraev, 2016, p.187). On the one hand, especially under the circumstances of rapid industrialization, such policies brought clarity about the number of potential graduates who could be employed by factories/industries, or in any other type of organization (for instance a number of schoolteachers). The practical side of such a 'command and control' approach lay in the assumption that the number of required cadres of graduates could be regulated, and the situation of graduate oversupply would be

[2] 'Rabotchyi Facultet' - faculties where potential students attended courses, which helped them in the future to enter a university

avoided. Koutaissoff points out that various types of higher education were integrated within national economic plans, which usually lasted 4-5 years, and allowed the Soviet authorities to "forecast the types of specialists that will be required" (Koutaissoff, 1971, p.142). On the other hand, this top-down principle eliminated the freedom and flexibility of student choice, removing the ability for initiative and, consequently, innovation.

At that time, three types of university emerged:

- the first group of institutions were oriented around "territorial-production principles", whose functions "consisted in the staffing of specific sectors of the regional socioeconomic system" (Kuzminov, Semenov & Froumin, 2015, p. 272). Such universities were varied in type, depending on their specification, namely pedagogical, medical, agricultural, polytechnic etc;
- the second group of universities, or institutes, belong to the 'industrial university' category, which provided cadres for a particular industry on a regional and state level (examples of such institutions are the I.M. Gubkin Moscow Oil Institute and the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys);
- the third group were the classic mainstream universities which "trained personnel for science and other universities, and especially in fundamental disciplines, as well as a local administrative elite (economics, history, and law)" (Kuzminov, Semenov & Froumin, 2015, p. 273).

Among the discussed universities, special attention should be paid to the last university type - classic universities. In contrast to the other two types, classic universities were more elitist, since they prepared students to 'stay' in an academic environment and pursue an academic career. There were normally two choices of academic career – one worked either at a local university or was appointed to the Academy of Science. The distinction between a university and the Academy of Science was explicit. Teaching, as well as

professional training and research, were separated in the Soviet model of higher education. Research was conducted the Soviet Academy of Science, which began in 1725. During the Soviet period, a vast chain of multiple departments of the Academy of Science were scattered across the entire country and were specifically oriented on research in various disciplines.

After the Second World War, the Soviet universities (for instance, the Moscow State University) received partial autonomy, and became less dependent on the state educational plan. This measure allowed them to follow their own individual programmes with a broader spectrum of specializations. In addition, a series of organizational changes occurred during the 1950s and 60s. For instance, the Novosibirsk State University, along with newly created departments of the Soviet Academy of Science, was clustered into the "Novosibirsk Research Town" (Academgorodok). The main goal of the Academgorodok was to provide an up-to-date scientific environment, where the best scientists of the country could create a leading 'research hub' in Siberia. According to Avrus, with the enhancement of the defensive capacity of the USSR, major attention was paid to researchers who specialized in physics, chemistry, mathematics or mechanics (Avrus, 2001). Priority was given to the science and engineering disciplines, whereas the humanities and social sciences were given secondary status and were often underrepresented in funding tranches.

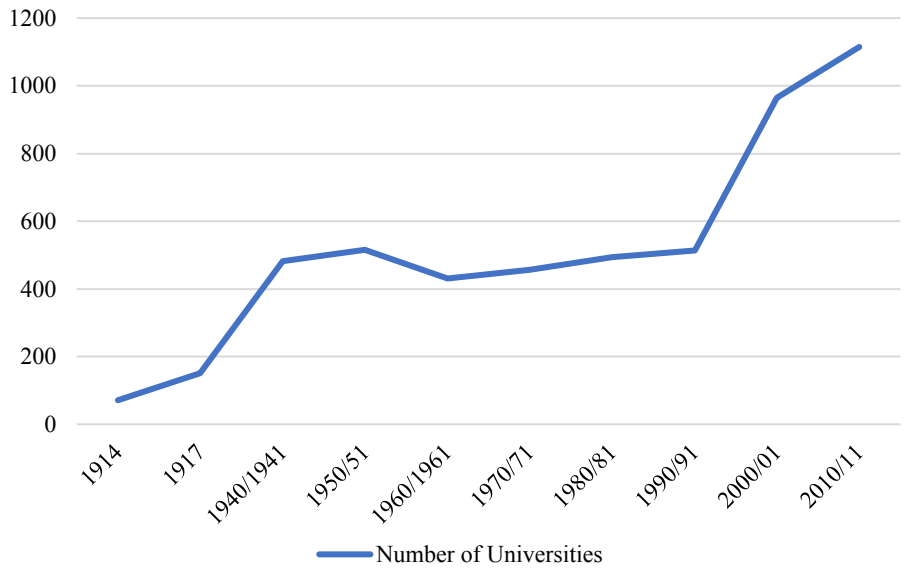
With the beginning of the Cold War, new features and trends in Soviet higher education appeared. Soviet universities became more *internationalized,* and were opened up to foreign students, particularly those from 'friendly socialistic republics' such as the Warsaw Pact countries, and newly-emergent communist nations in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. In the 1970s and late 1980s, alongside political and economic stagnation, universities experienced so-called 'missed opportunities' due to a lack of independence, and flexibility. As Western universities began to *commercialising* their research activity,

the Soviet universities had to follow suit by commercialised their research products and cooperating with tech companies. In many ways, such approaches, along with other factors, caused the isolation of the Soviet economy from the rapidly changing global economy (Kuzminov, Semenov & Froumin, 2015).

5.7 Universities after Perestroika

The demolition of the Soviet Union brought about a new stage in development of Russian universities. Taking the democratic path, with the strong presence of a free-market economy, allowed universities and stakeholders to follow radical changes which could never have occurred in the Soviet time. Firstly, these changes induced the growth of private institutions, which rapidly mushroomed across the country. From the early 1990s until 2005, the number of universities almost doubled from 626 until 1068, out of which 655 were state or municipal institutions (Druzhilov, 2011). Secondly, the number of students willing to obtain higher education increased threefold (Kuzminov, Semenov & Froumin, 2015) (Fig.13). One explanation for the thriving of higher education, is given by Zaslavskaia, who claims that in the 1990s higher education become one of the most important factors in social mobility, which indicates the enhanced social status of an individual with a higher education qualification in society (Zaslavskaia, 2004).

Figure 13. Trends in the Number of Universities. Source: Kuzminov, Semenov & Froumin, 2015



However, the combination of demand in higher education and a general increase in the number of universities, led to controversial consequences. Non-state universities, which enrolled students without any specific requirements, became problematic due to their poor quality of teaching and standard of research. During the 1990s, for instance, a whole host of commercial, catchy-named private institutions were founded, such as the Institute of World Civilizations or the Synergy Institute, which were primarily focused on profit generation and were less concerned about the quality the of the education they were providing.

Another pattern which characterized state universities in the 1990s is the rapid spread of commercial activity. Nobody argued that privately created universities were money-making entities, because, as was said before, the demand for higher education was constantly growing and this demand had to be satisfied, especially in the prestigious fields of law, management and economics. State-run universities began to adapt to the new realities of commercially driven education and adopted the mechanisms of commerce to survive in the educational market. For instance, during the period between 1992 and 1997

the percentage of GDP spending on higher education declined almost twofold, forcing state universities to find new sources of income (Fig. 14, 15).

One of the first steps taken in thwarting this decline was a partial introduction of tuition fees in state universities, as a source of income due to the limitations of state funding. Other forms of income came from the sale of research outputs, funding grants and educational services. Moreover, even state universities with a good reputation, which now struggled for state funding, were forced to accept students with lower standards of knowledge and educational qualifications in order to fill the gaps in university budgets.

Thus, in the 1990s, Russian education went through a period of rapid change, with various effects, both positive and negative. On the one hand, universities became more autonomous, free and diversified in terms of research and taught disciplines. On the other hand, if at the beginning of the 1990s higher education was perceived as enabling social mobility, by the 2000s the reverse had happened. Higher education was still a necessary component for entry into the job market, but the quality of this education, and the graduates themselves, had deteriorated considerably (Maksimova-Mentzoni, 2009).

Figure 14. Percentage of GDP expenditure on higher education in Russia, 1992-1999. Source: Zakirova & Shibanova, n.d

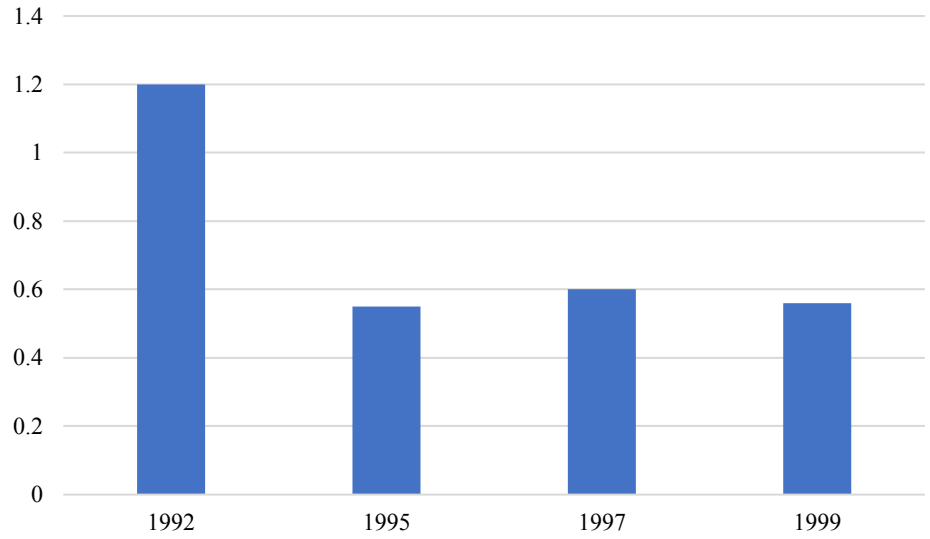
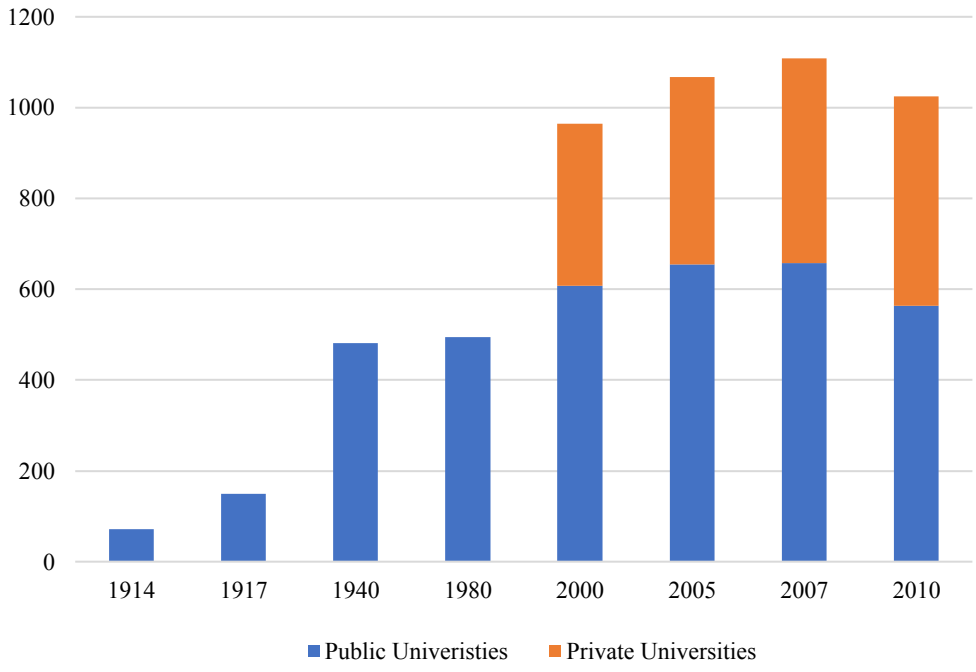


Figure 15. Growth in the Number of Private Universities. Source: Federal State Statistics Service, 2013



Additionally, the overproduction of specialists of 'prestigious' professions such as law, economics and management affected the proportion of graduates of technical disciplines and the humanities. More than 22 % of students graduated from faculties of economics, management and law during the 1990s, whereas students of scientific specializations dropped significantly, and accumulated only 7% of the student's population (Zaslavskaia, 2004). This factor had a significant impact on research and development during the 2000s, which, in comparison with Western countries, or even China, were noticeably lower. According to the Bloomberg Innovation Index, Russia has one of the highest numbers of university graduates in the world (2nd place in the Rankings); however, out of the 50 most innovative countries in the world, Russia is located in 31st position (Coy, 2015). This decline was acknowledged by the Federal Government, which, since the middle of the 2000s, made a priority of strengthening the sectors of science and engineering. Therefore, the contemporary Russian university is a complex mix, which absorbed features of the classical university of Tzarist times, the Soviet university and was later influenced by global educational trends, which became a benchmark for higher education during the period of reforms of the 2000s.

5.8 Russia in the framework of multiple modernities

After careful historical examination, which helped us to form a portrait of features of the Russian university, we have to turn back to the idea of modernity in order to continue a policy examination. It is worth remembering that in the literature, Russia, especially throughout the Soviet period, has been seen through the lens of one of the multiple forms of modernity, mainly because of its Soviet communist past (Eisenstadt, 2000, Therborn, 2003). However, nowadays the discussion of a 'special path' of Russia ("osobyi put"), which makes a clear distinction between Russia and the West, is still popular among

conservative political elites (David-Fox, 2015). David-Fox observes that Russia has always been torn between two cultural identities: European and non-European (Western and Eastern) (David-Fox, 2015). Historically, the values of both identities are embedded in Russian cultural, social and political contexts, and have become a distinctive feature of Russian modernity.

The dialog, which draws a line between Westerners (proponents of westernism) and Slavophiles, began towards the middle of the 19th century, in the late 1830s. Both positions emphasized different views on Russia's past, present and future. At this stage, I will not provide an examination of the history and philosophical origins of both intellectual movements, but I shall introduce the nature of their division to show their importance for the Russian context of multiple modernities.

Westerners insist that Russia is culturally connected with Europe and that, in order to continue its progress, it had to rely on the Western experience and ideals. Westerners consider the beginning of Russian Europeanisation to have occurred with the reforms of Peter the Great, and his symbolic transfer of the Russian Royal capital from the 'eastern' Moscow to the 'western' Saint-Petersburg (Lotman, 2016).Guerié writes that "their aim [Westerners] was not the substitution of western for national institutions, but the education of Russian society in the ideas of a universal European culture in order to lift Russian national development to a supranational level where it would acquire world significance" (Guerié, in Florinsky, 1947, p. 78).

Florinskiy describes Westerners as a group of educated people who prioritized the principles of constitutional government, European science, "freedom of thought and the press" (Florinsky, 1947, p.78). The antinomy of 'East/West' doctrines is observed in various literary works of that time. Goncharov, in his capacity as a secretary to the official Russian expedition to Japan in 1852-1855 noticed remarkable differences between East and West. Traveling across South-East Asia and China, Goncharov wrote that "all

resources [there] are depleted, and life resembles a monotonous, silent cascade, the sound of which makes you slumber instead of bringing you to life" (Goncharov, 1959, p. 247). Goncharov's writings continue this reflection, advocated by a number of pro-western intellectuals who saw a possible development of Asian civilizations under the influence of the West, which that time was already associated with the concepts of progress and power. However, a fascination with Europeanization prompted Goncharov to consider a discussion of such synergy between East and West, which, for some reason, was left untouched.

It is interesting that as proponents of the Europeanisation of Russia, Westerners deduced that Russia, with the acceptance of a 'Western path', could achieve faster and better results, even outstripping the West itself (Lotman, 2016). Zenkovsky observes that from the first quarter of the 19th century, the romanticism of the progress and ideals of Western Civilization brought about a critical reflection in Russia, where debates on Russian cultural identity came to the fore (Zenkovsky, 2011). The catalyst for this intellectual shift began with the Napoleonic wars, which brought new waves of thought and discussion into the circles of the pro-western Russian intelligentsia. Lotman explains that patriotic moods had captured the minds of the Russian elites since the moment that the wars with Napoleon had encroached on Russian territory (Lotman, 2016). Throughout the war, the officers and educated gentries, previously detached from the life of ordinary people, suddenly had to fight shoulder to shoulder with serfs and peasants. That transformative moment of the reopening of Russian self-consciousness and the rise of patriotism was a significant turning point in Russian political thought, which gave birth to the new intellectual movement of that time, namely, the school of Slavophiles.

Slavophiles believed that Russia "possessed, a separate, original, independent, and self-contained culture based on Slavic way of life, which was not only different from that of the Romano-Germanic world but was incompatible with it" (Boro-Petrovich, 1956, p.47).

For Slavophiles, only Orthodox Christianity was an embodiment of the authentic Christian faith which the Roman Catholic Church and the denominations of Protestantism had already lost. Khomykov argues that a combination of rationalism, individualism and materialism penetrated Western societies, whereas Orthodox Christianity preserved its inner spirituality (Khomykov, 1907). Spirituality, in this sense, can be understood as a faith which can lead a person to harmony in life, and maintain a balance between mind and spirit (Khomykov, 1907). To support this harmony, Russia had to find its own way of living that had to be the opposite of western rationalism which caged the developing of spiritual freedom. Theoretically, the Slavophiles' ideals seemed very abstract, and satisfied only arguments of philosophical debates.

However, there was a more practical side which characterized this school. For Slavophiles, the idea of a return to their roots aimed to touch all spheres of social and political life, including the manner of governance itself. Absolutism was seen as a more natural, historically formed way of governance in Russia, which became the only possible solution to preserve the development of the spiritual freedom of Russians. The idea behind this expression was based on the Slavophiles' belief that the Russians had never had a desire for politics or an aspiration for political power (Aksakov, 2015). However, by separating people from direct political involvement, Slavophiles did not intend to exclude people from political participation. On the contrary, for Slavophiles, the relationship between authority and the people was based on deliberative participation, where people could advise the government on what was best for them, while the government refrained from any interference in the private lives of ordinary people (spiritual existence and independent way of life, which Aksakov calls non-interference relationships*)* (Aksakov, 2015). In many ways, the ideology of the Slavophiles was reflected in the most famous trinity, "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality" – the dominant ideological doctrine of the reign of Tsar Nicolas I.

The opposition of East and West in Russian self-identity was captured by Kireevskiy, who wrote that eastern thinkers were preoccupied by the idea of internal harmony, while western philosophy, especially after the Enlightenment, were mostly concerned with the idea of rational thinking and the logical nature of consciousness (Kireevskiy, 1998). Broadly speaking, the East was associated with the deep spiritual inner life, which often, in the Russian context, was addressed as the 'enigmatic Russian soul'. The West, by contrast, is logical and rational, forms of which were often manifested in suspicion, or fear of Russia on the one hand, and a fascination with Russian culture and traditions on the other. Thus, Russia, in the long journey of seeking its cultural belonging, was caged between these two polar worlds.

Residing in permanent antinomies, Russia fell victim to The Revolution of the 1917, followed by the Soviet regime. I do not wish to discuss the phenomena and events preceding this fracture, because of its complexity and capacity to provoke varying arguments, but I do wish to note that the sum of all these factors hastened the revolutionary processes and degradation of the existing monarchy. In the literature, there are different views on the Soviet state. Emerging as an ideological alternative to classical Western modernity, it was synchronised with a cultural program of modernity that would enable the construction of different possibilities of a new order (Eisenstadt, 2000). Despite the fact that the foundations of the new order were based on antinomies with the Western capitalist economy – planned economy, democracy – authoritarian leadership, it still was a form of modernity, existing in present time and having characteristics of a modern state. For instance, Arnason outlines that the Soviet empire, responding to the challenge of modern state-building, relied on an "organisational and technological upgrading of state power" the objective of which was an orientation on economic growth and technological progress, which was the most distinguished pattern of modernity

(Arnason, 2000, p.67). In the literature, the Soviet experience is often considered as an alternative modernity to the West.

However, I would argue that, even in being radically different by its appearance and opposition to Western traditions, alongside other configurations of political regimes and economic directions of 20th century states, it was still an attempted actualisation of modernity, especially in the context of the crisis of Western modernity that occurred after the First World War. As previously mentioned, modernity 'as experience and interpretation' transformed Russia, and placed the Soviet republic on a particular trajectory, albeit one that could be criticised for its totalitarian expansion, non-effective economy or suppressed politics, - but it was different from Western modernity, with different features in its cultural programme (Wagner, 2008).

The self-actualisation of contemporary Russia in modernity and the idea of the so-called 'osobiy put' of Russia presents in the official ideological atmosphere of the country. The search for the self-identity of Russia again became an important component of a controversial political agenda. In one sense, the chosen direction on westernisation during the 1990s brought a return to the significance of interconnectedness with the West, and especially Europe. On the other hand, a return to traditional values accentuated the reintegration of the values of the Orthodox Christian religion and the diverse cultural tradition of Russia, as well as the resurrection of a mythology of Russian and Soviet military pre-eminence, especially in the celebration of historic victories over foreign enemies (especially in the context of encroachment on Russian sovereignty or territories) which also included enemies associated with the West (Stepanova, 2015).

The official narrative of the political establishment, including President Putin, defined traditional values as those "[t]hat have made up the spiritual and moral foundation of civilization in every nation for thousands of years: the values of traditional families, real human life, including religious life, not just material existence but also spirituality, the

values of humanism and global diversity" (Putin, 2013, n.p). Curanovic suggests that, in Russia, traditionalism was always connected with the Orthodox religion, which, as any religion, proposed a particular moral foundation of human life (Curanovic, 2014). The Orthodox Church, having a thousand years of history in Russia, became merged with Russian culture. Moreover, Orthodox Christianity represents opposition to the values of the Catholic and Protestant Churches, which also can be identified with the West, and so called Western values, which the Patriarch Kirill identified as "'the expansion of alien, destructive social and cultural factors [...], and the new way of life that is arising and taking shape outside of any tradition under the influence of today's post-industrial world' (Patriarch Kirill, 2011. p.3). Dubin points out that, for many states, traditionalism can be seen as a flag post which indicates the important essences of the national identities of a country and which connects a country with its historical roots (Dubin, 2012). In this sense, the self-identity of contemporary Russia is built by "mythological interpretation of the previous history, as well as creating new social memory and fixing it by various means of symbolic representations" (Zhidkova cited as in Stepanova, 2015, p. 124).

Returning to the discussion of multiple modernites, it can be concluded that, at the level of policy making, Russia is 'catching up with modernity', with numerous attempts to fit into the discourse of globalization and speak the language of globalization. If we look at the reforms in higher education over the last 20 years, we can observe that the majority of them are oriented towards synchronization with global leaders and the standards of multinational organizations. In this instance, the project "5-100", as a policy project, also fits the idea of modernization, in particular modernization of Russian universities to reach a World-Class standard. On the other hand, the official Russian discourse on its national identity forms up within an antagonist approach to Western values (Western liberalism vs Russian traditionalism), which, in some cases, became a trademark in international relations and a mechanism of official propaganda. However, traditional values do not

present in the sphere of public policies in which these policies are oriented on general competitiveness and modernisation of Russia in the global level.

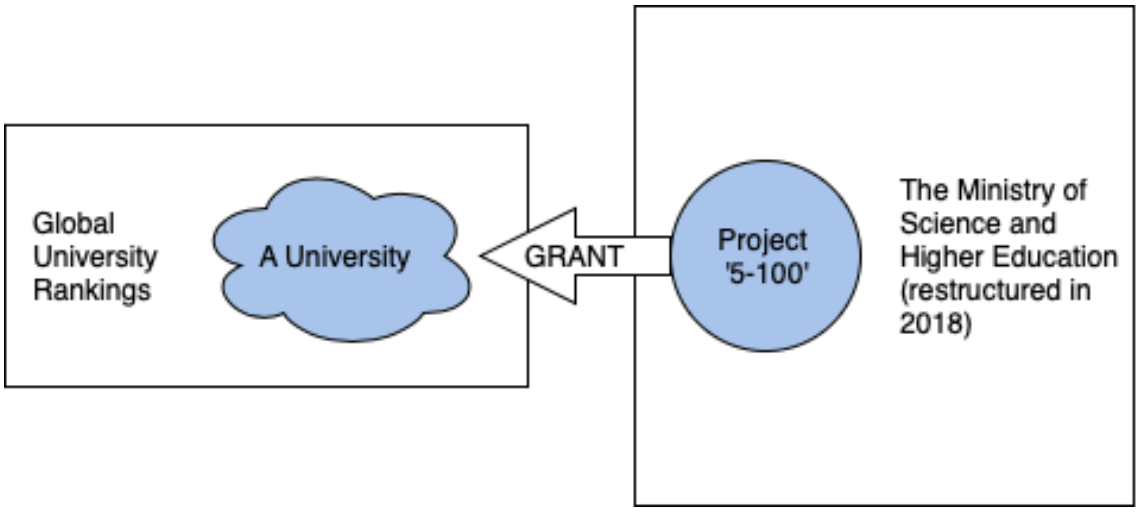
5.9 The Program launch: the beginning of the 'World-Class' game

Russian policymakers emphasize the modernization of the national economy as a key strategic initiative for the maintenance of ongoing policies, with particular attention to the production of innovations and human capital development (Vercueil, 2014). Additionally, it is explained that such a rush towards policy creation was caused by the combination of a global decline of oil prices and a currency crisis, stimulated by Western economic sanctions, prompting Russian political elites to recalibrate the development of the Russian economic model (Vercueil, 2014). It became clear that dependency on natural resources (or dependency from the 'oil needle', as it was announced by the Prime Minister of Russia, Medvedev) could not last indefinitely, especially in a situation of competition with world economic leaders who are pursuing the knowledge agenda (Matitsin, 2014). That is why Russian authorities have recognized that without the development of the university sector as a main driver of knowledge production, the Russian economy will never recover from the vicious cycle of economic stagnation.

Therefore, the launch of Project "5-100" became a logical trajectory of the Russian higher education movement, which is capable of turning Russian universities into the centers of excellence in science and research envisioned by Russian policymakers. In May 2012, by the Presidential decree № 599 "Measures of realization of national policy in education and science", the "Project of increasing of the competitiveness of the leading Russian Universities among the global leading scientific and educational centers, 5-100" was

announced (Project 5-100, n.d). The Project "5-100" represents a guideline of initiatives to be implemented in order to bring Russian universities to the top of the world university rankings (Fig.16)

Figure 16. Plan of "Program "5-100", 2018



In the results of the competition, twenty-one Russian universities were nominated as recipients of grants from the "5-100" program (Project 5-100, n.d). All chosen universities had to act within the guidelines (themes) of the Program. However, it is important to explain that, in spite of the general framework of the "5-100" policy, the details of which I shall analyze later in this chapter, each university-participant had to propose their own action plan, or 'road map'. The idea of a 'road map' lies in the premise that every university-participant proceeds from their own unique experience; this allows each participant flexibility in the achieving of the claimed tasks of the project "5-100".

In order to control and monitor the success of each university-participant, universities were obliged to provide an official report to the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, where the progress of completed tasks is strictly evaluated. It is

notable that the criteria for assessment is similar to the methodology of the world university rankings, and include:

- The position of a university in one of the world university rankings (ARWU, QS, THE)
- A citation ratio: the number of published articles in journals indexed by WEB of Science/SCOPUS database (this criterion also includes a number of citations referring to university scholars)
- The number of international academics and students (Project 5-100, n.d). Additional attention is paid to the ability of a university to cooperate with Russian and international tech-companies, including the creation of 'partner' programs with foreign universities aimed to increase the international mobility of Russian students and staff (Project 5-100, n.d).

The strategy of the "Project 5-100" is influenced by the strategy of 'free hands', in which a university-recipient, guided and controlled by a government, is relatively free in its direction on the road of world-classness. On the other hand, the government eliminates responsibility for its own 'failure' in case the "Project" does not show the projected outcome. In the results of the evaluation, the university-participant gained scores which inform their funding portfolio for the upcoming year. Thus, the funding mechanism of "5-100" represents a performance-based scheme, in which every university receives funding according to their performance. More detailed explanation will be provided when I touch upon the theme of commercialization of the project "5-100".

It is also interesting that, originally, the project was called "5-100-2020", which infers that by 2020, five Russian universities had to present in the top 100 positions of the global university rankings. However, after some consideration, the title of the project was altered. It can be understood that the idea of the "5-100" was announced in 2012, when

international ranking agencies represented mostly an overview of the top universities around the globe. However, since 2013, the QS agency began to customize rankings based on regional and economic selections. For instance, the new world university ranking system – or BRICS rankings – resulted from cooperation between the Russian news agency, Interfax, and QS. According to QS, the proposed BRICS ranking system had to "better highlight and track progress made by each of the five BRICS countries in the higher education field, and to facilitate comparison of universities in nations that share certain key socio-economic dynamics" (QS, 2019). Predictably, Russian universities received leading positions in the new BRICS university ranking, and, consequently, the goal of having 5 Russian universities in the top-100 of world university rankings by 2020, was technically achieved (BRICS ranking can be also considered as a world ranking). This provided the Russian government with more maneuverability and freedom to concentrate on the long term-strategy of creating WCUs without strict time limitations.

Lastly, alongside the regional university ranking, whether it is the BRICS, Asian or South American ranking, international agencies have also speculated on university performance by subject. Under the conditions of "The Project 5-100", there is no specification that would strictly bind the selected universities to perform in the top-100 of the world university rankings only by subject. For instance, in the QS ranking *by subject* (physics and astronomy), the Novosibirsk State University attained 50th place in the global rankings, while overall scores of the same university in global performance was 250 (QS, 2019). Such measures present new opportunities to Russian universities to concentrate on specific areas, which are already traditionally well-established and globally recognized.

5.10. Global trends of higher education and the framework of the Program "5-100"

Turning to the direction of the main objectives of the Program "5-100", it can be highlighted that as a key part of universities' 'road maps', the objectives of the policy can be grouped in several major categories, based on the thematic framework examined earlier in this dissertation (Program "5-100", n.d):

Objective № 1: *Internationalization.* Firstly, the internationalization theme has the strongest presence among other themes. The Program "5-100" outlines improvements in the university infrastructure and programs that will make a significant impact upon the attractiveness of the best academics, students and university managers from abroad, to work and study at Russian universities. Moreover, cooperation with international academics will boost the reputation of Russian higher education, which positively reflects the overall competitiveness of the Russian universities.

Objective № 2: *Commercialization.* Within this objective, major attention is paid, on the one hand, to the exportation of Russian higher education abroad, and on the other, to cooperation between universities, industries and the private sector to produce top-level intellectual products.

Objective №3: *Globalization.* Globalization is represented by the orientation of the Program "5-100" on the unification of educational programs according to the best practices of international standards. This connects closely with the themes of internationalization and commercialization and will be considered in that context.

Objective №4: *Massification.* This trend is not fully explored under the Program guidelines. However, it can appear within the individual 'road-maps' of the selected universities, the analysis of which is not the goal of this research.

However, it is also worth remembering that the "Project 5-100" is a guideline, first and foremost, the aim of which is to create a policy narrative towards the creation and implementation of additional federal sub-projects and individual roadmaps for each

university, which provide real plans for its full realization. I shall begin with the objective of Internationalization, and its supporting federal sub-programs.

5.10.1 “5-100”: Internationalization

In Russia, the drive for internationalization of higher education is similar to its global dimension. Therefore, the Project ‘5-100’ integrated various angles of internationalization which were discussed before.

In the Soviet Union internationalization was either an instrument for political and military influence between the communist and capitalist world, or simply a way to improve one’s own educational potential, today internationalization is mostly associated with *recognition* and *integration*. In this context recognition means an acknowledgement that Russian universities are capable of attracting international students, investments and professionals, on a par with the world class universities of the West. On the other hand, internationalization is seen by Russian policy makers as a tool for the integration of Russian universities in the global education process, which is important for a general increase of national competitiveness and represents a series of policy decisions which are necessary in order to deal with the current global educational trends (Knight, 2012, Altbach, 2011). Both patterns are highlighted in the policy “5-100”, and repetitively rotate around the attraction of international students and academics, partnerships and exchanges with foreign universities and companies. However, being only a guideline for universities-participants, the program “5-100” does not propose solutions on achieving an increase of international presence in Russian academic life, instead relying on roadmaps and strategies for individual universities.

5.10.2 An export of Russian higher education

However, at the federal level, in order to support the initiatives of the policy "5-100", the Russian Ministry of Education and Science initiated the project "An Export of Russian higher education", which aims to increase the number of international students in Russia. According to the target plan of the project, by 2025 the number of international students willing to proceed to higher education in Russia should be increased to over 700,000 more than three times the number of international students currently studying in Russia in 2017 (220,000) (The Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, 2019). Interestingly, the project plan forms part of a non-resource export agenda, which will contribute to the replenishment of the Russian budget during the period 2017-25 and is projected to reach 373 bn. Rb by 2025, which is also five times higher than what was achieved in 2017.

However, if we look at the actual distribution of a budget, it becomes clear that the project, which is initiated only at a federal level, is also sponsored by the federal government without any support or cooperation from private sources, or local municipal budgets (Tab.5). Claimed as an alternative financial flow, there is no specific clarification of the return on investment, or any clear cost-benefit analyses of the project. This is why "An Export of Russian higher education" is a program of various activities, to be undertaken in order to promote Russian education abroad, rather than an actual policy tool based on any macroeconomic analysis or evaluation of a possible project outcome.

These objectives also include the popularization of Russian scientific and intellectual brands, including university brands, which influence the recruitment of international students in Russian universities, especially the participant universities of the Project "5-100" (The Government of Russia, 2017). The goal of the provided measures is to help the participants to overcome barriers they may face on the way towards internationalisation,

including problems with immigration law and the cost of tuition fees for international students.

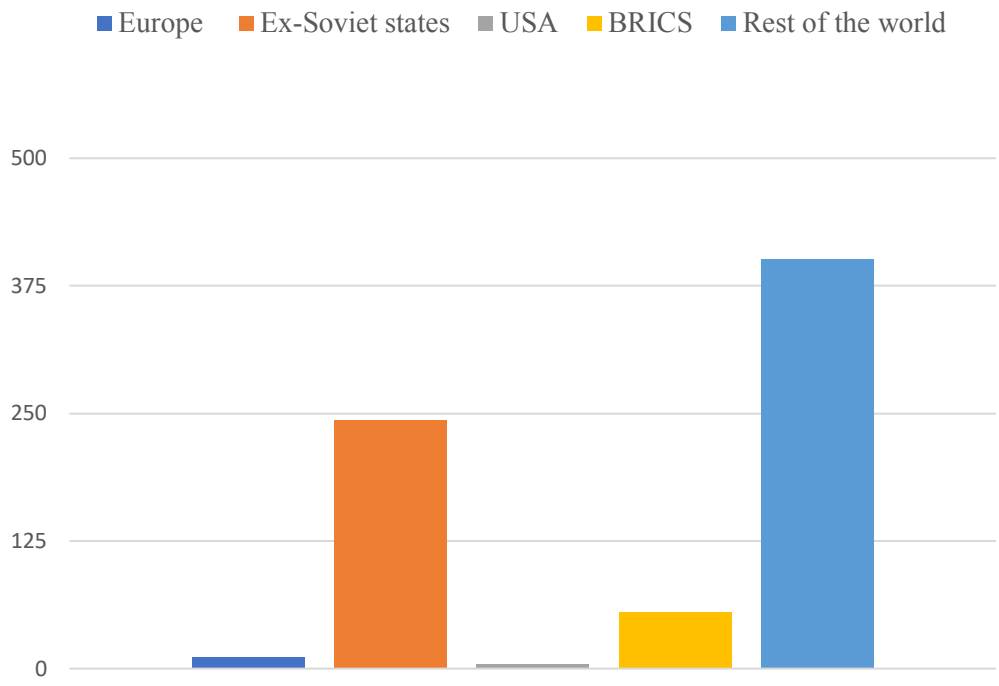
Table 5. The budget of priority project “Export of Russian education”. Source: The Passport of Priority Project, 2017

Sources of finance (bn. rub.)	2017	2020	2023	2025
Federal budget	0	889.4	583.9	28.2
Budgets of subjects of the RF	0	0	0	0
Municipal budgets	0	0	0	0
Non-budget sources	0	0	0	0
Total	0	889.4	583.9	28.2

The first attempt to achieve the listed goals was a mass recruitment of international students, which took place in March 2018. The competition “Open Doors: Russian Scholarship Project” aimed to enroll international students into the postgraduate programs of Russian universities. “The Open Doors: Russian Scholarship Project” covers tuition fees of selected programs but does not provide any additional funding for students’ daily expenses and housing. Therefore, according to the number of submitted applications for the first cohort of the “Open Door Scholarship”, the majority of potential students will

come from Africa and South-East Asia (401), ex-Soviet republics (234) and BRICS (56) (The Open Doors: Russian Scholarship Project, n.d). A significant drop in applications is observable in the case of western countries, which are represented by only 5 applications from the US and 11 applications from the European Union (The Open Doors: Russian Scholarship Project, n.d) (Fig.17).

Figure 17. A number of applications for the grant The Open Doors: Russian Scholarship Project, n.d



Without a question, the data of "The Open Doors" scholarships remain similar to the Soviet model of internationalization, with the majority of students coming from either Russian-speaking countries (mostly ethnic Russians) or from 'friendly' Asian and African countries (Stukalova et al., 2015). Nikitenko and Leonteva explain it through "historical orientation of these countries" on the USSR, which partially remains the case today (Nikitenko & Leonteva, 2015, p. 233).

Another feature, which is a barrier for internationalization, is the homogeneity of the Russian language in higher education. Having been a part of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, the post-Soviet republics still maintain the use of the Russian language as the primary language of communication. For instance, if we look at the percentage of university programs taught in English in leading Russian universities, members of "5-100", it becomes clear that its number is very low, in comparison to the programs in the Russian language. For instance, in 2018, one of the leading Russian universities, a participant of "5-100", the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) currently provides 72 undergraduate programs of which only eight are taught in English, and 153 graduate studies, where 28 of them are in English (HSE, 2018). Other universities demonstrate similar dynamics, where the Russian language is still the main language of teaching and research. In contrast, some Eastern European countries, former nations of the Warsaw Pact, became noticeably successful in this area. Universities in the Czech Republic, where the costs of living and education are similar to Russia, offer a broad range of specializations and English-taught programs. For instance, one of the most major Czech institutions - Charles University, provides 213 postgraduate courses, with half of these being taught through foreign languages such as English, German and Russian (Charles University in Prague, n.d).

Thus, entering a period of extensive internationalization with significant delays (in comparison to other European countries or China), Russia is keen to find an approach which distinguishes her path from other countries that also have attractive offers for international students, both financially and academically. Moreover, in the context of globalization, compounded by the boundaries presented by the Russian language, Russian-taught programs cannot satisfy the needs of international students who expect the English language to be the main language of education and research.

Besides an introduction of Russian scholarship for international students, another immediate step was taken to simplify the immigration procedures for foreign students coming to Russian universities. Russian immigration law for foreign students had previously been an obstacle for international students. Therefore, according to the new the immigration regulations, international students who have completed their foundation year in Russia, can automatically receive their study visa for Russia. This simplification allows international students to remain in Russia to continue their higher education in enrolled programs in Russian universities, without returning to their home countries to reapply for new study visa (The President of Russia, 2017).

5.10.3 Russian education as a brand

Additional attention is drawn towards the initiative of the Russian government to fortify a brand of Russian higher education and increase its popularization abroad. In order to achieve these goals, both programs, "5-100" and "An export of Russian higher education", emphasize cooperation with international experts and agencies. For the project "5-100", such cooperation ties in with the introduction of structural changes in universities, and consultancy. For instance, every university participant of the project "5-100" is required to have international experts and academics who would occupy leading academic and administrative positions.

The first step towards the implementation of this initiative, was made within the framework of the "5-100" itself. In 2013, in order to implement the strategic initiatives of project "5-100", the Russian Ministry of Education created The Council on Competitiveness Enhancement of Leading Russian Universities, which includes representatives from Russia (10), as well as international experts (5), including Philip G. Altbach (Director of the Boston College), Lap-Chee Tsui (President of the Academy of

Sciences of Hong Kong), and Malcolm J. Grant (Chairman of the National Healthcare System of England) (The Government of Russia, 2018, The Government of Russia, 2013).

Thus, the policy "5-100" sets down the goals for universities which have to be achieved in order to improve the internationalization of Russian universities. "Open Doors: Russian Scholarship Project" and an "Export of Russian higher education" are designed to contribute to the support of the program "5-100" for the global recognition of Russian universities and their integration within the global educational community. Such approaches clearly suit the framework of OECD and UNESCO agendas on internationalization, where institutional best practices are associated with cooperation with multi-national corporations and external stakeholders/experts/scholars who can work with national governments and universities in "the development of national strategies and policies for internationalization" towards the creation of WCUs (IAU, n.d, n.p). Both policies, "5-100" and "Export of Russian higher education", began through partnerships with international consulting agencies such as PwC and "leading international PR-agencies, to develop and promote a brand of Russian higher education" (The Government of Russia, 2017, p. 9).

5. 11 "5-100": Commercialization

The second theme to be analyzed following the framework that I proposed is commercialization. Transformation from the planned Soviet economy to the modern market model in the 1990s accelerated the mechanisms of university commercialization, which induced an interaction between market and university. Along with other BRICS nations, in Russia, commercialization became an inevitable outcome from both political and economic perspectives. From an economic point of view, state universities have

experienced a massive reduction of state funding after *perestroyka*, which forced them to adapt to a new reality and look for diversification of income (see discussion above on history of Russia Higher education). Moreover, Russian higher education encountered pressure from globalizing forces, resulting in emphasis being put on education as a service to be then turned "into an internationally tradable commodity" (Rikowsky, 2004 p. 574). This trend became more evident, after the recent accession of Russia to the World Trade Organization in August 2012. It is worth remembering that under the administration of the WTO, a certain number of trade rules were announced (the GATS). Under the GATS regulations, education is seen as a service which requires particular standards and obligations of trading (Knight, 2012). Russia, as a new member of the WTO, also has to take into consideration the GATS rules. Additionally, given that Russia is a 156th ranked member of the WTO, commercialization is indicated not only in an acceptance of the WTO recommendations, but as an opportunity to introduce Russian higher education to another 155 international markets. However, opening new markets also means entering a field of aggressive competition for its clients and recourses, with the presence of other strong players who have much more extensive experience of the educational trade than Russia. In this sense, the nurturing of several WCUs can increase Russia's chances of equally competing in the international markets.

From a political standpoint, the broader involvement of universities in the commercialization of research (as an example – the intensification of innovation development) can bring additional incentives to become less dependent on natural recourses. This pattern not only characterizes, not only economic goals, which are aimed at diversification, but also detours Russia from the path of the resource dependency which has become a trademark of contemporary international relations. The recent imposition of economic sanctions on Russia shows that trade of natural resources between the West and Russia is seen as a method of political and economic manipulations. The construction

of the new gas pipeline route, Nord Stream-2, which is aimed "to supply Russian natural gas to the EU market through the Baltic Sea", has constantly been under attack from the European Commission (The Nord Stream-2, 2018, n.p). Therefore, the inclusion of universities as the centers of development of intellectual products into the wider process of Russian economic diversification, and the mitigation of factors of international manipulation, has become the logical political strategy for the Russian higher education agenda.

In the previous section, I explained the reasons why the Soviet microeconomic model and institutional frameworks did not stimulate commercialization in universities and, in particular, research commercialization. It is worth remembering that such attitudes were caused by a combination of factors, including the Soviet economic vector, in which the Soviet research centers - the Soviet Academy of Science or other Soviet universities - were part of the planned economy which was not oriented on market needs and production of civil industries. However, a gradual understanding that technology is an important component of the economic development of a country characterized the policy direction of Soviet science. During the 1917-1927 era, 800 research institutions were established; this is an astonishing rate of growth in the research sector, since, by 1918, just 298 research institutions existed in the territories of the former Russian Empire (Gokhberg, 2003). However, by concentrating on "industrialization strategy aimed at technological catching up", including strengthening of "military capacity", Soviet economic plans focused on heavy industries and brought "much less attention to consumers' needs" (Gokhberg, Sokolov & Chulok, 2017, p.258). Moreover, research institutes were assigned to conduct research in certain areas specified by the authorities, and although, in some cases, scholars could choose their own research themes, these research projects were not driven by market or business needs.

Gokhberg, Sokolov and Chulok indicate that the "threat-thinking" approach was successful in certain areas of research which required "the efficient management […] in very limited time span", such as initiation of the Uranium Project or the Space Project (Gokhberg, Sokolov & Chulok, 2017, p. 258). However, being under the ideological thumb of an official communist agenda and planned economy, "new uncertain, emerging technological areas", such as biotechnology or computer science, were missed by Soviet researchers, whereas in Western countries, these new areas gained major attention from national governments. This would become an important indicator/differentiator between the 'modernized' and 'developed' West and the 'underdeveloped' and 'catching-up' Russia (Gokhberg, Sokolov & Chulok, 2017, p. 258).

Beginning with the oil crisis of 1970, Western countries increased their expenditure on R&D, from USD 97.2 bn. in 1973 to USD 189.6 bn. in 1980 (Arond & Bell, 2010, p. 29). During the same period, in the Soviet Union, the investment policy rotated around the idea of "renovation, expansion and modernization" of existing industrial enterprises (Rumer, 1984, p.12). According to Rumer, such approaches had more quantitative character then qualitative, which meant that "the output of renovated enterprises is more likely to be improved than qualitatively new" (Rumer, 1984, p.139). Under these conditions, technological progress slowed down because of the incapability of existing facilities produces a new and diverse "technological basis that ensures savings of capital and labor resources while increasing the volume of output" (Rumer, 1984, p.139). Kalabekov points out that in the 1980s, the main export of the USSR allocated 52% of energy resources, and only 15 % of an industrial produce, including machines and automobiles (Kalabekov, 2010). Moreover, since the Cold War, a significant proportion of R&D expenditures went towards military and defense development and increased from 12 % of the Soviet GDP in 1966-70, to 16 % in 1981-85, which again, diverted R&D investments from "civilian to military innovations" (Allen, 2001, p. 867).

The decade that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union revealed existing problems in the Russian innovation strategy. In the section on the history of the Russian universities, it was said that during the first decade of post-Soviet Russia, universities experienced transformations, which forced them to adapt to the new realities of a capitalist economy. The universities went through various cycles of reforms, privatization, and the rise of a private higher education sector. Nowadays, the stage of university adaptation to market mechanisms is mostly complete, and therefore, the vision of the role of the university within society has been reconsidered. The idea that a university plays an important role in economic and societal development began appearing in key policy documents which define the economic and political direction of modern Russia.

For instance, the "Strategy of the national security of the Russian Federation", highlights the fact that an expansion in the areas of science, technology and education are necessary to modernize the national economy and provide a competitive advantage for the country on a global scale (President of Russia, 2015). Particular attention is paid to the reinforcement of fundamental and applied sciences, the development of a tighter relationship between public and private investors in higher education, collaboration between science and industry, and the stimulation of the Russian market of innovations (President of Russia, 2015). Similar approaches show the "Strategy of Economic Security of the Russian Federation until 2030", where the Russian technological and innovation sector is described as "retrograde" and "inefficient", whereas Russian specialists are labelled "incompetent" with "a lack of required qualifications" (President of Russia, 2017, p.5). On the whole, these factors affect the ability of the Russian economy to compete equally with developed nations.

Under such circumstances, the logical trajectory of the program "5-100" became an emphasis on the necessity of bringing Russian institutions of higher education to a point where they can freely serve the purpose of knowledge economy enhancement through the

creation of WCUs in order to compete with other leading universities around the world as centers of technological excellence. Thus, in order to satisfy the criteria of WCUs, the policy "5-100" concentrates on the following areas (Project "5-100", 2014):

(1) Realisation of research projects, in cooperation with leading international experts and Russian scholars, as well as 'prospective' research organisations.

(2) Actualisation of research and experimental projects, in cooperation with Russian and international technology companies.

Both objectives are subject to the requirement that the proposed projects be based upon the platform criteria set for the participant universities of the Policy "5-100".

In contrast with various other commercialisation strategies, the project "5-100" focuses mostly on two areas: 1) technological spin-offs and 2) university-private sector collaboration. These indicators were chosen for a very good reason. International rankings take into consideration the profits which universities gain from their cooperation with industry (industry income). Among the majority of participant universities of "5-100", the practice of collaboration with industry practically did not exist. Therefore, in order to achieve better results within the global rankings, and an increased commercialisation of Russian science, the Policy "5-100" introduced selected practices as the key goals for selected universities.

To successfully reach the targets of "5-100", the Russian government initiated an additional sister-program, known as the National Priority-Project – *"Universities as the centres of the innovation spaces"*. The objectives of this priority project are similar to the aims of "5-100" and include the following:

(1) The creation of sustainable global competitiveness among the leading Russian universities (participants of the project "5-100"). In the understanding of Russian policymakers 'global competitiveness' means the achievement of the presence of the

leading Russian universities in the world university rankings (Project 5-100, 2016). According to the priority project, by 2018, five leading Russian universities must enter the top 100 (for at least two years) of the global rankings, and by 2025, the number of highly ranked Russian universities must reach ten, or higher (Project 5-100, 2016).

(2) The establishment of university innovation, namely in the form of technological and social development centres (including techno-parks, engineering centres and business incubators) throughout the Russian Federation (55 centres by 2018, and 100 by 2025).

The priority project "Universities as the centres of the innovation spaces" replicates the Policy "5-100", especially in the stages of achievable results of both initiatives. In many ways, such supplemental policy programmes were designed to allocate an additional budget for the university-participants of "5-100" and to support their attempts to empower Russian science. In 2016, the first monitoring/survey of innovation activity within Russian universities, including the participants of the project "5-100", was conducted. According to the survey report on average, Russian universities have 4.3 agreements with companies in the innovation sector, with the top positions being occupied by the participant universities of "5-100" (ITMO University, 2016). As part of this initiative, one team-resident of business-incubators (including techno-parks) and one engineering centre are introduced to between 1000 and 2000 university students and academics (ITMO University, 2016).

The report also indicates the percentage of non-state funding coming from the R&D activity of the universities: in the majority of cases, innovation activity does not bring any sustainable contribution to the university budget – the variation on income ranges between 10 to 35% (ITMO University, 2016). However, in the research universities, this proportion is higher, amounting to 50 % of the research university's income (ITMO University, 2016). In comparison with the internationalisation strategy, where an increase was achieved in the quantitative attraction of international students, policies which have

an impact on the creation of a WCU are difficult to evaluate at this stage: the commercialisation strategy shows a more positive dynamic for Russian universities of the policy "5-100". For instance, since the promulgation of the Presidential Decree № 299 from 7 of May/2012 (policy "5-100") the position of Russia in the Global Innovation Index has shifted from 62nd in 2013 to 45th in 2017 (WIPO, Cornell University, INSEAD, 2013, 2017). However, it is still difficult to establish to what extent university involvement in innovation development has influenced these indicators, because there is no official monitoring system which can adequately measure innovative activity of participant universities of "5-100".

5.12 "5-100": Massification

The third theme to be analyzed is massification. It is interesting that the massification trend does not receive any attention in the project "5-100". There are some reasons behind this decision. It is worth remembering that, in retrospect, mass education - on different levels, was a prerogative of Soviet policy. Firstly, Russia, alongside Canada, is one of the leading countries in the world where people between ages of 25 and 64 have a higher education degree (OECD, 2015). Secondly, the introduction of private universities after 1990s, has allowed school leavers with a different level of performance to be enrolled into universities. More commonly, it was the universities with a poor reputation and a weak quality of education. Marginson notes that due to a reduction of a public funding, universities are prone to an enrolment extension to increase the number of tuition-paid students (Marginson, 1997).

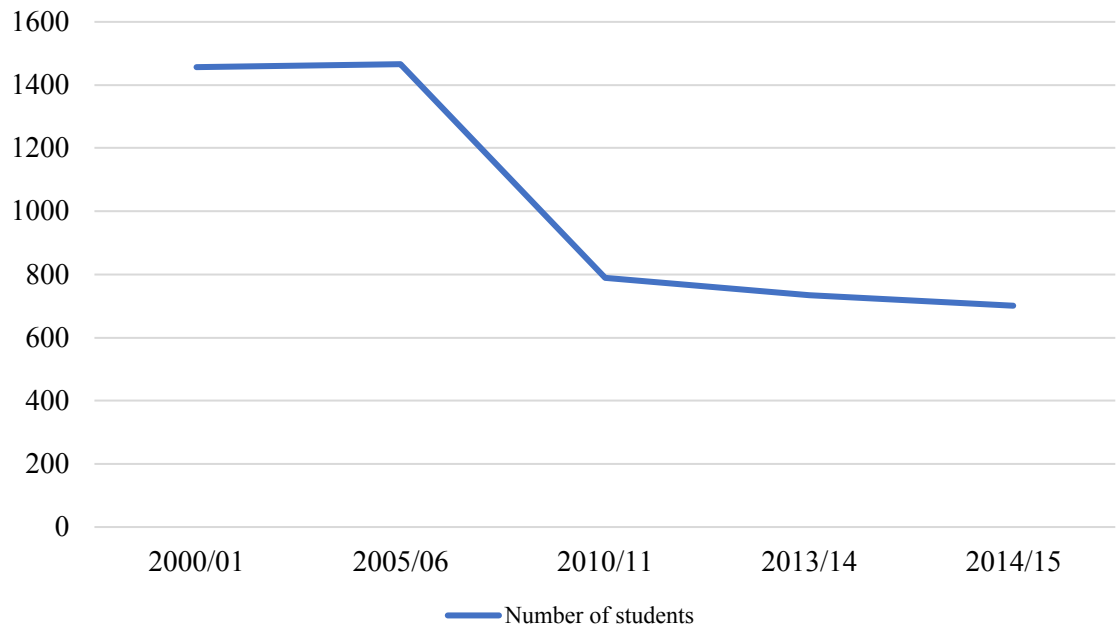
In the case of Russia, in addition to the funding decrease, the number of private universities has mushroomed every year since the beginning of 1990s. Under these circumstances, public universities had to put additional efforts to win tuition-paid

students over from the private universities, as well as the on-line university courses of foreign higher education providers. However, in spite of the inflation of higher education, the university diploma still holds an advantage on a job market which connects with financial returns from higher education: the rate of unemployment among people for whom the level of higher education is lower (3.5%), in comparison with those who proceeded from only a general secondary education (8.8 %), or professional education (5.7%) (HSE, 2018).

Moreover, another factor which indicates that massification is not sufficiently implemented as a priority area of the policy "5-100" is highlighted by the catastrophic demographic decline of the Russian population. Over the last 30 years the demographic situation in Russia has been turbulent and indicated progressive regression. It connects with a severe drop of the birth rate after the fall of the Soviet Union, a high mortality rate, and partially connected with 'brain drain' migration to more developed countries. According to the forecast of the Russian Institute of Demography, out of the 36 variants on future demographic scenarios for Russia, 32 suggest further decline of the population by 2050 (Centre of Strategic Development, 2017). In this context, a regression of the working age population can be observed. For a note of comparison, in the beginning of the 1960s, people between age group of 20-64 comprised approximately 60% of the total population, whereas in 2015 only 47% of Russians belonged to this category (Centre of Strategic Development, 2017) (Fig.18). From an economic perspective, such changes characterize the deceleration of the labour force, which presents new challenges in the development of Russian human capital.

Thus, the demographic impact on higher education can be seen from several perspectives. Firstly, the reduction of secondary school graduates will impact general enrolment rate into universities. It means that the applicant/place ratio will be altered, namely the number of places will remain the same, while the number of enrolments be will be reduced.

Figure 18. Number of students graduated from Secondary school. Source: Education in Numbers, 2016



The second feature connects with the rapid changing of the economic direction of Russia. As is shown on the graph, from the period 2000-2015 the age of employment significantly increased in the category of people between 56-60 (Centre of Strategic Development, 2017). Such tendencies demonstrate that the involvement of an aging population in active employment can be increased. However, a knowledge economy requires new, up-to-date skills from the labour force, which under Russian demographic conditions will be composed of a mostly aging population. In this case, a movement toward life-long learning, along with improvements to the health care system and an accompanying increase of the state pension age, will reorient university programs towards the professional redevelopment of mature students.

5.13 Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to an analysis of Russian policy on higher education "5-100", which aims to bring 5 Russian universities into the top 100 global university rankings, and to transform these universities into World-Class centers of education and research. First of all, since the foundation of the first university in the 18th Century until the final days of the Soviet Union, where higher educational development was merged with the requirements of state planning, universities have never been emancipated from state control, and have always been dependent on government funding and reliant on the principle of loyalty to the state. Contemporary universities are more autonomous organizations than before, but there is still ministerial control, which establishes the so-called educational standards, and they are, thus, still obliged to follow the path of all state universities in the country.

Secondly, state universities continue to depend hugely on federal funding, which remains the main source of university income. In a similar way, this practice is also relevant to Europe, where, until quite recently, education has always been perceived, in the humanistic tradition, as beneficial for society as a whole, rather than for self-improvement or commercial purposes. However, both traditions, whether in Russia or Europe (continental tradition), were affected by the American university model and by global educational trends, which forced the national education system to adopt measures to become more competitive in the international arena. Padure points out that higher education in Europe became "often vocational, utilitarian and instrumental in its emphasis" (Padure, 2009, p.273). The same effect happened to Russia after the 2000s, when the first wave of the world university rankings reflected very limited recognition of Russian universities.

Thirdly, in the Russian higher educational system there was always a defined separation between teaching and research. Universities were largely responsible for developing human capital in the training of a skilled workforce, while the Academy of Science was the venue for research development. Nowadays, many state universities are accomplishing a balance of teaching and research, while the Russian Academy of Science has disintegrated in its functions. However, throughout the 2000s, the Russian government proposed a series of reforms to recalibrate the focus of Russian universities, directing them towards the framework of world educational trends and the so-called 'best practices' that characterized the leading world institutions.

Two levels of analysis were implemented as part of the Policy "5-100". Firstly, the program "5-100" has been studied from the perspective of the theory of multiple modernities. I have concluded that, in the struggle for self-identity, the new Russian state has turned to the idea of traditional values as the new national identity which can be perceived as an opposition to the ongoing trends of modern-day Western civilization. It has been shown that, at an ideological level, Russian officials have established a mythology of the special belongings of the country ('*osobyi put'*), which allows Russia to be viewed from the perspective of multiple modernities as an entirely different cultural program to the Western monolith modernity.

However, existing in the arena of popular discourse, and partially in the area of international relations (so-called 'Russian world') the idea of traditional values does not cross over a sphere of public policy, especially in the moments when the policy is aimed at the modernisation of the national economy. It is interesting that the mechanisms of modernisation, in particular, in the project "5-100", also closely link with the modernisation in the Western sense, with a strong presence of neoliberal rationality to policy implementation. This tactic can be observed through the practices which universities have to follow to achieve world-class status.

At this stage, I brought a second level of analysis – thematic analysis. It was identified that the project "5-100" has only 2 general themes: internationalisation and commercialisation. In the global perspective, both aspects are new in the experience of Russian universities and have to be intensified in order to perform within the world university rankings. Under these circumstances, being at the beginning of a long journey, it is still difficult to predict the practical results of the Policy "5-100". However, if higher education is viewed from the angle of multiple modernities, it can be concluded that the ideology of Russian exceptionalism could interfere in the university environment, and possibly threaten the wider renewal of Russian higher education.

But how these ideas would resist the pressures of globalisation is not clear.

6 China

During the course of my PhD studies, I made two visits to China. My first visit, from September to November 2018, was part of a two-month long Research Fellowship at the Fudan Development Institute (FDDI) at Fudan University. My second visit, in May 2019, was as a guest speaker at the Shanghai Forum, 2019. Both of my visits were made in a research capacity, and helped me to understand, not only the policy approach of the Chinese government, but also the cultural totality of the Chinese nation which maintains the boundaries between tradition and modernity.

The content of this chapter is, thus, devoted to an analysis of WCU policies in China through the lens of multiple modernity. In utilising the historical narrative on Chinese educational development, this chapter provides a wider historical context to the processes which have led to the creation of the Chinese university in it's current form. This chapter explores changes which were experienced within Chinese higher learning over time, and how these changes address the incorporation of China into modernity. The chapter also provides a detailed analysis of the key policy documents dedicated to WCU creation and examines how China responded to global trends, becoming a global leader in the realm of higher education, and the most successful member of the BRICS cooperation in terms of the creation of WCUs and the development higher education policy.

6.0. An overview of contemporary Chinese higher education

China has an ancient system of education, based on the Confucian idea of learning. In spite of the fact that some features of Confucian tradition have been restored to Chinese higher education, contemporary Chinese universities are largely modelled on Western ones. A more detailed analysis of this point will be provided later in this chapter. China has one of the largest and fastest growing higher education system on the world, with an approximate annual enrolment of 28 million students (Statista, 2018). In 2018, China had 2,663 higher education institutions, including 1,245 public universities and 1,418 colleges (Statista, n.d). Since the late 1990s, China has actively built their strategy to make their national higher education globally recognisable, or world-class. That is why, driven by the agenda of the 'world-class' initiative, China has increased the number of higher education institutions every year. In 2019, China spent RMB 1.346 billion on their higher education system, up 11.99% from 2018 (Ministry of Education of PRC, 2020). China has become a major destination for foreign students, especially from the Asia-Pacific region. In 2018, the total number of international students reached 490,000, making China one of the leading global destinations for foreign students (Statista, n.d).

6.1 The Chinese 'World-Class University' policy direction. The decade of the 1990s: Project 211 and 985

Among BRICS nations, China was the first country to officially introduce a WCU initiative, or a policy dedicated to the creation of a new agenda of university excellence. Following the essential steps to achieve WCU status within its higher education sector, China is now able to 'belong' to the elite club of western universities that brought forward this new idea of globally competitive education and environments of research excellence. During the 1990s, there were two major projects devoted to the reorganisation of Chinese

universities: ‘Project 211’ and ‘Project 985’. The changes brought by these initiatives were not only structural or institutional; this involved a reorganisation of the 'meaning' and 'purpose' of a university. It is important to remember that, in the course of the 1990s, China became one of the largest economies in the world (Desjardins, 2018). Throughout this period, China would straighten their the 'open-door' economic direction, implementing special policy initiatives to ease access to foreign investments (Ma, 2000). One of the initiatives, which directly correlated with the boosting of university reforms, was the creation of special economic zones (SEZs), which inspired a further program of national decentralisation (Ma, 2000). According to Ma, the main motivation in establishing the SEZs was to increase the inflow of foreign investments, while also improving the technological and managerial capacity of the selected regions (Ma,2000). However, in order to respond effectively to these reforms, the provinces were required to upgrade their own human and technological recourses.

As such, the continuation of higher education reforms was an inevitable step in response to the further economic development of the nation. In 1993, the Chinese government published a report, entitled “Outline for Education Reform and Development in China”, which stated that education would be placed in a priority position, to improve the "ideological, cultural and technological level of the whole nation" in ongoing Chinese modernisation (The CPC Central Committee and the State Council, 1993, n.p). In this report, education was perceived as a driver of ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’, which aimed to "face modernisation, face the world, face the future" (The CPC Central Committee and the State Council, 1993, n.p). However, in spite of the acknowledgement that the Chinese education system had progressed throughout the previous 40 years, there were also a recognition that Chinese universities were still very far from being internationally competitive and, thus, could not fully "respond to the reality of the modern world" (The CPC Central Committee and the State Council, 1993, n.p). In general, the

report reflects a complete perspective on the education system in China, although higher education has been assigned a specific task in terms of the economic and social development of the nation. In order to elaborate further on the discussion of WCU policy in China, I shall summarise the main priorities given to the universities by the government in the report of 1993 – priorities which had transformed into an actual WCU policy by 1998, which will be discussed later in this section.

Although, there is no direct reference to global educational trends in the policy of 1993, three main themes can be linked to the objective which unites them all. The first of these themes introduces an *international dimension to* Chinese higher education policymaking. The Chinese universities had to learn from the best international educational practices and implement these same practices in a local context. Moreover, there was a strong emphasis on various forms of cooperation with top Western universities, as well as leading Asian universities, the inclusion of 'study abroad' programmes and collaboration in teaching and research initiatives. The second theme emphasised the improvement of *quality and efficiency in* the higher education institutions. This theme covers the entire scope of university governance, which, it was advocated, should be given more autonomy from the central government. Such autonomy spread over issues that only touched non-political areas, however, such as funding usage, the enrolment process, appointment of new cadres, etc. In addition, during the late 1980s, the processes of university merging began. In China's case, the idea behind merging was the optimisation of resources and an improvement in the quality of higher education, which rapidly expanded from the 1980s onwards. Cai argues that the Chinese government had initiated university merging to increase the cost-effectiveness of educational institutions and to enhance the quality of higher education in general, in order to reduce the number of low-quality universities which sprung up during the 1980s (Cai, 2013). For instance, in the period between 1990 and 2005, there were some 424 cases of university merging (Wan & Peterson, 2007). By

the middle of the 1990s, university merging had become the clear indicator of a process which, ultimately, had a critical influence upon the creation of WCUs in China (Wan & Peterson, 2007). Finally, through the process of university merging, remaining patterns of Soviet-style education were eliminated, thus enabling a full synchronisation with the model and structures of Western higher education (Wan & Peterson, 2007, Cai, 2013). The third theme places an emphasis on the *influence of socialism upon the modernisation* of Chinese higher education. Specifically, it was intended that this modernisation be manifested through the boosting of the science and technology disciplines, along with the training of highly qualified specialists in these areas. It is interesting, however, that the idea of modernization in China, is perceived as a 'socialist modernisation'. Socialist modernisation can only fit within a framework which oversee the implementation of 'socialist characteristics' in general, regardless of whether it is aimed at a political, ideological, or an economic direction. Noticeably, a socialist value system transcends the entire policy of 1993. In contrast with Russia's case, where the idea of modernisation was merely perceived as a progress, in China, modernisation would be seen as a key component of ideology, which again synchronises with the values of a socialist society.

In addition, the presence of a component of 'traditional' values was also a distinctive feature of the proclaimed educational course. Traditional Chinese features were embedded, more as 'signs' underlying the importance of traditional values for Chinese society, namely moral education and the importance of family for the responsibility of future generations. The two value systems were combined together under one policy: Marxist-Leninism (with the obligatory premise of Maoist thought) and the traditionalist orientation of Chinese society. Indeed, this hybrid value system was to serve the purposes of modernisation in Chinese education. However, to comprehend the importance of traditional values in Chinese policies, we have to provide a historical background.

6.2 Chinese traditions of higher learning

Over the course of a thousand years, the Chinese system of higher learning experienced various transformations, from its ancient canonical model, based on ideals of Confucian philosophy, to a model which resembled the modern university. In China, the university, in its classical Western sense, was first established in 1898.

Scholars highlight two types of 'institutions' of higher learning which were established in the 6th century: the civil service examination institutions and the Academies *(shuyuan)* (Hayhoe, 1996). The bureaucratic state required a trained civil service and a bureaucratic apparatus capable of serving the needs of the country. Adhering to the principles of Confucian philosophy, which promoted "fair" and "impartial" bureaucratic channels, civil service examinations became an important instrument in supplying clerical staff to different levels of administrative positions throughout the Empire (Elman, 1989, p. 380).

Traditional Chinese beliefs on learning derive from Confucian canonical teaching, where learning became a means of achieving of a personal moral virtue. This is why, until the beginning of the 20th century, education was perceived as a private initiative. Such a cultural context was characterised according to a person's family background. Students who hailed from families who could afford training in basic educational foundations, could continue their studies in public preparatory schools in order to prepare themselves for state examinations. This form of social selection, which depended largely on the family's status in society, or a family's income, was acceptable in the context of the maximization of the social value of human qualities to fill various bureaucratic niches within the empire (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Another example of classical Chinese higher education institutions were *the Academies (shuyuan,)*. Emerging during the period of the Song dynasty, either as libraries or as study rooms for individual intellectuals, these were transformed into specific institutions of

learning (Hayhoe, 1996). The Academies were private institutions based upon the principals of Confucian learning. There was a major difference between the schools which prepared students for state bureaucratic exams and the Academies. The Academies were oriented around the objective of the cultivation of talents and skills, developing not only the moral character of their students and scholars, but also their ability to conduct research (Huang & Shen, 2013). The curriculum of academies was based on classical disciplines: Confucian classical texts, history, mathematics and poetics (Fan et al, 2017). However, though having begun as institutions that were independent of the state, the Academies gradually gained the patronage of the establishment and received financial support from the imperial government (Miles, 2015). By the 18th century, increasing state control altered the original purpose of the Academies, transforming them into institutions that merely serviced the local needs of a prefecture or a province (Miles, 2015).

Thus, both types of institutions of higher learning shared common ground. Education that was built on Confucian philosophy was aimed towards individual self-improvement, whereas the more accomplished forms of education had to contribute to a harmonious political order, stability and peace. Hence, even in being driven by personal fulfilment, self-education had to be valuable, not just in personal matters, but also for the betterment of the whole of society and the state. This means that education, as a practice of one's self-improvement, had to be always fitted within the wider context of an overarching socio-political purpose (Lee, 2000).

It is important to convey the fact that Confucianism provided an impetus, not only in educational ideas, but was also directly incorporated into Chinese educational practices (Needham, 1970). A concentration on forms of written examination (or tests) defined a particular system of learning: learning through 'memorisation' rather than learning through interpretation, or through critical thought and discussion (Needham, 1970). Tan observes that Confucian memorisation was a part of a learning method which encouraged

a student to apply studied materials to the circumstances of real life and its challenges (Gardner, 2014). With the development of a state examination system, memorisation, as a learning technique, became the normative apparatus of learning.

Another characteristic of Chinese traditional scholarship was 'documentary scholarship' which connected with the Confucian tradition, in order to "to keep alive the old in order to know the new" (Analects 2.11 as cited in Nakayama, 1985, n.p). Nakayama characterises documentary scholarship as a combination of several elements, including the quality of written text, beauty of written expression or documentation of various aspects of Chinese history (Nakayama, 1985). In this way, China's intellectual tradition of documentary scholarship was used to "accumulate data, to create government policy and to construct a peaceful and even uniform society", whereas Western scholarly traditional operated mainly in the field of abstract notions and categorisation of objects (Lee, 2000, p. 664). Such a complex mechanism of higher learning, however, would be of little application to wider society. According to Rawski, during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the literacy rate declined so sharply that, by the 19th century, between 30 and 45 percent of adult men and no more than 10 percent of women knew how to read and write (Rawski, 1979).

6.3 The inauguration of China's 'World Class University' policies

China's first world class university policy was launched in 1998, with the formulation of a policy known as the "Project 985". Prior to this, however, in 1995, another policy was initiated which became known as the "Project 211" ("High-level Universities and the Key Disciplinary Field") (Zhang et.al, 2013). Having similarities with "Outline" of 1993 and the "Project 985" of 1998, the "Project 211" had a slightly different target. The "Project

211" acknowledged the key themes of the "Outline" policy of 1993, namely, the improvement of institutional capacity, development of priority areas of scientific specialisations and the construction of better educational network facilities throughout China (libraries, databases, etc.) (AT0086, n.d). On the other hand, the key objective of the policy was the selection and preparation of 100 Chinese universities which were to become the premier universities of the nation, serving the purposes of the 21st century.

Under these circumstances, the "Project 211" would concentrate upon domestic university construction, to, firstly, create powerful and influential institutions in China, and, after this enhancement, to be entered into competition in the global higher education market. An approach towards localisation also suggests a distributive funding mechanism, which was based largely on central and regional government investment, without the attraction of external private financial resources. From 1995 to 2005, investment in the "Project 211" totalled 36.836 billion RMB (Renminbi: Chinese Yuan) and was distributed in four flows: 16.541 billion RMB would be allocated towards key discipline development; 7.1 billion RMB would be spent on constructing a new system of public services; 2.409 billion RMB was intended for the improvement of academic personnel and 10.771 billion RMB was put towards the strengthening of infrastructure (Zhang et.al, 2013). Nevertheless, the "Project 211", which was founded on the concept of 'learning from the west', did not pursue the 'world-class' ideal, and would not have the objective of making these universities internationally recognisable. In summation, "Project 211" was a preparatory policy for the implementation of the "Project 985", which proclaimed, as it's central priority, the mission of constructing world class universities in China.

In 1998, at a ceremony in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the foundation of Peking University, Chinese Premier Jiang Zemin announced: "in order to achieve modernisation, China must have a number of first-class universities with the world-class level of

education" (People Online, 1998, n.p). The "Project 985" ("World Class Universities"), therefore, would establish a policy through which China could improve its educational capacity in the achievement of WCU status. In addition to discussing the modernisation of the Chinese economy, China's demand for WCUs was determined by the willingness of the nation to participate in the global technological competition of advanced nations, and, in future, be able to transfer from an industrial economy to a knowledge mode of production. This desire would escalate under pressure from the growth of the technological capacity of surrounding regional competitors, namely Taiwan, Japan and South Korea – the so-called Asian Tigers. Therefore, Jiang Zemin claimed that higher education would be a foundation of socialist modernisation, where a fundamental role would lie with the sciences, in technological advancement and with quality education (Ministry of Education, 1998). In stark contrast with the policy of Project 211, the "Project 985" stressed the idea of a "mobilisation" of all sides (not only the government) in order to extract investment towards the creation of WCUs (Ying, 2011, p.21). However, at the commencement of the programme, there had been only two universities selected for an upgrade of their status to that of WCU; the University of Peking and Tsinghua University (Ying, 2011). Such a selection may have affected the development of other universities, which could potentially be neglected as a result of the disproportional distribution of government investments towards the provincial universities.

Consequently, the central government initiated a campaign to involve the provincial and municipal governments in contributions to the funding mechanism and to add other universities as partakers in "Project 985" (Zhang et al, 2013). Thus, two phases of WCU development were indicated and a timeline for implementation spread over eight years: Phase I (1999-2003) would include 34 university participants and Phase II (2004-07) allocated funding towards a further 39 universities (Zhang et al, 2013, Ying, 2011).

However, there was one other phase, or a so-called Phase III, which was eventually incorporated into the "National Medium-to Long-Term Reform and Development Plan for Education (2010–2020)". During Phase III, it was envisaged that, by 2020, China would have created "a number of internationally renowned, distinctive high-level institutions of higher education, with a number of universities at or near the level of world-class universities, and with significantly enhanced international competitiveness in higher education" (MOE 2010 as cited in Ying, 2011, p. 23). Therefore, the long-term goal postulated by the Communist Party of China was the widespread achievement of world-class university standards by 2020 (Zhang et al, 2013). It is interesting to remember that a similar target was laid down by Russia in their policy "5-100", but in the much shorter timeframe of seven years. In the end, the goals of China's 2020 timeline initiative were not achieved. In order to accomplish proposed goals Chinese government indicated specific steps for selected universities, which were inspired by influence of the global educational trends. It worth mentioning that throughout Phase I, universities held a certain level of autonomy regarding their chosen areas of grant distribution. However, Phases II and III of the policy had to be implemented according to specific guidance, and would include five key tasks which the universities had to undertake:

- consolidate the results achieved during Phase I,
- innovate the system of university administration,
- foster new talent and bring world-class academics into the universities,
- accelerate academic research in fields where China has a strong global position,
- build innovation platforms in various fields of research and create world-class academic programs (Ngok & Guo, 2008).

It is noteworthy that the construction of world-class disciplines was mentioned as a special task, not only for the university recipients of the "Project-985", but also for

universities of the “Project 211”. Therefore, under these tasks, the themes of internationalisation and globalisation would be incorporated into the “Project 985”.

6.3.1 Policy through the lens of framework: internationalization and globalization

In this section, I examine the characteristics of internationalisation and globalisation presented in the policy, “Project 985”, following a developed theoretical framework. In the Chinese policy realm, internationalisation has two main streams:

(1) an intake of foreign personnel (mostly academic and research staff) and

(2) an intake of international students.

Universities of the “Project 985” were able to establish special research programmes for internationally-renowned academics to conduct research within their institutions – during 1998-99, there was a dramatic increase of ‘world-class’ researchers based in Chinese university recipients of “Project 985”. In 2008, the Chinese government initiated a new recruitment support programme, "the Recruitment Program of Global Experts" (widely known as "the Thousand Talents Plan"). The idea of the programme was to recruit overseas professors and scholars to work on major national innovation projects in universities, government-owned bodies and private enterprises (Government of China, n.d). It is important to keep in mind, however, that "the Thousand Talents Plan" targeted, not only foreigners from leading European and American universities, but also those Chinese researchers who had left China to study abroad and obtained an international scientific career, but who had chosen not to return to China (Government of China, n.d). In addition to a government recruitment initiative on a central level, at provincial and organisational levels similar programmes were also established (Bermingham & Wang,

2019). According to statistical information, by 2016, over 6,000 highly skilled foreign-based Chinese personnel returned home (Bermingham & Wang, 2019).

Consequently, there is the question of whether the objective of incentivising the return of Chinese scholars constitutes a certain type of internationalisation – perhaps, internationalisation with Chinese characteristics? I consider the answer to this question to be affirmative. Firstly, the programme targeted established academics. This means that Chinese researchers, who spent considerable periods of time abroad, learning foreign languages and being integrated into a foreign cultural and working environment, were obviously high-priority target candidates. Secondly, the high-calibre Chinese academics and researchers, who had established global connections with other leading academics and research centres, made themselves 'bridges' between the Chinese institutions and the global education and research communities. Lastly, highly skilled Chinese personnel had the reputation and the skills necessary to contribute to the construction of world-class universities, along with high-tech laboratories and hubs. However, on the other hand, Chinese scholars working abroad still remained Chinese, and were familiar with the Chinese language, customs and the cultural context. Therefore, the return of leading Chinese scholars to China became a crucial objective for the Chinese government, as it presented an important opportunity to receive back their 'own' people, who had left China for various reasons, but who now held a specialist knowledge of their subjects and a working knowledge standards in the leading global universities.

Another aspect of *internationalisation* in China is represented by the programmes created to attract international students to study in Chinese universities and institutions. In 2016, 400,000 international students studied in China, making China one of the top three destinations of global student educational migration (Sharma, 2018). A program of Chinese government scholarships introduced a variety of opportunities for students from all over the world (Government of China, n.d). In comparison with many other

scholarships, which are open to participants from many countries, Chinese scholarships are very regionally targeted. For instance, the "Chinese Government Scholarship (CGS) – EU Programme" is designed for students and scholars from countries of the European Union, while the CGS- PIF Program targets candidates from Pacific Island countries (Government of China, n.d). In addition, Beijing creates scholarships which directly align, not only with China's economic priorities, but also with Chinese political and geopolitical interests. One example of this is "the Belt and Road Scholarship in China for international students". In a nutshell, the idea is to attract students from the main 'Belt and Road countries' to enable China's development of an economic corridor in the Central Asian region through the creation of a network of transportation routes which connect China with Europe and Africa, otherwise known as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (The World Bank, 2018). Hence, from a strategic point of view, China offers such scholarships in order to expand their influence in selected regions, using education as 'soft power', on a par with well-established scholarships, such as the Fulbright or Rhodes, which form part of American and British soft power strategies. Such an approach gives China the opportunity to enhance their influence upon the formation of China-loyal human capital, not only within the partnering nations of the BRI, but crucially, also opens up China to the wider world, helping people to better "understand China's political system and avoid 'ignorant Western bias' against the country" (The Economist, 2019, n.p).

Finally, it is worth noting that China's government actively support the establishment of Confucius Institutes all over the globe. The aim of these institutes is to promote Chinese culture and language abroad, to "address a sharp increase in the world's demand for Chinese learning" (Confucius Institutes Online, 2011). Similar to direct internationalisation, in which I include the attraction of highly qualified foreign personal and the creation of student scholarship schemes, the Confucius Institutes also represents a 'soft power' strategy and have become essential tools in the promotion of Chinese

internationalisation (Wang, 2014). In order to continue the policy analysis of WCU strategy in China, we need to comprehend how the Chinese universities transitioned from a traditional model to a more modern style. Observing the transformation of Chinese universities thought the lens of modernity will help us to understand why China became the clear leader in WCU expansion among the BRICS nations, and how this transformed Chinese society.

6.4. Modernity enters China

The 19th Century can be considered to be the period when China faced modernity and integrated itself onto the symbolical map of the modern world. To understand this statement better, I shall introduce the Chinese notion of *tianxia*, which literally translates as *"all under heaven"* (Lewis & Hsieh, 2017). However, if we place this notion into the wider context of Chinese intellectual tradition, *tianxia* can be better described as *a regime of values (*Lewis & Hsieh, 2017). Fairbank points out that, prior to the colonial establishment of the Western powers (Great Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia and the United States) in East-Asia, China's vision of the world order, or a Chinese *regime of values*, was dominant in the East and South East Asia region (Lewis & Hsieh, 2017). The Chinese regime of values, and, in the wider sense, a number of Chinese customs and practices, represented a barrier which separated the rest of the "barbarian world" from China and it's local sphere of influence (Gardner, 2014, p.100).

In the previous chapter devoted to Russia, I introduced the intellectual polemic of the 19th Century which saw the clash between Westernisers and Slavophiles. This debate is important for understanding the 'belonging' of Russian identity in the modern world. However, as in the case of Russia, where the question of belonging to the West was connected to a general acceptance of, and adherence to, Western values, in the case of

China, where a desire to conform with Western norms was fundamental, a strong essence of 'Chineseness' was nonetheless present, even among proponents of the western model of development. Therefore, for China, such development had to have a different, more Chinese character. During the period of confrontation with the West in the first half of the 19th Century, there was a broad acknowledgement that the prospect of superiority of the 'Middle Kingdom' over the western 'barbarians' was not realistic (Vradiy, 2008). The so-called 'barbarians' from the West had a better military capability, superior technology, a greater knowledge of the wider world and control of the seas – the isolated 'Middle Kingdom' had none of these advantages (Vradiy, 2008). Thus, in the context of China, the issue would not be about a 'belonging' of the Chinese nation to Eastern or Western civilisation, but about a determination of the right path of national development. The narrative of progress and modernisation, symbolised by Western modernity, came to Chinese soil through the idea of Westernisation. However, it met with vehement opposition from supporters of Chinese nationalism, who believed that traditional values shaped the essence of Chinese civilisation for thousands of years. Fung acknowledges the confrontation between the two intellectual groups of Chinese nationalism, one modernist and the other traditionalist, as a sign that both factions were equally "dissatisfied with the cultural, social and political status quo" of China, and were trying to find an appropriate solution to this problem that would define China's place and role in modernity (Fung, 2010, p.28).

The question of Chinese modernity is a complex. On one hand, some characteristics, which social thinkers prescribe to modernity, existed in China long before their first interactions with the West. One such example was the institution of bureaucracy and statecraft, which had its own practices and regulations. On the other hand, such characteristics were not a sufficient sign of a modern society, nor would they constitute what Western scholars considered to be the 'right kind of modernity'. It is necessary to

pay attention to European society during the 1800s, when a new pattern of civil service recruitment had emerged. Specifically, there was an increase of non-aristocratic civil servants in formerly aristocratic European societies. Such a 'liberation' within the bureaucratic system connected, not only with enlightenment principles of the Revolutionary movements of Europe, but also with the growing shift towards intelligent-measurement research and scientific Darwinism, the latter of which shall be discussed later in this thesis with reference to colonialism in South Africa (Woodside, 2006). In this specific context, a meritocratic regime of Asian bureaucracy, which had not altered throughout the centuries, appeared to the Western mind as an old-fashioned tradition and unfit for the purposes of a modern state, compared with the more efficient European state practices of governance (Woodside, 2006). This illustrates that Western civilisation had already positioned it's scientific disciplines, system of education, mode of governance, and model of institutions as a more advanced level of human development, one which challenged China's perception of superiority over western 'barbarians' (Ludwig, 2016).

Therefore, the 19th Century would become the century of the birth of the modern nation of China. The importance of a new modern perspective, connected with learning, was proposed by leading Chinese scholar-officials, who were engaged in the "serious study of foreign nations" (Vradiy, 2008, n.p). Nevertheless, the first seeds of Western learning were brought to China by Christian missionaries, who spread literature, general scientific knowledge, historical works and medical books (Spence, 1990). The impact of missionary work was paramount, not only from a Western hegemonic position, involving the dissemination of Western knowledge in the East, but also from the perspective of China's first forays into modernity. Jonathan also argues that much of the work undertaken by missionaries was done through a mindset that, crucially, saw China as a part of a wider world context; this, arguably, had a major influence on the further development of Chinese intellectual thought (Spence, 1990). After the defeat of China by

Britain in the First Opium War of 1842, leading to the opening of the Treaty Ports, the missionaries began actively establishing schools which provided a modern Western education to their pupils (Pepper, 2000). In the period between 1862 and 1894, 37 modern educational institutions were founded in China, teaching key disciplines such as engineering and medicine, and industrial specialisations such as shipbuilding and mining (Lapin, 2016). These schools also served as language schools due to a lack of interpreters, whose services were increasingly in demand for the growing flow of western foreigners who arrived in the newly opened Chinese ports (Edmunds, 1919). The first western-type institutions of higher-learning were developed under the patronage of foreign missionaries. For example, the first president of the School of Combined Learning (later transformed into the Imperial University of Peking) was an American Presbyterian missionary named William Martin (Edmunds, 1919). During the coming decades, the Chinese government founded other technical and professional schools in the major capitals of the Chinese provinces, the presidents of which were also foreigners (Edmunds, 1919). By 1896, schools where western languages were taught had become overcrowded (Kuo, 1915). At the highest level of Chinese officialdom there was a hunger for translated western knowledge; for instance, the Chinese Emperor Kuang-hsu collected a library of translated western books on science and history (Kuo, 1915).

Another sign of a changing education system was closely connected to the understanding that China had no answer to Western superiority in military technology, and Western supremacy in technological progress, generally. For these reasons, historians associated this period with the Self-Strengthening movement (1860-1894), whose slogan was "learning from barbarians to deal with barbarians" (Fung, 2010, p.4). It was acknowledged that "western learning for use" had to bring radical changes to traditional education (Feng Kuei-fen, 1961, p.51). The tragic outcome of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) illustrated to China that the technological modernisation of Japan, resulting

from modernising reforms which arose through western learning, had catapulted China's regional rival to the status of Asia's leading industrial and military power in less than a thirty-year period (Kuo, 1915). Japan, where the Western-inspired Meiji Government founded their first university, the University of Tokyo, in 1870, which was based on an amalgam of the German, American and French university models, had a very significant influence on the formation of modern Chinese higher education and their system of higher learning.

Thus, the first structural package of reforms, designed to modernise Chinese higher educational institutions, was a juxtaposition of different educational, cultural and political reforms advanced by the Reformist Movement – specifically, 'The Hundred Days' Reform of 1898, undertaken by the Emperor Kuang-hsu and his reform-minded supporters (Kuo 1915). However, the rise of anti-western nationalist forces delayed reforms for several years. In spite of the turbulent period followed from the Boxer Rebellion (1900), the foundation of the first university in China, the Imperial University of Peking, became, nonetheless, the result of this short wave of reforms. And yet, during the period between the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, a number of epoch-making books would be translated into the Chinese language, including critical works such as *The Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith, *The Study of Sociology* by Herbert Spencer, and *On Liberty* by J.S. Mill (Ch'en, 1979, p.180). Ch'en comments that, through these texts, a new generation of Chinese scholars emerged who became interested in the idea of social Darwinism as a characteristic of the evolutionary progress of a nation (Ch'en, 1979, p. 180).

The first modern Chinese school system had a three-step system: elementary, secondary and tertiary (Pepper, 2000). The aim of the new structure of education, specifically higher education, was the establishment of a system of professionalization – the main feature of modernity (Bailey, 2013). Entry into a modern world where other players already had

advanced technological development, inspired Chinese officials to compare education with the machinery of a factory, where every component held a specific function to make the factory effectively work (Bailey, 2013). Education became a 'tool' or an 'instrument' to train the population to overcome the backwardness of the traditionalist society (Bailey, 2013). Woodside comments that, by the beginning of the 20th century, the theory of scientific management was popularised in the U.S. by Frederick Taylor, who brought new idea of bureaucratic practices to China (Woodside, 2006). In a nutshell, scientific management is a theory whose objective is to increase efficiency and labour productivity based upon scientific study. The new terminology rapidly transformed Chinese administrative practices. By the 1930s, China developed its own journal of 'Administrative Research' and 'Administrative Efficiency' to follow the efficient line of 'scientific management', as well as establishing a representative body, known as the "Administrative Efficiency Research Society" (Woodside, 2006).

Regional advancement also required more advanced institutes of learning. As such, the regional colleges of the provincial capital cities were reorganised into universities on the model of the Imperial University of Peking (Kuo, 1915). In some cases (Peiyang University and Nanyang College) the institutional foundation, together with government investments, would be partially sponsored by private and semi-private corporations.

6.5 The Republican Era, 1911-1949

There were a number of events which brought down the 250 year-long reign of the Qing dynasty in 1911 (Spence, 1990). The introduction of new modern reforms resulted in the spreading of controversial attitudes about the future of China. Uncertainty was a feature of pre-Revolutionary Chinese society, and a general awareness about the unpopular consequences of the reforms was combined with a widespread dissatisfaction with the

Imperial government. One case of people's disillusionment with these reforms is shown by public revulsion at the abolition of the Imperial Examination System in 1905. Lary observes that the dismantling of the old examination system affected the 'life circle' of those who were involved in the examination process: from ordinary students and teachers, to book printers and hotel keepers (Lary, 2007). Therefore, through this particular reform, a "large part of natural constituency [examination]" was destroyed, together with the livelihoods of those who were connected with the imperial system (Lary, 2007, p. 30). However, in spite of uncertainty among the ordinary public, by 1912, China had taken a major step towards modernity, which was characterised by the introduction of modern transportation, communication, and industrial development (Spence,1990, Lary, 2007).

By 1911, the number of public schools rapidly increased and reached the approximate number of 52,000 (Zarrow, 2005). The growth of the new universities was also intensive. There were nearly 40 universities established at the national and provincial level, with a diverse variety of modern courses, including engineering, medicine and law. Zarrow underlines that 30 percent of these students graduated from the cosmopolitan cities of Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing, which, in turn, led to a "cutting off" of the world perception between rural and urban societies in China (Zarow, 2005).

I would now like to pay particular attention to Chinese students. Under the constantly changing conditions of the social and political regime, students became much more involved in political life of the state and formed into a force which contributed fundamentally to the coming Revolution. Influenced by Western advancements in science and technology, the Chinese First Enlightenment took place in 1919 with the rise of the May Fourth Movement (Fan et.al, 2017). Tse-tsung Chow has characterised the May Fourth Movement as a period which went beyond 1919-21 and gave an impulse to the intellectual shift of Chinese society, which later transformed into the political division which shaped the history of 20th century China (Tse-tsung Chow,1960). Universities, as

well as students, academics and intellectuals, played a key role in this event. Additionally, the process of institutionalization in education had taken place since the first years of the new Republic of China (Wang, 2009). The Western-style reorganisation of educational bodies aimed to change the system of knowledge. An opposition to the past, and, especially, an opposition to Confucianism arose among Chinese intellectuals, who considered these older systems of knowledge to be the "major obstacle to modernity" (Fan et.al, 2017, p.743). Hui notes that, by 1915, much of the Chinese system of education had been reformed under the influence of the European education model (Wang, 2009). Education became more professionalised, and a rational scientific approach penetrated all spheres and levels of education (Wang, 2009). Moreover, the concept of the 'new' became the defining feature of an ever-changing Chinese worldview. The modern world, and modernity in general, was associated with the representation of a new, mostly qualitative, and rationalised approach to life (Ou-fan Lee, 2000). The Chinese agenda of "living in new epoch", proclaimed by the leaders of the May Fourth Movement, was preoccupied with the assumption that Western civilisation went through a "dynamic progress" which led to the "achievement of wealth and power" (Ou-fan Lee, 2000, p.32).

Universities also started to expand their role in society. However, due to a general lack of Western-style universities of that time, there was an increase of missionary universities; by 1917, these accommodated an astonishing 90% of Chinese students (Ferrara, 2015). There would be a particular influence from American missionaries who delivered the American university model to China. After the First Wold War, the USA was perceived by the Chinese as the most free and democratic country of the time, and Sino-American relations in the area of education was strong. From 1909, Chinese students were sent to the U.S. every year – this practice of sending students abroad was nothing new for Chinese educators. In 1876, China appointed it's first Ambassador to Great Britain and France, Guo Songtao, who had been had studied in the British university

system (Yang, 2013). In 1907, Cai Yuanpei, President of Peking University, went to Germany to study the German model of university and later oversaw its implementation for China (Yang, 2013). In the time prior to 1909, a very small number of students were normally sent to Europe, Russia or America. However, after 1909, the number of students sent abroad, especially to the American universities, steadily increased. In 1890 there were just 10 Chinese students studying in America; by 1910, there were approximately 500 and this grew to 1,279 in 1929 (Yufa, 2002).

The influence of western thought continued to reinforce Chinese ideology during the Republican era. Dewy's philosophy of pragmatism and his visions on education, for example, were discussed among educators in Chinese society. British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, would visit China, lecturing in Peking University and various parts of China during 1920-1921. Greenspan also comments that Russell's thoughts were interesting to Chinese intellectuals because they were "struggling to design a republic that would appropriate the best ideas of Western modernity" (NYU Shanghai, 2017, n.p). During the first years of the Chinese Republic, particularly during the period of the May Fourth movement, there was an acceleration of new political forces and ideas, which fully took shape in the coming decades. In this sense, people who questioned the future of China and demanded changes were educated in, and "spoke the language of, progress and enlightenment" (Zarrow, 2005, p. 159).

In western tradition, ‘progress and enlightenment’ were perceived as the inevitable characteristics of modernity. China became absorbed by modernity through the rapid development of it’s urban spaces, especially the large cities of Shanghai, Nanking or Beijing. As such, Chinese modernity can be seen as a cultural, political and intellectual mix integrated in the newly developed urban landscape (Lee, 2000). Shanghai became known as ‘the Paris of the East’ and was an example of city which represented the ‘progress and beauty’ of the Western world. Mitter observes that the "elite Chinese came

to the city [Shanghai] to encounter French fashion, British architecture, and American movies" (Mitter, 2008, p.32). (Pic.19).

Figure 19. The Bund, 1928, Source: History in Photos, n.d

The demand for western knowledge led to the growth of universities in China. Hayhoe shows that the number of public universities and student enrolments mushroomed several times: from 8 in 1917 with 3,511 students, to 35 in 1924 with 13,098 students (Hayhoe, 1996). Inspired by the changes in the Chinese society, women could also receive greater access to educational institutions, and especially universities, to which they were admitted in the early 1920s (Hayhoe, 1996). Prior to this, women only received home education from those families who could afford it, in order to preserve family status and as an indication “that it had the resources and cultural investment in educating its daughters” (Gardner, 2014, p. 106). As mentioned earlier, the political figures who drove changes in society came from the cosmopolitan university environments of the big cities. Hence, western philosophical ideas gained traction in China via Chinese university intellectuals,

who interpreted western thought in the context of local conditions. For example, the key future leadership of the communist party came from Peking University: Mao Zedong began his career as a lowly Library Assistant at the university, while Chen Duxiu had formerly been the Dean of Humanities and Li Dazhao was a Head Librarian (Mitter, 2008).

However, the strategy of pursuing a national path modelled by western modernity would be questioned among the growing political forces of the 1920s, especially Chinese communists and nationalists. This radicalisation against the West was connected with a Chinese dependency upon the western world. By the close of the 19th Century, for instance, there had been a boom in industrial development, the banking sector, modern transportation, as well as trade (Chesneaux, 1977). Between 1895 and 1913, there emerged 549 Chinese-owned manufacturing and mining enterprises; by 1920, there were 1,759 (Feuerwerker, 1982). Chesneaux argues, however, that technology, technicians, the banking sector and even market conditions had been more advanced in the West, making the Chinese economy weaker and less able to compete (Chesneaux, 1977).

Despite the expansion of modern Chinese industry, the equipment and machines needed for the industrial sector came from western suppliers. The Chinese banking sector was also tied to the foreign banking and credit sector, as well as to a volatile stock market (Chesneaux, 1977). Therefore, the post-World War I economic crisis experienced by the west devastated the Chinese capitalist economy, and those connected to it. Therefore, modern intellectuals who participated in the May Fourth Movement reacted to the deep controversies and crises in Chinese society. Against this backdrop, and because of the legacy of Russia's Bolshevik Revolution, Marxist-Leninist ideas became quickly popular.

6.6. The Republic of China under Nationalist influence, 1928-1949

When the Nationalist government took power in Nanking in 1928, new rules were introduced for all universities: firstly, foreign-founded Christian colleges or institutes had to be registered with the Ministry of Education, and, secondly, the heads of these types of school or college had to be Chinese nationals (Sun, 1986). Generally, the nationalists continued to impose strict regulations on any foreign presence in China, including missionary schools and universities. Their patriotic narrative made it clear that there was no foreign educational model which would be completely absorbed by China. Bastid remarks that the educational activities of the graduates who returned to China from foreign universities with western educational practices would be tightly restricted by government regulations, especially in the rural districts (Bastid, 2018). Another educational objective was the standardisation of university programmes and the limitation of enrolments in the humanities to encourage students to choose a specialisation in engineering and science (Sun, 1986). However, the common critique was that higher education did not respond to the needs of the country and produced very limited numbers of graduates with the required level of technical or scientific knowledge (Sun, 1986). Therefore, the admission restrictions and an emphasis upon industrial growth was designed to encourage Chinese students to choose scientific fields rather than the area of humanities. In 1928, the government passed new legislation on higher education which emphasised that universities and professional schools had to focus on "applied science", "scientific content" and "people with specialised knowledge and skills" which would benefit the "nation and society" (China Educational Yearbook cited in Hayhoe, 1996, p.50). Study abroad scholarships were also restricted to scientific and technical fields; the aim was to reduce Chinese dependency on foreign technological innovations. Access to universities was very fragmented in various areas of the country, as was the distribution of the universities themselves. Three quarters of the Chinese population still lived in rural

areas and depended on agriculture for their livelihood. Shanghai, by far the most modern and advanced Chinese city, and located on the coastal region of the country with access to international sea traffic, was home to 24 institutions of higher learning, while Sinkiang, Shensi, Yunnan and other inland cities further from the coast had only 1 or 2 institutions (Sun, 1986). On a national level, however, enrolment was still low; there were just "88 college level students for every 10,000 Chinese in 1934" (Sun, 1986, p.396).

During this time the Nationalist government initiated the New Life Movement campaign, the goal of which was a return to ideas of Confucianism for a "moral regeneration of the country and its people" (Gardner, 2014, p. 114). Influenced by the Neo-Confucians, there were a number of educators who began to rethink the position of western influence on the formation of modern Chinese education. Confucian scholar, Liang Shuming, believed that China could only achieve stability by balancing the learning of science and technology from the West while maintaining an internal Chinese spirit of morality, as well as human development (Shugang & Binchang, 2009). Shuming established the Rural Reconstruction Movement to create countryside schools, which, under government control, were to provide education for the peasantry (Shugang & Binchang, 2009). An emphasis on science and technology was made to improve agricultural conditions of villages, but this could not be achieved without the traditional fundamentals of Chinese morality and ethical feelings. The motto of the day was: "people of one mind should rise up, work hard, and seek progress" (Shugang & Binchang, 2009, p. 46). The Rural Reconstruction Movement also recruited intellectuals who had been educated in Western universities and were familiar with Western ideas in education and a university vision. Princeton graduate, James Yen, for example, initiated the '1,000 characters' programme to foster mass education in rural areas. Therefore, the main concern of the Nationalist government was to bring a balance of university distribution and reorganise the curriculum in order to serve interest of national industrialisation.

Throughout the 1930s, there were several scientific institutions established in China – these would be similar in type to the German and Russian Academies of Science. The main centre of scientific research was the Academia Sinica, established in 1928 by the Chinese National Government in Nanking to become the "highest institution for science research in China" (Ting, 1935, p. 208). Research conducted in the Academia was mostly dedicated to social and natural science, aiming to boost Chinese economic development. Chen points out that the nature of the Academia was dualistic (Chen, 1998). On one hand, it had to serve the needs of the nation, but on the other, it became an organisation which helped to guide, coordinate and revise research (Cao, 1999).

The impetus given to science during the nationalist time can be summarised through the simple principle that science was seen as a key feature of modernity. Established and controlled by the government, science became the cornerstone of nation-state building, modernisation and progress. In this sense, science closely connected China with the West, created many fields for cooperation and learning. Fan shows that Chinese scientists did not work in isolation. Aside from those who had studied abroad and returned to China after, foreigners were also employed in the hospitals, universities and research institutes (Fan, 2007). However, those areas that were closely connected with the essence of Chinese national heritage, national identity and history were to be 'closed' to foreign eyes. Fan gives the example of archaeological studies, which had prohibited any foreign interference after the establishment of the Institute of History and Philology at the Academia Sinica, to avoid any non-Chinese interpretation of Chinese history (Fan, 2007). Thus, during the Republican period, universities and institutions of science were amalgamated into the programme of national state-building. At the same time, due to pressure from western interests and with the military conflict with Japan, China turned towards the spreading nationalism, and the limitation of western influence. On the other hand, it was clear to the Chinese government that the processes of modernisation and

industrialisation still required western assistance in the areas of science and knowledge. Tensions between Western modernity and Chinese tradition can be best illustrated by the example shown by the reforms of the Ministry of Public Health, which attempted to replace traditional Chinese medicine with Western-style medical practices (Elman, 2007). There was a massive reaction to this among Chinese doctors, in response to which the Chinese government were forced to create two parallel "politically and educationally distinctive institutions" – one Western and the other, Chinese (Elman, 2007, p. 523).

6.7 The People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong, 1949-76

In 1949, the Communists came to power under the leadership of Mao Zedong. The ruling principles of the new government had been established by Mao even before the proclamation of the People's Republic. The foundations of the new state were based on the "alliance of workers and peasants", but also included petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie (Jones, 1985, p.707). United under the umbrella of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) with the core idea of a people's democratic dictatorship, Mao, in the first instance, would not deny the necessity of a utilisation of the resources of capitalism to encourage Chinese economic development (Jones, 1985). The first ally for the CCP would be the Soviet Union, which Mao visited at the beginning of 1949. Scholars acknowledge that, for Communist China, it was strategically essential to build a diplomatic bridge connecting these two socialist federations (Karl, 2010). However, being different ideologically, especially in matters relating to economic development, Mao did not see a Soviet-type socialism as a suitable model to follow. However, in being isolated from western technology, Mao had to gain support from Stalin to improve areas involving the scientific and technological development of China. During the 1950s, a

number of scientific and engineering personnel were sent from the Soviet Union to the PRC (Karl, 2010). More than 80,000 Chinese researchers would also be sent to the Soviet Union to receive education and training in the sciences and engineering (Gittings, 2006). More than 1,400 books and 2,000 literary works were translated from Russian to Chinese (Mauger et.al, 1974). Following the Soviet tradition of economic plans, the First Five Year plan was established in 1953 to convert China from economic 'backwardness' into an advanced industrialised power. The key feature of this time was rapid urban industrialisation and creation of heavy industries such as steel production, machine building, electric power, fuel and chemical production, as well as metallurgy (Yeung, 1982). In essence, the First Five Year plan was to be based on the same model of industrialisation and the collectivisation of the agrarian sector seen in the Soviet Union, using Stalinist methods and management techniques (Yeung, 1982).

In the process of industrialisation there would be an important role for the sciences and technology, without which, rapid industrialisation would not occur. Mao understood that there was an urgency to improve and adjust the sector of innovation and learning for the new political reality. During its first years, the PRC had to rely on Soviet innovation knowledge and scientific personnel. Under this agenda, the transformation of the educational and science sectors would inevitable. The continuing influence of the Soviet Union can be traced in higher education; by 1959, 36,000 Chinese students were being educated in the Soviet universities (Mauger et.al, 1974). However, after the death of Stalin, and with the beginning of a broader criticism of his figure, by 1954 the narrative of Sino-Soviet friendship began to alter. Higher education officials at ministry level criticised the Soviet system for being enforced upon China, and that this enforcement did not adequately connected with "the realities of China" (Mauger et.al, 1974, p.12).

Transformations in education began from an increase in literacy and basic-level education. Between 1949 and 1957, the number of primary schools almost doubled, from

346,800 to 547,300, and the number of secondary schools nearly trebled from 4000 to 11000 (Hannum, 1999). However, universities during the First Five Year Plan underwent the same challenges which existed during Nationalist times, such as inequality in terms of the territorial redistribution of universities, the creation of a new curriculum and the establishment of a new identity to serve the needs of the PRC (Hayhoe, 1996). However, a very distinctive feature was the narrowly defined specialisation of disciplines, along with the division of the types of university (Hayhoe, 1996). In addition, due to the merging process of two academies, the Academia Sinica and the National Academy of Science in Beijing, the newly-created Chinese Academy of Science (CAS), founded in 1950, became the primary centre of research. In 1957, the research budget allocated to the CAS was 90 million yuan, by comparison with the 10 million yuan allocated for university research (Orleans, 1960, p.114).

In general, education during the first years of Communist China would be built on the Soviet model of education, with a strong devotion to applied science for industry in the CAS, and in university education. Moreover, central planning of student enrolment into institutions of higher learning had to satisfy industrial development plans.

However, it is worth observing that, in 1940, Mao would write, that "China has suffered from mechanical absorption of foreign materials" (Zedong, 1967, p.380). In a broader sense, this tied in with the Becker Report, which outlined that China was not suitable for a blind application of a foreign manner of development, whether it be Western or Soviet. Mao also emphasised that such foreign models could only be adopted for the concrete needs of the PRC. China, Mao had argued, should have its own way of searching and achieving “wealth and power" (Meisner, 1977, p. 122).

In 1956, Mao launched the ‘Hundred Flowers Campaign’ (HFC), the goal of which was to encourage Chinese intellectuals to participate in active cooperation in economic development. Such a move, which was to give freedom in manoeuvres for intellectual

activity, would be made to provoke discussion and the involvement of intellectuals to improve the bureaucratic efficiency of the state apparatus (Goldman, 1987). Moreover, the HFC aimed to reduce the Soviet influence on universities and encourage the academic community to receive access to Western publications (Goldman, 1987). However, the rising critique which fell on ruling methods would be seen as a direct threat to the communist leadership. Therefore, the results of the HFC ultimately led to the isolation and repression of intellectuals who were involved in the campaign.

In 1958, a new initiative of boosting economic prosperity was initiated, better known as the Great Leap Forward (GLF). During this time, the borderline between the Soviet Union and Chine became ever more visible. Therefore, the idea of the 'leap' symbolised an opposition to the 'steady' and gradual development advocated by the Soviets (Karl, 2010). The object of the GLF was the simultaneous development of the industrial and agricultural sectors, with an involvement of a greater labour force (Yeung, 1982). And yet, the main criticism of the Soviet model was that the agrarian sector was neglected for the sake of heavy industrialisation. Therefore, Mao's idea to achieve socialism was based on the full mobilisation of available human and material resources (Yeung, 1982). The role of education, and especially universities, was crucial to this movement. Under the new policy direction, education was criticised for a "separation of mental and manual labour" and that "education can only be led by experts" (Goldman, 1987, p.400). The realisation of the GLF promised a technological advantage which involved the coming together of a general development of science and education (Meisner, 1977). However, solutions to the technological advance were rather utopian. There were three key characteristics which defined the educational narrative of the GLF period.

Firstly, according to Mao, peasants and workers would master this technological development by performing tasks which combined work and education at the same time (Meisner, 1977). Secondly, new entrance requirements were introduced for the

institutions of higher education. New rules allowed for a far bigger enrolment of peasants and workers in the universities (Mauger et.al, 1974). Thirdly, the increase of the number of people participating in higher education provoked the establishment of new Chinese institutions of higher learning (such as the People's University in Peking) (Hu,1961). This new system was built around the principle known as '1-3-8'; one month of vacation, 3 months of active labour involved in production on a factory floor or on a collective farm, and 8 months allocated to classroom work (Hu,1961).

The failing results of the new educational campaign was reflected by the overall result of the GLF policy, which ended in famine. The main critique of the new approach in education was based on the fact that too many classes were cut out for the sake of labour productivity or due to the general involvement of students in labour participation (Pepper, 1996). Moreover, a broader social inequality still remained visible, namely the work-study system which kept those from a peasant or working-class background within the same group, while those who came from more privileged families, including the children of party cadres, received more advanced education. However, the number of institutions of higher learning rapidly grew during the GLF campaign. The problem with these institutions, established by enterprises or local communes, was often to do with their non-formal character, which led to low academic standards and a scattered pattern of learning. Despite the 'technical' expansion of higher education, only those who had received formal higher education could pretend that their employment was different to that of low-skilled labourers (Hayhoe, 1996). This distinction, which marked the boundary between 'formal' and 'non-formal' education, was noticeable in the Chinese cultural environment, where traditionally prestigious institutors were associated with learning initiated by the government (Hayhoe, 1996).

Thus, in analysing these established educational novelties from the position of modernity, there was an interesting phenomenon which remained, even during the 'radical' changes

such as the GLF reforms. It was the same form traditionalism which occurred through all the periods of the turbulent history of China. I have already discussed this tension regarding the replacement of the traditional mode of Chinese medicine with Western medicine, which happened throughout the Republican era. During 1956-60, there was a boom in the establishment of traditional medicine colleges in every province, which maintained traditional-indigenous knowledge in the Chinese medical system (Hayhoe, 1996). And yet, the preservation of Chinese medicine, as a system of traditional knowledge, was important for Mao to establish an acceptable medical infrastructure within rural communities (Hayhoe, 1996). Therefore, Chinese elements, or characteristics, were present in many policies established by communism; the direction to modernity, hence, always had to be adjusted according to aspects specifically relevant to the Chinese way of life.

Another major event which happened during the Mao regime, one which directly related to higher education transformation, was the Cultural Revolution (CR) of 1966-76 (China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution - GPCR). In spite of the use of the words 'purge' and ‘genocide’, which often characterise the events of the Cultural Revolution, in a much broader sense the CR symbolised a socio-political movement initiated by Mao himself. The objective of the CR would be articulated by Mao, in his famous ‘Sixteen Point Programme’, which was designed to obtain a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution. In this programme, education received very careful attention. In particular, the revolutionary loop targeted the liquidation of ‘anti-party’ and ‘anti-socialist’ cadres, who had turned against socialist’s values (Deshpande, 1966, p. 453). Under the new political direction, the ideology of socialism had to be completely absorbed into educational practices and replace the old education system which was still dominated by the anti-socialist bourgeoisie intellectuals (Deshpande, 1966). It might even be suggested that a return to revolutionary methods was seen by Mao as a radical transmission from

the past, which still kept the masses under influence of ancient traditions. However, as was shown before, this appeal to Chinese tradition was a convenient tool to implement certain policies, such as the establishment of colleges of acupuncture medicine to promote medical care among the population. However, in education, Confusion traditions, including the system of entry examinations, had been perceived as elements of the old elitist regime, which prevented China from obtaining socialist prosperity. In this sense, the CR promoted an anti-intellectual and anti-bourgeoisie ideology, which, without any doubt, struck at the universities. Many teachers were sent to the countryside for so-called re-education, or attacked and murdered by "Red Guards", the student-driven ideological movement which was mass-mobilised by Mao Zedong (Kraus, 2012). To keep the 'order-practice theory', educational programmes were simplified and reduced from 4-5 to for 1-3 years (Pepper, 1996). Students enrolment also was affected by belonging to a particular class of society, be it workers, peasants or the military. Moreover, until 1970, university enrolment was completely suspended (Kraus, 2012). In general, the Cultural Revolution was a matter of expanding the political power of Mao, giving him control over the social and cultural life of the country. Universities, those traditional locations for the upbringing of elites, were put under centralisation, censorship and isolation. The damaging consequences of the Cultural Revolution became clear after the death of Mao in 1976. With the new economic direction proclaimed by the new Premier of China Deng Xiaoping, the universities embarked upon a new stage of restoration and adaptation to the new global market conditions and the policy of an open economy.

6.8 China's ‘New Economic Direction’: educational reforms under Deng Xiaoping

Historians argue that in realising the harmful results of the Cultural Revolution, the new Chinese government adopted an un-Maoist approach in future economic recovery, mirroring Soviet de-Stalinisation during the late 1950s and early 60s (Slavicek, 2010). The new economic program, ‘The Four Modernisations’, were introduced by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 (Yeung, 1982). The key changes had to touch upon four main spheres necessary for the modernisation of local economy, namely science and technology, industry, agriculture and national defence (Yeung, 1982). The restoration of normal relations with the western powers commenced with Deng's visit to the U.S. in 1979 and the recognition the PRC itself by the Western world. Symbolically speaking, Deng’s visit signalled the Chinese intention to cooperate with the Western powers, abandoning China’s old partnership with the Soviet state. Under the new economic direction, the vision and purpose of higher education also changed. Western-oriented reforms changed the vector and narrative of Chinese economic policy, which was politicised during the Mao period. Moreover, these reforms aimed to reorient the economy from an accumulation mode, which was based largely around the modernisation of heavy industry, to a consumption mode, focusing primarily upon infrastructure, communication and the transportation system (Gittings, 2006). In summary, there were three key principals of reform which reshaped centralised-planning principles, placing China on the wheels of a market-economy, lately known as ‘Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’:

- the introduction of an enterprise autonomy and the abandonment of collectivisation
- the introduction of a practice of non-government interference in market prices, and

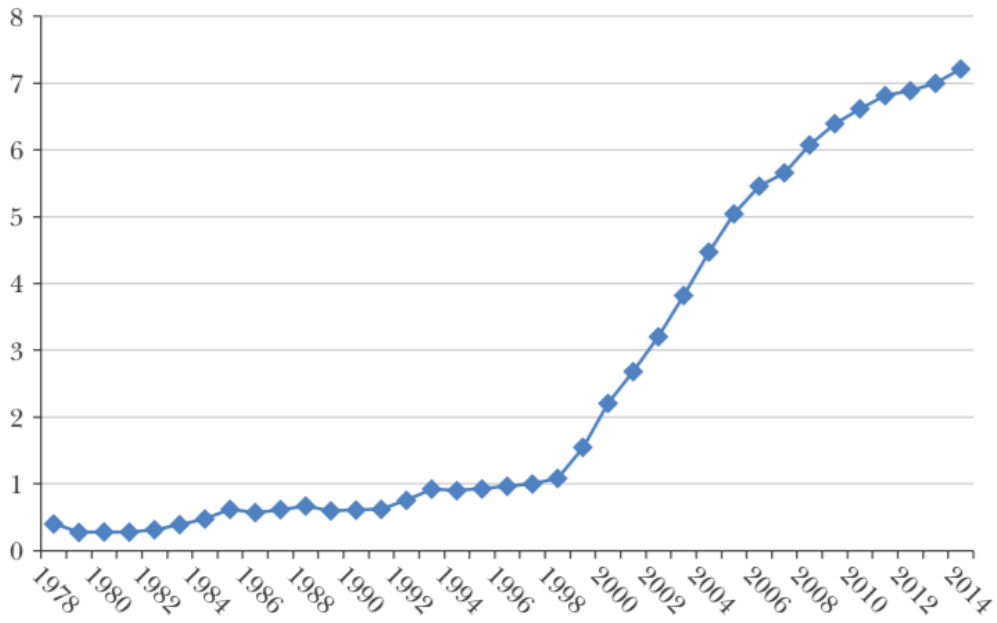
- the creation of labour housing, land and capital markets (Gittings, 2006).

For the entire education system, and higher education especially, there would be a series of radical changes implemented in a decade of reforms. Firstly, after a long period, universities would receive a certain degree of autonomy, and could building their own strategic development policies (Hayhoe, 1996). The "elimination of an excessive government control" would officially be proclaimed under the new regulations, giving greater freedom to the universities in admission of students, raising and allocation finance and certain areas of governance and decision-making (Ming, 1986, p.256). Since the commencement of the rapid development of urban economies, the university had also been perceived as a centre of creation of skilled manpower (Ming, 1986).

Secondly, there was a reestablishment of study-abroad programs to send Chinese students abroad to obtain higher education degrees in Western universities (Orleans, 1960). Moreover, the status of important scientists and intellectuals was restored in a society. An idea pursued during the 19th century - learning from foreigners (West) - was brought back into China's official policy agenda. Chinese scientific and academic delegations also travelled abroad to learn up-to-date scientific innovations, new techniques in business and management (Yeung, 1982). Deng characterised changes in the economy as being like crossing the river by feeling the stones – in other words, to have a direction, but be adaptive. An adaptation to the capitalist mode became a solution, in this sense, to overcome backwardness of a planned state economy which was dominant during the Mao's leadership. There was wide acknowledgement that education in China had to face three modes of change in order to achieve full economic prosperity – and here we return to the motto: "facing the world, facing modernization and facing the future" (Kang, 2004, p.144) Therefore, an 'open door' policy allowed the Chinese government to establish relationship with western institutions, such as the World Bank to invest in additional

finance in university and knowledge development. According to Zoellick, the "University Development Project" run by the World Bank in China, provided 200 million dollars to upgrade equipment in 28 Chinese universities, as well invest in the education and training of Chinese scientists (Zoellick, 2010). Thirdly, since the enrolment rate was rapidly growing, proportional to the growth of universities, and examination system was reintroduced. Ming observes that in 1983, new institutions were established every three days (Ming, 1986). Over a short period of time the enrolment rate rose from 565,000 in 1976 to 1.3 million in 1981 (Pepper, 1996) (Fig.20).

Figure 20. College Admission in China (in millions). Source: Educational Statistical Yearbook of China, 2014



During this period, the western-model of division of educational programs on undergraduate and postgraduate studies was also introduced. Under each program, a vast array of subjects would be developed in order to prepare specialists for modern Chinese enterprises. Therefore, to continue the policy analysis of contemporary WCU strategies,

it is important to summarise key points of the historical analysis of the pathway of the Chinese universities, and how these events would be incorporated into the antinomy of the traditional-modern world.

6.9 The Chinese University League (C9) and the establishment of the 'Double World-Class University' Initiative

In 2003, China introduced new university rankings through the independent agency, Shanghai Jiao Tong University (Shanghai ranking) and the new Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU), which became the first globally-recognised university ranking system. The fact that China had, by 2003, already begun its world-class policy initiative, with the creation of a globally acknowledged ranking became a symptomatic sign of the prominence of Chinese universities in the world-class university game. Allen specifies that ARWU was primarily oriented on Chinese university performance to track the progress of Chinese institutions against the leading universities of the West (Allen, 2017). However, the criteria of the ARWU ranking became practically universal (Allen, 2017). To boost the world-class university spirit and the general performance of Chinese universities in the global and local rankings, the Chinese central government brought another policy programme into play, the goal of which was to unify the leading Chinese universities, recipients of the Project-985, under 'one roof'. In 2009, the top nine universities of mainland China banded together under the unity of the "China 9 University League" (C9 League), which is often regarded as the 'Chinese Ivy League' (Yang &Xie, 2015). The C9 is seen as an elite alliance which serves as a role model for other universities aiming to upgrade to the world-class level. In terms of C9 characteristics, it is worth noting that the universities of the league allocate a significant part of finance in terms of budget distribution (10% of national research expenditure), human resources

(2% of researchers) and research outcomes (20% of academic publications) (Yang &Xie, 2015). In addition, having the C9 League gives Chinese policymakers an opportunity to enter into an 'elite-dialog' between the other elite university groups, including the Association of American Universities and the League of European Research Univariates (Allen, 2017). For instance, in 2013, as an elite and influential Chinese group, C9 universities, alongside the leading western university leagues, were invited to participate in the formation of the so-called global higher education agenda 'Hefei Statement on the ten characteristics of contemporary research universities'(Group of Eight, 2013). Therefore, the creation of the C9 League connects with the effort to equalising the chances of the Chinese universities to be a part of the world-class university community, and to influence the agenda of global higher education (Allen, 2017).

Further steps towards world class university development, were taken in 2015, when the Chinese central government announced new possibilities for WCUs in China. The new policy, known as "The Double First-Class University Plan", had two key objectives:

(1) the building of world class universities

(2) the building of First-Class disciplines in selected institutions (The State Council, 2015).

In total, the list of 42 First Class Universities and the 95 universities with First-Class disciplines was released by the Ministry of Education in 2017 (The Charlesworth Group, 2017). Certainly, all these themes were already developed under previous world class university policies, but the "Double First-Class University Plan" ('World Class 2.0') emphasised a new idea, previously not clearly indicated, that by 2050, China was to become a higher education superpower. To achieve this status, the Chinese government decided to allocate more funding for selected institutions, as well as strengthen the capacity of individual disciplinary units (Han et al, 2017). Han points out that, with the new policy initiative, world class university expansion would take on a brand new

approach, turning from "individual university" to "individual discipline" (Han et.al, 2017, p.2) Thus, expanding the university capacity to get into the world class university rankings by discipline, as well as to 'narrow' the specialisation to achieve a disciplinary 'excellence', and the expertise of a university in a particular disciplines, became a sought-after objective of the new policy initiative (Han et.al, 2017, p.2). Moreover, Zhao considers that the "World-Class 2.0" is the most significant project, initiated by Xi Jinping, in the area of higher education, which also brings ideological momentum to the understanding of world class universities, but with Chinese characteristics (Zhao, 2018). I should like to discuss this initiative in greater detail.

6.10 The Philosophy of President Xi Jinping and the idea of the World-Class University with 'Chinese characteristics'

In the previous section I argued that the new "World-Class 2.0" policy brought about a key goal, which was never clearly stated before, namely to make China a global educational superpower. I find that such emphasis in higher education development reflects the general trend of China's transition from a regional leadership position, towards a vision of China as a global superpower. Former generations of Premiers of contemporary China based their leadership on certain philosophical foundations underlying and advancing the cause and objective of China's social and economic development. Whether it would be the principle of "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" of Deng Xioping, or adapted philosophy of "Xiaokang" from former President Hu Jintao, which derived from the Confucius tradition of harmonious society, President Xi has constructed his ruling philosophy upon the principles of a 'Chinese Dream' (Guo & Guo, 2008). The narrative of the 'Chinese Dream' can be interpreted as a "mission statement" and the "political manifesto" of China, for has Xi has proclaimed,

"to realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is the greatest dream for the Chinese nation in modern history" (Xi cited in Speakman, 2012, n.p). According to Xi, the modern history of China had been under attack from Western and Japanese imperialist regime, which has induced a continuous national humiliation of China since the start of the First Opium Wars (Wang, 2013). However, the ancient spirit of Chinese civilisation has been restored in recent times, as well as national pride, which was revived through the economic prosperity of the country. Under these circumstances, the idea of a 'Chinese dream' is closely tied with the target of the CPC to "improve of material conditions of Chinese society" and to achieve "optimal leaving standards" with much better "income, housing and environment" for all Chinese citizens by 2021 (Hizi, 2019, p.39, p. 40). Higher education, in this sense, has to contribute towards these goals and enhance the individual capacity of every student to contribute towards a common idea of the 'Chinese Dream'.

6.11 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to analyse Chinese higher education policies which were created to construct WCUs in China. The chapter discussed all the historical conditions which led towards the development of contemporary higher education in China in its current form, through the lens of modernity. Having a rich, and at the same time, unique system of higher learning, by the 19th Century China had to adapt to the realities of the modern world. These changes touched upon the ancient system of higher learning, which was different from Western-style education, and based upon Confucian paradigms of learning. By the beginning of the 20th Century, China had opened several universities and started sending Chinese students abroad to Europe, America, Russia and Japan to gain knowledge of the western or western-influenced world. However, this adaptation to

modernity was constantly questioned by traditionalist or anti-imperialist movements, which led, in the end, to the isolation of China from Western influence and a radical change of political regime. Under these conditions and circumstances, Chinese universities also experienced many ideological and organisational transformations, but always represented the spirit of the time. In the 1980s, when China opened to the world again, universities were assigned the task to become drivers of economic development. In the 1990s, Chinese universities started to gain the status of the World Class Universities. In following the path of the leading institutions of the West, and in incorporating the global trends in their policy formation (mainly internationalisation), by 2015, the Chinese government had proclaimed a new goal for China, namely turn the country into the global education superpower. Noticeably, by the same period of time, China started proclaiming, not only their emphasis on the creation of WCUs, but WCUs with Chinese characteristics.

Part III. Emerging 'new world' economies: regional powers – South Africa, India, Brazil

7 South Africa

The next three chapters will be devoted to regional powers, South Africa, India and Brazil, and their paths towards formation of WCUs. Similar logic of analysis is applicable here, in Part III. Every chapter will be examined through the thematic policy analysis under the lens of modernity to answer the research question which is ***what alternatives BRICS countries can offer to the world of higher education, despite by the blind following of a policy path created Western world and global educational trends?***

Chapter, 7, the opening chapter of part 3, is dedicated to South Africa, the country where I conducted my extensive archival research on a history of the country and especially on formation of its own university system. In comparison to other countries of BRICS, the history of development of South African universities is especially important, because it is revealed that problematic patterns exist in higher education, which the contemporary government is trying to overcome. There are racial issues connected with access to higher education, including poverty of the black population and inequality. I start chapter 7 with an introduction of the idea of the transformation of South African higher education policy landscape to analyse the direction of the emerging post-apartheid state, followed by extensive analyses on modernity. Despite the fact, that the South African government did

not produce an actual WCU policy, I found an actual global trend existed in policies on higher education. These trends are analysed under the lens of thematic policy analysis.

7.0 An overview of South African system of education

The modern higher education system of South Africa was, in some ways, jointly formed under the colonial rule of both the 17th Century Dutch East India Company (DEIC) and the modern British Empire. Until recent decades, education in the country was divided in accordance with segregationist policies, more recently personified by the apartheid regime. Consequently, the contemporary South African education system faces severe problems such as poverty and inequality in access to university education. The majority of higher educational policies in the country are now dedicated to solving these issues, through the introduction of scholarships and financial aid for students coming from disadvantaged families. South Africa has 20 public universities and six institutes of technology with a total enrolment of 22 percent of school leavers, which is lower than the OECD average enrolment rate of 38 percent (OECD, 2019). However, despite the number of students joining higher education being below the global average, the number of total enrolments went up by more than 500,000 people during the period between 1996 and 2016 (Bawa, 2019). Moreover, 74 percent of students are of black origin (Bawa, 2019). The South African government spends 6 percent of their national GDP on education, including basic education, technical colleges and higher education institutions (UNESCO, n.d). However, only 0.6 percent is allocated towards tertiary education (OECD, 2019).

7.1 Policy choices and decisions of the 1990s: the idea of transformation

A new Government of National Unity, formed from the leading representatives of the African National Congress (ANC) and F.W. de Klerk's National Party, under the leadership of South Africa's first black President, Nelson Mandela, came to power in 1994. Democratic elections held with full enfranchisement and the formation of a new black political leadership symbolised South African liberation from apartheid. However, during the post-apartheid transition period, these new leaders had to overcome existing issues and determined an economic and political direction for the country which influenced the development of South African education policy.

Over the previous 25 years, there had been a decline of the South African economy from 3.4% in 1970s to 1.6% during the 1980s (Bond, 2000, Dollery, 2003). The traditional mineral-energy complex remained only the sustainable economic foundation for South Africa (Bond, 2000). The employment situation in the private sector was declining, which coincided with the exiting of foreign corporations and firms from South Africa (Gelb & Black, 2004) (Tab.6).

Table 6. Average Annual Rate Growth. Source: Overseas Development Institute, 1994

Years	1948-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-93
GDP	4.3	5.7	3.5	1.5	-0.5
Formal Sector Employment	2.2	2.6	1.6	0.5	-1.5

The idea of social, political and economic transformation was a key motivation among black South African political elites. In the Russian context, the issue of modernisation outlined current and past policy discourses to be unified with those of advanced Western nations, whereas in South Africa, the idea of transformation, represented by a radical change of the "leadership, structure and ideological course" of the country became a major strategic goal for policymakers (Bentley, 2004, p.1).

However, the transformation of the country was increasingly determined by a fresh economic course, which involved the implementation of the key measures to improve the social and economic conditions of ordinary South Africans, and especially of those racial groups who were previously excluded from opportunities and oppressed by the apartheid government. However, to understand the origin of the idea of transformation and policy rationale of the post-apartheid government we need to take an excursion into the history of the South African university.

7.2 Colonial influence, establishment of South African universities and entrance to modernity

Towards the end of the 16th century, the Portuguese became the first Europeans to make landfall on the land of South Africa. The development of the Cape Colony required institutionalised mechanisms such as education, law system and technology (Fourie & Fintel, 2014). Education was organised in the manner of private schooling and was largely based on the principles of Christian religious tradition (Behr, 1978). With the growing presence of British colonisers, early European education in the South African colonies experienced transformations. The first scientific institutes and societies of the British tradition were founded as early as 1877, when both the Royal Society of South Africa and

the South African Philosophical Society were established (Luruli & Mouton, 2016). After this, a centralised education system was also introduced, under British control, leading to the Anglicisation of school curriculums, and imposition of the English system of schooling. The tensions with the Dutch community, for whom British laws and customs were mostly alien, were worsened with the introduction of these new British educational measures. However, small private schools which taught in the mother tongue of the Dutch community, continued to exist up to 1875 (Malherbe, 1925).

The Mineral Revolution of the 1870s, resulting from the discovery of gold and diamonds, led to rapid industrialisation and brought about market integration on an international level. South Africa now received new features of *upcoming modernity*. The Cape Colony became a major attraction for cosmopolitan migration; inland railways connected major cities across the country, expanding existing trade routes and furthering economic integration (Fourie, 2014). During this period, South Africa became a location of inevitable 'interaction' with western modernity, whose forces altered the conventional mode of traditional living, based on the feudal economic order of Europeans and tribal culture of natives. The pathway to modernity, in South Africa's case, was developed through colonisation and its features, namely large-scale migration, the reorientation of the local economy to a Western capitalist system, the establishment of wage labour, the development of trade and expansion of industry (Therborn, 1995). Institutionalised education, as a compulsory element of modernity in Europe at that time, also became the new mode of entry to modernity. For instance, in the period between 1800 and 1920, the number of school pupils had risen forty-fold.

Another important feature, which contributed to the historical matrix of South African education, was the *philanthropic movement* which opened up educational possibilities for non-Europeans and, in particular, South Africa's indigenous and migrant workers of colour. The first examples of mixed schools date back to the early period of Dutch

occupation when "the colour prejudice seems to have been non-existent in those good old days" (Ritchie & Kent, 1918, p.14). Another example arose from the strategic purposes of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC), where education became a part of the company's policy to increase the labour productivity of non-Europeans. In order to secure the loyalty of the foreign labour force, which was primarily made up of indigenous people and slaves, the DEIC had to introduce homogenous elementary education to teach the principles of Christianity and basics of the Dutch language (Behr, 1966).

It was against the backdrop of intercommunal tensions and racial stratification within the colonial community, that the South African university system was formed. Understanding that the growing colony was suffering a lack of qualified personnel among the white population for bureaucratic positions (including ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church), medicine and law, induced the formation of the first prototypes of universities. In 1829, the South African College was founded. Similar colleges were established in the other territories of colonial South Africa and these were affiliated either with the Anglican, or the Dutch Reformed Church (Shingler, 1973). Being a prototype of higher education institutions, these colleges survived more as preparatory secondary schools, readying their students for further examinations for foreign universities, such as the University of London (Shingler, 1973). Another predecessor of the South African university was the Board of Examiners, which had rights to conduct examinations in the disciplines of natural science, literature, philosophy and law (Malherbe, 1925). In spite of the fact that this Board did not offer any teaching for the examined disciplines, qualifications given by the Board of Examiners were similar to the degrees awarded at universities in the United Kingdom (Malherbe, 1925).

The contemporary origins of the South African university emerged in 1873, which coincided with the evolution of the contemporary South African state (Carruthers, n.d). Already at the beginning of its existence, higher education was a matter for the colonial

government of South Africa. The model for the first university – the University of Cape Town – was similar to the model of the University of London. The University of Cape Town was an English-medium institution, with flexible regulations regarding the recruitment of its staff and students (Guest, 2015). The racial and gender status were more liberal at Cape Town than at universities controlled by Afrikaans-speaking settlers: from the 1880s, white women and black candidates gained rights to obtain higher education qualifications. It worth remembering that the complex relationships between two groups of European settlers, the Dutch and the British, had consequences for the trajectory of the university in South Africa, which, in the context of education, was surrounded by a discussion of exclusion and inclusion, and of racial tolerance and intolerance (Swartz, 2016).

The British organised advanced economic, social and political relationships in South Africa, which can be seen as a step in the direction of western modernity. They introduced market mechanisms, institutionalised systems, urbanisation and unification (education being an example). The liquidation of slavery was also a progressive measure implemented by the British rulers. However, despite the promise of liberalisation, the separation of white and black peoples remained, especially in government-controlled institutions and the church (Bickford-Smith, 1992). De facto segregation replaced direct vertical segregation (slavery) and turned into a form of exclusion of the indigenous from different forms of social integration, including education (Bickford-Smith, 1992). In reality, education in a colonial context can still be seen as a training of character for the white minority population to rule the black majority (Lambert, 2004).

This practice was particularly relevant to the management of labour. For instance, prior to the 1880s, there was a common practice that white labour would be composed of both skilled and supervisory positions, while unskilled work became the monopoly of black people (Bickford-Smith, 1992).

At first, the clash of interests between white settlers rotated around the polemic modern versus the traditional European mode of organised living. On one side was the idea of the enforcement of British colonial rules and values, which can be considered modern, whereas on the other side there was an imperative towards the preservation of the Afrikaner's communal interests, which can be called traditional. However, in spite these confrontations, both European groups would inevitably experience modernity, or had access to modernity, as was the case for Afrikaners: such modernity was transported, incorporated and adjusted for conditions outside of Europe. White settlers shared a common European history and culture, similar legal and political rights which were codified either within the commonly acknowledged Roman-Dutch legal tradition, or in the English common law, and held close trade relationships on the continent. In addition, they faced a common opponent; the native tribal population, who had never experienced institutions created by modernity, who could not achieve this modern mode by their own efforts and did not have a direct access to it.

In 1894, a Scottish correspondent travelling to Cape Town remarked that, despite being equal in the eyes of law, the invisible line dividing Europeans from coloured was "almost as rigidly drawn as if they were a lower range of beings" (Cape Argus 1894 as cited in Wilmot & Simons, 2017). Census statistics on the Cape colony's population support this observation. For instance, in 1865, the literacy rate among the black population was less than 10 per cent, by comparison with the number of members of the white community where literacy performance averaged at 65 per cent, in both the western and eastern provinces of the colony (Fourie, Ross & Viljoen, 2014).

Thus, South Africa would enter the twentieth century influenced by forces associated with military conquest, competing legal and cultural systems, economic and technical development, as well as extension of colonial superiority, which, according to British rulers, had become the way to modernity for South Africa.

7.2.1 The Union and the beginning of the segregation policy

For South Africa, the twentieth century began with the changing of a political and ideological landscape, which also impacted the development of educational policy in the country.

In 1913, the Native Land Act introduced territorial division of the country, according to which, Africans were prohibited to purchase or lease the land outside of the "designated native reserves", whose borders were carefully defined (Fredrickson, 1981, p.241). This was one of the most significant pieces of legislation to be passed by the South African House of Representatives during the early years of the Union. In the literature, there are several positions which interpret the idea of the Act.

Firstly, in a political sense, this Act can be seen as a fundamental step towards segregation, which in several decades became known as apartheid (Feinberg, 1993). Secondly, the Act had economic motives that were affiliated with the expansion of black labour in the agrarian, industrial and mining sectors of the country (Feinberg, 1993). Thus, the Native Land Act segregated the native population, not only in a physical sense, but also created an environment of increasing social and cultural segregation.

The new laws interfered in all spheres of life of the native population, including education. Thus, education for non-Europeans became limited at all levels, from early schooling to university. In time, there would be several types of schools for natives and non-white immigrants: church and missionary schools, state schools, community schools and tribal schools (Christie & Collins, 1982). Financial support for black education was significantly lower that it was for whites, and the provision of schools and qualifications of teachers for the non-white community was, overall, generally poorer (Christie & Collins, 1982) (Tab.7).

Table 7. Enrolment of Black Students 1930-1945, Christie and Collins, 1982

Year	Number of black students	Percentage (%) of black population receiving education
1930	284,250	4,9%
1935	351,908	5,5%
1940	464,024	6,6%
1945	587,586	7,7%

A similar pattern can be traced in higher education, where the majority of universities would be established for white students. However, there were a number of universities designated for the education of non-European students; one of these was the University College of Fort Hare (The South African Native College). According to Matthews, the establishment of Fort Hare was an overture to fulfil the "hopes" of liberal Europeans, missionaries, administrators, leaders of South African native groups, and "others interested in African welfare" (Matthews, 1957). However, there was another, more practical reason for this measure, namely, the outflow of the black youth to the universities of the United States, which became quite significant due to the intervention of the independent African American congregationalist churches (Ndletyana, 2008). The South African government was aware of the circumstances which could follow the return of educated black students: the rise of a movement for civil rights and freedom which already happened in the United States at that time (Ndletyana, 2008). Therefore, the foundation of a local university for South African black youths was a controlling measure, designed to neutralize the possibility of unwanted protests and prevent a revolutionary climate among the black population.

However symbolically (and even physically) excluded from modernity, natives and other non-Europeans still had to participate in the systems created by western modernity, particularly the capitalist economy. In this sense, those who attended schools could gain skills required by the capitalist economy, such as English or Afrikaans, as well as literacy and numeracy in these languages (Christie & Collins, 1982). For those who gained a university degree, the job opportunities were even wider, with considerable possibilities in the bureaucratic, medical and teaching professions. Moreover, those who could afford secondary and higher education were taught according to the same syllabus as whites. Such 'privilege' would keep the university in the spirit of the liberal missionary tradition, which had originally brought European culture, through education, to South Africa.

Universities became places where modernity, in a European sense, fully took shape, even if the education of non-whites was based generally on the narrative of Christianity and the ideals of western civilisation (such as capitalism). Through education, non-Europeans became 'adjustable' to the rules of the colonial government, and later to the laws of the union government. However, in receiving a western education, a new kind of discussion arose among educated blacks – the discussion of native African modernity.

7.2.2 The discussion on African modernity and rise of African self-conciseness, the 'fundamental features' of modernity in the SA system

The desire for and enhancement of intellectual achievement brought the South African black intelligentsia to the point of rethinking the place of South Africa in the modern world. Even before the establishment of the South African Union and publication of the Native Act of 1913, there were educated natives and non-whites who rethought the role

of Europeans in Africa. Some of them received a Western education and returned to South Africa in the capacity of respected scholars and professionals. The process of rethinking the African position in the context of modernity was an uneasy one. On one hand, there were leaders who considered the pursuit of western modernity as the only possible path to a civilized society, while on the other hand, there were intellectuals who believed in black African exceptionalism and a specific way of African development. I provide several examples of this to demonstrate the plurality of South African intellectual debates during the pre-apartheid era.

During the colonial period of the 19th century, the first recorded European-educated black South African was Tiyo Soga who had graduated from Glasgow University's Theological Hall in 1856 and returned to South Africa to campaign against racism and colonial expansion (Ndletyana, 2008). Soga promoted a missionary vision, grounded on the values of western civilisation, but in the context of an African reality. In this sense, modernity was associated with the socialisation of the west with Africa, achieved with the incorporation of Christianity into local traditions.

Another leading African intellectual, who became a pioneer in African journalism and advocate of education for natives, was John Tengo Jabavu. Jabavu established the first black secular newspaper *Imvo Zabantsundu (Native Opinion)* which became a forum for Africans to express their opinions about the society in which they lived in. Among the many themes and social issues to which the newspaper was devoted, was the campaign for the right of black people to have equal access to university education. The resulting debate provoked a resolution which influenced the establishment of the University of Fort Hare (Ndletyana, 2008).

In the 1920s, another movement emerged which influenced the construction and understanding of African modernity: this group of people were working together for the weekly publication, *Umteteli wa Bantu* (The Mouthpiece of the Native People) (Masilela,

1996). The nature of *Umteteli wa Bantu* was different to the agenda of *Imvo Zabantsundu (Native Opinion)*. *Umteteli wa Bantu* was controlled by individuals affiliated to the white dominated Chamber of Mines to "to contain and redirect black political opinion after the 1920 mine strike" (van Robbroeck, 2008, p.213). However, it openly supported university education among the black population as an ultimate pattern of modernity in order to gain "equal membership of the 'universal humanity' enshrined in the Western humanist tradition" (van Robbroeck, 2008, p.214).

In the political sphere, there were also a plurality of voices from emerging nationalist movements. The biggest players at this arena was the African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1912, the African Political Organisation (APO) and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa (ICWUSA) – a more radical movement which by the 1940s had approximately 150,000 members; only the South African Communist Party, which had been established by whites, had the policy of recruiting members without any racial affiliation (Thompson, 2001). Even within the Christian community there was segregation – a 'schism' which separated black African churches (or religious communities) from the main branches of Christian churches (Thompson, 2001).

Thus, the black African political and public sphere became occupied by different movements that reacted against white ideological dominance and consequent repressive policies. However, it is worth noting that the Indian community and other non-white groups also had their own political organisations, namely the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), which aimed to improve the lives of their members (Thompson, 2001). However, in having limited rights themselves, the leaders of these movements had a 'particular' view of black African issues. For instance, Mohandas K. Gandhi, a London-educated law graduate and a qualified Barrister, who spent a significant amount of his legal career as an attorney in South Africa, rejected a proposal to unite with black African

movements at the outset of his campaign for Indian civil rights. His motive for doing so was that he considered blacks to be 'civilizationally' different (Goolam, 2017) (Fig.21).

Figure 21. The Emancipated Bantu. Source: The Bantu World, 1932

Regardless of whether black intellectuals were pro or anti-western, they held a very similar question in common: what were the foundations that had allowed the Europeans to turn the African continent into a vast western colony? (Masilela, 1996). The answer was modernity. In many ways, black African leaders and intellectuals had experienced modernity through the institutions of modernity, including systems of knowledge and practices of modernity, examples of which can be seen through the development of

industrialisation, the capitalist economy and the imposition of white European culture over the culture of native people. Moreover, Thompson indicates that the founders of the ANC had been mission-educated Christians and received their degrees from universities in Britain and America (Thompson, 2001). Facing these realities created by modernity, African natives had to either fight modernity or be subsumed by it.

7.2.3 Education under apartheid

In 1948, radical Afrikaner nationalists won a majority in a contentious post-war parliamentary election in South Africa. This crucial victory ensured a new system of institutionalised social segregation, known as apartheid (separate development) (Dubow, 2014). By this time, the idea of racial segregation had already been tested by the white South African ruling class (for example, the Native Land Act of 1913, or the Representation of Natives Act). According to Cell, the laws of segregation had become a convenient foundation upon which to put forward the 'highest stage of white supremacy' (Cell, 1982). The concept of apartheid rotated around the objective of the domination of a single civilized white nation (Afrikaners and English), with the ultimate division of the remainder of the population of South Africa into other 'racial groups', Africans, Coloured and Indian, and the exclusion of this population from any and all mainstream political, social, cultural and economic relationships (Thompson, 2001).

Education, as a cornerstone of social institutions, was hugely affected by apartheid. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed, altering an already limited education system put in place for native Africans. In a broader sense, the act was supportive of political, economic and racial separation. There are several interpretations of Bantu educational policy which exist today. Liberal scholars tend to see the new reforms as the cause of racial and cultural division, and symptomatic of the desperation of the white ruling class

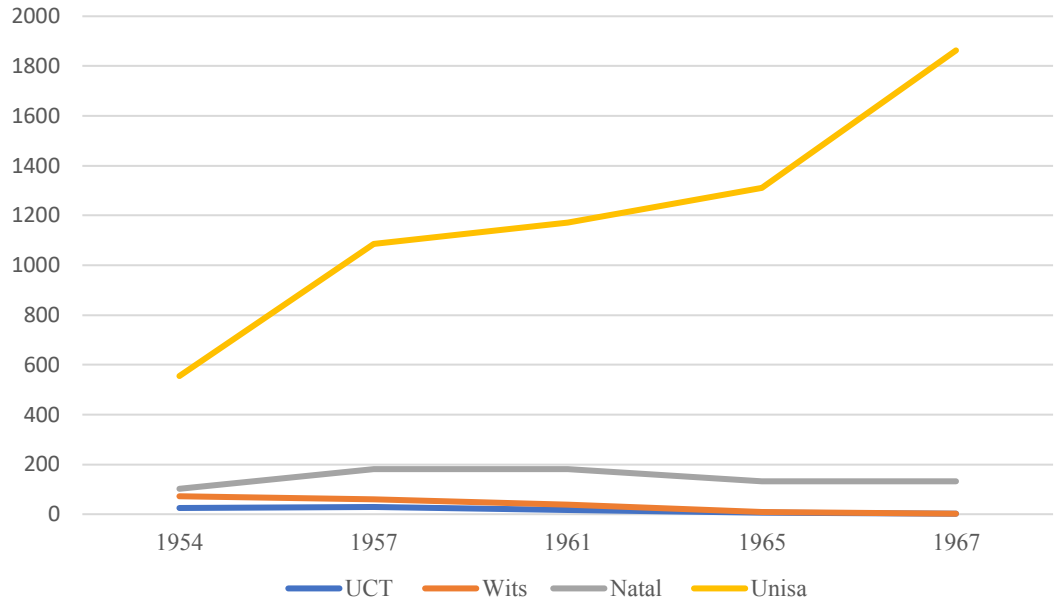
to preserve their exclusive and dominant position in society (Christie & Collins, 1982). Marxist scholars appeal to economics and class factors to explain the reasons for the changing of the education system from one of missionary education to a government-controlled education system. The connection between education and preparation for the workplace was heavily emphasised in the Bantu education policy, which had a "specific aim" for black people in order to satisfy the need for a 'certain form of labour' within the European community (Verwoerd as cited in Venter, 1999). Until the 1970s, during the first stage of Bantu education, a "certain form of labour" meant the training of semiskilled workers, which Wolpe calls the "reproduction of a particular mode of production" (Giliomee, 2009, Wolpe, 1972, p.425).

Being rational in its mode of exploitation, Bantu Education can also be considered as an attempt to engineer the mass participation of a native population in schooling. However, in spite of the growth of a number of schools within segregated areas, and the number of children involved in education, the tendency to drop out from schools increased in proportion to the advancement of the school grade. For instance, in the 1960s, the number of enrolments in lower primary schools (grade 1-4) was 238,000 pupils (at grade 1), but by grade 6 (higher-primary schools) there were only 53,000 pupils remaining (Horrell, 1968). Another issue of concern in the black population was the quality of education they received. Christie and Collins note that despite the intention to fulfil the needs of the economy, the model of schooling was poorly designed, as reflected by the lack of finance and the low number of qualified teachers (Christie & Collins, 1982).

In higher education, the gulf dividing white universities from black institutions became wider. The Extension of University Education Act, 1959, officially closed off the opportunity for black students to be admitted to white universities. This act made it a criminal offense for a non-white student to register at a formerly open university without the written permission of the Minister of Internal Affairs (in some cases, non-whites could

receive a special permit to enrol in white universities). The act, instead, provided for the creation of colleges and vocational schools for Africans, Coloured, and Indians (Parliament of South Africa, 1959) (Fig.22).

Figure 22. Enrolment of African Students at Selected White Universities, 1954-1967. Source: Herrell, 1968



One of the goals of these new colleges and schools was the creation of local administrative elites capable of managing the native institutions of Bantustan (Nkomo, 1981). As a part of the government system, Bantustan universities were controlled by a central national government authority which prescribed curriculum and academic standards (Davies, 1996). The wave of protests during the 1970s and 80s saw South African universities transformed into bases for the opposition movements. The fostering of black leaders went through the channels of political support through international scholarships and an intake of black youth into foreign universities. Davies indicates that, under U.S. President Reagan's administration, millions of dollars were invested into scholarships that enabled black South Africans to study in American universities (Davies, 1985). The Soviet Union also enrolled black South African students into its military and

civil universities, and distributed scholarships to black students through different channels and organisations supported by the ANC (Filatova & Davidson, 2013).

Pressure from Western governments, international organisations and foreign corporations, led to a series of reforms in South African universities. In the 1970s, the United Nations proclaimed apartheid as "a crime against humanity", followed by the expulsion of South Africa from the U.N Security Council (Jones & Reavis, 2013, p.3). Moreover, foreign corporations, which had a significant proportion of investment[3] in the South African economy, observed the overall impact of apartheid on economic development. Encountering a lack of skilled labour and technological changes which required more advanced skills, American and European corporations bargained with the South African government over the provision of better education and training for black workers, as well as a general improvement of their living and social conditions (Jones & Reavis, 2013). One result of these actions was a movement towards the democratisation of universities: a broader enrolment of black students into both white (Afrikaans and English speaking) and black universities.

In order to continue my policy analysis, let me summarise the key forces which shaped the path taken by South African universities towards the idea of WCU, and the role of modernity in the creation of this path. From the outset, South Africa inherited a western education model, which, in the colonial context, received distinctive characteristics associated with interpretations of race and cultures. The idea of the superiority of European 'civilization' and their belonging to 'modernity' became key to the imposition of western-domination in its various forms – from colonialism to apartheid. The exclusion

[3] For instance, British-owned Barclays and Standard Chartered were the biggest players in the banking sector; Unilever accumulated 50% of the soap and detergent market; U.S firms had 70% of a computer market and 44% of the petroleum product market (Jones & Reavis, 2013)

and underrepresentation of the native population, and non-whites in general, was a distinctive aspect of higher education policy up until 1994. Over a prolonged period, South African universities did not have any experience of massification, which had been booming in the other universities of the western world since the 1960s.

On the other hand, this tradition of exclusion, and the black South African reaction to it, also brought the opposition movements into the process of examining the foundations of those state institutions created by a white-oriented Western modernity, together with a rethinking of what African modernity meant and how it could be applied (an idea which fits the context of multiple modernities). However, the implementation of African modernity, as part of a process of post-apartheid reform, was never formally proposed (in some cases, it was interpreted as a return to the simplicity of traditional living and organisation, namely tribal forms of living). In this sense, a separate development, as a form of quasi-imposition of African modernity to native South Africans, was created by white rulers to examine and sustain their power.

Modernity in South Africa, represented by western institutions and functions, such as a capitalist economy and a democratic political order, also had its own characteristics. Capitalism had previously been seen as an extreme form of economic coercion of the majority-black labour force, and democracy, originally limited by the sole participation of white people in the electorate, became an instrument of subexpression. In this sense, universities had reflected the political, social and economic situation of South Africa at that time: they were limited in their freedom of expression and their level of participation in society and were also, consequently, disconnected from the wider international academic community because of the global rejection of the policy of apartheid.

7.3 Policy choice of the 1990s and higher education direction

In the previous several sections we traced the origin of South African universities, and the transformation to its contemporary forms. Moreover, an important discussion, dedicated to the place of South Africa in modernity was revealed. Both components are necessary for an understanding of a policy choice, which South African government followed after the fall of apartheid.

To improve the stagnating economy at the beginning of the 1990s, there were two propositions for the economic direction of South Africa. The first model of development was proposed in the report published by the Macro Economic Research Group (MERG), Making democracy work: a framework for macroeconomic policy in South Africa (supported by the ANC). MERG proposals were largely based on ideas drawn from the post-Keynesian programme (Microeconomic Research Group, 1993). The priority of the program was to oversee an increase of publicly-led investments and an active participation of the state in economic management, with a special concentration on improvements in the social and economic infrastructure, along with the living conditions of the more vulnerable and disadvantaged groups within the society (Overseas Development Institute, 1994, Padayachee, 2005). Particular attention was paid to the improvement of education and training for the black population. The report pointed out that, under apartheid conditions, certain skills had been promoted only among elite groups, while the majority of the population received a limited education consistent with low or unskilled positions of employment (Microeconomic Research Group, 1993). The report proposed equal access to educational institutions for all, or democratic education, rather than a perpetuation of regular "economic functions" of education, with closer attention being paid to specific skills required for the job market (Microeconomic Research Group, 1993, p.92). Under this interpretation, the primary goal of education was

not to deliver the “white standards” of education to everyone, but rather to “offer” a different and “more equitable education system” for everyone (Microeconomic Research Group, 1993, p.96).

Another model which I wish to analyse is, The Restructuring of the South African Economy: A Normative Model Approach (NEM), was proposed by the leaders of the National Party (NP). The main thrust of this report was a maximisation of the principles of neoliberal economics, based on rapid economic growth with an increase of foreign direct investment and a minimisation of state intervention in the economy (Overseas Development Institute, 1994). The NEM proposals were, obviously, polar opposites to those put forward by MERG. Moreover, in matters relating to the improvement of social conditions, NEM also emphasised the importance of the attraction of private sources of investment in order to resolve them. However, although differing on the economic direction that the country should pursue, both programs recognised that changes to education policies had to be connected with global trends, especially the massification and commercialisation of education.

After the elections of 1994, the final outcome of negotiations over the proposals advocated by NEM and MERG resulted in a new joint economic plan, entitled the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy (GEAR), which Schneider characterised as the “mostly neoliberal approach to [national] development” (Schneider, 2018). There are several possible explanations for the selection of this economic vector. The 1990s was a transitional period for many countries, such as the former Soviet republics, whose regimes had collapsed. However, by comparison with the post-Soviet states, where the transition had been from a socialist model to a capitalist economic formation, the economy of South Africa had been capitalist with some particular characteristics which scholars have identified as “colonial and racial capitalism” (Terreblanche, 2002, p. 422).

However, the change of the political elites did not reduce the influence of western international capital on the local economy. Mandela, whose own vision of economic policy was associated with nationalisation and a policy of re-distribution, had later "reassured President Bush and the corporate executives in the United States" that the ANC had changed its position on the issue of nationalisation (Habib & Padayachee, 2000, p.248). Historically, having the presence of western economic dominion in South Africa, including multinational corporations and businesses, the old socialist approach of the ANC was weakened under growing pressure from the IMF, the World Bank and many other transnational institutions (Adams, 1997). Later, in 2007, the World Bank belatedly acknowledged that their work had made a significant impact on South Africa's policy direction with regard to economics (The World Bank, 2007). Under these circumstances, the chosen direction towards a neoliberal capitalist economy was synchronised with the goals of the Washington-based consensus, along with the realisation that South Africa already shared the experience of 'western modernity'.

Secondly, from a political perspective, the colonial heritage of the British Empire symbolically made South Africa belong to 'western civilisation', while the apartheid regime entrenched white patronage over natives – the worst aspects of western modernity. In this sense, the moral victory of ANC socialism over Afrikaner capitalism, especially during an era which saw the collapse of numerous socialist regimes, represented a defeat of the west for South Africa. Therefore, the new neoliberal direction represented a reversal of this victory, where the influence of the west on South African policy furthered the synchronisation of the country with western modernity.

Thus, GEAR summarises the principles of liberalisation, privatisation and the willingness of the South African economy to be opened up to global markets (The GEAR). For education, and for the higher education sector in particular, this "transformation towards a competitive outward-oriented economy", meant following this blueprint (The South

Government, 1994, p.1). The report suggested a strengthening of the relationship between industry and education, with greater investments in vocational and technical education. Such innovations had to result in an overall improvement of the innovation sector of local industry, to stimulate labour efficiency and intensify foreign direct investment in manufacturing. An especially important principle was the repetitive idea of labour productivity, which was identified as one of the principle factors of economic growth. In terms of the achievement of the outlined targets, the report, itself, did not offer any specific solutions to potential arising problems, particularly in the creation of a national qualification framework and the rationalisation of teacher training. However, it gave the impetus to a certain policy direction which would be implemented in the later stages of the formation of higher education strategy.

Thus, the new neoliberal microeconomic strategy predetermined the future incline of higher education policy in South Africa. This also meant that education had to be seen from a global perspective, which had previously never been a priority for the South Africans. According to Cloete and Muller, South African universities were obliged to take into consideration, not only the requirements of local development, but also to adequately respond "to the social, cultural and economic demand of the globalising world" (Cloete & Muller, 1998, p.5). Such tendencies were characterised, not only for South Africa, but for many other universities around the world during the 1990s and 2000s. For local universities, the first steps toward a neoliberalisation of education were associated with two major factors which were present in various policy documents, namely, efficiency and effectiveness. This vision would be satisfied only through the implementation of certain measures, including the establishment of a global vision for domestic universities, university mergers, and the introduction of national qualification frameworks, and, finally, a reorientation of education on outcome-based priorities. These practices will be examined in the next section.

From 1995 onwards, the Mandela government created agencies which formulate strategies to achieve desirable goals. One of the more significant agencies was the National Commission for Higher Education, created in 1996 (NCHE) (Cloete, 2014). The NCHE worked in partnership with various international consultants from UNESCO, the World Bank, the American Council on Education and other international agencies to sow the 'best' international practices into local soil (Cloete, 2014). In 1996, the same year that the OECD published their report on the knowledge economy, the NCHE made their first acknowledgment of the production of knowledge workers, and their importance for the growth of the local economy (Mather, 2007). Recommendations by the NCHE were adopted by the South African Department of Education and were developed into the Green Paper on Higher Education (1996), the White Paper 3 on Higher Education (1997) and the National Plan (2001) (Reddy, 2006). Another influential organisation was the CHET (The Centre for Higher Education Transformation), which had direct connections with private foreign foundations (for instance, the Ford Foundation provided consultants to CHET). The key themes of CHETs work are also the development and transformation of South African higher education.

In spite of various proposals and views on South African higher education, there were tensions between internal and external goals, and these had to be solved continuously, one by one, rather than simultaneously. Enson comments that the government of South Africa placed, as their goal, the desire to become a competitive player in the global economic arena. However, at the same time, local issues presented obstacles to this objective. Therefore, in 1996, two years after the publication of the GEAR report with its neoliberal policy approach, the NCHE issued their own report which was oriented on issues directly related to a reduction of inequality in participation, firstly within South African society, which made it more locally related to the ongoing problem of the underrepresentation of blacks and non-whites in the higher education sector. The NCHE

report of 1996 therefore proposed “an attempt to combine, in a particular South African way, more democracy with more modern management” (Council on Higher Education, 1996, p. 199). Moreover, the theme of the mobilisation of the unique cultural and social potential of South African higher education was strong in the NCHE report, whereas the orientation on the global economic dimension of education became one of a number of subsidiary priorities.

Finally, before a discussion of further reforms in the context of global trends can be continued, it is important to give an explanation of the role of the National Qualification Framework (NQF) and its impact on the construction of higher education policy later on. In 1995, the South African Qualification Act laid down the key principles of the National Qualification Framework in order to introduce a standardised quality of qualifications across institutions of higher education across the country. Enson points out that the establishment of the NQF was mainly influenced by the examples of the policy directions in Australasia (Enson, 2004). However, in the South African context, the NQF played a bigger role, rather than just being a tool to regulate the South African education and training system. The goal of the NQF was the promotion of skills for the benefits of the national economy, to liquidate racial barriers to university access, and to create a distinction between various levels of post-secondary education (Boughey, 2003).

However, much later, in 2001, the narrative of a knowledge-driven agenda, alongside a strong emphasis on “human resource development”, “high-level skill training”, and “production of new knowledge” became themes actualised by The National Plan for Higher Education (The Department for Higher Education, 2001, n.p). In many ways, in reiterating the importance of mass participation in higher education, the National Plan of 2001 added an additional value to higher education development – the value of becoming an efficient university through institutional transformations – a “single coordinated

system" (The Department for Higher Education, 2001, n.p). Such coordination of university efficiency was achieved through university merging.

The rationale for university merging in South Africa was also connected with aims which were highlighted in the GEAR report. The process of merging was designed to overcome the problems presented by the inefficiency of historically divided institutions by helping them adapt to "the fast-changing, technology-driven and information-based economies" (Sehoole, 2005, p.164). Moreover, different types of institutions, which were formed during the apartheid era, and served the purposes of apartheid through the "geopolitical imagination of apartheid planners", became an unwanted inheritance for the new democratic ANC government (Jansen, 2003, p.32). Jansen argues, for instance, that traditionally black institutions had been located in rural underdeveloped areas (two of the nine provinces did not have any institutions at all), lacking financial resources and support, which had a direct impact on the quality of higher education there (Jansen, 2003). In general, the rate of participation among black students was typically lower than enrolment among whites, and, in the south of the South African Republic, was approximately 22% for Africans and non-whites and 70% for whites (Council on Higher Education, 2004). In this sense, this program of merging had to serve the interests of proper planning and adequate geographical redistribution of institutions of higher education to create an efficient coordinated system without racial segregation. Thus, throughout the 2000s, 36 South African universities were merged with 23 public universities and institutes of technology, and in 2013 and 2014, an additional three universities were opened in South Africa

7.4 Following of global trends after 2000 and in the light of the WCU agenda

The chosen direction for the incorporation and integration of South African universities into the global university community would continue after the year 2000. However, the South African government continued to introduce 'new millennia' reforms which were aimed to resolving local problems in higher education. However, by comparison with other BRICS nations, where there is a wider acknowledgement of the World-Class policy agenda, the South African government did not introduce specific goals aimed at the creation of WCUs. However, there were a series of reforms which were in line with the priorities of global university trends. Moreover, it cannot be ignored the leading the South African institutions, such as the University of Cape Town, the University of Witwatersrand and Stellenbosch University have been actively present in the global university rankings from 2012. This means that South Africa has already established a benchmark of WCU creation through the performance of its own leading institutions, and this can be adopted by other South African institutions as part of its programme of higher education reform. In addition, the South African higher education sector has already made inroads in the development of WCUs in accordance with the global trends.

7.4.1 Massification

Based on a developed framework, massification became a key trend in the formation of South African higher educational policy. At the policy level, the idea of massification of higher education is linked, not only to the economic success of the country, but also with the promotion of democratic values of a new post-apartheid society (Sehoole & Adeyemo, 2016). Massification in the South African context has been addressed through

the wider inclusion of a traditionally neglected segment of the population through increased access to universities and a greater distribution of wealth through grants and scholarships. For instance, a system of loan provision through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) was established to provide financial assistance to academically successful students who came from households whose income was less then R160,000. (Department of Higher Education and Training, n.d).

However, according to KPMG, the average income for a South African household after-tax is R145,000, which means that for those students who could not receive a loan, the university fees, alongside other university expenses, cost up to 80% of total household earnings (KPMG, 2016). This equality gap becomes wider from 2000 onwards when the average annual growth of tuition fees was 12% (Wangenge-Ouma, 2012). Therefore, an increase of tuition fees, from which universities earn the most significant segment of their income, affects student enrolment. This is why, in spite of the tendency for a growing participation rate (massification), proportionate to the total population of adults between 20 and 24 years of age, the participation rate is still low (Department of Higher Education and Training, n.d).

Aside from the increased rate of enrolment of black students into both historically black and white universities, it is important to observe the graduation rate of black students. According to CHE, the proportion (percent) of graduation within 5 years of the first-entering cohort of 2006 was 61% among white students and 42% among black African students (CHE, 2013). This number suggests that despite the increase of student enrolment, which rose gradually after 1994, the dropout rate among black students also remained high. The CHE concludes that the equality in output (graduate rate) remains critical for South African higher education (CHE, 2013). By comparison, other Commonwealth countries with developed economies and lower social inequality demonstrate a higher rate of graduated students. Based on the data of 2016, the proportion

of first-time tertiary graduates enrolled among other Commonwealth countries in bachelor's programmes or their equivalent, was 67% for New Zealand, 85% for Great Britain and 74% for Australia (OECD, 2018).

7.4.2 Globalisation: Africanisation of South African universities

I would like to discuss a point which is related more directly to the vision of South African higher education, a self-sufficient system, without any dependency upon a colonial past. This point, which is related to the trend of globalisation in the South African context is Africanisation. The notion of Africanisation can be considered from two perspectives. In one sense, Africanisation means a direct increase of black student intake into universities, while another interpretation of the idea of Africanisation introduces a debate on the definition of language and curriculum, which is mostly associated with the preservation of the cultural and national heritage of black South African students.

In the section above, the problem of wider participation was discussed in detail. Therefore, I shall concentrate on the second understanding of Africanisation from the point of view of bringing an indigenous African-focused approach to the university curriculum. In the immediate aftermath of the program of university merging in 2004, the aim of which was to optimize resources (reduce the number of ineffective institutions of higher education) and achieve an enrolment target, the university curriculum also experienced transformation. The government agenda was connected with the global integration of South African universities, but, on the other hand, universities had to preserve their distinct cultural patterns through so-called Africanisation. African scholars have pointed out that Africanisation should be understood as 'a route' to restore the "lost status of the African image and reconstruct it" (Ebewo & Sirayi, 2018, p. 89).

Consequently, in the context of university language and curriculum, Africanisation can be considered to be a shift from Euro-American-based curricular education to African-related content. African scholars have further noted that African values, world-view and languages are often missing from university programs or have a niche position to fill curtain gaps in the curriculum (Matos, 2000) It can, therefore, be understood that an intention to create a knowledge economy and to engineer the synchronisation of knowledge-based approaches with the methods practiced by the global community required a curriculum and working universal language, such as English, which denotes a global approach.

However, the discussion about the Africanisation of the curriculum remained largely untouched, because of the greater priority that 21st century skills should relate to national improvement and innovation capacity, rather than a preservation of the cultural identity of black African students. Both the Department of Education (DoE) and Department of labour (DoL) in South Africa were responsible for skills planning (Powella, Reddy & Juan, 2016). After 2009, skills planning was concentrated under the control of the Department of Education and Training in order to reorient the education and training system on a delivery of quality outcomes and, in particular, providing training in skills for the knowledge-economy at universities (Powella, Reddy & Juan, 2016). Such approaches were calculated to lead to a redistribution of student places in the humanities, business/commerce and science/engineering faculties from the proportion of 49%: 26%: 25% to 40%: 30%: 30%, respectively (The Department of Education, 2001). This means that the capacity for Africanisation as part of an effort to decolonise knowledge, which was mainly confined to the science and humanity disciplines, was largely impractical and had to be reduced.

Higgs highlights that South African higher education “still mirrors colonial education paradigms and the hegemony of western thought.” (Higgs as cited in Hirsh, 2018, n. p).

In light of this discussion, it is important to introduce the concept of *Ubuntu,* which connects with the idea of Africanisation in universities and can be seen as an alternative to Euro-centric education. Ubuntu is a philosophy, originating in Southern Africa, which literally translates as "I am because you are" or "person is a person through other persons" (Robinson-Morris, 2015, p.25, Tutu, 2004, p. 25). The idea of Ubuntu is based on the assumption of a collective approach to living, where an individual forms part of a greater whole, rather than being one-to-one with the world, which is a basic definition of the European individualistic approach (Oviawe, 2016). Ubuntu philosophy is, in many ways, similar to the native system of belief in China - Confucianism, which also puts forward the moral imperative of the relationship of an individual with the wider community as its central component. In terms of education, Ubuntu philosophy offers "a paradigm is thus a comprehensive belief system, world view, or framework that guides research and practice in a field" (Willis, 2007, p.8). Assié-Lumumba points out, that the continuation of the implementation of a Eurocentric approach to education meant the loss of the roots of indigenous education, and an interruption of the continuity of native African socio-historical ties (Assié-Lumumba, 2016). However, despite the growing acknowledgement that South African universities require a more African-centric approach in education, the idea of globalisation remains the dominant strategy in the formation of development policies.

Hence, in 2008, the South African government involved international experts (Harvard's Centre for International Development) to analyse the state of South Africa's economy and its potential for economic growth. The final report, ASGISA (Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa) characterised South African education, as a "medium knowledge producer" with a "small number of institutions which are in 'chronic crisis' mode" (Popescu, 2015, p.413). Such an assessment shows that South African universities do not have the capacity to perform well enough to be called 'drivers of knowledge

production'. The report identified that the main task of the government was the implementation of a knowledge agenda to compete with advanced economies, rather than the search for a 'true' identity of South African higher education.

7.4.3 Commercialisation

In 2004, the old system of funding based on the student enrolment rate was replaced by block and earmarked grants designed to rectify a number of deficiencies, including teaching and research inputs/outputs, the proportion of disadvantaged students and a general improvement of the university environment (infrastructure, designing of MOOC, etc.) (CHE, 2016). However, state grants do not exceed more than 50% of total university income, which places another 50% of earnings on tuition fees and 'third stream' income, which includes all other financial activities of a university (CHE, 2016). To support sustainable income flows, universities were encouraged to establish other activities, alongside teaching and flagship research projects, and to concentrate their efforts on R&D spinoffs to develop 'research-intensive' environments that are 'innovative', 'interdisciplinary' and involve 'collaborative approaches' (UNISA, 2016, UCT, 2015).

Moreover, since the fall of apartheid, the necessity commercialisation of university research has been continuously emphasised in key policy documents. Gachie and Govender state that South African institutions of higher education have a function for research, entrepreneurial activity and education provision (Gachie & Govender, 2017). The reason for this lies in the structure of the South African system of education and science, which were never split into discipline-specific universities or Academies of Science, as happened in Germany and Russia. Prior to 1994, South Africa had two semi-scientific bodies that emerged from its colonial past: The Royal Society of South Africa (RSSAf) and the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (SAAWK) (ASSAf,

n.d). After 1994, an Academy of Science was established under the new post-apartheid regime. However, all these organisations served more as places for collaboration, preservation and as platforms for knowledge exchange. Under these circumstances, universities had a natural function to perform as research centres.

In 2002, the South African government introduced the 'National Research and Development Strategy' where an important emphasis was placed on universities to "mobilise" and "deliver" innovations (The Government of Republic of South Africa, 2002, p. 23). The report highlights new principles for the National System of Innovation (NSI), which is based on a partnership between the government, the private sector and the universities (The Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2002). The key message of the new strategy was the introduction of a new issue, which had not been previously addressed, namely the reduction of the gaps between knowledge generation, advanced human capital and market needs (The Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2002). In addition, in 2008, the Department of Science and Technology published a 10 year innovation plan. In general, the spirit of this report was very similar to the agenda of the National Research and Development Strategy, which set up priority-driven fields which would lead South Africa to the status of a knowledge-driven society. However, regardless of the established policies, it is worth mentioning that all of these strategies have an emphasis on practices that were previously implemented by western universities. Under these circumstances, research based on indigenous knowledge did not have any specific consideration or investment from either the government or the private sectors.

7.4.4 Internationalisation

In 2017, the first policy draft on internationalisation was proposed by the Department of Higher Education and Training. The main focus of the framework was the return of South Africa to "the international community" (Government Gazette, 2017, p. 3). Historically, South Africa was a centre for migration from other African countries. It has been shown that, even during colonial times, South Africa, and especially Cape Town, was the most developed African territory, and this feature attracted a flow of migration from all over Africa. Like Russia, where the flow of inward migration originates mostly in the former Soviet republics, South Africa was also mainly a regional hub for educational migration. However, by comparison to the Russian, and even the Brazilian case of internationalisation, where the main barriers are language or cultural barriers, South Africa has never experienced these issues due to its symbolic belonging to the western world. Therefore, the historic belonging of South Africa to the Anglophone world, particularly with its western-influenced and English-oriented history of higher education, makes the South African universities highly attractive for all classes of international students.

In 2013, the number of international students was approximately 74,000, compared with 46,687 students in 2002 and amounted to 8% of the total student population (ICEF Monitor, 2013). However, even with the growing progression of educational migration to South Africa, the majority of international students still came from Southern Africa (Zimbabwe, Namibia and Lesotho), along with other countries within the African continent (ICEF Monitor, 2013). In 1997, the International Education Association of South Africa (IEASA) was created to provide a platform for universities and individuals to "advocate, promote and support the internationalization of higher education" (Dunn & Nilan, 2007, p. 268). IEASA, as an organisation, did not provide a strategy on internationalisation in the region, but, rather, "developed awareness" among the universities and stakeholders on the globalisation of higher education (Dunn & Nilan,

2007, p. 268). Later, in 2012, the South African National Development plan emphasised an importance of intellectual migration and internationalisation, as factors which contributed to economic growth, through the development of research capacity enhancement between South African universities and overseas institutions of higher education (South African Government, 2012). This new framework was the first one specifically designed for the advancement of the internationalisation of South African higher education and represents a 'guideline' on internationalisation for every public university in South Africa. It is, thus, important to highlight the fact that the Department of Higher Education and Training places internationalisation as a high-priority policy objective through which South African universities can improve (1) their ability to compete in the global educational arena, (2) the quality of higher education and (3) the transmission of the benefits of higher education to the wider society, which directly connects with the production of knowledge and an improvement in the capacity of human capital (Government Gazette, 2017). However, this framework does not have a direct emphasis on the creation of world class universities, nor even world class university practices – and, yet, internationalisation is still widely used as a technique, the implementation of which would allow South African universities to compete globally with other international universities on an equal footing. In a manner similar to Brazil and Russia, where internationalisation is used as a technique to enhance the position of local universities in the world and in the global university rankings, in order to entice foreign cadres into partnership, South Africa has also seen the internationalisation strategy as a tool which must contribute to 'knowledge production' in the region (Government Gazette, 2017). However, though bearing the global dimension in mind, the framework still maintains that knowledge production must firstly contribute to South African development, then to the SADS region (South African Development Community), to the rest of African continent, and, lastly, the world (Government Gazette, 2017).

Nevertheless, through the internationalisation strategy, South Africa has preserved its leading position in the region and remains the major provider of quality higher education in Africa.

7.5 Conclusion: old agenda, new possibilities towards World-Class Universities

This chapter has analysed the path taken by South Africa towards the creation of world-class universities. South Africa, alongside India, is one of the BRICS countries which does not have a clearly-developed policy which is directly devoted to the establishment of WCUs. However, the four global educational trends have clearly been incorporated into policy practices since the fall of apartheid, in order to intensify its presence in a global economic and educational dimension.

Sharing a common historical heritage with the western world, South Africa has become a part of western modernity and the western system of knowledge. However, during the post-colonial era, and in the aftermath of the apartheid period, South African thinkers tried to find a grounding for African modernity, which had to be manifested through different systems, including education.

This question is still relevant today. Post-apartheid policies are concentrated around themes that belong to so-called global perspectives, rather than to local politics. Without doubt, local issues such as social inequality, which leads to racial exclusion and poverty, fit into global issues as well. However, in the South African context, these problems relate to the local environment, which is connected with its colonial past, the apartheid legacy and the challenges of bringing African modernity to life. That is why in higher education policy there is a tension between western policy techniques, as techniques of western

modernity, and the features of African modernity, such as the Africanisation of university education and decolonisation of knowledge.

Modern South African policies continue to ignore the presence of indigenous knowledge and bring a narrow view on Africanisation to policy narratives. Instead, Africanisation is merely seen as useful to the strategy of massification to increase the intake of black students into universities.

8 India

This chapter discusses the creation of WCU policy in India and provides an historic and political analysis of key events leading to it. Since India gained her independence in 1947, a greater effort has been placed on rethinking the country's education policy. A strong emphasis on educational development was associated with the elimination of poverty, social inequality and technological dependency on the British, or the symbolical 'West'. The first constitutionally acknowledged step was a reduction of inequality and discrimination in Indian society, including discrimination through religion and the caste system (The Constitution of India, 1949). The second step was the creation of a series of plans (beginning with the First Five Year Plan (1951-56)) which brought about a number of reforms in the social and economic spheres. The concept of social and economic planning is alluded to in the context of Communist-style policy making of the Soviet Union and China. After World War II, both countries struggled to build up their own industrial sectors and create independent technological production without reliance on western knowledge.

However, the first decades of the post-independence period in India were consumed by ideas of liberation from their colonial past, and this was clearly reflected in the policy direction of the new government. To understand the context of this 'decolonisation' process, it worth discussing the key characteristics which formed the Indian higher education environment prior to independence

8.0. An overview of Indian system of education

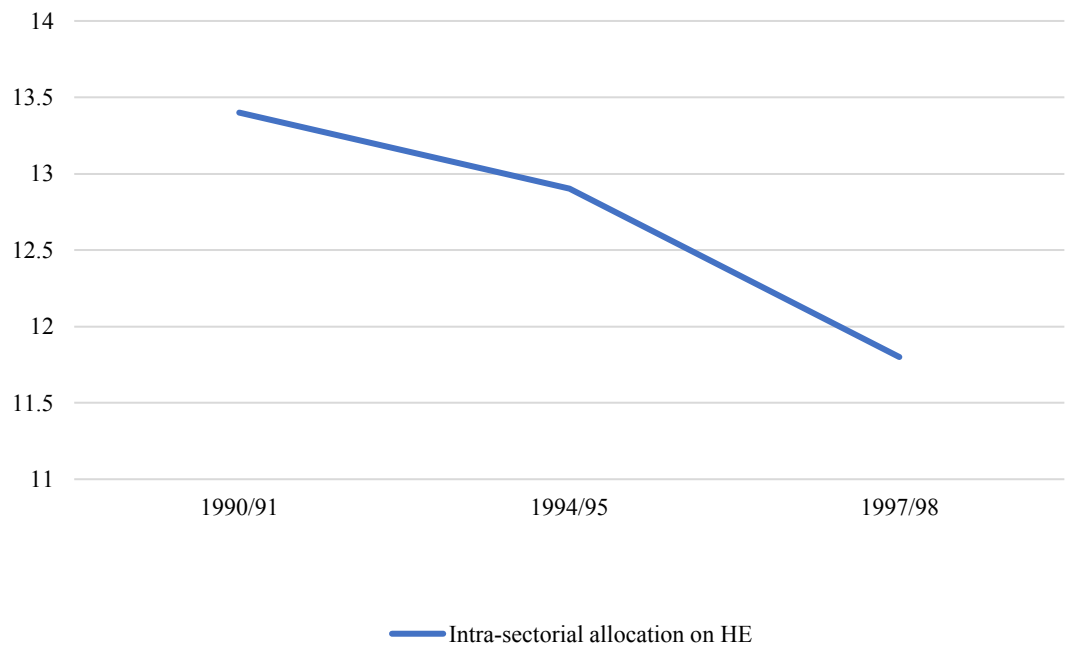
The Indian higher education sector is considered to be the third largest in the world, after China and the United States (Sheikh, 2017). The number of Indian universities increased thirty-four-fold during the period of 1950-2014, reaching the number of 677 private and public universities (Government of India, n.d). The Indian structure of higher education is quite complex. The type of university depends upon the regulations (acts) under which they were established, such as a Central Act, a Provincial Act or a State Act (Government of India, n.d). With such rapid institutional growth, India is constantly expanding its gross enrolment ratio. In 2018, there were almost 38 million students attending higher education institutions in India. However, this is still lower than global gross enrolment average 36 percent, against 26 percent in India (Sharma, 2019). Moreover, India is also one of the main providers of international students for western universities. In 2018, approximately 750, 000 Indian students went to study abroad. Nearly 50 percent of international students from India travel abroad to pursue education degrees in STEM specialisation in the US, the UK and Germany (QS-IGAUGE, 2020).

8.1 The new policy paradigm for Indian higher education from the late 1990s: the beginning of commercialization and massification

During the 1990s, due to a reduction of government expenditure on social policy, the level of funding allocated to higher education had to be reduced (Fig.23). In 1997, the National Institute of Public Finance and Policy produced a report which stated that the

national government had to “recast” the Indian “subsidy regime” in order to “reduce its quantum” and increase “its efficacy” (Srivatsava & Tapas, 1997, p.1). Additional variables of a neoliberal perception of education were introduced through the language of ‘economic categories’, namely that education, in general, had been considered as a ‘non-merit good’, with the exception of elementary education as a ‘merit good’ with a higher rate of return (Srivatsava & Tapas, 1997). This change in the narrative provoked a series of reforms which commenced the commercialisation process in Indian higher education.

Figure 23. Intra-sectorial allocation on HE. Source: Tilak, 2004



The process of commercialisation in India has several motives. In 2003, the University Grant Commission issued the memorandum, "Towards the Formulation of the Model Act for Universities of the 21st Century in India”, which claimed that, in order to fully prepare Indian universities for the future, Indian higher education would have to become more self-sufficient in terms of financial resources (University Grant Commission, 2003). In

their search for self-sufficiency and facing imminent cuts in government expenditure on higher education, state universities began exploring the possibility of generating income from other sources. Thus, the biggest proportion of income generation came from student fees (Tilak, 2004). And yet, another factor which is important in the context of the re-thinking of tuition fees, was that not only was the proportion of fee-paying students growing in the 1990s, but also the cost of fees. For example, the Indian Institute of Technology (Delhi) increased tuition fees by a dozen times in the period between 1991 and 1998 (Tilak, 2004).

Another significant policy change, which would advance the commercialisation of higher education, was the privatisation of the university sector. However, privatisation touched not only the industrial sector of the Indian economy, but also penetrated into social institutions, including education. Similar to Russia, where during the 1990s low-quality private universities specialising in law and economics became a business model in the new capitalist economy, in India, private universities specialising mostly in science, engineering and medicine, became a cheaper alternative to public universities. Meanwhile, there were two main types of privatisation occurring in the universities. The first type of privatisation happened in the public universities, where certain educational programmes were reorganised into self-funded programmes (Alam & Halder, 2016). The second type of privatisation involved the creation of self-funded institutions, along with private universities, often with the backing of foreign actors or through foreign collaborations (Alam & Halder, 2016). The key differences between Indian private higher education and the private universities which emerged in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union was that the government agenda for the technological development of the country put forward a demand for degrees in areas of science and engineering. However, Agarwal notes that through an over-reliance on private sources the government withdrew

from "taking over of additional responsibility for higher education in the country" (Agarwal, 2006, p.8).

Agarwal rightly points out that the Indian government became heavily reliant on private providers, while, on the other hand, privatisation gave an additional impulse for wider *massification* in higher education. With the rise of private providers, education became more accessible to the population, which by the beginning of millennium, was constantly increasing, reaching 1.3 billion by 2019 (The World Bank, n,d). Moreover, the median age of the Indian population was 27 years of age (The World Bank, n,d). This indicates that a younger, and more educated workforce was forming the labour-pool for a modernising Indian economy; the role of higher education, in this respect, became crucial. Combined with the objective of the Indian Government to turn India into the leading industrial and technologically developed nation, higher education had to serve the needs of the country to produce a skilled and qualified workforce.

Beginning with the publication of the Indian Science Policy Resolution in 1958, there was a major policy emphasis on the connection between national prosperity and technological advancement (Sharma, 2012). In 1983, the Indian Government put forward the idea of a dependency on economic growth from technology (Government of India, 1983). However, a significant emphasis lay in the "understanding and involvement of the entire Indian people" in the process of technological development (Government of India, 1983, n.p). This aspect of creating an awareness among the wider population of the importance of technologizing the economy and society led to gradual mindset-changing and a popularisation of science among the masses. This is why, as mentioned above, the sciences and engineering disciplines were in such demand among Indian students.

In terms of the massification of higher education, it is important to mention that a steady growth in enrolment level began, from 4% during the 1990s, to 11% by 2011 (Varghese, 2015). From the policy side, The Tenth Five-Year Plan relied heavily on private

institutions of higher education, acknowledging that, through private institutions, the Indian higher education sector could meet its enrolment target – the private share therefore increased from 43 % in 2001 to 63 % in 2006 (Government of India, 2002). Later, the Eleventh and Twelfth Five-Year Plans shifted towards a more inclusive, massified and universal government-sponsored education system, with greater public funding directed towards higher education needs.

However, international agencies would critique the 'socialisation' of higher education, which, by 2012, had already become a well-established sector of private influence. For example, Price Waterhouse Coopers produced a report in which the ways that private investors could continue to set up educational programmes were listed, subject to the changing laws and policies put forward by the Indian Government. In the context of a vision of higher education as a business model for international corporations, the Eleventh Five-Year Plan placed an awareness of 'quality' and 'standards' of education which responded to the global changes in higher education. This is why, in spite of the large sector of private providers of educational services, the emerging theme of global standards initiated by the Indian Government brought about new perspectives on higher education development in India, namely the idea of the WCU.

8.2. The Internationalization agenda in The Eleventh (2007-2012) and Twelve Five-Year Plans (2012-2017) and the creation of WCUs

In previous five years plans, a significant part of the education strategy was allocated towards the local problems of primary and secondary education, including the elimination of illiteracy levels and the promotion of compulsory schooling for every child. However, in The Eleventh (2007-2012) and Twelve Five-Year Plans, the objectives for higher

education became more globally-oriented. In the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, the idea of WCU first appeared in connection with the creation of 14 Central Universities, which would become known as World-Class Universities (The Government of India, 2007). The purpose of the Central Universities was to turn India into a "global knowledge hub" (The Government of India, 2007, p. 27). However, if the concept of a WCU was generated in the report, there was an absence of adequate guidelines on how a WCU might be established, aside from establishing additional universities.

The next Plan was more detailed in terms of its global agenda and provided specific reasons and measures on how to achieve this new level in Indian higher education. The Plan advanced the idea that, by 2020, the developed nations, together with China, would experience shortages in skilled labour. Due to the large population, India had enormous potential to create a draft of skilled workers which could be employed in industries and services required for the knowledge economy (The Government of India, 2012). This means that one of the key missions of higher education was the production of a skilled workforce, with high standards of globally recognised skills required by a knowledge economy, which, at any moment, could be used to supplement a declining workforce in the developed world.

Another theme which gave a further impetus for the creation of WCU policy, was the recognition that the quality of "research and teaching" in Indian universities were below international standards. Consequently, no Indian university was represented in top-200 international university rankings (The Government of India, 2012, p.90). In this sense, the Indian policy-direction was similar to Russia, where, at around the same time, policymakers identified the 'lack of Russian universities in the international university-rankings'. Under the regulation of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan, the strategic framework was produced. The key themes put forward under the regulations included expansion,

excellence, equity, financial sustenance, and the organisation of proper university governance (The Government of India, 2012). Within the framework of this research, specific interests were represented in the sub-section – namely, excellence and expansion, under which the idea of WCU is presented.

In the new strategic plan, the policy subcategory of excellence and expansion reflect the criteria of the international university rankings and are specifically aimed at the achievement of factors such as internationalisation, an enhanced quality of education, a practical research output, as well as an entrepreneurial output. Excellence represents a combination of primary factors:

- Teaching and research quality. This group equally touches aspects of the high standards of research quality expected in a university, along with the improvement of the overall quality of faculty members.

- Internationalisation. For Indian policymakers, internationalisation has two forms. The first is exchange and collaboration. Collaboration, in the Indian context, is represented as the partnership of Indian universities with foreign research centres and universities to produce collaborative research. Exchanges of students and academics also contributes to the university's capacity to 'learn from the best'. The second form of internationalisation connects with the standardisation process, through which the Indian government tries to create a "globally compatible academic credit system" by the introduction of globally recognised teaching modules (The Government of India, 2012, p.111). Under this policy framework, the direct intake of foreign students into Indian universities is not mentioned under the policy regulations.

- Transition of research into innovations. The Plan placed a strong emphasis on a practical research output which contributes to the development of an entrepreneurial

spirit in a university. However, there is no direct correlation between what a university should 'earn' from innovations, or from commercialised research, and the concept of an entrepreneurial university which was introduced into the policy.

Another sub-category, expansion, includes measures through which the creation of WCUs can be made possible. The Indian Government states that university expansion has to be synchronised with the economic direction of the country, which means that, not only is an increase of student participation or university growth critical, but also the direction or strategy which the university takes. To satisfy this plan, the Government wanted to increase investment in selected universities – central universities – to bring them to the world-class level. Other types of universities, state universities, private universities, etc., had to follow requirements introduced by the government to be relevant for the creation of skilful human capital and the general economic direction of the country. In comparison to other countries, where certain processes inducing 'effectivization' in universities happened at the beginning of the 2000s, in India these commenced only since the announcement of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan. A big step towards 'effective' universities was proposed through merging (The Government of India, 2012). However, if before 2012, the Indian Government paid significant attention towards university creation (in the duration of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan some 65 new institutions were created) all over the country, after 2012 the idea of merging became essential to preserve "urban land" and increase "university capacity" in terms of learning distribution (The Government of India, 2012, p.98). It is important to acknowledge that in the Eleventh Plan, the global narrative of higher education development did not replace the problematisation of local needs in Indian higher education, whereas the Twelfth Plan, in trying to balance the local and global narratives, shifted to global approaches, using tools of 'global' higher education such as the rating criteria of WCU.

Finally, small sections for the promotion and support of the development/preservation of local languages are still equally present in both plans. However, such sections appear from the position of the preservation of the cultural heritage of the country, rather than the actual incorporation of these languages into the new models of WCUs. However, in striking comparison to South Africa, where a discussion around the decolonisation of knowledge took place after liberation from Apartheid, in India, also a former British colony, such discussions did not take place at an official policy level. However, in order to understand this policy formation, we need to explore the formation of Indian universities over years, and their relationship with modernity.

8.3 The educational tradition of ancient India

India held well-established systems of higher learning long before any interaction with the West. Whereas the moral teaching of Confucianism became the foundation of education in China, the cornerstone of the ancient Indian way of life was religion, which penetrated every sphere of societal relationships (Sharma & Sharma, 2004). Ancient education was developed within the framework of two mainstream religious traditions: Vedic and Buddhism. In the Hindu system, learning through meditation and interaction with the teaching of a Guru allowed a person to peruse real knowledge. Considered "the best agency for improving society" essential religious and literary components in their basic form were available to everyone, including women (Altekar, 1944, p. 23). The more advanced stage of education was called the Gurukula system, where learning was dedicated around physical, mental and spiritual aspects of human development (Kachappilly, 2003). On the practical side, education was heavily reliant on the structural premises of society, built on the caste system. Mazumder notes that the caste hierarchical construction prepared individuals to serve their own particular purpose within a society where this purpose was divined by religious affiliation (Mazumder, 2009). This meant

that a child learned the experience and knowledge preserved by previous generations in order to preserve his/her occupation within the caste (Mazumder, 2009).

With the rise of Buddhism, from the 6th century B.C, general elementary education became more formal, with basic knowledge of reading, writing and calculation being introduced to students (Mazumder, 2009). Altekar observes that the first "corporate educational institutions", similar to universities, rose in connection with the establishment of Buddhist monasteries (Altekar, 1944, p. 72). For example, the Nālandā was one of the first such institutions from which scholarship flourished over the course of 700 years (5th to 12th century).

After the Muslim invasions of the 8th century, the ancient system of Indian education was adjusted to new rules – henceforth, the main goal of learning would be to extend knowledge of Islam in the conquered territories (Jayapalan, 2008). Throughout the Islamic period, primary education was organised in *maktabs*, and studies in higher learning were conducted in *madrasas* (Jayapalan, 2008). By the decline of the Mughal Empire, there was a ratio of one school per 40 people (Brelvi, 1993). Moreover, during this period there was a shift towards lay disciplines in the school curriculum, with less time allocated for pure religious studies (Jafri, 2012). Under these circumstances, it is possible to discuss the development of diverse scholarship in the areas of science and technology (Arnold, 2000). New centres of learning emerged under sponsorship from Hindu and Muslim patrons. And yet, if in the traditional Indian perception knowledge was associated with an "individualistic meditative enterprise", during the 15th and 16th century, when cultural transactions within Indian territory were enhanced through war, migration and trade, knowledge development became more systematically framed (Gurukkal, 2016, p. 9, Arnold, 2000). However, Gurukkal points out that during the time of the Renaissance, the production of knowledge became more 'linear' and was

associated with progress or a ‘move forward’, whereas in the Indian context, knowledge had ‘ruptured’ in character, a development induced by political instability and shifts within religious cults (Gurukkal, 2016). An illustration of this argument can be seen in the example of the Kerala region, where during the 16th century interest in studies of astronomy and mathematics shifted towards “astrology, āyurveda, epic studies, and theatrical literature” (Gurukkal, 2016, p.16).

Applying the famous statement of Massimo Taparelli d'Azeglio into the contemporary Indian context, it is can be said that the creation of a new India required the input of Indians themselves. India’s first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (1947-1964), claimed that, in spite of the obvious ethnic, religious and linguistic differences, India was held together by “a myth and an idea, a dream and a vision” (Nehru, 1946, p. 497). Therefore, an appeal to the glory of the Indian past was a working instrument to create a new policy direction for an independent India. The idea that India had a unique and glorious past influenced its choice of political direction, which in many ways, differed to the mainstream western powers. The new political course had four main pillars, each of which was reflected by the direction of university policy, namely the formation of democratic institutions, secularism, non-alignment in international relations, and a broadly socialist approach to the economy (Tharoor, 1998).

However, an apparently nationalist discourse, dedicated to the reconstruction of the Indian past and emancipation from the British system of rule, would not be fully embodied within education policy per se. A short-term focus on ‘indigenisation’ was only adopted in the 1970s, and was not implemented within the whole system of higher education, but was at least applied to the science sector; the immediate post-independence period would be defined by a policy of modernisation in order to deal with obvious social and economic problems, rather than indigenisation, which became a secondary priority.

Having a shortage of economic diversification, the first task for the Indian government was the enhancement of the agricultural sector, "to feed the population", as well as the introduction of new technology into agricultural production (Vakulabharanam & De, 2016, p.626). Moreover, out of a 155 million-strong working population, 110 million were involved in the agricultural sector (Sarma, 1958). Taking into consideration this distribution of human capital, the University Education Commission (1948-49), recommended the development of higher education in rural areas, with the directing of scientific and technological innovations within the agrarian economy (Government of India, 1962). Another education policy objective was an increased intake of women in primary schools and colleges; female access to such institutions of education was traditionally very low in comparison to men. The Second Five Year Plan promoted a certain number of scholarships for girls, but again, only in the limited number of traditional disciplines deemed 'suitable' for female professional occupancy, such as nursing, caretaking or teaching (The Planning Commission, 1956) (Tab.8).

Table 8. Higher education in India during the pre- and post-independence periods. Source: Komow et al, 2012

Year	1883	1928	1947	1961-62
No. of Colleges	139	307	591	2, 282
Enrolment of Students	16, 088	90, 677	2, 28,881	11, 77,245

In 1945, as part of an initiative to aid the development of the technological sector, the Sarkar Committee recommended that higher technical institutes had to be formed

according to the American model, in particular, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), with a specific emphasis on scientific research (Sen, 2016). This policy line was an also determined by the policy course of the socialist-oriented Nehru, whose government put forward reforms connected with large-scale modernisation. Therefore, between the period of 1950-61, five Indian institutes of technology were established throughout the country (Sen, 2016). During the following decade, the government of Indira Gandhi (1966-1984) adopted a course to achieve a reduction of poverty and problems in rural areas. In order to tackle these issues, education had to alter the economic and cultural overlaps within post-colonial India and realise the ideals of a "socialistic pattern of society" (The Government of India, 1968, n.p.). The socialist direction, in this sense, was seen as an alternative path of development, in comparison to the capitalist regimes of western societies, namely Britain, under whose rule India had been subjugated for over 240 years.

8.3.1 British rules and formation of institutionalised education in India

British imperial expansion began with the establishment of trade between a Mughal-ruled Indian subcontinent and the British East India Company (Dirks, 2008). The new imperial administration placed a greater emphasis on the imposition of institutions of modernity to govern India in the same manner by which civilised countries of Europe had to be governed. Therefore, for India, Britain became the 'Paramount Power', which meant that the British Crown occupied a supreme position among local Indian rulers (Onley, 2009). Education, in this matter, was a key area where the British colonial government made a significant impact.

In discussing the institutionalisation of education, it is important to remember the two systems of learning which already existed by the beginning of the 19th century: traditional Islamic, Buddhist and Hindu schools, which were mentioned earlier, and the Christian missionary schools which had begun to spread their influence in the Indian sub-continent. The first Catholic missionary charity schools were founded at the beginning of the 18th century and catered for children who were descended from mixed marriages or were children of Europeans based in the main trade cities of India – Bombay, Calcutta and Madras (Kochhar, 2011). The first school for Indian boys would be opened in 1800, with the purpose of educating Indians in western customs and manners in order to "attain civilisation" (Kochhar, 2011, p. 841). It is important to remind the reader that the idea of 'civility' and the norms of the so-called 'civilised world' in general, was a guiding narrative of modernity. It meant that, through education, 'barbarians' had to learn 'norms of life' accepted in the more sophisticated and civilised societies of the West. These norms of life would include principals of economic, political and social order. However, from the colonial point of view, a card of civility was played to continue the line of utilitarian reforms of the British Empire in the colonial Indian sub-continent. Yet, education became the 'wire' through which civilised norms of the Western world would be transmitted.

The historian, Henry Elliot, wrote that Indian students, in interacting with western knowledge, recognised that their own religious beliefs gave them a "false" or "ridiculous" explanation about the world in which they lived (Church Missionary Society, 1858). Trevelyan saw education within the Christian domain as "profitable" for Indians, because Christianity provided a flexible curriculum to study, not only religious matters, but also useful "profitable subjects" which shared knowledge of Western civilisation (Trevelyan cited in Seal, 1899, p.37). Thus, missionary schools became the first institutional platform where the 'useful' system of western knowledge was introduced, in contrast to Indian

systems of knowledge. In addition, missionary education was in line with the campaign of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), whose goal was to promote useful knowledge through the printing and dissemination of cheap books and maps in societies "where darkness could be dispelled by knowledge of western ingenuity" (Barrow, 2004, Bayly, 2000, p. 215). Yet, in contrast with South Africa, where local knowledge was 'forgotten' during the establishment of the colonial school system, in India, the indigenous worldview existed alongside the new knowledge of the West. Bellenoit provides, as an illustration, the conversation between a missionary schoolteacher and his student: the teacher discusses the "proven facts of modern science" while the Indian student replies that he believes in western science but simultaneously affirms his belief in "old Hindu stories" because both systems "are truth but on different planes" (Bellenoit, 2007, p. 379).

The first Indian universities were modelled on the University of London. In the beginning, the first universities aimed to produce elites from the local population to take up positions in the colonial administration and form the basis of a loyal bureaucratic class (Thankappan, 2004). This was although universities were still not fully publicly funded and depended on the support of the missionaries, along with private funding and fees. Therefore, the appearance of private colleges providing education at a lower cost, but also at a lower quality, were inevitable consequences of this system. Gokhale observes that, in British India, the function of universities was too narrow and did not create environments to produce research, or the pursuit of original thinking (Gokhale as cited in Patwardhan & Ambekar, 1962).

The language of higher education was English, and it was through this language that subjects such as science and philosophy were taught. The increasingly elitist character of education in India is explained by the fact that the majority of the population was illiterate

and accomplished only an 8-12% literacy rate among the male population (Nurullah & Naik, 1951). The process of rapid anglicisation in higher education provoked the forces of Indian nationalism which mounted strong opposition to the westernisation of knowledge and its disproportionate influence on Indian traditional learning. Under the influence of Indian nationalist thinkers, from 1882 to 1887, the Punjab University and the Allahabad University were founded. Moreover, on the initiative of the British Government Education Commission, an emphasis on certain regulations are summarised in the Acts of Incorporation of 1857. Many of these changes were accompanied by a recognition of local languages and included a recognition from British authority that western science could be taught in vernacular languages, as well as the recognition of titles of law and medicine based on the Muhammadan and Hindu traditions (Kumar, 1976).

Similar to post-apartheid South Africa, the Indian Government of the post-independence period strengthened the capacity for the development of local languages to reduce the gap between the English-language educated intelligentsia and the Hindu-speaking peoples (The Government of India, 1968, n.p.). The Hindu language had long been perceived as a bridge which could re-unite the newly independent nation and distinguish it from its colonial past. In other words, if in countries such as China or the USSR, national languages were not seen as important elements to reinvent national identify, in colonial countries like India and South Africa local languages were seen as key tools of decolonisation that had to be re-introduced in order to replace colonial English-speaking identity. According to the National Policy on Education, the universities were required to respond to these changes with the introduction of local languages, alongside Hindu and English, the latter of which would remain the language of science and technology, and of progress in general (The Government of India, 1968, n.p.).

8.3.2. The Neoliberal vector in educational policy

A general shift towards neoliberalism in higher education occurred during the 1980s. The Indian economy of the post-independence period was considered to be a mixed, or semi-state economy: strong government subsidisation combined with investments of private capital, or foreign-direct investment. In the mid-1980s, the discussion on market liberalisation arose on the premise that the Indian industrial sector had not achieved sufficient growth since the time of independence (Sengupta, 2008). The shortage of electronic products for various sectors of the economy was high. For instance, the Telecom Department was itself on a waiting list for 740,000 telephones (Girdner, 1987). Despite the fact that the reforms of the 'Green Revolution' had substantially improved technological production in the agricultural sector, this was not enough to cover the demand for technology and innovation. Therefore, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi argued that the social problems of the country, including poverty, could only be solved by "better technology" and "a giant leap to catch up with the rest of the world" (Girdner, 1987, p.1190). To support this initiative, the Indian government planned to create a belt of 'science cities' and 'computer cities', scientific clusters similar to the idea of Silicon Valley in the US (Girdner, 1987). Yet, initiated as a government incentive, both projects aimed to bring about cooperation with private foreign investors in order to initiate technology transfers from the West to India.

After the crisis of 1991, India put forward a strategy for new economic development. Moreover, the conditions of a loan granted by the IMF highlighted the necessity of changing from socialist policies to a direction of liberalisation in markets, thereby opening up Indian markets for foreign investment and the participation of foreign capital in industrial development (Wadhva, 2000). Opponents of IMF interference claimed that the western neoliberal approach to economic policy was "an interference to India's

autonomy" (Weinraub, 1991, n.p). Yet, the proposition of IMF came during a time of cuts in government funding allocated to social programmes, including the development of infrastructure and food subsidies (Chossudovsky, 1993). On a wider scale, these measures meant that publicly sponsored enterprise would be transferred to private owners and large foreign enterprises. All these steps would have a predetermining effect on higher education strategy for the next few decades. In 1992, in the National Policy on Education (a refined version of the policy from 1986), new themes appeared that were dedicated to the effectiveness and efficiency of higher education institutions, which required responses to the needs for modernisation and diversification of industry (The Government of India, 1992).

However, despite the beginnings of a policy-shift towards western practices, acknowledgment of the wider involvement of higher education in the modernisation of the Indian economy was still somewhat belated, and there were still themes which can be considered as 'native'. For instance, yoga classes received special attention in the report as integral to the "development of the body and mind", which was necessary not only for students, but also for teachers (The Government of India, 1992, p.30). Another policy-attention rotated around the preservation of cultural views on education, a consideration which, by the 1990s, was absent from the policy documents of many developed nations. It was stated that "de-culturalization" and "de-humanisation" should be avoided at any level of the educational process, because education had to be "enriched" by the cultural context and traditions of Indian society (The Government of India, 1992, p.26).

Thus, between the 1980s and 1990s, India experienced a symbolic about-turn from seeing itself as a self-sufficient country, with a socialist approach to policy-making which denied the Western experience of modernity, to adopting a cooperative approach towards the West during the late 1980s, induced by lack of resources to continue independently.

However, in the policy of 1992, there was still a strong presence of distinctive features, or 'attributes' which defined the Indian education system. However, towards the end of 1990s, education policies became more western-centric, taking a new approach in order to fit in with Western modernity.

8.3.3 'Fitting in with Modernity': tradition, nationalism, and Indian intellectuals

In 1902, a conflict between the Indian nationalist intelligentsia and Britain's Viceroy to India, Lord Curzon, led to a change in the education system, particularly the university system. The Educational Commission suggested reforms which advanced the reorganisation of universities, along with the improvement of administration and teaching systems (Kumar, 1976). A program of reforms was passed in 1904 with the introduction of the Indian University Act. The motive behind these reforms was not only the implementation of changes to an ineffective university system, but also the accommodation of the rise of a nationalist mood within Indian society. Indian nationalists considered the regulations of the act 'undemocratic', because of restrictions which the Act placed on students who participated in nationalist movements. Another reason was the fact that the implementation of the Act gave British Indian government officials a much wider control over university administration.

This conflict is interesting when one assesses the rise of Indian nationalism and with it, an Indian national consciousness. However, in the Indian context, it is difficult to discuss the rise of Indian nationalism only from a political perspective, because India in the 19th and the early to mid 20th centuries, as was shown before, was a very complex society, with diverse religious, ethnic and linguistic traditions. Moreover, the rapid spread of industrial and mercantile capitalism changed the traditional social relations in society,

based on the landowner-feudal hierarchy. The processes of urbanisation, migration from villages to cities, and the growth of western-educated elites who participated in the political life of the colonial state, formed a class of religiously and culturally diverse intelligentsia who questioned Indian dependency upon the British Empire.

However, there was one specific factor which had an impact on the formation of a new educated class of Indian elites, namely an increase in participation in western-style education in general, and higher education in particular. Under the influence of English-language education, Indians 'gained' the idea of 'nation' through an understanding of the 'nation-state', as well as other ideas which became universal, but originally had been rooted in western intellectual tradition, such as democracy, deliberation/separation of powers, free-market capitalist economics, etc. Supporters of this point of view considered, that by the beginning of the 20th century, notions of nationalism could be seen from the position of 'hybridity' or the 'invented tradition', which had not existed before, but were shaped under the conditions of western education (Bhabha, 1994).

Another group of scholars noted that the rise of Indian national awareness cannot be simply reduced to the argument that western education, which brought ideas of modernity, had united Indian society into a nation (Bhatt, 2011, Bayly, 2000). Bhatt refers to 'primordial nationalism', a concept which, by the end of 19th century, influenced Indian intellectual elites and gave birth to a protest movement in India against colonial power (Bhatt, 2011). Bhatt concludes that 'primordial nationalism' developed as a result of the 'metaphysical' and 'psychological' concept of nations, based on the long religious and language tradition of Indian civilisation, which does not connect with the linear development of European notions of nationhood (Bhatt, 2011). In contrast to this point, I argue that both views on nationalism are connected, especially when this connectivity is observed within the construction of levels of education in Indian society. Primary

education, for instance, was primarily concentrated in the hands of private indigenous schools, whereas Indian universities were based on a system of western knowledge and inherited from a British tradition of university education. Consequently, by the time an Indian student joined a university, he was already familiar with the Indian indigenous knowledge tradition. However, views on the spread of education are not homogenous or universal, even within Indian society itself. Chaudhary, for example, provides evidence that, in order to preserve their power, the educated land-owning classes were against the spread of elementary schooling and the rise of literacy among lower-income classes (Chaudhary, 2007).

The most famous critique of the imperial system, and those elites who preserved their power through imperialism, was given by Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi saw the struggle between Britain and India *as struggle of two civilisations*: The Modern and the Ancient (Gandhi, 2009). Gandhi's criticism lies chiefly in what modernity created: a "multiplication of wants", observing that the "ancestors of the ancient civilisation of India managed to leave with the same kind of plough as existed thousands of years ago" (Gandhi, 2009, p.20, p.45). Modernity, through its channels of urbanisation and industrialisation, brought new societal characteristics, where a 'multiplication of wants' was incorporated into an environment where these features had not previously existed. The traditional Indian human relationship with nature was an inevitable foundation of India's ancient civilisation, but under modernity relationships between humans and nature were levelled to the ground. Thus, modernity had broken the Indian connection between human and nature.

The second aspect of Gandhi's criticism, important for this thesis, connects with the *criticism of rationality.* According to Gandhi, European rationalism had replaced the spiritual dimension of human existence with material culture (Parekh, 2001). Material

culture, which was developed by capitalism, induced humans to consume more and dedicate their time and energy to the present world rather than the spiritual components of human existence (Parekh, 2001). The influence of rationalism on education was enormous. In this sense, science, as a consequence of the rational justification of the human ability of cognition, became a form of knowledge compatible with modernity, denying any other forms of knowledge. Cultures that did not align with the scientific traditions of the West were to be perceived as barbaric or backwards. It is important to mention, however, that Gandhi did not deny science per se, because science brought "the restless search for Truth", but only when it was not narrowly defined in either "positivist and aggressive terms" (Gandhi, cited in Parekh, 2001, p.81, Parekh, 2001, p. 88). Education, therefore, had to be seen as a collection of disciplines which developed heart, body and intellect. The special role here belongs to religion which taught people "a broad-minded tolerance" Gandhi as cited in Parekh, 2001, p.101). At a lower level of abstraction, education had to have an impact on the socio-economic development of society. In particular, 'craft-centric' education, based on a combination of work experience and the ability to perform manual tasks, was important for the formation of human personality (Parekh, 2001). Gandhi believed that through active participation in labour, students would not only develop important skills, but also reduce the gap between manual and intellectual skills (Parekh, 2001). At a policy level, before India had taken steps towards neoliberalisation of education in the mid-80s, Gandhian ideas had been incorporated into a report produced by the Kothari Commission (1964-1968). The report incorporated ideas such as free education, spiritual, social and moral values and the vocationalisation of education in its recommendations (National Council of Educational Research and Training, 1964).

8.4 WCU and modern agenda in action: internationalisation, diversification of disciplines and improvements in infrastructure

Analysis of the history of higher education in India through the lens of modernity revealed key features influencing contemporary policymaking, which are necessary for analysis of the creation of the WCU narrative. Thus, based on the recommendations of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan, the Indian Government continued to produce detailed frameworks of WCU development. In 2016, there were discussions dedicated to policy creation specifically aimed at the establishment of WCUs. The context was the same – rankings related – as in 2012, driven by the fact that India does not have "any representation among the top-tier of global universities" (The Government of India, 2016, p.2). The Indian Government established special regulations, or 'expectations', which were applicable to government institutions. Again, as was the case of the Russian policy "5-100", where universities were 'free' to choose their own direction towards WCU creation, in India, the government also arranged criteria which had to be satisfied by universities in order to became WCU.

There were nineteen criteria or 'expectations' according to which Indian WCUs had to be built. Many of them repeat identical ideas, therefore I shall organise them according to their purpose.

(1) Firstly, the guidelines insist on the *diversification of disciplines,* which would have connection to the problems of developing nations, like India, while, on the other hand, also have "exceptionally high quality" (The Government of India, 2016, p.4). This point is important because, by comparison to other developing nations, like Russia, where WCU policy has only a global dimension, in India there is an element of connectivity of higher education with the needs of the local

economy and society, in general. That is why the diversification of subjects has to connect with problems of emerging economies, including India.

(2) Secondly, *internationalisation,* which was diversified from a 'cooperative' mode in research with foreign scholars and institutions, to its wider meaning of a direct intake of international students into Indian universities. A wide range of policy initiatives were introduced to support Indian internationalisation. For instance, the General Cultural Scholarship Scheme (GCSC) offers financial support to students from Latin America, Africa and Asia to study in India (Pawar, 2016). Another programme, 'Connect to India' promoted short-term student mobility for foreign students (Pawar, 2016.) In 2018, the Indian Government announced another new programme that promoted Indian higher education abroad – the "Study in India Programme" (Government of India, 2018). Among a number of other goals, such as the enhancement of soft power of India and improvement in the overall quality of higher education, the global goal was quite bluntly stated in connection with the position of India in global university rankings, which required the compulsory presence of large contingents of international students in domestic universities (Government of India, 2018). Internationalisation, thus, became a central force in Indian higher education policymaking. However, by comparison to other nations of BRICS, the Indian strategy on internationalisation has a different approach. According to some policymakers, India sees its role in internationalisation from the position of alternative education, serving students from nations with emerging economies whose needs in education cannot be satisfied by obtaining degrees in first-world nations (The National, 2018). Therefore, the majority of scholarships target students from the developing countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia.

As with other BRICS nations, with the notable exception of China which attracts international students globally, India still remains a regional, rather than a global educational hub. As discussed in previous chapters, the South African universities attract foreign students from neighbouring African countries, whereas Russian internationalisation mostly connects with an intake of students from the ex-Soviet republics. However, India is pursuing a slightly different angle to attract foreign students. India promotes its status, as a provider of higher education for students from developing nations. However, despite these claims, during 2017-2018, most international students came from neighbouring countries such as Afghanistan, Nepal and Bhutan (Government of India, 2018). Yet, it is also important to highlight that the 'cooperative' mode of internationalisation remains in the policy. However, this was adjusted to include cooperation with universities represented in "the most reputed global rankings" (The Government of India, 2016, p.2).

(3) Thirdly, a WCU has to have world-class facilities, including laboratories, libraries, etc., which induce the development of cutting-age research, and publication activity. The fourth scope of WCU criteria rotates around favourable governance and funding mechanisms, based largely on government subsidies. Finally, the results of WCU activity have to be present in the top global university rankings, beginning with the top 500, moving gradually towards the global 100 (The Government of India, 2016). However, in the policy dedicated to the formation of WCUs there is no space for commercialisation or massification. And yet, if there are some requirements for student enrolment, "at least 20,000 students in the period of fifteen years", activities promoting such commercialisation are not present in the policy (The Government of India, 2016, p.5).

8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion it is important to summarise the key characteristics of development in the modern higher education sector of India. Despite a rich and flourishing history of Indian civilisation before colonisation, Indian higher education formed largely under the influence of a western tradition. In the eyes of Europeans, Indian traditions of education were seen mainly as barbaric. Therefore, an educational policy goal of the British Empire was the creation of institutionalized systems of education which brought modern principles of learning to India. The anglicisation of higher learning was one such measure which Europeanised Indian education.

Meanwhile, the incorporation of two worlds – traditional and modern - created an Indian intellectual elite who questioned western modernity, and its influence upon dependant societies such India. Despite the attempts of colonial policy discourse to build its policy around the needs of the British Empire, there was a rise in resistance among educated Indian elites who stood against the colonial order. After India gained its independence from the British Empire, the ideas of Indian traditionalists such as Mahatma Gandhi were incorporated into the policy measures, ideas which defined a unique Indian way of higher education development. Until the 1990s, these ideas remained at the core of Indian development. However, in the 1990s a shift towards neoliberalisation in higher education put forward new priorities for universities, such as privatisation, a connection between market needs and human capital development, massification and internationalisation. Moreover, the education policy-goals of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan brought the idea of a global dimension into higher education development, and, as a consequence, the idea of WCUs. Therefore, the policy construction for the next decade would be defined by the goal of WCU creation. Under these circumstances, Indian higher education policy has begun to neglect the traditional features of higher education in favour of those put forward

by a new neoliberal agenda; a WCU agenda focusing on three variables: diversification of academic programs, internationalisation and improvement of infrastructure.

9 Brazil

The final chapter of this thesis is devoted to Brazil. I visited Brazil in April 2016, as a keynote speaker of an annual conference FAUBAI held in Fortaleza. FAUBAI (the Brazilian Association for International Education) originated in 1988 and is devoted to the discussion of the internationalisation of higher education, not only in Brazil, but globally. Contemporary Brazil is trying to follow the path created by the global trends, and gatherings such as FAUBAI aim to promote Brazilian higher education at international level.

However, among BRICS nations, Brazil is the only country which has not produced a policy which is dedicated to the creation of WCUs. However, it is clear from an analysis of various policy documents that Brazil has placed an emphasis on the incorporation of the four education trends in the programmes of their university development.

Therefore, several policies which hold features of WCU policy-measures will be analysed in this chapter. Moreover, the historical and social-economic context of this country will be examined in order to explain why Brazil has not established a defined WCUs policy. Based on the same conceptual framework utilized in previous chapters, the main aspects of the unique features of Brazilian higher education will be evaluated through the lens of modernity.

9.0. An overview of Brazilian Higher Education

Modern Brazil has the most developed higher education system in all of Latin America. Brazilian education has just two levels: basic education and higher education. Brazil has a very high proportion of private institutions, amounting to 88 percent of the entire higher

education sector, or 2,238 in total (WENR, 2019). Some of these private universities are run by NGO's and Catholic organisations, but the majority of private institutions operate as for-profit institutions (WENR, 2019). In 2018, public universities in Brazil offered approximately 835,000 places, while private schools allocated 9 million (WENR, 2019). Moreover, Brazil is a country with high social inequality and a significant poverty level, and higher education is perceived by many as a social alleviation and a chance for better employment. Therefore, the demand for higher education and the competition for places in public universities is high, since public education is considered to be of a much better standard. Moreover, the attainment rate (18-34 year-olds) in tertiary education rose from 11 percent in 2008 to 21 percent in 2018 (OECD, 2019). However, the general enrolment rate is still significantly lower, at just 15 percent, against the OECD average of 22 percent (OECD, 2019). Nonetheless, public expenditure on tertiary education is 1 percent of the country's GDP, which is slightly higher than the OECD average (OECD, 2019).

9.1 Policy shifts in Brazilian higher education: the reforms of 1968 and the beginnings of massification

Brazil is the only country of the BRICS cooperation which did not experience the formation of a university system prior to 1900, establishing its modern higher education system only during the 20th century. However, despite its late entrance, Brazil quickly developed an approach to higher education policy making which was in the line with global trends. In 1968, Brazil adopted a law (The Federal Law no. 5440/68), the principals of which were borrowed from those of the great American research universities: the introduction of a departmental structure, a credit system and the development of a network of research institutes with a wide range of M.A and PhD degrees (Schwartzman,

1991). This system also satisfied the socio-economic conditions of a growing Brazilian economy during the post war period, when Brazil took an approach on the adoption of rapid industrialisation and import-substitution (Grivoyannis, 2017). Such a shift in government policy helped to create new sectors of industrial production, with skilled jobs which required a more qualified workforce (Schwartzman, 1991).

These new employment opportunities provoked a great demand for higher education. Enrolments at Brazilian universities and higher education institutions consequently increased from 142,000 students in 1964 to 937,000 in 1974 (Oliven, 2015). Such an increase of student participation in higher education can be considered to be the first wave of *massification* of higher education in Brazil, especially in the undergraduate sector. However, this first wave of massification did not happen merely as a result of the reforms in the public university sector; it also occurred because of an increase in the number of private universities, which, in many cases, provided a solution for those students who could not gain access to the public universities (Oliven, 2015).

Private universities, which emerged in the 1970s, were based on the model of professional education which existed in Brazil even before the official creation of a university system in Brazil in the 1930s (Balbachevsky & Sampaio, 2017). This particular tendency towards professionalisation in private schools can be explained by the nature of higher education in Brazil in general, whose features I shall analyse in next section.

9.2 Development of higher learning in Brazil: from colonisation to modernity

As was already mentioned, among BRICS nations, Brazil was the last country where higher education became fully established, gaining its modern features only in the 1930s.

Before this, higher learning was fragmented and did not have any institutionalised hierarchical structure, as had been the case in every other country of the BRICS block. Another characteristic, which set the Brazilian higher education system apart from those national education systems which were formed under the colonial apparatus of the British Empire, was Brazil's very recent history of Portuguese colonization and development under the direct control of Portuguese administrators. By comparison to the British colonial philosophy, Portuguese colonial authorities were distinctly different in terms of the introduction of social institutions and the application of rules which they imposed upon their colonies. In order to understand why the Brazilian higher education system remained unestablished for so long, it is necessary to examine the socio-economic, cultural and political history of Brazil prior to 1968.

In 1500, a Portuguese armada commanded by nobleman Pedro Cabral discovered Brazil (Sadlier, 2008). Portuguese knight, Pêro Vaz de Caminha, who accompanied Cabral with the fleet, left precise diaries about the discovery of the land and first encounter with the native Brazilians, who according to de Caminha were "innocent" and primordial, or close to nature, by comparison to the "civilised man" of European culture (De Caminha cited in Sadlier, 2008, p.12). Later in the 16th century, when the flow of fortune-seekers to the land of Brazil increased, new materials that described native customs and ways of life became available. Predictably, the indigenous peoples portrayed in these texts were described as 'barbarians', 'beasts' and 'savages' (Sadlier, 2008) (Fig.24)

Figure 24. Early woodcut of native Brazilians (1505). Basel edition of Mundus novus. Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

The formation of institutions in Brazil would, therefore, be based on two systems: the socio-cultural influence of the Catholic Church and the authority of the direct administration of the Portuguese state (Fausto, 2014). By 1676, the Church had established two bishoprics in Brazil: one in Rio de Janeiro and another in Pernambuco. During this period, a number of religious orders would establish missions in the colony, particularly the Franciscans and the Jesuits, and this heavily influenced the Christianisation of Brazil (Kerr, 2014). The duties of these two powers were split into several streams: religious orders founded churches, hospitals, orphanages, and promoted Christian values among the local and indigenous population (Kerr, 2014). The Portuguese Crown provided the state functions, namely administrative support and guarantees of "Portuguese sovereignty over the colony" (Fausto, 2014, p.72).

Special attention was paid to the organisation of labour in the colony, and this directly connects with the development of educational institutions. One of the distinctive features of colonial Brazil was slavery. The Portuguese, having a dominant position in the Atlantic slave trade, introduced black slave-labour at the beginning of colonisation of Brazil (Klein & Luna, 2010).

So how did the organisation of Brazil's colonial economy and distribution of labour affect socio-political relationship in the country? The 18th century would be a time of rapid urbanisation in Brazil. Urban centres which grew around the mining industry made an impact on the development of "import-substitution" goods and services: artisan-based production, textiles and cattle ranching rapidly developed throughout the country (Morse, 1974, p. 422). Yet, the majority of urban centres were isolated, because Brazil emerged as an export-oriented economy, focused purely on the extraction of resources and exportation of goods, without much development of internal infrastructure. Consequently, many large urban centres did not have good connections with other regions of the colony until the beginning of the 19th century (Morse, 1974). Moreover, the orientation of colonial landlords around an export market, with a dominance of slave labour in production, did not require an educated population. However, those Europeans, mainly Portuguese, who did migrate to Brazil, were already literate and often well-educated.

With the expansion of religious orders, basic literacy for the children of immigrants was provided by religious schools. In Portugal, the school system developed during the 16th century, and prior to these years, the standard of education was very low by comparison to other parts of western Europe (Disney, 2009). Until the 18th century, schools were mostly controlled by the Church, but private education, delivered by tutors, was also an exclusive feature of Portuguese education (Scarato, 2016).

The Crown did not put efforts into the institutionalisation of education in Brazil, and the Church supported the creation of elementary schools and missionary work. Those settlers, who wished to provide a broader education to their children, sent them to private tutors based in centres such as Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Pernambuco (Scarato, 2016). Finally, Paquette suggests that because Brazil did not have universities, responsibility for the provision of higher learning would be placed on the metropolitan university in Portugal – the University of Coimbra, which linked the administrative elites of the colony with its metropole (Paquette, 2013).

9.2.1 The importance of education for the colony

With growing economic decline, caused by a reduction of trade in diamonds and gold, the emergence of new modes of production through small-scale manufacturing, and changes in the agricultural economy through coffee and cotton plantations, the Portuguese authorities began to recognise the growing importance of education, and the skills which education could provide.

In spite of these patterns of development, actual changes in social life began with the temporary relocation of the Portuguese monarch, Dom João, and the Royal Court to Brazil, during the time of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. Another development was the decree, signed by the Prince Regent, to open all Brazilian ports to “all friendly nations”, establishing new trade relationships with other nations, particularly the British Empire (Green, Langland & Moritz Schwarcz, 2019). On a larger scale, aside from new relations in trade, foreigners became a part of the diplomatic and cultural life of Brazil.

It is worth mentioning that prior to the relocation of the Royal Court to Brazil, there had been some initiatives to establish scientific institutions in line with European science. The Rio de Janeiro Scientific Academy, for example, had been established in 1772, but only lasted until 1794. The primary goal of this Academy was to scientifically explore the region of Brazil while integrating European knowledge of natural science and agriculture locally within the colony (Massarani & Moreira, 2016). Rio de Janeiro, as the new capital of Brazil, became the centre of political and cultural life in the colony. From 1808 onwards, the very first representations of institutions of European modernity were established, including the Royal Military Academy, the Royal Garden, the Royal Museum, the Royal Press and the Royal Library (Massarani & Moreira, 2016). Professional schools of medicine and law were established in San Paolo, Rio de Janeiro and Salvador.

After Brazil gained independence from Portugal in 1822 and became known as the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889), several steps were taken to make education more structural. However, these steps did not produce sufficient results which helped towards the establishment of diverse educational foundations, but it was just enough to "to give literacy a few professional skills to a small group of individuals" (Havighurst & Moreira, 1964, p.62). Deficiencies in educational development were connected with another problem; namely, the lack of national identity, or sense of national consciousness in the country. Having recently emerged from under the direct control of a European power – Portugal, which was arguably the most under-developed European power at that time, Brazil never experienced the formation of institutions critical to the unification of any society. Brazil had been perceived only as a backward resource-rich colony, where 'civilisation' and the tools of modernity, even until the late 19th century, were only available to a small group of ruling elites. And yet, when the Royal Court moved to Brazil, there came the first major steps towards western modernity, along with new systems of

administration and a new apparatus of governance, which replaced the old system of oligarch-based landowning. However, even these changes did not make Brazil modern. Since independence, the key mechanisms of modernity, which transform societies into 'modern' and civilised' states, did not happen until the late 19th century.

9.2.2. Brazilian modernity and the spread of education

In this context, it is worth discussing a colonial mechanism whose fundamental principles had not changed since Brazil became an independent country. According to Kamalu, the primary difference between the British and Portuguese colonial philosophy lay in the method of colonial governance, as well as in the establishment of institutions in their colonies (Kamalu, 2019). The British followed the principle of 'indirect rule', which helped to adapt local indigenous traditions and institutions alongside modern western institutions (Madeira, 2005). As mentioned in earlier chapters, the former British colonies, South Africa and India, had experienced the establishment of western-style universities, along with the preservation of local traditions and indigenous systems of knowledge. The Portuguese style of colonisation was different. Brazil was seen by its colonial masters purely as a resource-rich province to be exploited by the Portuguese for the purposes of profit and for the general economic well-being of the mother country (Kamalu, 2019). Moreover, the patterns of Portuguese colonialism of the 18th century were broadly similar to the attitudes of Portuguese in Africa during the 20th century. They had clung to the theory of social Darwinism, which promoted the idea that the native African population were fundamentally incapable of contributing to civilizational development, ironically, failing to evolve themselves in terms of their own colonial mentality (Zahorik, 2019). The mercantile economy and the exploitative approach to development made the establishment of some institutions of modernity, including an

institute of higher learning, only necessary for economic and political reasons. For example, until the middle of the 19th century, Brazil's political elites would continue to attend Portuguese universities – these institutions clearly being the actual centre of modernity to gain knowledge of the modern world which would help the Brazilian colonists govern their nation.

As with every country dominated by a European colonial power, the rethinking of place within the modern world began at the end of the 19th century. The intellectual elites questioned the belonging of Brazil to European civilisation and tried to explain the foundations of Brazilian identity. One of the most prominent Brazilian intellectuals of the late 19th century was Silvio Romero. Romero put his ideas in the context of the cultural development of Brazil.

According to Romero, the future of Brazil connects with the rethinking of its "political and social orbit" which was based on the premises of Portuguese colonisation (Romero cited in Eakin, 1985, p. 154). Following the positivists' direction, a new order had to connect with the development of science and ideas of modernisation. One important factor was that modernisation should be taken from the model of Western Europe, in particular, Germany and Britain, because of the fact that the Brazilians and the Portuguese did "not belong to the ranks of the inventive nations" and were simply "incapable of producing for themselves" (Romero cited in Schneider & Correll, 2010, p. 230). Analysing the positivist intention to modernise Brazil, Romero would refer to the social, economic and political order existing in Western Europe and North America, because of their reputation for having "opened up the modern era" (Schneider & Correll, 2010, p. 230). This is why, returning to the differences between the British and Portuguese colonial empires, the heritage of the British was associated more with progress and the incorporation of institutions of modernity, while Portuguese heritage was perceived as a relic of the colonial past.

Another important Brazilian figure of the 20th century was Gilberto de Mello Freyre, a prominent Brazilian sociologist and politician. Freyre took a slightly different approach in the rethinking of Brazilian identity. Freyre notes that Brazil, having been formed by the nodes of European civilisation, became "an extra-European" quantisation in the sense that the features of European modernity had to be settled, or planted, in local tropical conditions. Freyre discusses the implementation of European modern techniques within a sector of agriculture which had to be modified to the realities of the tropical environment of Brazil (Freyre, 1966). An extension to the acclimatisation to tropical conditions touched, not only issues with cattle or crop farming, but also in terms of urban planning, public and political life (Freyre, 1966). Moreover, another stream which influenced the formation of Brazilian culture was the incorporation of the cultural values of Africa and Asia, brought to Brazil by immigrants and slaves who had been united under the vast trading system built by the Portuguese (Freyre, 1966).

Under the influence of positivist thinkers, and their followers, education would gradually become a boundary which divided the civilised progressive elites from those who still supported the backward rules of the old regime. However, civilizational patterns, which defined patterns of European civilisation, occurred firstly in material culture and were simply copied from Europe. Meade highlights that features of European fashion, architecture and cuisine flooded into the growing Brazilian urban areas, especially the most prosperous cities, like Rio de Janeiro and San Paulo (Meade, 1997). The Europeanization of urban spaces created features which made Brazilian cities look like "the great cities of Europe" (Meade, 1997, p.19).

Another important moment, emphasised by Albers, relates to the economic dependency of Brazil on foreign trade (Albert, 1988). Albers points out that Brazil experienced the influence of foreigners, not only in the sphere of economic development, but also in culture; foreigners had brought 'cultural baggage' with them to Brazil (Albert, 1988). The

abolition of slavery, in 1888, followed soon by the proclamation of the First Brazilian Republic in 1889, would push the development of education, particularly higher education, onto a different trajectory.

One of the constitutional foundations of the First Republic was the concept of universal education, which symbolised the key liberal principles of a civilised country (Heimer, 1975). However, it was not only ideological motives that powered and popularised the Brazilian idea of educational development. By the beginning of the 20th century a new social layer, the Brazilian middle class, had manifested itself and wished to participate, not only in economic relationships, but also "pressed for political participation, democratisation, modernisation" (Heimer, 1975, p.53). And yet, despite the promotion of education at a political level, as well as in circles of the elite members of society, higher education was not popularised until the 1930s. Even the growth of primary and secondary schools was still limited; between 1899 and 1928, for instance, the rate of illiteracy had been reduced by a margin of 7 percent from the turn of the century (Heimer, 1975).

Another Brazilian intellectual movement, which actually slowed progress in the implementation of educational reforms, was the Social Darwinist movement (Meade, 1997). Meade notes that the Brazilian Congress passed legislation in 1921, prohibiting black immigrants from entering Brazil (Meade, 1997). The campaign, which aimed to 'whiten' Brazil's population, was known as *"blanqueamiento"*, and Hernandez observes that greater social status and positions in society were associated with lighter skin colour (Hernandez, 2004). However, the socio-economic conditions of slavery meant that the free black population faced major difficulties in terms of their integration into the new post-abolition society of Brazil

9.2.3 How Brazil established higher education

The period of Brazilian history between 1930 and 1945 is known as the Vargas Era, named after the then leader of Brazil's autocratic-centrist government, Getúlio Vargas. Having a predominant objective of industrialisation and economic development, the Vargas government understood the necessity of human capital in economic growth, a previously neglected consideration in terms of Brazil's long-term development (Hilton, 1975). Therefore, the function of education, from basic schooling to university level, became a priority for the national government. Hilton points to the fact that the Vargas government created the first government branch to take over responsibility for education in the country - the Ministry of Education and Health would be allocated 10% of the budget for the establishment of a centralised school system (Hilton, 1975).

Major changes also occurred in higher education. Founded in 1934, the University of San Paulo became the first modern university in the history of Brazil, the model of this university being taken from German and French universities (Paula, 2002). The construction of a progressive intellectual environment was one of the first tasks of the new university. Whereas in China, or the USSR, universities served the industrial capacity and needs of the nation, in Brazil the first university became a hub for the creation of a locally educated elite and a centre for attracting intellectual elites from Europe, particularly France. Paula argues that with the establishment of the *de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras* at USP, a number of French scholars, Bastide, Lèvi-Strauss and many others, became involved in Brazil's intellectual and academic foundations (Paula, 2002). Similar activity can be seen at the University of Rio de Janeiro, where 'foreign-import' intellectuals were also French, but also hired from mainstream Catholic intellectual circles (Paula, 2002).

Between the period from 1930 to 1964, approximately twenty new universities were established. During these thirty turbulent years of Brazilian history, filled with political and social upheaval, the idea of modernisation and the enhancement of the country's economic capacity remained an unchanged prerogative. For symbolic purposes, the 21st President of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, a progressive politician, moved the national capital of Brazil from Rio de Janeiro to the new federal capital of Brasilia, the establishment and growth of which was designed to represent a progressive and modern Brazil (Fausto, 2014)

During that time, the demand for university education was high, and the role of the student body became visible in public discourse. According to Eunice, the National Organisation of Students (União Nacional the Estudantes, UNE) was one of the most influential student organisations and saw themselves as representative of popular interests in the country (Eunice, 2004). It is quite clear that the influence of Marxism on South American nations was considerable, and Brazil was no exception. The rise of student movements was closely connected with a Marxist framework of action in addressing socio-economic issues. When a military coup occurred in 1964, students became the main force of opposition to the military junta (Eunice, 2004). Under such conditions, the state universities were seen as centres of Marxist ideology and would be "kept under severe vigilance" (Eunice, 2004). After the suppression of student-led opposition movements, a series of new educational reforms took place based on the American model of university organisation. This was, undoubtedly linked to the fact that the Brazilian military dictatorship, known as the Fifth Brazilian Republic, was an American-backed anti-communist regime.

At this juncture in the development of Brazilian higher education, it is important to note the overall influence of United States foreign policy on domestic development. In the 1950s, due to the Revolution in Cuba and the rise of Marxist movements in Latin

America, the US decided to strengthen their educational 'aid' to Brazil, which was a strategically important region for the Americans (Leher & Vittoria, 2015). The US created the organisation, "Alliance for Progress", the primary aim of which was not only the improvement of economic partnership with Brazil, but also the promotion of educational 'aid' in the rural areas (Leher & Vittoria, 2015). "Alliance for Progress" postulated principles which, according to leading American intellectuals, such as the US Ambassador to Brazil, Harvard Professor, Lincoln Gordon, and the MIT Modernisation Theorist and National Security Advisor to the Kennedy Administration, Walt. W. Rostow, were designed to modernise Latin America, including the promotion of technological development and advanced education (Rabe, 2016). Their idea was propelling Latin American societies from underdevelopment to 'self-sustained growth' through a massive transfusion of US foreign aid. In Brazil, an emphasis on the promotion of education was especially important for the Americans, especially since the literacy rate among the adult population was low (30-40%), even by comparison to other Latin American nations (Rabe, 2016). Initiated through the financial assistance of the Rio Grande do Norte programme, they provided training courses for teachers, constructed schools, developed literacy classes for adults and, from an ideological point of view, projected a positive image of American power to combat growing communist influence. Another angle of US influence came from the Brazil – US university exchange, which was based on scholarships provided by the Fulbright Foundation. The proportion of Brazilian students that began studying in American universities was extremely high, accounting for almost 90% of all Brazilian students who studied abroad (Larrechea. & Castro, 2009). Those students returned to Brazil having been educated in an American manner, holding American values and an American worldview with which they were imbued during the time of their study. Moreover, other foundations, such as the Rockefeller Foundation, provided various kinds of aid to Brazil, such as the improvement

of Brazilian medical services. All these works had an important impact, not only on America's geopolitical partnerships in the region, but also provoked a major shift from a Euro-centric view to an American orientation of the Brazilian mind. All of this can be traced to the educational reforms of the 1960s, when the obvious choice was to follow the American policy model in university development.

The Brazilian education reforms of 1968 were oriented on the creation of comprehensive graduate and research programmes, similar to the model of the American universities, whereas bachelor's degrees were still strongly associated with concrete professional education, whose specialisations could be easily offered in private schools (Balbachevsky & Sampaio, 2017). This scenario, where low-quality private institutions offered a degree to any student who wished to pay for it, was similar to the case of massification in post-Soviet Russia, where diplomas were necessary to obtain a certain position in the labour market. In terms of the development of public higher education in Brazil after the 1968 reforms, it is worth mentioning the growth and impact of graduate programmes in Brazilian universities, such MAs and PhDs. Firstly, the creation of a wide range of graduate programmes was connected with the influence of foreign education systems on Brazilian higher education. During the 1950-1980 period, the Brazilian government invested heavily in exchange and study programmes to send students and scholars abroad (Balbachevsky, 2011). Details of such influence can already be seen in terms of the impact of American higher education on Brazil. Secondly, there were two main streams which highlighted the importance of the development of graduate programmes. An economic argument was made in connection with graduate programmes, with improvements in the science and technology sectors of the Brazilian economy, as well as the development of highly skilled human capital required for technological modernisation (Schwartzman, 1991). Political arguments were connected with the fact that, in the 1970s, Brazil faced the same problems as China and the Soviet Union in the 1930s and 40s, India

in the 1950s, namely the dependence on foreign technology and knowledge, which could not be a sustainable strategy of development for any emerging power. Therefore, the policies which emerged at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, placed an emphasis on the technological development of Brazil to make a step forward on the way to economic growth and technological independence from western states (Bastos, 1995). An attempt to modernise the economy through the development of the Brazilian research sector was undertaken in 1964, with the creation of the Fundo Nacional de Tecnologia (National Fund for Technology). Schwartzman points out that there were a number of important university-based projects which were supported through this organisation, including projects such as the electronic accelerator 'Pelletron' at the University of San Paolo in 1971, and a Brazilian microcomputer based on the efforts led by a university consortium (Schwartzman, 1991). These educational programmes rapidly expanded so that by 1985, Brazil had more than 300 doctoral programmes and 800 M.A level programmes (Schwartzman, 1991).

9.3 Development of higher education after the fall of the militarist government in 1985

In 1985, with the fall of the military dictatorship and the ending of Fifth Brazilian Republic, a newly elected democratic government embarked on a programme of constitutional change which provoked the transformation of education policy in Brazil. In comparison to the constitution of the 1967, where only elementary education was provided for free, with higher education being provided under a grant system for those who required it, the constitution of 1988 established the freedom to charge for public schooling, without giving any particular specification of fee and non-fee entries (Brazil-Organization of American States, n.d, The National Constituent Assembly, 1988).

Moreover, the constitution of 1988 elaborated on the importance of research and technological development for society and put a specific emphasis on university autonomy (The National Constituent Assembly, 1988). The new constitution also absorbed the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of 1985, when policymaking arrived at an understanding of the problems induced in Brazilian higher education by the military regime's control of public universities, and the economic crisis which had occurred in the 1980s (Schwartzman, 1988). The results of the Commission's report were based on the proposition that public universities had to be given wider autonomy and be provided with a remit for wider differentiation, rather than making universities just research oriented as had been the policy in 1968 (Schwartzman, 1988). Therefore, new constitutional laws targeting educational policy were perceived as more liberal and open to diversification.

The question concerning the direction of higher education development was put under closer scrutiny by policymakers, who were reliant upon the assistance of international agencies, such as the Ford Foundation and the World Bank (De Siqueira, 2009). Similar approaches were adopted in South Africa after the fall of apartheid, when international agencies approached South African policymakers inviting them to rethink their local higher education policy. In 1993, the World Bank produced a report which assessed the current state of Brazilian higher education. The report gave a critical estimation of the capacity of the Brazilian higher education sector, because it simply did not produce enough skilled human capital through which Brazil could induce the development of its technological and industrial sectors (The World Bank, 1992). Based on the conclusion that the Brazilian higher education was backwards, the World Bank provided policy recommendations in the key areas, reflecting global educational trends dominant in "the great research universities of the United States and Europe" (The World Bank, 1992, p. 24).

The language of the report is quite distinct, using terms which defined modernity, namely, the efficiency of a managerial system, an orientation on development and progress and the rationalisation of cost-mechanisms. Firstly, the efficiency of the educational system could be maximised through the changes in the patterns of university funding, where public universities could be less reliant upon funding streams coming only from the government. The World Bank proposed to introduce a system of loans to students, which meant that even public universities could switch to a fee-paying system of education, and widely commercialise public university activity. Moreover, the report encouraged the promotion of private institutions, to increase competition among schools, both private and public (The World Bank, 1992). Another crucial recommendation touched upon spheres of university governance. The report recommended the elimination of government control over universities, and the granting of decision-making power to university government, or university autonomy, including budget planning and academic-staff appointments (The World Bank, 1992).

In general, the World Bank overview was written in a way which demonstrated the patronage of the developed western powers over emerging regional powers, such as Brazil. And yet, the report specifically addresses the concept of *world-class university* building, establishing WCUs to the standard of leading institutions such as the University of Rio de Janeiro or the University of San Paulo (The World Bank, 1992). The next decade of reforms were, therefore, influenced by the World Bank's recommendations, including the reorientation of Brazilian higher education on world-class standards.

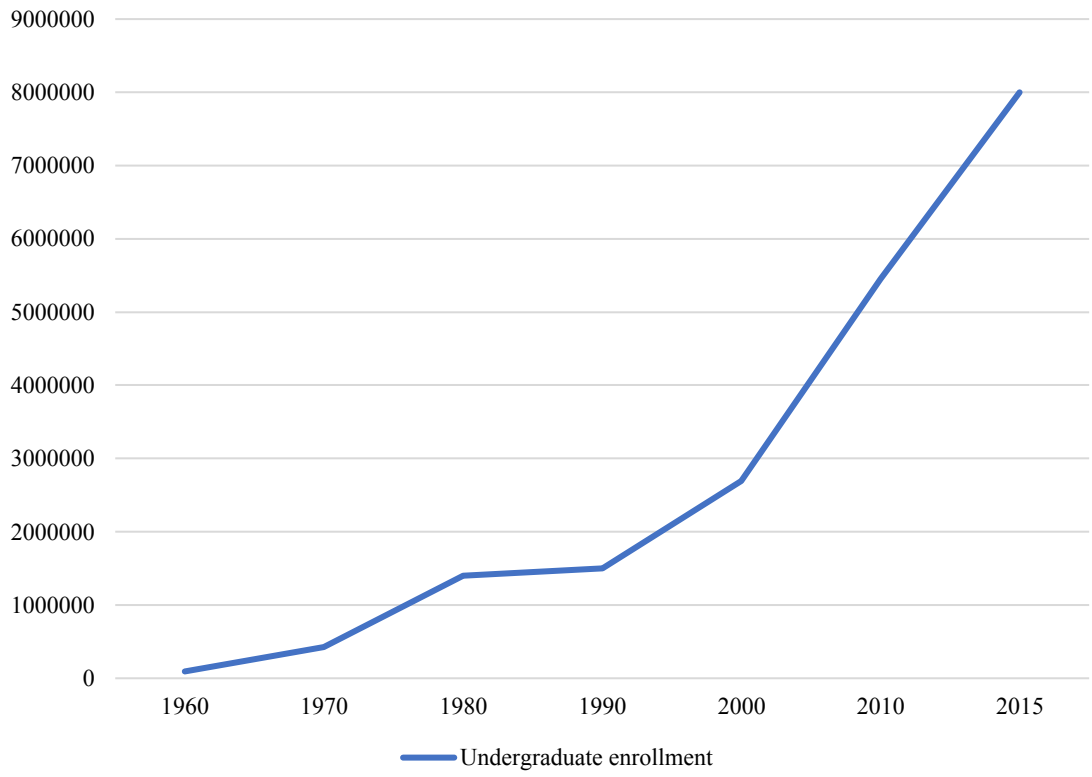
9.4 Higher education reforms under the rule of the Cardoso government (1995-2002) and the Lula government (2003-2011): commercialisation and second wave of massification

The first series of higher education reforms, which are considered to be recommendations of the World Bank, were announced under the LDB/1996 regulations (Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação). The LDB/1996 became a diverse package of reforms which changed the landscape of Brazilian education, including higher education. Apart from regulations that provided technical details about the structure of an academic year, the recognition of diplomas, or the accreditation of institutions of higher education, the LDB/1996 laws provided a wide range of spheres where public universities could act as autonomous organisations (The Presidency of the Republic, 1996). Under these laws, universities could perform the activities of *commercialisation*, including the ability to manage funding independently, including donations and grants (Senado Federal, 2017). However, the law itself did not place a strong emphasis on education as an integral component of the economic development of the country. Rather, it prioritised the socio-cultural functions of education, such as the preparation of a person to live in a society and function in the world of work. At this stage, however, despite the importance of the agenda of the World Bank in re-shaping Brazilian higher education, the idea of a World Class University cannot be traced in these policies.

Because of the fact that the LDB/1996, at a policy level, acknowledged the coexistence of both private and public educational institutions, in 1997, a new decree 2306/97 was passed in order to provide a more precise definition of the meaning of higher education. According to Article 8 of the decree, under the categories of higher education, not only can one find universities listed, but also university centres, integrated colleges and higher institutes or colleges (The Presidency of the Republic, 1997). Such a step can be

considered to be part of a second wave of *massification,* which Brazil's government put forward as a strategy to improve the development of human capital in Brazil. This new definition of institutions of higher education coincided with the main goals of higher education as defined by the law LDB/1996, which connected education with the labour market and the 'world of work' (Fig.25).

Figure 25.Undergraduate Education Enrolments in Brazilian Higher Education, 1960-2015. Source: Schwartzman, 1992, INEP, 1990-2015

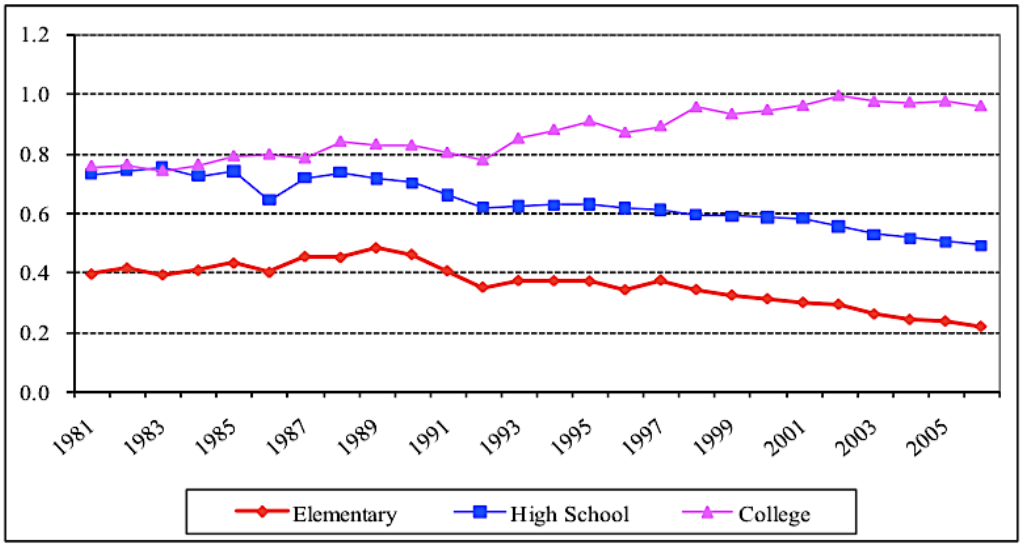


Over the last 50 years, the Brazilian labour market has shifted from the agricultural involvement of workers towards services and manufacturing (Firpo & Pieri, 2018). Dourado, et.al, notes that with the broadening of the meaning of higher education, the Brazilian government opened up the possibility of diversifying higher education training in order to satisfy the criteria of the labour market, which began to change due to the rise of the FDI, trade liberalisation and changes in the method of production to "the medium-

low-technology-intensive group of industries" (Dourado et.al. 2004, Feijo & Lamonica, 2016, p. 43).

Evidence shows that, due to technological changes of production, the demand for workers with a college education increased, a trend which also reflects the rate of return from higher education: those workers who had a college degree, earned more than those who did not have it (Fig.26) (Filho & Scorzafave, 2009).

Figure 26. Education wage differences, 1981-2006. Source: Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicilion (PNAD), 1981-2006



In 2004, the government created "The University for All" (PROUNI) initiative. The goal of the program was to allocate full and partial scholarships to those students from disadvantaged family backgrounds. An important condition of the program was that scholarships had to be awarded to study in private universities rather than in public institutions (The Presidency of the Republic, 2004). Therefore, the program was considered to have solved the issue of inequality on the one hand, while on the other,

increasing the participation of the population in higher education to improve the quality of national human capital.

9.5 Quality control and the further massification of higher education

Despite rapid massification, and the growing government interest in increasing the participation of the population in higher education, thus reducing educational inequality in Brazilian society, there was an imbalance in the distribution of undergraduate courses offered by public and private universities. Therefore, the initiative of expansion in the higher education sector continued under the government of Lula da Silva, who was elected in 2002. In the Brazilian context, expansion meant, not only massification, but also the growth of public universities, especially in the remote rural areas where access to higher education was traditionally limited. Moreover, in 2005, the government introduced a new law (Presidential Decree No.5622/2005), according to which, foreign capital could participate in the creation of institutions of higher education in Brazil (The Presidency of the Republic, 2005). In a broader sense, this meant the additional creation of institutions of higher education, but on the other hand it also meant greater responsibility of the government towards (a) control over the quality of education in the local universities, which would lose out in competition with foreign providers, and (b) control over quality in foreign-funded universities to avoid the devaluation of the quality of education, which Brazil had experienced during the 1970s with the rise of a private low-tier educational sector.

In 2003, the Brazilian government introduced the Expansion Policy Phase I, which was aimed at expanding courses and student enrollment in federal universities. Between 2003

and 2007, some eleven federal universities were created, which brought a more balanced distribution between the courses offered in private and public universities and institutions. For example, in 2007, the total number of courses offered in federal universities was 44% in the state capitals and 55 % in the peripheries, from the total weight of all undergraduate courses offered by institutions of higher education (Jezus et.al, 2018).

Another policy initiative, which brought immediate changes in Brazilian higher education was the introduction of the National System for Higher Education Assessment (SINAES). At first glance, the rhetoric of SINAES (Law No.10,861/2004) aligned closely with the proclaimed rhetoric of leading western World Class Universities, and included areas devoted to the quality of higher education control, the rise of efficiency and the effectiveness of higher education institutions (The Presidency of the Republic, 2004). The evaluation processes are considered to be instructions on the development of higher education in themselves, as well as the structure of individual programs within these institutions (The Presidency of the Republic, 2004). However, in spite of the rationalistic approach to the improvement of quality of higher education, the law placed specific attention on the responsibilities of higher education through its publicly stated mission, namely the wider social commitments of higher education and promotion of democratic values in society (The Presidency of the Republic, 2004). In this sense, in spite of the fact that the policy had rationalised the approach to the quality control, the core message of the policy was placed under the umbrella of social values first and foremost, rather than on any economic determination.

It is important to understand that the first time Brazilian universities made an appearance in the world university rankings was 2011. Alongside other BRICS countries, after 2011 the priority of Brazilian higher education policy shifted towards world class university-building. However, until 2011, Brazil pursued goals which were related more to the reduction of gaps existing in domestic socio-economic spheres, including poverty,

inequality, the redistribution of wealth, foreign debt and other domestic problems. Under these circumstances, the government saw higher education as a mechanism through which it could address local social problems first, with the country's economic problems taking second place on the list of national priorities.

9.6 The Restructuring Programme of the Federal Universities (REUNI): bringing internationalization to Brazilian universities

In 2007, the Brazilian government continued their reforms dedicated to the expansion of federal universities. The Restructuring Program of Federal Universities (REUNI) (No. 6,096/2007) was one of the biggest reforms in higher education undertaken by the government of Lula da Silva. The project synchronised with the guidelines of the National Education Plan (2001-2010), which had characterised the Brazilian higher education sector as the worst in terms of access in the whole of South America. REUNI set a target of at least 30% of people aged 18-24 to be enrolled in higher education institutions by 2010 (The Presidency of the Republic, 2007). Out of the 54 Brazilian federal universities in existence in 2007, 53 became participants of the REUNI program (The Presidency of the Republic, 2007).

However, on a larger scale, the project REUNI tried to solve many issues other than those related to student participation. Analysing the policy principles of REUNI it could be concluded that the strategy of REUNI was built around the enhancement of general university capacity, including a diversification of educational modules, the optimisation of Brazilian federal university resources and a revision of academic structures (The Presidency of the Republic, 2007). However, an important departure from the practices of the past lies in the policy's allocation of responsibilities between the federal

government and the universities themselves (The Presidency of the Republic, 2007). This meant that the federal universities, who were members of the REUNI program, had to propose their own development strategies, satisfying the criteria of REUNI. It is worth observing that a similar policy approach was adopted by Russian policymakers in the WCU policy '5-100', where half of the responsibilities for strategic development were put on the university-participants.

Following the '3-trends framework', a more detailed discussion of which is given in Section II of Article 2 of REUNI, an expansion of student mobility is provided, something which previously received no specific policy attention (The Presidency of the Republic, 2007). According to Art. 2, Section II of the policy determined that university-participants had to be able to incorporate new conditions in their curriculum and courses which allowed for an enhancement of student mobility (The Presidency of the Republic, 2007). The new conditions involved a credit system and a system of 'titles' which had to be recognisable to university-participants of the REUNI program. So, what did these conditions mean for the restructuring of university education? Firstly, the policy introduced a unification of a certain areas, which allowed universities to create a common space for student mobility. Santos and Melo point out that the decision to unify educational programmes was driven by the example of the Bologna Declaration in Europe, which was designed to enhance the competitive potential of European universities in a growing global educational market (Santos & Melo, 2018). In the case of Brazil, steps towards the standardisation of courses, degrees and credits also had similar motives, but in a South American regional context rather than a global one.

However, REUNI would not adopt any approach to amalgamate European or American higher education standards in Brazilian universities, as had happened in Russia following the Bologna Process in 2005. An unwillingness towards submission to any [American or European] of these university education schemes provoked Brazilian policymakers to

develop their own system of recognised quality-control networks which unified federal universities under a single educational standards umbrella. It was this step towards a unification of standards in Brazilian education that finally enabled student mobility. Another point, which connects with student mobility, is the expansion of the campuses of the federal universities themselves.

In Brazil, student mobility had more of local character than an international one. It was made to increase the circulation of students between regions – from centres to peripheries. However, the international dimension of higher education development began to influence domestic policies. The next section discusses how the *internationalisation* discourse shaped the educational agenda of Brazil after 2010.

9.7 The direction of internationalisation of Brazilian higher education and the commercialisation of Brazilian science

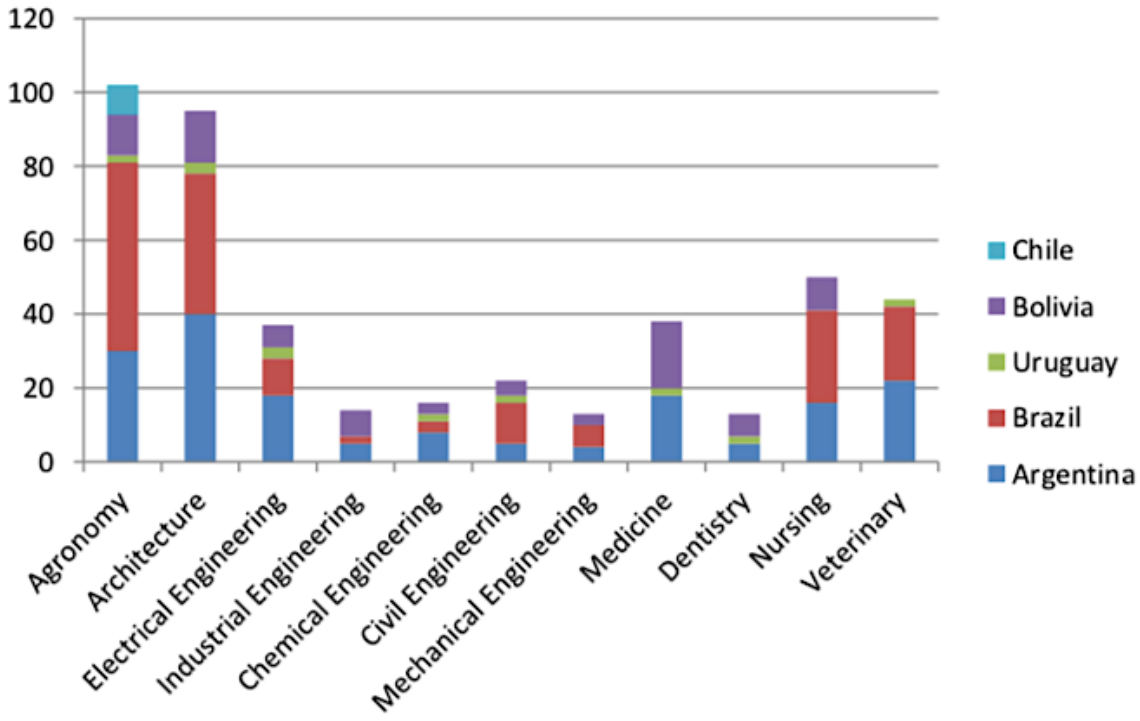
The major strategy to increase the global and international capacity of Brazilian universities was mounted with a flagship programme 'Science Without Borders' (Ciência sem Fronteiras – CSF), introduced by the government of Dilma Rousseff in 2011 (CSF, n.d, n.p). The policy outline for the programme states that Science without Borders "is a program that seeks to promote the consolidation, expansion and internationalization of science and technology, innovation and Brazilian competitiveness through international exchange and mobility" (CSF, n.d, n.p). The clear policy objective was internationalisation, and an increase of the competitiveness of Brazil's higher education sector is stated as a policy goal. The policy control was undergone by the joint efforts of two ministries: The Ministries of Science, Technology and Innovation (MCTI) and the Ministry of Education (MEC).

Before moving forward in my policy analysis, it is worth considering Brazil's background regarding its internationalisation strategy. Brazil built its internationalisation strategy based on cooperation with global powers, such as the US, as well as other strategic partners in the region. In 1991, the five leading South American nations, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela and Brazil formed the Common Market of the South (Mercosur) (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay & Uruguay, 1991) (Fig.27). The primary goal of this agreement was to establish common commercial and economic cooperation between Latin American nations (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay & Uruguay, 1991). Various sectors of South American partnership were touched upon, including educational integration and standardisation. Areas for cooperation had to include the accreditation of academic programs, an inter-institutional partnership arrangement and an increase of academic mobility (Larrechea & Castro, 2009). After years of negotiation, a proposal on cooperation was implemented in 2006.

On the one hand, the model of cooperation was borrowed from the ideals of the Bologna Process on integration to establish a common space for higher education to promote "mobility, exchange and building of the regional identity and citizenship" (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay & Uruguay, 2016, p. 27). In order to follow the Bologna model, the accreditation of academic programmes had to intensify along with the creation of an 'academic educational space' (Larrechea & Castro, 2009). The Mercosur regulations on educational development also led to the establishment of the exchange program, MARCA (MARCA, n.d). However, despite certain achievements in the process of educational integration, such as mutual recognition of qualifications for academic purposes, the main goal of creating common education spaces and identity and citizenship would not happen. Furthermore, the number of student exchanges between members of MARCA is very low, with most exchange students engaged in agriculturally related topics and there is no available data to trace the number of participants for the last several years. The latest

available data shows that, in the period from 2006 to 2010, only 580 students participated in the MARCA exchange programme (Perotta, 2016)

Figure 27. MARCA Mobility flow, 2014. Source: Perrotta, 2016



Because of regional political and economic instability, collaboration between Mercosur members was difficult to sustain. For instance, when political crises happened in Venezuela and Bolivia, both countries' participation in Mercosur was suspended. The Brazilian role in the region, as an emerging global power, also created a situation where Brazil saw herself as a 'voice of the region', which brought her into conflict with other members of Mercosur who equally viewed themselves as regional powers (Caballero, 2013). Therefore, Brazil, without relying on transnational educational initiatives, had to continue building up her own strategy in order to promote internationalisation in the country.

On the other hand, CSF's (Ciência sem fronteiras) fundamental inspiration was based upon the model of the scholarship initiatives of the US, namely "the 100,000 Strong in the Americas", which promoted student exchanges to increase human capital development and smoothen borders in university-industry collaboration throughout the US and Latin America (The US Department of State's, n.d).

By 2011, Brazil had already begun its *commercialisation* modus-in-innovation sector 2004, with the establishment of the Innovation Law (Law No.10,973) (Viana et.al, 2018). This law specified the promotion of scientific and technological activities to enable economic and social development of the country (The Presidency of the Republic, 2004). In particular, the Innovation Law concentrated on regulations created to increase technology-transfer activities between public entities (universities, research centres) and the private sector (The Presidency of the Republic, 2004). The results of Law No.10,973 were highly positive in terms of the growth of university-industry agreements, especially in the R&D sector, from 7% in 2011 to 17% in 2017, and in know-how and technical assistance contracts, from 2.2% in 2011 to 8.9% in 2011(Viana et.al, 2018). Carrer, et.al., state that 85% of the technology incubators of Brazil were affiliated with the university sector in 2010 (Carrer et.al, 2010).

The results of the improvements in university-industry collaboration have been perceived by the government as an encouraging sign, strengthening their resolve to continue in this direction, but also with the help of an *internationalisation* strategy. The 'Science without borders' programme has allocated over R$100,000 in scholarships for Brazilian postgraduate students to travel abroad and attract foreign scholars who wish to conduct research in Brazil (CSF, n.d). A specific goal of the CSF is a focus on the development of science and technology programmes to reduce the gap between academia and business, as well as to integrate Brazilian science within the global science and innovation market (CSF, n.d). A concentration of the policy on areas of science, technology and innovation

indicates that CSF is an investment in the economic development of the country designed to increase Brazilian human capital and academic research capacity. In this sense, academic internationalisation became a tool to 1) improve the local economic landscape, 2) increase the visibility of Brazil in the global research arena, and 3) to improve human capital development in Brazil. Therefore, as in other BRICS states, where internationalisation is used a tool to create WCUs, in Brazil, internationalisation has become a major policy tool to increase the overall competitiveness of Brazilian science within the academic sector.

The theme of WCU building is not explicitly stated in the policy. Similarly to South Africa, where the goal of WCU-creation is not clearly defined, Brazil incorporated mechanisms of WCU construction in its policy, not for the purpose of creating WCUs, but in order to prepare its universities for global competition first. However, in spite of the considerable public investment in the program, the policy was suspended in 2015 because of a devaluation of the Brazilian Real against the US dollar, together with the stagnation of national funding. In addition, the Brazilian Senate examined the results of the CFS from 2011 to 2015, concluding that, apart from budget restrictions, there were other significant problems which indicated an 'unreadiness' of Brazilian institutions and students to participate in a programme which involved such rapid internationalisation. The unreadiness of students has been reflected by a low proficiency in the English language, whereas in the case of universities, there has been a lack of 'foreign student' offices to support the objectives and meet the requirements of the programme (Morche, 2016).

Moreover, the recent changes of administration within the Brazilian government resulting from Rousseff's impeachment in 2016, severely compromised the CSF, with Rousseff's political enemies portraying the policy as an inefficient action of budgetary expenditure, which meant the indefinite discontinuation of the program. However, as a result of the

CSF, 92,880 students were sent by Brazil to study abroad (Ciência sem Fronteiras, 2016). Half of these students chose English-speaking countries as their study-abroad destinations, including the U.S., the UK, Canada and Ireland (Mcmanus & Nobre, 2017). There is no available data on the percentage of returnees involved in various sectors of the Brazilian economy, such as industry, services or academia. However, there were a number of success stories which have had a visible impact upon the nation, making the programme an important achievement for Brazil. However, the fact that Brazil's low-skilled, labour-intensive sector still remains the largest in terms of the overall proportion of labour distribution in the country underlines the considerable number of measures that Brazil's government still needs to adopt in order to implement lasting changes in Brazilian economic development (World Economic Forum, 2018). Employment in knowledge-intensive sectors remains at around 21%, about half the average among OECD countries (World Economic Forum, 2018). Interestingly, the results of the CSF showed an unequal distribution of scholarships among regions: the traditionally wealthy regions of the south-east and the northeast, with a well-developed educational infrastructure, accumulated a higher percentage of grants in comparison to the poorer regions of the rest of the country (Ciência sem Fronteiras, 2016).

However, despite heavy criticism of the programme among the political elites of Brazil, there have been indications of certain positive improvements, such as the enhanced position of Brazilian universities in global rankings. For instance, in the QS rankings, the public university, University of San-Paulo, was ranked 169th in 2011, but by 2020 it will occupy the 116th position. Another public university, the University of Campinas, also located in the wealthy region of San Paulo, but which never previously appeared in the top 200-QS rankings, has, since 2016, made in-and-out appearances in the QS top 200.

9.8 New policy proposal: internationalisation and innovation

In 2019, the new administration of far-right President Jair Bolsonaro announced that the priority of their policy direction was to provide supports for the development of pre-school, elementary and technical schools. The consequence of this decision, however, was that institutions of higher education faced a 30% reduction in funding (Guerra, 2019). This targeted elimination of funding to public universities affects particular disciplines, such as philosophy and sociology, which did not, according to Bolsonaro, "generate immediate return to the taxpayer" (Bolsonaro, 2019, n.p).

In 2019, a new policy strategy, 'Future-se.', was proposed by the Ministry of Education. The aim of this initiative was to encourage universities and federal institutes to strengthen their financial autonomy and become less dependent upon public investments (Government of Brazil, 2019). According to available official policy information, Future-se. had to construct its strategy around three pillars: public-private partnership, namely university partnerships with the private sector (for instance, public building rentals); stimulation of innovation activity within universities – in particular, the creation of start-ups sponsored by private corporations and businesses, and finally, internationalisation to improve the quality of Brazilian students and academic personnel, as well as the promotion of university courses through on-line platforms (Government of Brazil, 2019). However, in spite of the clear diversification of activities, all three pillars are connected with one factor – commercialisation. These developments seem to indicate that, because of reductions in public funding, 28% since 2013, the government sees the income generated using various forms of commercialisation as viable replacements for the university funding lost through cuts (QS, n.d). However, having the resolution of key domestic problems in mind, the rhetoric of Future-se., building on a global perspective,

annunciates a new policy initiative to "put Brazil on a level where other countries are" (Government of Brazil, 2019, n.p).

9.9 Conclusion

The features of contemporary higher education were only gained by Brazil in the 1930s. The 'late' entrance of Brazil to European-modelled institutionalised higher education was determined by the colonial past of Brazil and the socio-economic factors of its post-independence period. The effects of Portuguese colonisation had a huge impact upon higher education in Brazil in terms of the unwillingness of the mother country to see Brazil as a country in her own right, with her own culture, traditions and features of development, instead, viewing her as a resource-rich colonial possession whose primary purpose was to act as a producer and exporter of goods to support the wealth of the Portuguese homeland. Even at a later stage, when Brazil gained independence, this colonial mode of social relationship still remained until the abolition of slavery in 1888.

From the beginning of the 20th century, however, Brazil began to establish professional schools of higher learning to address the needed for domestically educated professionals such as doctors, engineers and lawyers. Moreover, the industrialisation of Brazil required a far more educated workforce. And yet, the discussion of Brazil's entrance to modernity though education closely connects with the ideas of positivist-oriented intellectuals. By comparison with India and China, which both had their own systems and traditions of learning, Brazil was bare territory with only 'primitive' societies which did not have any developed system of learning. Therefore, the idea of the preservation of indigenous ways of learning and knowledge (apart from certain techniques in agriculture) did not feature significantly in the minds of successive governments.

From the 1930s, Brazil began building the first universities in key regions of the country, such as San Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. At first, the university system was influenced by a European, and in the later stages, an American system of university education. During the period of the military regime, Brazil experienced a technological boom inspired by the examples of American research universities.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the influence of international trends became much stronger and two key trends, massification and internationalisation, repeatedly appeared in Brazil's higher education policies. In countries with high rates of social inequality like Brazil, massification has a key function in reducing inequality and promoting access of higher education to the public. Internationalisation, similar to the other BRICS countries, was used as a tool to increase the competitiveness of Brazil in the international arena. However, in a far broader sense, through internationalisation Brazil's government wanted to invest in the training of high-skilled human capital who could then be employed in the knowledge and technology sectors. Under the umbrella of internationalisation, moreover, another trend, commercialisation, emerged as a necessity step to reach the level of the universities of the developed world. However, despite the assistance of international agencies in creating at least one world-class university in Brazil, and even the incorporation of WCU tools in local policies, Brazil's government did not make the development of WCUs a priority due to the currently unresolved social crises in Brazilian society, including poverty, problematic access to education, inequality, and the unequal distribution of higher education institutions and funding grants among the regions. Therefore, the main characteristics of Brazil's university development lie in the localisation of resources for higher education, rather than in its globalisation.

10 Final discussion and conclusion

In 2015, this research journey began to find out what alternatives BRICS universities can offer to the modern world of global higher education. The research question was formed under the influence of my experience of having lived and studied in leading universities of countries belonging to both the symbolical North and South. Therefore, the theme of the development of World Class Universities, as a pure Western idea of a contemporary university, and in the case of BRICS nations, a coalition of emerging economies, became a key matter for analysis in this thesis. I used this idea as an entry point to the analysis of key policy documents of BRICS nations dedicated to the construction of WCUs in these countries.

In order to answer this research question, which is "What alternatives can BRICS countries offer to the world of global higher education?", I used an extensive literature review to construct a new conceptual framework based upon an analysis and understanding of global educational trends which influence the experience of universities of the global North, and is now currently being experienced by universities of the global South. However, to provide and illustrate an in-depth understanding of the current status quo of higher education in BRICS countries, I had to outline its historical development over time, especially during its key socio-political turns, such as Western colonialism and Western influence, which ultimately led to the creation of higher education systems in their contemporary form. Therefore, in this context, the theory of multiple modernities became the overarching theoretical context for this thesis, and for BRICS nations.

In the next section I shall summarise the key findings of my PhD thesis, discussing the limitations of this work, and explaining what this research has contributed to the wider field of studies in higher education.

10.1 Key finding of this thesis

I began this thesis by raising a research question about the existence of alternatives to the mainstream 'western' higher education model. However, my primary research question, "What alternatives can BRICS countries offer to the world of global higher education?", turned into several layers, which were only revealed after I completed an analysis of all five BRICS nations. The first theme, which appeared under my primary research question, concerned the 'ideal' of the modern 'western-type' university as a model, and whether or not these create their own definition of WCUs? The second theme was designated around the ability of BRICS to become an alternative model to the west, especially in the realm of higher education. In this chapter, I provide definitive answers to this research question and discuss these two distinct layers which appeared after the completion of my analysis of individual BRICS nations.

The first part of my thesis was dedicated to the construction of the theoretical framework, the foundation upon which was my interpretation of the new global educational trends of internationalisation, commercialisation, massification and, partially, globalisation. At the beginning of this thesis, it was crucial to demonstrate that global educational trends are shaped in the context of modern neoliberal policymaking and the economic agendas of contemporary national governments to create knowledge economies in their countries. Under these circumstances, global trends reflect events that happened to Western nations, and then spread beyond to the non-Western world. Taking into consideration these forces, a thematic framework was developed for this thesis.

a) ***Development of a thematic framework based on the four global educational trends***

The thematic framework based on the four key global educational trends is the first major finding and result of this PhD research. The theoretical framework for this thesis would be constructed as a result of an extensive literature review throughout the first years of my PhD candidacy. To analyse WCU documents of BRICS nations, I had to build a new theoretical framework that could satisfy arising research questions. Along with literature produced by experts of global higher education, such as Altbach, Knight and Marginson, I mostly utilised a number of documents available in the public domain, including those policy papers which appraise the development of WCUs. This approach to the selection of documents provides this study with a dynamic assessment of both the policy-making and policy-changing process. It attests to the fact that the global WCU strategy was openly acknowledged by BRICS policymakers and advanced in the form of priority programmes. This kind of policy research gives a perspective on the current momentum in the field of BRICS higher education policymaking. Additionally, I have examined the literature put forward by BRICS scholars themselves. It is identified that there are three essential global trends influencing contemporary global higher education, namely: internationalisation, massification and commercialisation.

The literature review revealed that all three global trends are present in the Western policy agenda and that, moreover, Western universities have already transitioned through these stages/trends in order to construct WCUs. However, the policymakers of BRICS nations see the incorporation of these trends as a necessary step towards constructing WCUs.

Internationalisation in BRICS countries already has a long history, which is rooted in (a) their colonial history, for countries like Brazil, India and South Africa, and (b) their period of national recognition, when internationalisation became a tool upon which to construct national strength, albeit through a dependence upon western ‘knowledge’, specialists and

technology. This latter stage is relevant to all BRICS nations, whether there is a post-independence consolidation of 'the nation', in the case of Brazil, India and South Africa, or a strengthening of national capacity for China and Russia beginning in the 18th Century, moving forward through their socialist revolutions. Contemporary internationalisation is largely based on competition for global recognition, which is translated via the university rankings. Internationalisation, at this stage, has become a part of higher education policy for many nations, including BRICS. Therefore, I have identified three distinct forms of internationalisation which currently exist in the contemporary BRICS higher education policy landscape:

- academic mobility, which would become necessary as a result of the 'globalising' of higher education. All BRICS countries use this fundamental and first principle of internationalisation to increase their capacity in the creation of WCUs through specific policy programmes. The study demonstrates that most of these policy programmes are built around the aim of student mobility, attracting students from neighbouring regions. Russia, for instance, created the "The Open Doors: Russian Scholarship Project". However, the majority of incoming students to Russia are from neighbouring ex-Soviet republics; the main source of students, in the case of South African internationalisation, are the bordering nations of Mozambique Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and Lesotho; India has created several short-term programmes similar to the "Erasmus+" exchange programme. Brazil supported student mobility in many directions, one of which is aimed at global cooperation, and another on regional Latin American inter-institutional cooperation, such as the MERCOSUR partnership.
- an auxiliary tool, which was developed as a form of soft power during the period of the Cold War between the Western liberal capitalist and Eastern communist blocks. Nowadays, internationalisation is still part of the soft power of many

nations. China attracts foreign students and academic staff to promote a positive image of the People's Republic of China and of Chinese higher education among the international community. Russia relies upon internationalisation in order to, primarily, project a positive image of Russia abroad through higher education. In the case of the remaining BRICS nations, such as Brazil, South Africa and India, these are far less attached to the political factors of internationalisation, and more concerned with the developmental approaches to it.

- a policy tool, which is referred to as 'specific policies and programs' created by the national governments. Internationalization incorporated into policymaking of developing countries connects with an uplift of national systems of higher education in global university rankings. Every policy dedicated to WCU creation, or policies which aim to improve the overall global competitiveness of a local higher education system, have internationalization aspects at their core. The great majority of programmes connect either with student mobility, which I discussed above, or with the organization of collaborative international research activities. The Brazilian programme 'Science Without Borders' was aimed at consolidating and expanding the internationalization of the Brazilian science and technology sector, as well as improving "innovation and Brazilian competitiveness through international exchange and mobility" (CSF, n.d, n.p). Basically, Brazilian global internationalisation became more oriented on strategic partnership with advanced universities and experts working there. The Russian project '5-100' also placed a lot of emphasis on collaboration with international partners, as well as the first the Chinese WCU 'Project 211' and the 'Project 985'.

The next global trend is massification. For BRICS countries this trend has a very specific implementation. The national governments of Brazil and South Africa invest

in massification of higher education in order to fight poverty, inequality and improve national human capital development. In Russia, massification of education is rooted in the Soviet past. However, higher education was transformed during the 1990s with the expansion of the private university sector. In this sense, the trend of massification did not bring a lot of attention to Russian policymakers in the WCU project "5-100". Indian massification is broadly similar to the modern Russian scenario. In India, the largest sector for higher education provision is the private sector. In India, the demand for higher education grows every year. This is linked to the fact that job opportunities are mainly provided for those with university degrees. Because of this large demand, the Indian government is unable to create an accessible mechanism for public higher education. Therefore, the expansion of the private university sector is massive, and covers the basic principles of student demand for obtaining a university degree.

In the literature, I identify key principals underlying massification, but not all of them are relevant to the BRICS context.

- Structural changes in the labour force, which expanded due to an increase of life expectancy and the wider participation of women in employment markets. Therefore, the demand for higher education became bigger. This factor of massification has a very universal character, and is applicable to every BRICS nation.
- The idea of economic growth in national policies, provoked by technological changes and the correlation of growth with investments in human capital. Among all BRICS countries, China has made it abundantly clear that human capital development is only possible through "world-class level of education" (People Online, 1998, n.p). Therefore, following WCU projects became a key factor in the transformation of the Chinese industrial economy to the mode of

knowledge production. This is why the massification trend and its correlation to economic growth became the most visible in China in comparison to other BRICS countries.

- The policy direction of lifelong learning, also provoked by a major increase of mature student intake in universities, firstly in Europe, and now spreading to the developing world.
- The democratisation of social institutions, becoming increasingly crucial for countries with predominant inequalities like Brazil, India and South Africa, and for countries which experienced changes in their regimes, such as Russia. Democratisation of social institutions has simplified access and inclusion to higher education sector. After the fall of the apartheid regime, the government of South Africa placed a lot of attention on the promotion of the wider agenda of inclusion in education through the redistribution of scholarships and grants. In Brazil, massification connects with inequality issues and democratisation. The expansion of the public university sector after 2012, especially in remote and rural areas, allowed the Brazilian government to increase student intake from traditionally excluded communities.

The last trend discussed in the literature is commercialisation. In this doctoral thesis, it is demonstrated that commercialisation is the most important trend in all WCU projects of BRICS nations, with the notable exception of China. In China, commercialisation connect with the integration of Chinese universities into the global research community, and is perceived mostly from the more commercial perspective of an enhanced collaboration with advanced technological companies and laboratories. As I have previously discussed, it connects with the fact that the commercialisation factor is borrowed from the U.S. model of a research-intensive

university, which became, in many ways, a prototype for the contemporary WCU. The idea that research should be oriented on the practical and fundamental results provides by science resonates strongly with BRICS WCU policy agenda. Some countries, like Brazil have gone much further by proclaiming that the humanities are not necessary, or valuable, in the contemporary era, and that prioritization should be given to the sciences.

Together with the trend of internationalisation, various aspects of the trend of commercialisation now have a very strong presence in global university rankings, making a significant impact upon the WCU policy formation of BRICS nations. Based on literature reviews, it can be concluded that commercialisation is influenced by:

- A reduction of public funding for higher education over the last 20 years. This factor heavily influenced Russia after *perestroika*, with significant changes in the economic realities of the country, from the planned Soviet economy to new market mechanisms. After 1991, government spending on higher education was reduced, making room for public universities to create additional income from other sources, such as tuition fees and R&D activities. In South Africa, state universities received no more than 50 percent of the total university income. Therefore, universities would be encouraged to establish other sources of income, such as an increase of fee-paying students and R&D activities to establish 'research-intensive' environments that would be 'innovative', 'interdisciplinary' and involved 'collaborative approaches' (UNISA, 2016, UCT, 2015).
- The massification of higher education. Massification influences the trend of commercialisation through the shift of perceptions of higher education. This means that, not only investments in human capital were a part of the

government agenda, but also an individual perspective on earning a higher degree, became associated with personal benefits, such as getting a better job or a useful social circle. This factor is very relevant to India and Brazil, where a personal socio-economic upgrade affects a student's ability to get a higher education. In these countries, the labour market has shifted from agricultural production towards service and manufacture production. The consequent demand for skilled workers has become higher: those workers who have a college degree, earn more than those who do not have it.

- An epistemological shift in knowledge perception. Epistemological shifts connect with the idea of making knowledge 'useful' for the development of, for instance, a knowledge economy, together with the development of human capital with the skills required for a knowledge economy. Higher education, in this sense, has become a producer of knowledge necessary for this purpose, including the establishment of a new university model, such as an entrepreneurial university. Russia and China have responded to commercialisation with the modernisation strategy of their economies. Both countries have allocated significant resources towards the creation of a modern research climate in the selected university-participants. In Russia, traditionally, research (in the Academy of Science) was oriented on military innovations. As a result, commercialisation is often perceived as a strategy to create a new ecosystem between business and universities in order to fill this gap between military and civilian innovations, typical during the Soviet era. In addition to the policy "5-100", Russia established the satellite programmes, "Universities as centres of innovation spaces", to connect the private sector with their universities.

> Finally, commercialisation is now one of the key components present in the national policies of all WCUs. Based on examined policies, it is concluded that ranking-related activities of commercialisation rotates around the synchronisation of two worlds: the business world, and that of university research.

Therefore, *a thematic framework based on four global educational trends* would be the conclusion of the examined literature on contemporary higher education policy dedicated to the creation of WCUs. The particular outcome of this work is the diagram, which is provided in Chapter 4, which can be used by researchers and policymakers in order to examine national education, particularly in its much broader global context, which reflects the ongoing changes happening to contemporary higher education. Based on this construction, the first layer of this research was revealed. All BRICS nations have the presence of every one of these trends in their policymaking approach to WCU.

b) Policy-analysis of WCU policies in BRICS and the alternatives which BRICS countries can propose to the mainstream world of higher education.

The second major finding of this thesis is the answer to my core research question: what alternatives can BRICS countries offer to the world of global higher education? The interpretative framework of multiple modernities has helped me to examine both the past and present of universities in BRICS nations. This framework of multiple modernities has shown that BRICS as can be a union which stands out from the western world. Therefore, throughout this thesis, BRICS is considered not as a geopolitical union but as a symbolical entity of the modern world. The theory of multiple modernities thus became an important foundation upon which to trace the development of the 'western' university model and its influence on traditional systems of learning in BRICS nations. At the beginning of the thesis, I cited Peter Wagner's statement that every nation can offer the 'experience and

interpretation' of institutions of modernity. My analysis revealed that, despite the existence of their own methods and schools of learning, especially in China and India, western influence upon higher education development in these countries was colossal. The modern universities of BRICS nations have inherited the model of Western universities: the Russian universities and the Academy of Science were based largely on a continental European model – the German university; South Africa and India, as former colonies of the British Empire, received much of their higher education system from the English; Brazil had the initial influence of the Portuguese education system, and later on was influenced by the American universities; China went through the period of Japanese (based on the German model) and American impact upon traditional education. The case of the westernisation of BRICS universities has become an inevitable part of the process of 'catching-up' with modernity and modernising national socio-economic development. The creation of the WCU is continuation of this synchronisation with the western higher education landscape, and unification with the global academic community. WCUs, in this sense, are a project of modernisation – a project of modernity.

Policy analysis reveals that, at the policy level, there are currently no clear alternatives, other than the Western model of the WCU, which could immediately be proposed in order to formulate new models of university development. This is significant, as there is precious little understanding of the preservation and development of local knowledge and educational traditions. Nowadays, only two countries of BRICS actively speak about the de-colonisation of knowledge and a return to traditional systems of learning: South Africa and China. Moreover, the incorporation of educational trends in BRICS policymaking demonstrates that these countries are keen to develop WCUs, as they now exist in the West. However, the theory of multiple modernities has enabled me to open another 'layer' of higher education policymaking, namely the wider discourse of the socio-political realm

in which these policies exist. In the following paragraphs, I provide the key findings for each country:

Brazil: Brazil is the only country of the BRICS cooperation where a proper institution of higher education was established after the beginning of the 20th century. Before this time, Brazil did not have any institutionalised system of learning, neither traditional nor colonial. Inspired by the great American research universities, Brazil would receive its entrance into modernity through its partnerships with the U.S. The university system for Brazilian higher education was largely taken from the North American model. Since the 1990s, Brazil used the trend of massification in order fight inequality and create wider access to, and participation in, higher learning. Internationalisation also became a major theme during the 2010s, when the Brazilian government invested in the development of connections between Brazilian and foreign scholars. However, since 2015, Brazil has gone through a phase of political and economic instability, resulting in the unfortunate freezing of assets placed towards higher education development in the country. Despite this reversal, the contribution which Brazil makes to the discourse on higher education, especially as the key regional power in South America, one with strong American links, is highly significant in the context of the BRICS cooperation

Russia: in the official policy program dedicated to WCU development in Russia, there is an emphasis on internationalisation and commercialisation. Both trends had to be part of the agenda of every university in Russia which were part of the Program '5-100'. Moreover, during the 1990-2000 period, Russia went through a careful process of synchronisation with the Western education system, to become part of the wider European education network: university merging, the privatisation of higher education and the introduction of the Bologna process became a distinct feature of the new and modern Russia. At a policy level, the idea of modernisation became a key idea which

moved higher education forward and aligned it with the Western perspective on higher education, including joining the race for the best positions in global university rankings.

However, the policy analysis, through the lens of multiple modernity, showed that the socio-political realm did not penetrate actual policy-making dedicated to WCU creation, but produced alternative meanings for higher education. For example, the idea that Russia always had a special way of development (opobiy put') exists from the 19th century, but there was no clarification about how osobiy put' was to be realised. One of the interpretations of the idea of osobiy put' revolves around the idea of the 'Russian World', with the predominant position of the Russian language and culture in the ex-Soviet territories. However, again, at the WCU policy level, this discourse is absent.

India: Modern higher education was established in India under the British Imperial Regime, which held colonial control of the sub-continent until the middle of the 20th Century. Experiencing a period where Western modernity was questioned prior to independence, Indian education was looking for traditional roots and its own ground. Gandhi proposed the idea of "a broad-minded tolerance" for personal development and a 'craft-centric' education for economic development. However, the gradual influence of globalisation turned modern policies into WCU policies, which are purely based on the incorporation of global trends into the local university system.

China: Among BRICS nations, China is the first country to introduce and implement an idea of WCU into local policymaking. Through its unique trademark combination of the communist political regime and a capitalist economy, this became known as 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'. At a policy level, there were features which characterised the system of Chinese higher education. Firstly, Chinese WCU development was very gradual, and was split into various stages: from "Project 985", launched in 1998, to the recent "Double World Class University Initiative", launched in 2015. The first stages of China's WCU strategy was built around the idea of modernisation in order to increase

technological and the economic capacity of the country, but at a later point, the policy narrative shifted towards the enhancement of human capital development and the rise of Chinese universities in the global university rankings.

In general, the idea of 'Chinese characteristics' is key to Chinese policymaking. For instance, the internationalisation of Chinese universities shows that China attracted, not only foreign personnel to their universities, but also Chinese academics who studied and worked abroad. In 2012, Xi Jinping introduced his vision of the 'Chinese Dream' which synthesized ideas of the Confucian tradition of a harmonious society, the legacy of the ancient Chinese civilization and modernity, which for the Chinese, closely connected with economic prosperity and the wealth of the nation.

South Africa: South Africa's government did not produce any actual policies dedicated to WCU creation. However, there are some policies which have the strong presence of WCUs creation. Policy analysis reveals that massification in South African universities is tied with problems of inequality and accessibility to its higher education institutions. This problem also connects with so-called Africanization, which is represented by the necessity of a greater involvement of black South Africans in its institutions of higher education. Another aspect of Africanization is shown by an actual interaction of South Africa with modernity, and its connection to its colonial past and apartheid. In this very context, decolonization of knowledge, from Western-dominance, to knowledge which is traditionally present within South African society, became the major theme of social-political discourse, the goal of which is to induce major changes in the South African education system. Furthermore, the theme of decolonization of knowledge only remains visible in popular discourse, and does not penetrate the area of policymaking infiltrated by global trends. Nevertheless, the historical backdrop to the development of South African higher education, particularly the colonial British past, has helped shape the role of leading South African universities, which can be considered to be models for WCU-

creation in the future. However, the way in which the South African government chooses to meld the native, colonial, post-colonial and modern histories of the nation into the narrative of WCU policy is a challenge that still remains to be solved.

Therefore, this thesis posits two major findings: the scheme to analyze higher education policy documents and provide an answer on what alternatives BRICS can offer to the world. If the first finding is represented in a concrete tool for policy analysis, the second finding has a more philosophical aspect in it. Today, even BRICS countries cannot offer anything different to the mainstream WCU model, but these nations still have the very strong potential to develop a new model based on their respective visions of place in the modern world, one better suited to a non-Western, or post-Western world context.

The Brazilian contribution to global higher education connects with an idea of inclusion and equality in access to higher education through different streams offered by public and private engagement. The specific contribution which Russia makes to the world of higher education is in bringing an idea of national identity, which, in the Russian case, is the identity of the Russian world, based on a common history, culture and language. The specific contribution which India made to the world higher education was the usage of higher education as an instrument of struggle from independence and autonomy from the West. In its advanced stages of development, Chinese higher education can offer to the world of higher education a vision of the nation whose goal is to gradually become an educational superpower. Using the path of the Western universities, China the only country of BRICS which actually incorporates the values of traditional China, such as Confusion values, into its policy development. This is why it can be concluded that China teaches the world of education to maintain aspects of old traditions of education, while incorporation the new practices of modern global education. Finally, the South African contribution to the world of global higher education is based on a vision of changing of the direction of the domination of western knowledge in the system of higher education,

a postcolonial ideal, bringing on board new streams of local knowledge into the university curriculum.

In this respect, all the BRICS can offer a *potential* alternative to the WCU, one which respects tradition, acknowledges and rejects certain influences, and ultimately moulds modern western methods of globalized higher education into a model which is more suitable for the higher education sectors of non-Western nations. Without any doubt, this research opens up major opportunities for further discussion of the future of global higher education. Higher education in BRICS countries should be studied from the position of the decolonization of knowledge and changing of the university curriculum; incorporating local education traditions into national policymaking, such as the Confucian tradition of 'deduction' in China. Moreover, a more enhanced discussion on the influence of global standards and trends upon regional policy-making is required, for if the universities of the BRICS nations are destined to achieve a world-class status, one must ask what socio-political transformations would follow from this, and whether or not this could have any impact on the global world order.

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