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THE ROLE OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT -- A CASE STUDY OF THE CANADA/CHINA UNIVERSITY LINKAGE PROGRAM

BY

JULIA NAI-RONG PAN

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, GRADUATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

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DEDICATION

Whatever is of value in this dissertation is dedicated to the men and women who have devoted their energy and imagination to improving the understanding amongst people working towards international collaboration in the university:

This work is also a loving gift for my mother's 70th birthday. My mother, the most tranquil and reassuring physician I have ever known, used to say: "it is a true blessing if a woman can still concentrate on books after the age of thirty."
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to all those people who responded to my research questionnaires, who gave time for interviews, who made suggestions regarding the topic, I wish to record a heartfelt appreciation to a number of special people, without whose guidance and support, this thesis would not have taken shape.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Ruth Hayhoe, my thesis supervisor and academic mentor for her unfailing support and guidance in my pursuit. Her scholarship, leadership and warm personality will be a permanent inspiration to my life.

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I also wish to express my deep appreciation to Professor Cicely Watson for her careful guidance and meticulous attention to the analysis and presentation of the data.

Sincere appreciation is also due to Dr. George Geis and Dr. Ian Winchester for their academic inspiration and their warm encouragement from the very beginning of my Ph.D. journey.

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I also owe special thanks to Mrs. Margaret Toth, a devoted OISE alumnus, who proofread this thesis. In addition, there have been many special people in my home department, the Higher Education Group, who truly made my Ph.D. journey very rewarding.
Finally, I wish to acknowledge the encouraging interest and support to my study given by AUCC and CIDA, especially Mr. Valdemar Larsen and Dr. Paul McGinnis as well as their Chinese counterparts.

Last but most deeply, I am grateful to my parents, Dr. Peter Zu-De Pan, my father, and Dr. Rosie Yan Tang, my mother, for their unconditional love, as well as to my sister Annie and brother Paul for their permanent care and support. I thank them for the warm breezes they have constantly brought me from California in all these years.
The Role of Canadian Universities in International Development -- A Case Study of the Canada/China University Linkage Program

Doctor of Philosophy, 1996
Julia Nai-Rong Pan
Graduate Department of Education
University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

The role of Canadian universities in International Development (I.D.) is currently a subject of intense study and debate as universities redefine their place in contemporary society. The purpose of this study is to identify the nature and scope of international development undertakings of universities, and to reflect on the impact of these activities on the university's aims, policies, priorities and academic programs.

Following an historical review of the marked trend over the past 25 years of increasing involvement in I.D., the results of a survey of contemporary Canadian universities and their involvement in I.D. are presented and analyzed. This is followed by a case study of the Canada-China University Linkage Program. The case study is further enriched by the inclusion of a survey of 31 Chinese project directors, as well as the findings from interviews with involved personnel in government agencies and universities in both countries.

The data gathered through questionnaires and interviews are examined in the light of a recognized body of development theory, that of the World Order Models Project. Leading scholars associated with the Project, Johann Galtung and Ali A. Mazrui, suggested a framework for knowledge transfer in the international context, which has proven valuable to this thesis.

The major findings of the thesis show a great increase in university participation in I.D. throughout Canada. From a widely scattered, uncoordinated, uneven number of activities, usually
generated by individual faculty members, the picture has changed to collective participation by all Canadian universities, facilitated by special international development units within the institution, by the International Division of the AUCC and by a growing sense of the value of such work to the university's traditional mandate. The process is further accelerated by the general move in higher education towards internationalization and globalization.

Though there has been a great increase in the amount of activity, this has not always been matched by full commitment on the part of the university to recognizing and rewarding ID as a priority area of faculty activity.

The case study of the Canada-China University Linkage Program in this thesis provides a concrete picture of both the successes and the problems that have been experienced by universities in Canada and China through their involvement in this extensive project of international collaboration. The World Order Models Theory provides a framework for measuring how far mutual benefits have been achieved and what further challenges lie ahead as universities become more and more international in their orientation.
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<td>CBIE</td>
<td>Canada Bureau of International Education</td>
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<td>CCCLP</td>
<td>Canada-China College Linkage Program</td>
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<td>CCMEP</td>
<td>Canada-China Management Education Program</td>
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<td>CIDA</td>
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<td>CPUDP</td>
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Canadian universities have been involved in international development undertakings for decades, and are increasingly involved in a variety of projects, programs and linkages designed for development assistance to Third World countries. Within the last two decades, many Canadian universities have established distinct administrative units to coordinate, and extend the diverse forms of international development work of their institutions. This increase in activity provides the reason for this study: to identify the scope and nature of university international development undertakings, and to determine their significance and value to Canadian universities.

To understand these activities better, it is necessary to trace the history of Canadian university involvement in international development over the past twenty-five years, the period of greatest growth. Activities have grown from several isolated projects by a small number of universities, usually developed by individuals and departments, to a large number of projects, covering a wide range of subjects, involving many agencies, not only the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) or the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), and coordinated by special offices within the university. What spurred this development? Was it a response to demands from developing countries? Was it stimulated by aid agencies in Canada or elsewhere? Was it part of the universities’ growing awareness of international
opportunities for research, service and teaching? Was it because local and national research funding was declining?

The hallmark document on Canadian international development assistance, "Sharing our Future: Canadian International Development Assistance" published by CIDA (1987a), emphasized three major themes in Canada’s international development assistance strategy: better program delivery, increased partnership between Canadian institutions and their counterparts in the Third World, and reaching out to Canadians to inform them more fully about development in general and the opportunities for involvement in the development process.

In this document, Human Resource Development (HRD) was held to be of fundamental importance in the new strategy. The development of people was to be the first priority. Since developing countries need competent, well-trained and well educated people to develop social and economic programs, universities and colleges were seen to play an important international role (CIDA, 1987: 36). It was believed that Canadian universities' contribution was essential to success in international HRD assistance.

In another government document "Canadian International Development Assistance: To Benefit a Better World" published in September 1987, the basic consensus of government and universities was made clear: "the most effective role for Canadian universities is in human resource development." (Department of External Affairs, 1987: 36)

This thesis will examine one such program -- The Canada/China University Linkages Program (CCULP), which is the largest ongoing higher education program in CIDA's history. It has involved 31 institutions in each country and 44 joint projects in total over a time span of seven years from 1988 to 1995. CCULP is an umbrella program established in 1988 shortly after the
announcement of the new Canadian aid strategy in *Sharing Our Future*. The strategy rested on four fundamental priorities: the alleviation of poverty, a focus on development priorities, the strengthening of the human and institutional capacities of developing countries and the fostering of partnerships (AUCC, 1990: 1). Clearly it was the last two points that were being addressed by the CCULP.

The CCULP also responded directly to China’s development priorities, including an interest in strengthening its higher education institutions and establishing partnerships for development. The Chinese leadership was convinced that a developing country’s educational institutions had to be strengthened if people were to develop the capacity to help themselves. CCULP, therefore, was seen by both parties as a major mechanism by which Canadian universities could use their expertise, and foster international partnerships, and Chinese institutions could realize their goals.

The CCULP was not designed as a simple one-way transfer of knowledge, but rather as a means of developing relationships and ensuring an exchange which would enrich both partners. It sought to strengthen Chinese universities and their affiliated research institutes and teaching hospitals, primarily through the training of key personnel. Since the stated purpose for all linkages was to develop constructive, mutually beneficial, and sustainable relationships between the partners, the question must be raised: Can a true partnership and mutual beneficial exchange be successfully promoted in an ‘aid’ program?

The project already has a long list of accomplishments and achievements to date. Many Chinese have been brought to Canadian universities and been trained in various professions. New courses, new publications, even new departments have been created in universities of both countries. Administrators and government officials of each country have
benefited from exposure to the world of international co-operation and development. However, it remains to be seen what the lasting effect of these activities will be.

There are several doctoral theses produced in recent years which examined Sino-Western scholarly communication, including the educational aid to Chinese higher education from the West, as well as the progress of Canadian universities towards internationalization.

Zhong's (1992) study "China's Participation in the World Community: a Study of Chinese Scholarly Communication" examined Sino-Western scholarly communication by looking at both China's domestic and international patterns of scholarly exchanges. Guided by "Centre-Periphery" and "World Order Models Project" theories, the author emphasized that the pattern of "centres" and peripheries" exists in both international and Chinese domestic scholarly contexts, and is also reflected in the imbalance between natural sciences and social sciences and humanities. Zhong identified a number of new trends in the recent development of scholarship and knowledge dissemination in China, namely: 1) the emphasis on developing high-tech and frontier natural science programs in prestigious institutions; 2) a growing governmental need for interdisciplinary research that would guide policy making to deal with increasingly complex social phenomena in the current "transitional period"; 3) the need for China to integrate into the international community by catching up with "international standards" (Zhong, 1992: 36).

Song (1994), looked at the different effects of educational aid from the World Bank and the Canadian International Development Agency on Chinese higher education, focusing on four major issues: 1) the effects of foreign assistance on Chinese higher education; 2) the importance of implementation
mechanisms; 3) the impact of world politics on China projects, and 4) China's selection and application of Western knowledge. The impact of human resource development efforts on the increase in Chinese higher education capacity in the last decade was discussed. The study also indicated that China, in its present "transitional period", is fully aware of the change in the world political climate and the advantages of its own fast-growing economy, and is ready to engage and participate with new confidence in international academic relations.

Knight (1994) examined the internationalization of Canadian universities from an administrative and governance point of view, and suggested frameworks for the institutionalization of internationalization for Canadian higher education institutions. The study concluded that for those universities committed to integrating an international dimension into their institutional culture and system, and into their teaching, research and service functions, both innovation and institutionalization were essential for success (Knight, 1994: 132).

The purpose of this study is to determine how and in what ways CCULP exemplified the international role of the contemporary Canadian university. This study should contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of the development of linkages between Canadian universities and their Third World counterparts. Its findings should indicate how future linkages may be further strengthened by strategies of partnership and mutuality.

1.2. Research Objectives

In her report Canadian Universities and International Development, the first comprehensive study of the involvement of Canadian universities in
development, Walmsley (1970) pointed out that, despite recent expansion in
university development work, and early attempts to clarify and advance the
role of universities in international development, few concrete advances had
been made in establishing formal university policies to deal with development
activities. She urged "the need for consideration of international co-operation
as a concept, calling for a comprehensive and integrated approach" at the
individual campus level and the collective academic community level
(Walmsley, 1970:i). This thesis will examine the reasons for the expansion of
international development activities at Canadian universities, and the scope
and nature of these initiatives. It will analyze their strengths and weaknesses
and attempt to determine their value to the Canadian universities involved
and to their partners.

In focusing on CCULP as an extended case history and as a learning
experience for Canadian universities in managing cross-cultural linkages, the
following questions will be explored through the study:

(1) What does the Canadian university community understand of the
nature and objectives of development aid? Does it perceive its involvement in
international development work as relevant to its role as a modern
university?

(2) How do the international development policies of Canadian
government agencies influence and determine the international development
work of Canadian universities?

(3) Have the linkages established between universities and colleges in
China and in Canada had the effect of strengthening the institutions involved
in both countries and improving their capacity to incorporate new knowledge,
new experience and new technology? Will such programs enhance the
traditional functions of teaching, research and public service?
(4) In the case of CCULP, can sustainability and institutional growth be developed through these linkages? Once the linkages have been established what is the prognosis for their future? In other words, what is the long term institutional benefit for both sides?

(5) What specific learning has occurred among academics and administrators in both countries through CCULP linkages about the sharing of knowledge across cultures? Can these "lessons learned" be generalized for application to similar programs as principles and guidelines?

1.3. Significance of the Study

This study has special relevance to higher education in Canada and to international relations generally. With the very rapid growth of joint international projects and programs, Canadian universities have been preoccupied with redefining their role to include the international component, while aid agencies have been trying to determine how best to make use of the considerable resources the universities represent. There is public criticism of the efficiency and effectiveness of international aid activities. There is also uncertainty from the university's side about the academic and scholarly value of those activities. Meanwhile, internationalization and globalization are developing rapidly and include the sharing and transfer of knowledge. This makes it crucial for Canadian universities to define their role in this increasingly complex and competitive area.

This study should also be of value to Chinese universities and to such agencies as the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation (MOFTEC) and the State Education Commission (SEdC). It should help them determine the kinds of linkages which prove to be of most value to Chinese universities in terms of China's priorities. It should help Chinese institutions
to design projects that meet their own needs, and not merely accept the suggestions and react to the needs of foreign universities.

Perhaps more profoundly, the study can throw some light on the broad question of how best to share knowledge across cultures. Specifically, how can Chinese institutions of higher education take advantage of Western history and its tradition of values and ideas, along with its needed technology, without weakening the valuable structures of their own knowledge system and its traditions? How closely should the Chinese university copy Western models, methods, and roles? What alternatives should the modern Chinese university consider as it develops? Many of the successful projects of CCULP resulted from good sense, cultural sensitivity and mutual collaboration, as well as proven development principles. This thesis will highlight these projects and provide the opportunity to review these principles and practices so that they might be understood and incorporated in future activities.

1.4. Theoretical Rationale for the Study

The three bodies of literature which serve as the theoretical base for the thesis are reviewed in the next chapter. Here it will be sufficient to refer to them briefly. The first one conveys the historical background and describes the current roles of Canadian universities in international development. The second part of literature focuses on the issue of higher education and social change -- the modern university as a cultural institution, as a knowledge institution, as a trainer of skills and a service agency, and its current extension into an international role. The third part discusses writers who comment on international academic relations and particularly, on World Order Theory. It refers to conceptions of the structure and dynamics of the interaction of nations and other actors around the world. The nature and relationship of higher
education and human resource development from the perspectives of the West, the Third World and of China will be considered in terms of theories of international academic relations and scholarly communication.

World Order Theory not only emphasizes 'power' as an explanatory factor but views power relationships as determinants at both a national and a global level. This school considers the inequitable structural constraints that exist within the global system, permitting investigation into diverse types of actors (local, national and international). The 'world order' approach, therefore, is instructive in relating national and international levels of the production of knowledge and also the trans-national transmission of knowledge. It captures the dynamic of academic relations between the Third World and world centres, while allowing for the development of generalizations about the political, economic, and educational constraints created by the international system upon exchange and linkage patterns.

Much of the critical writing on educational aid to date has focused on the operation of a "knowledge system" which delegitimizes Third World knowledge and, therefore, ensures a concentration of knowledge and knowledge industries within the countries of the West and inhibits the development of the indigenous knowledge of the periphery (Altbach 1977, 1981; Weiler 1984). Yet this literature also argues that knowledge, education, and technology have a positive role to play, integrating the world in ways that allow global structural transformation to take place. While the linkage of knowledge with power is commonly perceived within the world system, the choices made by various nations in terms of how to gain and increase knowledge capabilities differ. Policy makers in each nation make unique decisions about how to define immediate national needs, who will be educated, which level or fields of education will be emphasized and at what cost. There is
evidence that historical and cultural orientations have a persistent impact on such choices and priorities, and international educational exchange programs can also influence them.

The theoretical framework used for this study draws from both lines of argument. It aims to illuminate the position of Canadian Human Resource Development (HRD) assistance within a complex and evolving global system characterized by patterns of domination and exploitation. Yet it also maintains that there can be positive forms of HRD assistance. In the context of international academic relations and exchanges, the thesis participates in the theoretical debate about dependency theories (Altbach, 1981 & 1987; Galtung, 1980; Weiler, 1980) and counterpenetration theories (Hayhoe, 1989; Mazrui, 1975) from a Canadian perspective, using a case study of the CCULP as a main vehicle for discussion.

1.5. Research Design

Given the focus of the study, which was to examine and identify the role of Canadian universities in international development and use a case study for purposes of illustration, the thesis research was both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The quantitative part included a summary of scholarly exchanges and joint research projects, and two surveys conducted in the Canadian university setting and in Chinese institutions participating in the Canada-China University Linkages Program. The qualitative part was based on documentary analysis, field observation, and interviews with project planners, administrators of executing agencies, project coordinators and participants in the linked institutions in Canada and China. Open-ended interviews were used to establish an understanding of the way in which the players perceived the purpose of the linkage programs and their roles as participants.
A case study approach has been employed to examine the impact of Canadian aid policy in the field of human resource development, and to explore the potential role of Canadian universities in a changing world system in future. Case studies, as Yin has suggested, are useful when “a ‘how’ or ‘why’ question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control.” (Yin, 1984)

In this case study of CCULP, which explores the delivery and impact of HRD aid in a higher education institutional context, data has been collected in order to build an argument about the nature and impact of Canadian HRD assistance on institutional capacity building for both Chinese and Canadian universities.

In the field of public policy analysis, the taxonomy provided by Fischer (1980) has proved to be useful. He proposes three levels of inquiry. These have been modified to make them applicable to this study.

1. Empirical research concerned with whether the policy achieves its stated goals. In this case, the research focused on the goals of CIDA’s human resources development assistance programs and explored their actual impact on university policies and activity.

2. Exploration of the Normative Policy Framework. In this case, the research investigated how CIDA’s HRD assistance policies were related to a higher set of principles and objectives, and how these suited the ideological framework of Canadian and Chinese universities.

3. Debate over the validity and desirability of the social system itself. In this case, the research questions the long range future for “institutional development” in Canadian and Chinese higher education in the context of the current world system.
Hayhoe, reflecting on non-imperialistic models for educational co-operation from a World Order Models perspective, suggests that a series of 'alternative values' can be used as guidelines for institutional linkages. In her words, which are drawn from Galtung's framework, these alternative values are introduced and explained as follows:

**Equity** suggests aims and forms of organization that are reached through full mutual agreement. **Autonomy** suggests a respect for the theoretical perspectives rooted in peripheral culture that would require center participants to gain a thorough knowledge of this culture. **Solidarity** suggests forms of organization that encourage maximum interaction among peripheral participants and growing links between them and their fellow researchers. **Participation** intimates an approach to knowledge that does not stratify in a hierarchical way but assumes the possibility of a creative peripheral contribution from the very beginning. (Hayhoe, 1986: 535)

Keeping these three frames in mind, this thesis explored the level of Canadian universities' commitment to, and participation in international development, and the forms of Canada-China scholarly exchange programs. To make sense of this evolving phenomenon requires a sound theoretical framework that will provide a basis for describing, explaining, and anticipating the pattern of this participation. The author found that the above models and concepts drawn from international academic relations and political science proved useful.

1.5.1. Data Collection

The research had three phases. The first involved documentary analysis and interviews. A review was conducted of government and university development assistance policies and their interrelation, using available policy
statements and the historical record. It was essential also to obtain the views of people having experience and expertise in university international development work (such as international liaison officers and the directors of international offices or centres in Canadian universities, who are in key positions to implement the university's international mission and to direct the university's contribution to international development work).

Therefore, a survey questionnaire was designed and, after a pilot test, was sent to all Canadian universities which have been involved in international development activities. The intent was to explore some of the larger issues related to Canadian universities' work in the field of international development as a background for the specific focus of the thesis on the examination of the CCULP as a case study.

The third phase, following the survey, was the study of CCULP itself. This involved documentary analysis, site visits, a survey and interviews. A project evaluation survey was designed in the Chinese language for Chinese project directors and was distributed at the Chinese Project Directors' Meeting which the author attended in Nanjing, China, in October 1993. All the survey questions were posed in an open ended way to elicit feedback on Chinese perspectives of issues from program design, management and operations to outcomes. Follow-up interviews were then conducted in order to explore in greater depth the perceived goals and effectiveness of the projects.

It is important to recognize that this study focused not only on identifying the perceptions of Canadian university and government agency personnel about the nature and role of Canadian universities in development assistance projects, but also on examining the perceptions of their Chinese counterparts. By obtaining a picture of the partnership from both sides, the researcher could judge the degree of equality and mutuality that was achieved,
as well as viewpoints on how far institutional strengthening was achieved by both sides. The personal meetings and local research in China were an invaluable part of the research. This was effected through visits to key people and institutions in China (The Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, the State Education Commission, the Canadian Embassy and Chinese project directors).

Since the purpose of this research was to obtain both Western and Chinese views on the significance and value of the universities' participation in international development and CCULP, the author conducted 22 interviews with personnel from all involved parties. The interviewees could be divided into two main categories: a) administrative personnel from the funding and executing agencies of CIDA and AUCC in Canada, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation and State Education Commission in China; b) project directors from the participating Canadian and Chinese universities. Interviews were also held with the CCULP project monitor who had visited all projects, meeting with participants in China as well as in Canada. It was expected that his views would be more 'arms length' and objective than those of the persons involved in the actual operation of the projects. In terms of the nationalities of the interviewees, there were 13 Chinese and 9 Canadians (See Appendix C).

1.6. Outline of the Thesis

Chapter I has provided some background on the research topic, the scope and nature of the study, the major theoretical bases and the research methodology. It has also given a general outline of the thesis. Chapter II presents the theoretical rationale in more detail, reviewing the literature.
which provides the framework and analytical tools for the study. Chapter III begins with a review of the historical record showing the international work of Canadian universities in the recent two decades and then elaborates on the current roles of Canadian higher education institutions. Survey data on the development of Canadian universities' international programs are presented and analyzed.

In Chapter IV, the focus shifts to higher education development in China, and its growing participation in international academic exchange and collaboration since 1980s. Particular attention is paid to the current context and needs of Chinese universities as they become increasingly involved in an international academic community. Both plus and minus factors are identified -- the driving force for development activities, and the barriers preventing Chinese universities from being equal participants in the world academic community. Current reform issues in Chinese higher education are discussed in the context of the present transition from a planned economy to a socialist market economy, and the implication this holds for higher education development.

Chapter V is the case study of the Canada-China University Linkage Program. Through examining the nature and origin of the program, looking at the projects' design and implementation, and reviewing "lessons learned", the author ascertains how, in the case of CCULP, sustainability and organizational support were developed. The question of future linkages is also explored.

Chapter VI reports the responses of Chinese project directors to the survey made and highlights Chinese perspectives on the CCULP. The last part of the chapter is a theoretical account of the author's intellectual journey occasioned by this study. The literature on internationalization is re-visited and the case study is discussed in such a way as to assess the relevance of the
theories. This theoretical discussion is followed by the concluding Chapter VII, which contains a summary of the findings of the thesis, and identifies emerging principles and future prospects.

Finally, one always needs to be aware that China is not just another Third World country. It must be seen as a distinct and separate case because of its size, complexity and its unique historical traditions and culture. It needs to be understood in and for itself, even though in some ways it can be regarded as part of the developing world. In short, it is best appreciated as a special case.
CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL RATIONALE AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Those who search for international order are faced with the prior necessity of discovering a common discourse -- a way of talking meaningfully across international boundaries and cultures. Are there notions, ideas and ideals which can serve today as the basis for an international community? And are there institutions and instruments capable of disseminating and refining such notions, ideas and ideals?

In addition to being repositories and developers of universally accepted knowledge, universities must be catalysts of multinational and multicultural understanding where intellectual and aesthetic agreements are not secure. These considerations lead to a major question, directed specifically at universities and other higher education institutions in developed countries: to what extent can university scholars, in addition to being professionally competent in their particular field, learn to set aside their own cultural biases and economic and technical preconceptions, and work hand in hand with their counterparts in developing countries towards finding appropriate solutions to important problems within the realistic economic and cultural context of the developing countries themselves?

This literature review has drawn on four areas of relevant work. First is the literature on Human Capital Theory and Educational Expansion for National Development which is the theoretical base for the Canadian foreign aid policy of assisting human resource development. Second is the outline of some international relations theories which may assist us both to understand the operation of international academic relations and to consider how these relations might be transformed by appropriate individual intervention and
initiative. The third part of the theory focuses on the role of the modern university in national and international development as a cultural institution, a knowledge institution and a service agency, the multiple functions of modern higher education institutions. Fourthly, the current literature on the internationalization of higher education and some existing models for understanding international educational exchanges are reviewed.

2.1. Human Capital Theory and Educational Expansion for National Development

The theory of human capital was first voiced by Theodore W. Schultz (1961) in his presidential address -- "Investment in Human Capital" -- to the 1960 annual conference of the American Economic Association (Sobel, 1978: 54) In this address, Schultz laid down its fundamental concepts, by stating:

Much of what we call consumption constitutes investment in human capital. Direct expenditures on education, (and other forms of human capital formation) ... [are] widespread and ...unrecorded. In these ... the quality of human effort can be greatly improved and its productivity enhanced ... Knowledge and skill are in great part the product of investment and, combined with other human investment, predominantly account for the productive superiority of the technically advanced countries (Sobel, 1978: 34).

In the address, he continued to elaborate on the correlation between differences in individual and national earnings and differences in the quality of human capital. Specifying five categories of human investment, he contended that investment in formal education was the key investment that had led to economic growth in the United States. He pointed out," Investment in education has risen at a rapid rate and by itself may well account for a substantial part of the otherwise unexplained rise in earnings. ...both the magnitude and the rate of increase of this form of human capital (formal
education) ... could be an important key to the riddle of economic growth (Sobel, 1978: 129, 320).

Concerning developing and underdeveloped countries, Schultz’s conclusion was,

...Countries are poor fundamentally because they are starved for capital and that additional capital is truly the key to their more rapid economic growth. ... the optimum rate of investment which treats knowledge and skill as a critical investment variable in determining the rate of economic growth, is both relevant and important (Sobel, 1978: 317).

To sum up, Schultz’s message was simply that expenditure on education should be viewed as a productive investment rather than an expensive item of consumption; through it, the productivity of workers could be improved; also the earnings of individual workers could be enhanced, and a more productive technical base be formed, from which economic development could be achieved. Since non-industrial countries lack the knowledge and skills required to apply and make efficient use of the superior techniques of production, emphasis on educational investment must be considered important if they wish to attain economic development.

Blaug contends that underlying human capital theory are several preconceptions which form themselves into a “human capital chain.” In this chain, schooling is linked to productivity and productivity to earnings (Sobel, 1978: 66). Through schooling, according to this view, the productivity of individual workers can be improved, and thus their earnings can also be raised. Collectively these workers will form a technically productive workforce that will enhance national economic growth. Therefore, education, it is asserted, has economic benefits for individuals and the nation; the former enjoy higher earnings and the latter economic growth measured by increased national income and other indicators. It also presumes that equality of
educational opportunities will automatically result from expansion of the school system. Given equal opportunity to obtain education, it is argued, the poor and the disadvantaged will be provided the opportunity and means to social and economic mobility. So educational expansion is viewed not only as a policy which will enhance national economic development, but one which narrows social inequalities in the nation concerned.

Broad societal goals -- such as desired upward mobility, greater income equality and rising living standards -- that underlie the human capital theory, are also decisive for expanding the educational systems of the developing economies (Sobel, 1978: 62-63). The simplistic popular notion of "more education, higher incomes" led individuals to hope for subsequent upward economic and social mobility and a consequent narrowing of social disparities. Therefore, the expansion of educational opportunities was seen by many advocates in the West and governments in the Third World as both a means of fostering economic development and an avenue to enhance social equality.

2.1.1. Technological-functionalism: Technical Aspects of Education and Economic Development

Human Capital Theory is based upon notions of technological functionalism and a technocratic meritocracy (Fagerlind and Saha, 1983: 17). According to functionalists, society is a structural-functional system within which individual institutions have their own roles and functions. These institutions are integrated and inter-related with each other within systems and among systems. This provides a state of stability and maintains equilibrium. The economy can be viewed as a set of functional institutions, which provides a hierarchy of jobs and positions requiring different kinds of skills, knowledge and credentials. The formal education system is another
functional institution. Through it cognitive and technical skills, knowledge, understanding, traditions, and personal characteristics needed by workers are transmitted and developed. Therefore, from this standpoint, the major function of education is to train and prepare members of society to fit into various positions at various levels of the social system.

Since the 1950s technological-functionalism has had a great impact upon the choice of national developmental strategies by Third World countries. By assuming that technological advancement and industrial innovation are the only means to achieving economic development, technological-functionalism envisages all societies progressing along a unilinear developmental path. Following this logic, developmental projects with heavy injections of physical capital and advanced technology from the industrially advanced countries have been assigned a crucial importance in the developmental strategies of developing societies. Their governments hope to emulate the growth of Western economies, especially in the modern-industrial sector, by importing advanced technology and industrial management. Moreover, they are urged to model their economic and occupational structures on those of advanced industrialized countries. However, the expected accelerated rates of economic growth in less developed countries frequently have failed to materialize. The failure usually has been explained as resulting from failure fully to utilize the externally provided capital, managerial and equipment inputs. This, in turn, is seen as due to the inadequacy of the local labour force. Therefore, the argument is made for further expansion of the educational system to produce more highly qualified personnel and also to improve the general quality of manpower. The argument is made that these are necessary preconditions for economic development in Third World countries.
2.1.2. The Definition of Human Resource Development

The term Human Resource Development (HRD) is borrowed from the discipline of economics. Paralleling the emergence of human capital theory in the early 1960s, it became a cliché of macro-economic-policy planning, referring usually to policies and activities designed to achieve higher worker productivity via increased investments in education and training. In a market economy, once the surplus manpower has been made more skilled (and more employable) government relies on the private (corporate) sector to create jobs and market mechanisms to attract labour. In planned economies, on the other hand, once the highly qualified manpower is produced, appropriate economic policies must be adopted to ensure their efficient allocation to different sectors. Thus HRD involves not only the goal of development, but also the allocation of labour and manpower, in Mehmet’s terms, the direction of human resources to occupations, industries and regions (Mehmet, 1988: 2).

In defining Human Resource Development in the Canadian aid context, Mundy (1993) indicated two broad usages within CIDA: 1) HRD as the development of human capital. This broadest definition would include health, nutrition, education and other basic needs oriented activities. HRD would essentially be equivalent to social development as the latter is used within the agency. 2) HRD as education and technical cooperation. Here HRD is seen as education and training and other skill and knowledge transfer activities, including the provision of Canadian expertise to assist developing countries.

The institutional unfolding of HRD in the above locations led to three distinct connotations for HRD within CIDA: it was a developmental philosophy which promoted the idea of giving people the capacity to help themselves; a program strategy focusing on high level training and the
promotion of Canadian knowledge services; and an organizing concept which embraced disparate programming issues (gender, population, health, education, technical assistance) under the aegis individual and institutional learning (Mundy, 1993: 23-24).

Although the term "HRD" made its appearance in CIDA as an abstract developmental philosophy, it was simultaneously becoming the focus of international development practice in the early 1980s. The initial projects to be labeled "human resource development" in CIDA appeared in the early 1980s in Asia Branch. Program staff in the China and the Indonesia program found themselves responding to well-formulated requests from recipient governments for "human resource development assistance". Very specific types of inputs were required -- high level skills training, foreign expertise -- all geared towards making the two countries competitive in the global capitalist economy (Country Program, CIDA, 1987c).

For the purposes of this study, a narrower definition of HRD has been adopted, that of CIDA: "[HRD is] the process of developing individual, group and institutional capacities for self-sustained learning, generation of technology and implementation of development activities." (CIDA, 1991a: 9) Moreover, the concept of HRD in this case study is limited to high-level and skilled manpower. In addition, this study refers to the cross-cultural transfer and exchange of knowledge and skills through higher education institutions.

2.1.3. Human Resource Development and Canadian Aid Policy

The policies pursued by Canada's aid agencies (both official and NGO) largely reflect current international theories, adjusted to respond to Canada's particular regional, commercial and security interests, as well as its traditional relationships with the Commonwealth and the United States. "The pursuit of
Canadian economic interests has become the predominant concern of those who shape policies on North-South issues ..." (Pratt, 1989: 63). The evolution of Canadian aid policies has followed changes in the world of international development assistance. Even the choice of terminology in the HRD sector, such as "education and training", "technical assistance", and "human resources development" over the past three decades has closely paralleled the policy language of the World Bank.

With the establishment of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) as a Crown Corporation in 1968, on the basis of what had been a division for Foreign Aid within the Department of External Affairs, and the founding of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in 1970, the prominent role which international aid was expected to play in Canadian foreign policy was confirmed. In the opening statement of a 1970 white paper entitled "Foreign Policy for Canadians" (External Affairs, 1970), the first of a long series of references to Canada's tradition of responsibility in the field of human resource development can be found:

The Canadian development assistance program has historically placed considerable emphasis on the provision of technical assistance to the developing countries as a means of transferring knowledge and expertise

... a well designed and balanced development assistance program should include sufficient technical assistance, education and training components to increase the "absorptive" capacity of the developing countries. (External Affairs, 1970: 13-15).

Canadian foreign policy during the period of the inception of the Canadian International Development Agency (1968) was marked by a strong sense of Canada's role as a middle power. The goals of ensuring global peace and stability and extending Canada's basic values (particularly those related to the redistribution of wealth through social services) beyond its own borders have represented Canada's aid policies. These goals characterize what Pratt calls
"humane internationalism." They were nurtured under the leadership of Prime Minister Lester Pearson. Such values evolved during a period when there was no conflict perceived between Canada’s interests and those of the developing world. Canada’s long range economic interest as an affluent middle power, an exporter of primary products (wheat, lumber, meat, fish, metals) was dependent on the maintenance of international stability and economic liberalism to sustain its economy (Pratt 1989).

The concept of "humane internationalism" is important in understanding the determinants of official development assistance policy in Canada. It is useful for explaining the factors which account for the specific evolution of CIDA’s human resource development goals. Pratt believes that the concept of a mutuality of interest between Canada and the Third World, and of Canada’s international responsibilities, that was nurtured during the Pearson era, has become a fixed feature of the Canadian identity (Pratt, 1989). A growing number of non-governmental organizations have persistently lobbied government agencies like CIDA, and in recent years they have played a significantly expanded role in shaping CIDA policy and in being employed to implement policy. The growth of Canadian 'experts' on aid to specific countries and aid by different kinds of technical projects also attests to Canada’s commitment to development goals. The North-South Institute interprets this long-standing support as evidence of the commitment of the Canadian public. It sees the increasing willingness of CIDA to consult with such groups as evidence of their influence on the policy making process (North-South Institute, 1987/88).

It also needs to be noticed that traces of the tension between the humanitarian and the self interest goals of Canadian overseas aid policy have been constantly evident in the past two decades. Although the 1975 aid strategy
document “Strategy for International Development Cooperation” (CIDA, 1975) reaffirmed Canada's commitment to increasing its support for multilateral institutions, and reducing the levels of tied aid, these policy objectives were not translated into action. With the economic crisis of the late 1970s, the continuing instability of the Canadian economy throughout the 1980s, the prolonged recession of the 1990s with its high unemployment rate and high levels of public debt, the growing government concern about Canada's international competitiveness, and increased pressure from the business community to make aid serve national economic interests, any return to humane internationalism have been thwarted. For example, *For Whose Benefit?* (House of Commons 1987) seemed critical of the changed policy trends. This was also reflected in the government publications *Sharing Our Future* (CIDA, 1987), and *To Benefit a Better World* (Department of External Affairs, 1987). But each year since publishing these documents, budget cuts have been imposed which made it virtually impossible for CIDA to restructure its programs in the manner these documents proposed.

The 1987 parliamentary committee, chaired by William Winegard, in its report *For Whose Benefit?* advocated greater emphasis on human resource development at the basic level, and a modest expansion of Canadian Overseas Development Assistance (ODA). It suggested the target of an increase to 0.6 percent of GNP for ODA for 1995 (Mcaulister, 1988). Still, in 1989, only the smallest portion of Canadian aid was reaching the poorest of the poor. Canada ranked eleven of the thirteen industrialized donor countries studied by the UNDP in terms of the percentage of its aid which was allocated to primary health care and basic education in recipient countries (Mundy, 1993). And a surprisingly large fraction of the total ODA budget had been earmarked for public relations and communication or information activities.
By the mid 1990s the main HRD expenditures were flowing into growing programs of high level training and technical assistance. This pattern seems to mirror the domestic trends of a number of Western countries, which face uncertainty about the global economic future. Debate has increasingly centred on the rationale of the link between education, the development of high level human resources and sustainable economic growth. The question about the efficiency of using higher educational investment as a tool for global competitiveness is constantly a public concern.

2.2. Academic Relations in a Global Context

Two facets of the university’s international role can be identified, based on the nature of the university itself. First to be considered is the university’s political-economic role as a cultural institution within the national and international orders. Universities of the First and Second Worlds have become increasingly involved in projects, programs and relationships designed to further the development efforts of Third World societies which do not necessarily have similar native academic knowledge traditions. Although the Western university community maintains a commitment to the ideals of university autonomy and academic freedom within its own national contexts, this concern is not always present in the international arena where universities often act as the ‘intellectual arm’ of government or international organizations. This results in relationships that potentially promote patterns of domination and subordination.

The identification of the needs of Third World countries is a major part of effective university development projects. Not only is the identification of needs influenced by the interests of the project funding agency, but also by the
members of the Canadian university involved in the development project, and the Third World participants. While the promotion of Third World development is stated as the primary motivation for Canada's Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), there are many other policy considerations also advanced through Canadian ODA. These include Canadian economic, political, commercial and strategic interests. Canadian universities, by their participation in ODA-funded projects and programs, are seen to be contributing to the overall program of the Canadian federal government. An understanding of the university's role in development, and its effectiveness, must be considered within the broad context of the development relationship defined by federal government funding agencies.

There has been a tremendous faith, shared by most Third World educators and politicians, that formal education is a major instrument for the social and economic development of their countries. Education was not only seen as "the key that unlocks the door to modernization," but was also seen as a "leveler of hardset social inequalities" (Coombs, 1985: 3). The genesis of this tremendous faith came from many sources. Among the most important ones are (i) the contemporary "drive for national development" among Third World countries which has led to an urgent search for a means that could accelerate economic development in their societies; (ii) the changes in developmental thought that emphasized modernization and industrial development and the importance of investment in human capital; (iii) the dominance of the human capital theory in educational thought that provided an analytical framework for the wholesale adoption of educational expansion in the developmental strategies in these developing and less developed countries.
International relations theory provides a clearly defined theoretical base for reflecting on the function of the university in the international political economy. Although much of international relations theory may not include explicit analysis of knowledge institutions and their interaction, more recent paradigms such as World Order Models Theory have begun to directly address issues of cultural dependency.

One important contribution to our understanding of the structure and operation of international academic relations has come from the framework of Dependency Theory which indicates that there are economic centres and peripheries in the world context. This framework has been widely adopted in studies of international knowledge distribution which focus on the colonial or neo-colonial relationship between scholars and scholarship in developed countries of the North (centre) and developing countries of the South (periphery) (Altbach, 1981).

Dependency Theory has also shown that often Third World participants, as foreign-trained and foreign-influenced members of an academic elite, are less likely to be able to work effectively for the development of their societies than might be supposed. As Ali Mazrui has pointed out, Third World universities are "capable of being at once mechanisms of political liberation and agencies of intellectual and cultural dependency" (Mazrui, 1978: 298). Due to their Western-based educational training, the educated elites in the Third World are less likely to be innovative progressive forces within their own countries because they owe their positions and allegiance to the status quo. For example, having learned Western approaches to agricultural problems, and their position within a university depending upon their Western degree, Third World agriculturists might be less likely to seek out and develop indigenous agricultural techniques. Considering the fact that the individuals were probably
already part of an existing social elite, in order to have had the opportunity to study abroad, it is not so likely that they would promote activities that would initiate basic social change.

Secondly, there is a need to identify the special characteristics of international relations that are particular to the nature of knowledge itself. Are non-Western traditions of scholarship able to contribute to the content of international knowledge exchange and development or does the Western academic tradition alone dominate international academic relations, resulting in "knowledge-dependency?" Set within the development assistance framework, are Canadian universities engaged in a vertical one-way flow of knowledge in a donor-recipient relationship where knowledge is 'given' or 'transferred' to Third World universities, or is there a concern for establishing cooperative relationships based on mutually defined goals and shared definitions of knowledge?

A theoretical framework for identifying distinctions between different kinds of knowledge and their inter-relationship would contribute to an understanding of how international academic relations might be based on mutual critical interaction. In order to provide the theoretical framework for discussing the role of the university in international development activities, we will consider the university as a cultural institution and as a knowledge institution.

2.3. Higher Education and Social Change: The Role of the University

2.3.1. International Academic Relations and the Role of the University as a Cultural Institution

Within international relations theory, there are several identifiable conceptions of world order, and models of global organization based on
specified goals. These conceptions of world order are used primarily to describe the complexities of global political and economic interaction and as "problem-defining devices" to identify approaches to problems encountered (McKinley & Little, 1986). The major conceptions of world order include the theories of Realist, Liberal, Socialist and World Order Models Project schools.

For the realist, world order is based on a series of political power checks and balances within an international society composed, at present, of individual sovereign states. The inferiority of politically weak states in relating to the power interests of larger states is seen as an inevitable part of the maintenance of the balance of power. Human Capital Theory in its most technical form fits well into this framework.

McKinley and Little (1986) identify two forms of liberal world order, pure liberalism and compensatory liberalism. Both forms of liberalism are based on capitalism and the promotion and protection of 'negative freedom,' the absence of human interference in the pursuit of economic goals. Pure liberals see the ultimate basic unit of world order not as the nation state or individual, but the global consumer and producer. In this sense, cultural policy may play a role in influencing consumer preference, but protectionist policies aimed at influencing and developing the distinct cultures of nation states are seen as negative to the desired world order. Education and knowledge are seen as commodities to develop inasmuch as they contribute to the capitalist economic order.

Compensatory liberals modify the economic basis of pure liberalism through their concern with equality of opportunity and recognition that some compensatory measures may be necessary to deal with particular imbalances within the global order. Thus greater priority is given to political arrangements over purely economic arrangements to compensate for structural coercion.
(relationships of domination and subordination) at both the individual level and the regional level. In this schemata, distinctions between states and cultures are to be supported and encouraged, but only in so far as they do not conflict with western liberal democratic values. Cultural policies help to reduce inequalities, although they are still based upon western values, mainly the values of capitalism. The international activities of western universities have a significant role to play in the promotion of this 'one-way equalization' by disseminating western-based knowledge and values to the Third World. Local knowledge and traditions are valued only insofar as they can contribute to the capitalist world economy. The more progressive and socially responsive elements of Human Capital Theory fit well in this framework.

Socialist models of world order reject the capitalist base of liberal models as well as the realist emphasis on a balance of power and reciprocity between states. Like the compensatory liberals, socialists identify inequality and domination between states and social groups as being structurally located, that is embedded in the economic, political, social and cultural institutions of society, but call for change in the whole structure, not just compensation. Fundamental structural change is called for to promote co-operation, community and solidarity and to end inequality and alienation.

Marxist socialists focus on economic inequality as the basis of all other inequalities and consider that the Marxist theory of historical materialism provides the key for the transformation of the present capitalist-based order to a socialist one. Thus, within this context, cultural institutions embedded in capitalist social structures, such as the university, can only reflect and reinforce the norms of the existing class structure and class privilege. International academic relations extend these norms from Western universities to the universities of other societies, thus reflecting and contributing to cultural
domination and dependency. The universities are part of a network in which capitalist Third World periphery institutions are tied to the First World metropolis. Knowledge tends to be viewed as a commodity shaping social consciousness, analogous to property and its influence in defining class and class allegiance. There is very limited possibility for knowledge to be transformational in character because it is tied in with the dominating power.

Mazrui, a member of the World Order Models Project, deals directly with the potential of culture for transforming relationships of dependency into mutually interactive ones, converging towards a shared human culture (Mazrui, 1975 b). He identifies two dimensions of dependency -- structural and cultural -- which complicate the development of a shared world culture. Cultural dependency affects two areas of human behavior -- motivation for change and social stratification. Mazrui proposes that through policies to promote greater linguistic and regional representation of cultures at the level of world government organizations, cultural dependency, and subsequently structural dependency, can be reduced.

In his article "The African University as a Multinational Corporation" (1975a), Mazrui explores how African universities are dependent upon western universities for the structuring of disciplines and curricular content and tend to exclude African values and knowledge. The values implicit in the structure of African universities make them dependent upon western universities and result in intellectual and cultural dependency. If these values could be made explicit, it would be possible to work consciously towards redefining the disciplines to include African knowledge and values and eventually counter-penetrate western universities.

Within world order model theory, international academic relations have the potential to either promote or reduce cultural dependency, which in
turn interacts with political, economic and other spheres of dependency. University policy in international activities could then contribute to the modification of dependency relationships towards more mutually interactive ones.

It becomes evident after exploring the above concepts of world order and the role of international academic relations within them that there is considerable divergence. Within the realist and pure liberal contexts, international academic relations do not make significant contributions to the promotion of order. Compensatory liberal theory allows that cultural policy is useful in helping to ensure some cultural equality, but only to the extent that western democratic capitalist values are spread to non-western societies. Marxist-socialist theory limits international academic relations to being largely reflective of international economic relation of domination and subordination. It is left to world order models theory to provide a more open approach to the study of international academic relations and the international development policies of universities.

2.3.2. The Role of the University as a Knowledge Institution

World Order Models theory helps to analyze the role of international academic relations with respect to the international political economy and the patterns of universities as cultural institutions. Yet it lacks the inclusion of the dynamics of knowledge patterns themselves. Without a more careful analysis of knowledge, and the ways in which knowledge is value-implicit, Mazrui’s call for the ‘counter-penetration’ of western universities by universities of the Third World would be impossible.
If knowledge, whether in the form of new information, new technology, or new ideas, is to have beneficial results, it needs to be integrated, assimilated or internalized, either by the individual or the institution, before appropriate action can be taken. Institutions of higher education are expected to be skilled at providing knowledge and information, explaining it, disseminating it and exchanging it. This whole process is related to culture and traditional beliefs; it may in turn exert an influence over and modify prevailing cultural and traditional ideas. Once the period of assimilation and integration has occurred, once the motivation towards action has been heightened, action can take place more readily and with less damage to the system to which it is being introduced.

It would be useful, therefore, to consider some theories which have been developed dealing with the effective transfer of technology and knowledge as a whole. In this thesis, the author would like to assess the Canada-China University Linkages Program according to two theoretical bases.

From the African experience, Mazrui (1978) suggests three categories of knowledge transfer and proposes three strategies for peripheral universities to counter the domination of knowledge from the centre:

a) The Domestication of imported knowledge to make it relevant to the local culture;

b) The Diversification of the knowledge base so that North American and European influences become part of, rather than the only component of, world culture to be introduced;

c) The Counter-penetration by periphery scholars of the central knowledge establishment by nurturing scholarship that is strong enough to give back to as well as take from Western knowledge, resulting in a unique contribution to the world knowledge system.
Galtung (1975) suggests four guiding principles which should inform any international exchange of knowledge, if the dissemination of knowledge is to avoid being imperialistic and oppressive: equity, autonomy, solidarity, and participation. "Equity would suggest interaction patterns that are symmetric and horizontal rather than vertical and imbalanced. Autonomy would envisage a form of scholarly co-operation that stimulates creativity and an independent contribution from peripheral scholars rather than co-opting them to work within the established theoretical frameworks of the centers. Solidarity refers to the development of close cooperative relations among peripheral scholars in one country or region or among peripheries. Participation refers to the full conscious involvement of peripheral researchers in the creative as well as the technical aspects of knowledge production, so that all are equally enriched by the experience." (Hayhoe, 1989: 94). These four principles, when applied to the design, management and objectives of the projects under review here, prove useful in detecting an imperialistic or oppressive bias. These same four principles further enhance institutional strengthening, improving the sense of partnership, and the degree of mutual benefit and mutual control of those concerned.

This framework for knowledge interaction provides a means for defining and analyzing the knowledge content of international academic relations. Together with world order models theory, a framework can be established for studying international academic relations that will take into account both the political-economic role of the university as a cultural institution, and the role of the university as a knowledge institution. A preliminary analysis of Canadian university international development activities with reference to this framework will provide some insight for
defining the issues facing Canadian universities in their involvement in international human resources development.

2.3.3 *The Role of the University as Trainer of Skills and Service Agency*

It was not realized until after World War II how many functions could be combined within a single university -- even apparently inconsistent functions. Particularly, it was not seen how service functions might draw support and money to a university so that it could perform better in advanced teaching and research. As C. Kerr stated "the old system saw too much in unity and cohesion, and too little in pluralism and diversity." Kerr emphasized the point that the university system cannot be separated from the performance of the society that supports it; it is not a thing apart. (Kerr, 1991:75)

Gilpin elaborates upon new dimensions of power, noting that human skills, along with national savings, raw materials and technology, constitute the productive resources of an economy. He also suggests that change in the world system is in part a transition from "energy intensive" industries to "knowledge intensive" industries, and that we are witnessing a transition from the trade of the old industrial era to the far more intricate exchange of the "information economy". He now includes scientific theory and technological development as factors which can either serve as a constraint or a source of opportunity affecting the functioning of international actors, although he adds that the market itself affects and transforms factors such as science and technology (Gilpin, 1987).
2.4. The Internationalization of Higher Education

The internationalization of humankind and of academia is the only way for handling global problems. Since universities are indispensable tools in the world-wide search for survival, they are by definition instruments of global development. The internationalization of higher education needs to be seen in relation to the dual role of the modern university, as a national as well as an international institution. We need to understand the real factors underlying the internationalization of higher education, factors which are favoring it, impeding it, or perverting it. And further, we need to consider its effects and its prospects.

2.4.1. Bases of the Internationalization of Higher Education

A search for the definitions of the term "internationalization" has been considered fundamental. The AUCC (1993: 7) contended that "there is no simple, unique or all encompassing definition of internationalization of the university. It is a multitude of activities aimed at providing an educational experience within an environment that truly integrates a global perspective."

Knight, in her dissertation "Internationalization of Canadian Universities" defined internationalization as "the process of integrating the international dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of an institution of higher education." (Knight, 1994:30) The Task Force of the British Columbia Centre for International Education developed the following as a working definition:

Internationalization is a process that prepares the community for successful participation in an increasingly interdependent world. In Canada, our multicultural reality is the stage for internationalization. The process should infuse all facets of the post-secondary education
system, fostering global understanding and developing skills for effective living and working in a diverse world. (Francis, 1993: 3)

There have also been different approaches interpreting internationalization in a more economic context. Davis (1992: 177) contends that "internationalization is closely linked with financial reduction, the rise of academic entrepreneurialism and genuine philosophical commitment to close cultural perspectives in the advancement and dissemination of knowledge". Johnston and Edelstein (1993: 4) stated "today, the dominant argument for internationalizing higher education is that it will ensure the nation's economic competitiveness."

Today, undeniably, many factors exist pertaining to the internationalization of higher education. There is first of all the increased number of international students on university campuses, and what is more significant, the internationalization of life in general, of the market for goods, capital, services, and so forth. This global process of internationalization implies the internationalization of human resources, a reality which is the core of the internationalization of higher education and affects its three major components: teaching, research and service.

2.4.2. Models of Internationalization

In elaborating internationalization models and the role of the university, Warner (1992) suggested three models. The Market Model is the most established and in it the world is viewed as a global market place where nations and institutions compete for markets, ideas and influence. Here the dominant image is global competition, and the central goal is the enhancement of the power, status and influence of the nation or institution. This is close to
the realist and pure liberal approaches to international relations theory discussed in 2.2.1.

The Liberal Model emphasizes shifts, from global competition to global cooperation, without denying the element of national self-interest. Applied to the academic context, internationalization includes a clear commitment and a global consciousness which transcends the whole institution and shapes its ethos. It also involve specific institutional activities relating to research, the curriculum, faculty and student exchanges, local and international collaboration, administrative services and so forth.

The Liberal Model stresses activities such as the broadening of the cultural framework of the curriculum, international exchanges and collaboration with a broad range of countries, programs and events to enhance global consciousness on the university campus and in the local community. A high priority is placed on developing global competence which is necessary for effective communication and dialogue with people from other cultures in the human family. This is close to the compensatory liberal approach to international relations theory discussed in 2.2.1.

The Social Transformation Model differs from the liberal model in that it adds a dimension of critical social analysis to the idea of international consciousness. Its motive is a more sharpened awareness of the inequalities which exist both among and within nations. It sees internationalization as a process which should contribute to the reduction of global inequalities. In this model, priority is given to activities in research or education which serve to narrow the gap between the haves and the have-nots. (Warner, 1992: 21) This is close to the framework of the World Order Models Project previously discussed in 2.2.1.
In the practice of university-based collaboration, four modalities could be identified:

1. University-to-university links -- In this model, co-operation may be between the entire institution and another, faculty to faculty, or department to department. A broader base allows the involvement of various disciplines in any one project, and community resources can be brought in, as well.

2. North-South Co-operation -- This model tends to involve administrative efforts at a high level. Problems may require a wider range of expertise than can be offered by one or several institutions. Cross-cultural understanding is the key for the success or failure of such co-operation.

3. Study and Scholarship -- Such programs require a careful consideration of study and the suitability of the particular giving and taking. It is argued that developing countries need opportunities for their professionals to be trained at centres of excellence if the university system of developing countries is to be built to a higher level, without having an impact for the establishment of broader university-to-university linkages.

4. Networks among Scholars -- this is the basis for the fourth model of university partnership and one widely used in South-South collaboration. The benefits from the networks include: increased capacity to utilize information
and local resources; the development of a critical mass of researchers able to address a problem and to network among themselves. It is important that networks include researchers from different disciplines capable of addressing a wide range of issues, including both professional and social problems (Clarke, 1992: 99).

When internationalization or globalization of the university is discussed or implemented, we generally have one of these models at hand. Each model has implications in terms of the kinds of practices and activities the university promotes under the name of internationalization. Each model also has implications in terms of the role of the university and its interaction with society, both domestically and internationally.

2.5. Conclusion

The World Order Models Project provides a basis for analyzing the domination-subordination potential of relationships between Canadian universities and Third World institutions as well as the potential for transformative action. Mutuality in knowledge relationships and openness to Third World input into the main stream of international academic relations has the potential to enrich all cultural and knowledge traditions. This is particularly evident in the Chinese case. Although China is economically a developing country, given its rich cultural heritage, Chinese academics could make many contributions to the world system of knowledge. For this there is need of a sound international environment.
CHAPTER THREE
CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A
REVIEW OF HISTORY AND THE CURRENT ROLE

3.1. Canadian Universities in International Development: an Historical Account

Some of the earliest international contacts between Canadian universities and the Third World were the foreign students who came to Canada through the auspices of Christian missionary groups and attended Third World based missionary-sponsored schools. Conversely, Canadian graduates and faculty members, particularly those in the medical fields, worked overseas as missionaries. (Walmsley, 1970:4)

During and after the Second World War, the flow of foreign university students to North America increased dramatically and Canadian universities participated in the expansion. NGOs became increasingly active both in coordinating foreign student enrollment in Canadian universities, and providing opportunities for Canadian university graduates to work abroad. The World Universities Service of Canada (WUSC) was founded in 1939 to provide development education and emergency aid to post-war European students, and send young Canadians overseas on educational missions. Throughout the late 1950s and 60s, the number of trainees in Canada rose steadily as Canada expanded its development assistance programs to include the Caribbean, Africa and Latin America. The number of ODA-sponsored students rose from 398 in 1958 to 1825 in 1965, and reached some 3000 in 1968/69 in what proved to be the pinnacle of in-Canada training and scholarships for the years between 1950 and 1980 (Mundy, 1992). By 1961, ODA
had shifted its focus and was becoming primarily an “implementing agency active in the fields of training and technical assistance for developing countries,” through such programs as the African Scholarship Program. (Walmsley, 1970:6) In 1961, WUSC assisted in the founding of the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), which was “to coordinate the combined efforts of the several student organizations sending graduates abroad to work in developing countries.” (Walmsley, 1970:6)

As a result of federal government initiatives, formal programs for promoting the educational opportunities of Third World students at Canadian universities continued to increase during the 1950s and the 1960s. After its establishment in 1951, Canada joined the Columbo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia. In 1960 the Commonwealth Scholarship Plan began operation, with Canada offering 250 places, and other programs, including the Special Commonwealth Aid to Africa and Canadian Program of Educational Assistance for the French-speaking States of Africa, followed soon after. As a result, increasing numbers of African and Asian scholars and trainees were brought to Canadian campuses, and “Canadian academics found themselves involved internationally more or less in spite of themselves: providing programs of study, research and training facilities for students being brought here.” (Walmsley, 1970:3)

As the universities became increasingly involved in a variety of international development programs, there was some concern that emerging issues arising from this involvement should be examined on a national collective basis. During the early 1960s, the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges (NCCUC, the forerunner of AUCC) attempted to
address some of the specific university concerns in accommodating foreign students, from both the advanced and the developing world.

In November 1961, the NCCUC held a special conference, "Canada's Universities in a New Age," at which the issues concerning foreign students were discussed, as well as issues of Canadian students going abroad, the need for internationalization of university curricula and the role that Canadian institutions could play in the strengthening Third World institutions. (Walmsley, 1970: 6&7) A resolution was agreed that universities "have not only a national but an international service to perform" (Walmsley, 1970: 8). But, except for the small numbers directly involved, this statement of belief had little impact. The Canadian university community was trying to cope with an explosive expansion in enrollments and it had little time to spare for any great international role.

Nevertheless, following the 1961 Conference, the International Programs Division of the NCCUC was formed. It would
1) act as liaison with universities of other countries;
2) keep Canadian universities informed of developments in the sphere of international education;
3) develop programs of student and faculty exchange and recruitment for service abroad;
4) advise the Government of Canada and Canadian universities on their roles in the university education of foreign students; and
5) offer a variety of other international services. (Walmsley, 1970: 9)

Officers of the International Programs Division participated in international conferences on development; established close liaison with other university international development organizations, such as the Inter-University Council of the United Kingdom for Higher Education Overseas
(IUC) and the American Council on Education; continued liaison work with university-based NGOs, including WUSC and CUSO; helped promote foreign student and academic exchanges and visits; helped in the recruitment of Canadian academics and experts for service abroad with the Canadian External Aid Office, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Overseas Education Service (New York) and the British Inter-University Council (Walmsley, 1970: 15-17).

However, despite the expansion of university development work up to 1970, and the early attempts to clarify and advance the role of universities in development, there were very few concrete institutional policies for dealing with development activities. In the Preface to Canadian Universities and International Development (1970), the first comprehensive study of the involvement of Canadian universities in development, Walmsley pointed to “the need for consideration of international co-operation as a concept, calling for a comprehensive and integrated approach” at the individual campus level and the collective 'academic community' level (Walmsley, 1970: i). It had become obvious that there were few detailed records and follow-up evaluations of projects. There was still only a vague awareness in the academic community not only of colleagues’ involvement, but of the needs of developing countries and Canadian government policy on international development. Walmsley’s strongest recommendation was for the need for regular dissemination of information about the kind of work Canadian universities could undertake abroad and about the potential value for teaching and research. She also urged the formation of a national coordinating and information body, related to AUCC (Walmsley, 1970: 13).

The evolution which has since taken place in the Canadian academic community becomes evident when the Walmsley report is contrasted with the
contemporary findings and recommendations concerning the international activity of universities. Increased participation in international cooperative efforts is just one development, albeit the most important. Another development of note has been the establishment of organizational structures in Canada to accommodate this increase in interest and activity. CIDA's International Cooperation and Development Services (ICDS), the Co-operative programs Unit within IDRC, and the International Development Office (IDO) of the AUCC (created in 1978), particularly marked the growing involvement of Canadian universities in international development co-operation.

Meantime, changes have also been occurring on university campuses. In the early 1970s, most Canadian universities appointed an International Liaison Officer to be responsible for liaison work, maintaining the flow of information concerning international activities within and among universities and improving the communication with CIDA, IDRC and other relevant agencies. Other changes have included the establishment of Senate committees to coordinate university policy pertaining to international activities in general and development-oriented activities in particular, thus formalizing a commitment to international development cooperation. Some universities have compiled a register of faculty areas of expertise in various fields of international development co-operation and an increasing number of universities have established International Development Offices whose main purposes are the administration, organization and coordination of the international co-operation activities of the institution as a whole.

In summary, the role of Canadian universities in international development since the early 1950s has increased dramatically. Universities are presently involved in seven major areas of development activity -- the training of Third World students in Canada; providing opportunities in
Canada for professional upgrading of Third World faculty and administrators; providing on-site services to institutions in the Third World; maintaining non-formal contacts with Third World institutions through NGOs; conducting joint research projects and university linkage programs with the Third World institutions; and educating Canadians in development issues.

During the course of the 1980s, the field of HRD assistance thus became both remarkably decentralized and increasingly competitive. Large non-governmental organizations (like WUSC, CUSO, CBIE) whose core funding is derived from CIDA and whose programs focused on HRD emerged, challenging traditional perceptions about the shape and work of non-governmental organizations. Alongside these organizations, post-secondary institutions stepped up their international HRD activities and were encouraged to solicit CIDA funding for HRD programs. With a group of consulting firms specializing in HRD, all these organizations focused their capacities on higher level training, using essentially the same two devices: bringing students and trainees to Canada for upgrading, and/or sending Canadian experts abroad (Muddy, 1992).

In keeping with this increased involvement in development, institutional frameworks have been developed at the university level, and the national level, through the offices of AUCC. The federal government, particularly through CIDA, encouraged this expansion of university development work and supported the establishment of the AUCC International Development Office and its successor, the International Division. These offices provided liaison between universities and other organizations, including CIDA, and have encouraged the development of a formalized network of international liaison officers and international development units at the universities. As the involvement of universities in developing
countries continues to expand, the role of the International Division is also expanding.

Universities are one of Canada’s most valuable sources of new ideas and highly qualified manpower. Not only do they have much to share with their counterpart institutions in the Third World, but they also gain unique insights into other traditions and cultures and create new knowledge from collaborating with men and women from countries undergoing profound changes. The understanding and mutual respect gained through this process of sharing knowledge and learning can only further the basic goals of development. Given the great progress made in the last four decades, it can safely be predicted that Canadian universities will continue their zest in international development work, and that the institutional structures and approaches to university involvement in development will continue to evolve and mature.

3.2. Canadian Universities in International Development: Survey Findings & Analysis

Since Walmsley’s report 25 years ago, the volume and nature of universities’ involvement in international development has grown rapidly. This study is, in a sense, a partial update of Walmsley’s work and will cover a number of main themes. This section of Chapter 3 presents an analysis of the responses from 30 some Canadian universities to the questionnaire which was designed to obtain current information about universities’ international development activities as well as data about their origin and development (see Table 1). These data will also provide information about future trends and directions of international work, in keeping with the university community’s priorities. Table 1 shows the response rate to the survey by province.
Fifty four questionnaires were sent to AUCC affiliated universities which have International Office/Centres or International Liaison Officers. Thirty institutions responded (55%) and provided the data for the following analysis.

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<td><strong>No. of universities surveyed</strong></td>
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The 25 questions in the survey were organized in six categories which are as follows: 1). The history, origins and development of International Programs at the university; 2). The university’s support for international development work, as it has evolved over the past 25 years; 3). Faculty response and involvement in international development activities; 4). Areas of activity, both geographical and by subject area; 5). The benefits to the
Canadian universities resulting from such involvement; 6). Future trends based on current activities and likely developments.

The thirty questionnaires were completed by International Liaison Officers or the equivalent personnel in each university. As expected, there were commonalities on the origins, management, scope and nature of international development activities; but there were also important differences noted by particular universities which resulted in different emphases.

3.2.1 History, Origins and Development of International Centres/Offices

Among the 30 respondents to my questionnaire, 26 affirmed the establishment and the operation of their international offices/centres. The other four institutions indicated that there were on the way to establishing the offices. For the respondents, the proportion is 24/26 since 1980 and 17/26 since 1985 (see Table 3, p.54).

Most Canadian universities (about 65%) established their international centres or offices in the 1980s under a mandate for the university community to establish international institutional partnerships and programs (Tables 2 & Table 3). Among the earlier establishments, University of Guelph was the first to establish their international centre in 1967; and Ryerson Polytechnic Institute formed a “Third World Centre” in the Spring of 1977, which was a forerunner of Ryerson International Development Centre established in 1980. Both schools had the desire to broaden the university’s mission abroad.

It is difficult to attribute the growth spurt in the 1985-89 period to any particular cause other than that it seemed “timely”. In terms of institutional administrative structure, most international centres report to the V.P. Academic or Vice Rector Teaching/Research in Quebec.
Regarding base funding, the respondents have indicated that the university, in most cases, provides base operating funds to the international offices for staff, facilities and in some cases, the director. 29% of the respondents indicated their base funding comes from project money (Table 4). Most project funding comes from the donors with the university usually taking an overhead of around 25% as an administrative fee. Two universities indicated other resources such as donations and honoraria.

The trend seems to be to require more base funding from the university, as a token of commitment to international activities. Most donors would like to see the university pay an increased share on the operational or project side as well. Universities will resist this as they feel their "in kind" contribution is undervalued.

Having a brief look at the increase in the number of international development offices, they have shown a steady growth over the past 25 years, to the extent that 90% of universities in Canada had clearly designated units responsible for international activities, including international development activities with developing countries, at the time of the survey. Throughout this period, CIDA and IDRC have encouraged universities to take part in development activities and have designed programs (EIP) to use university strengths and resources. From a management perspective, many universities choose to work through AUCC which serves as both a policy advisory board to CIDA and as an executing agency for CIDA projects as in the case of Canada/China University Linkages Program.
TABLE 2

What Prompted the creation of your International Office?
   a) mandate from university community
   b) mandate from government authority
   c) other

(N=28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>university mandate</th>
<th>government mandate</th>
<th>other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the institutions responding to "other", the statements included:

**Internal**

- Driven by president's vision and presidential taskforce;
- Desire to create institutional flexibility;
- Interest in international affairs and desire to broaden university's mission;
- Desire to gain more international contracts;
- Commitment to the internationalization of higher education.

**External**

- The growing number of CIDA funded ICDS linkages;
- The need to coordinate restructured activities and develop/centralize expertise in the field;
- Support for public policy in the Asia Pacific region.
**TABLE 3A**

Q. What was the date of establishment of your International Office/Centre? (N=26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1980</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980 - 1984</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985 - 1989</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990 and later</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3B**

Q. To whom does your office report? (N=26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.P. Academic/Vice Rector</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board of Governors &amp; Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4

Q. Who provides the base funding to your office?  
(N=28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>91-100%</th>
<th>75-90%</th>
<th>50-74%</th>
<th>below 50%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2. Universities’ Support for International Development Work

Several questions were designed to address the issue of how much support the university gives to its international development work. A key issue was whether the priority had been institutionalized in mission statements, and the level of involvement of the senior administrative personnel. The perception of the International Office/Officer in the university community and the ways in which international projects and programs were initiated were also of interest (Table 5 to Table 8).
TABLE 5

| Q. Does the current University Mission Statement provide sufficient direction and support for your work in international development? (N=28) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | No | N/R | Other |
| 17 | 8 | 1 | 2 |

Sixty one percent of the 28 respondents to this question gave a positive answer as to whether the current University Mission Statement provide sufficient direction and support for ID work. However, 29% of the respondents answered negatively. Those responding in the negative said that their mission statement "makes oblique reference only", "needs official commitment to international development work", "needs a general line of strategy of intervention in international matters". Another two respondents ticked "other", which indicated that their new mission statements were currently under review and revision.

This finding seems to coincide with the result of the AUCC (1989) survey on internationalization which revealed that 63% of the responding universities made reference to the international dimension of the university's mandate in their mission statement. Knight's 1994 study on internationalization of Canadian universities indicated a slightly higher
percentage (72%) on this issue, and she commented that the percentage might increase in the next three years (Knight, 1994: 80).

Nevertheless, it was reported that most international offices on the campus do have a statement or terms of reference indicating their particular mandate. Again, these are rather general, and the feeling seems to be that they could be more comprehensive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Large extent</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Little</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>N/R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President/Rector</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.P./Deputy Rector</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board of Governors</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty Council</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from Table 6, regarding the degree of involvement of university senior administrators, the ratings are as follows: on the scale of 4, the presidents have been given an average of 3 or less; vice presidents, slightly
higher. Boards of Governors seem to be less informed and they are rated 1.5; the Faculty Council is also low in rating, about 1.8; and the Senate is rated at 2. This indicates that more work needs to be done to "sell" the value of international development work for the university in Canada, especially in view of budget constraints. Senior administrators need to be kept informed and invited to take an active part in promoting international development work.

**TABLE 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q. (a) How clearly do you perceive your role (as an ILO) in the university community?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1= not clear; 4= very clear; NR= no response)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q. (b) How much importance/recognition do you feel the university community gives to your role?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1= none; 4= substantial; NR= no response)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q. (a)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q. (b)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the perception of the International Liaison Officer (ILO) of his or her role, most of the respondents say that they perceive their own role clearly and give a rating of 3.5 on 4 point scale. However, they feel that their role is not always well understood by their colleagues on the campus whom they rate mainly at 3 or lower.
TABLE 8

Q. How are your international activities and projects usually initiated? (N=28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Through:</th>
<th>80-100%</th>
<th>50-79%</th>
<th>21-49%</th>
<th>20% &amp; below</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International Office/ILO</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty or departments' special program</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual faculty members</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct request from partner institutions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerning how international projects and activities are initiated, the evidence is that most projects are initiated by individual faculty members; the International Offices/ILOs are the next in ranking, and the third is the initiative of faculties and departments, followed by direct requests from partner institutions (Table 8).

As the number of International Liaison Officers increases and as their status improves, more initiative will come from them, considering that they often have early access to information about international development programs. They must gain the confidence of their colleagues and be knowledgeable about the resources of the university and the special interests of
its faculty members, departments and faculties. Regarding some initiatives under the category of "others", among those specified were provincial and federal government contracts, either solicited by the university or awarded.

3.2.3. Faculty Response and Involvement in International Development Programs

Canadian universities have been involved in faculty exchanges with European and American universities for many years, and more recently have arranged exchanges with Third World universities around the world. Table 9A (P.62) presents the feedback in this area. It could be seen from the replies that most Canadian universities now conduct such exchanges, where the emphases are on teaching and research, with other activities including community development, consulting and a variety of short-term trainings.

Unlike Canadian visits abroad, a large number of Third World scholars in Canada have engaged in further degree studies and research, along with such activities as conferences and study tours. The main interest of visitors from abroad is, understandably, to gain new knowledge, to be updated in their study fields and to become familiar with Western ideas and technology (Table 9B).
### TABLE 9A

Q. Do faculty exchanges and visits currently take place between your university and the Third World institutions?  
(N=28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) If yes, what kind of activities are your faculty undertaking in Third World institutions?  
(N=25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Below 20%</th>
<th>20-49%</th>
<th>50-80%</th>
<th>81-100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conferences</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study tours</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The activities listed under "other" included:
- Community development;
- Consulting;
- Short-term training.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>81-100%</th>
<th>50-80%</th>
<th>20-49%</th>
<th>Below 20%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree program</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conferences</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study tours</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 10**

Q. Does your university administration recognize and encourage faculty participation in international development activities?  
(N=28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Somewhat&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q. (a) If yes, what incentives are offered to people on such assignments?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incentive</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Release time</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative assistance</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition in promotion</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q. (b) How does the university administration perceive such international development activities in terms of faculty members' duties?  
(N=28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency (1 = irrelevant; 4 = critical part)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Faculty involvement in international development work at Canadian universities has also increased over this period of 25 years, and has been further facilitated by recognition from the university. However, it is interesting  

---
<sup>1</sup> Institutional response "yes and no".
<sup>2</sup> The specified items under "other" include research support, occasional honoraria, etc.
to notice several "yes and no" responses in Table 10. It was indicated that in theory, faculty members were encouraged to take on international work, but in practice, few incentives are given for involvement. A continuing problem has been the lack of formal recognition by some universities of the importance and potential of ID activities and the failure to include such work by faculty members as part of their merit increase and reason for promotion. It is still regarded by some as an activity which is peripheral to the "real" work of the university. At the same time, as the international nature of knowledge becomes more apparent and as other benefits of such activity are recognized, more universities are attempting to accommodate faculty members through release time, and providing administrative support for such work. Even when new mission statements include international development, however, this is not always matched by concrete support or recognition.

Most of the faculty involved in international development programs do this as part of their regular work load, receiving no special pay except some expenses for travel and accommodation. There is, however, a perception now growing that in the future more incentive will need to be provided for faculty members if they are to devote larger portions of their time to managing, conducting, and participating in international development projects. It can easily be noticed from the survey that the trend is to accept ID work more and more as a legitimate form of activity for faculty members, resulting in teaching and research benefits. However, the picture is far from uniformly bright.

Most of the responses received indicated that stronger support from senior administration and from Boards of Governors is very much needed in most of the universities. Those involved in international development projects often found it took far more time and energy than they first
anticipated. Such faculty are unlikely to continue undertaking extra work if their position in the university is jeopardized or compromised. Therefore, they need the protection of university policy which recognizes the value of this activity and makes provision for it to be pursued without penalty.

3.2.4. Funding and Volume of International Work and Areas of Activity

Table 11A

This table shows the changes in funding of international offices from their start up to the present. All except three show sizable increases over the years. Maximum amounts for each office are also given and it is significant that the maximum is also the current amount in 11 cases, indicating an upward trend in funding international development activities in most institutions. In some, however, funding has remained stable, and in three there has been a clear reduction.

The percentage differences compare the start up figures, where available, with the current and maximum budget.

Table 11B

Like the previous chart, this table which deals with staff changes shows a growth, in most cases, ranging from one to eleven, in one instance. Several have remained constant at one or two. Again, like the previous chart, the trend has been clearly towards staff increase despite increasing budget reductions in universities across the country. However, quite a number of universities have a lower level of staff now than their maximum level historically.
Q. (a)
What changes have occurred in budget in the operation of your International Office / Centre?
(N=19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution 1</th>
<th>Start $</th>
<th>Current $</th>
<th>Maxim.</th>
<th>% of Difference *</th>
<th>% of Difference **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 2</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 4</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>311,000</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>+52%</td>
<td>-38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 5</td>
<td>240,000</td>
<td>285,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>+16%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 6</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 7</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 8</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>1,300,000</td>
<td>+20%</td>
<td>-81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 9</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 10</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>+90%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 11</td>
<td>DK</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 12</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>+80%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 13</td>
<td>1,871,490</td>
<td>2,593,726</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>+28%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 14</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>+98%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 15</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>slight inc.</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 16</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>650,000</td>
<td>850,000</td>
<td>+46%</td>
<td>-24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 17</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 18</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>+60%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 19</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Difference from start to current.

** Difference from maximum to current indicated only where a reduction in funding has occurred.

*** Indication only of range 0-400,000.
**TABLE 11B**

Q. (b)
What changes have occurred in staff in the operation of your International Office/Centre?
\( \text{N} = 25 \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>Current</th>
<th>Maxim.</th>
<th>No. of Differen.*</th>
<th>No. of Differen.* **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institution 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>+10</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+2.5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Institution 17</td>
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<td>4.5</td>
<td>+0.5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 20</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 21</td>
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<td>NR</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution 25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note: in order to preserve anonymity the institution codes used in this table differ from those assigned for Table 11A.

** Difference in number of staff from 'start' to 'current'.

*** Difference from maximum to current indicated only where a reduction has occurred.

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TABLE 12

Q. (a) Have the number and range of your international activities increased over the years since the establishment of your office/centre? (N=29)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q. (b) If yes, what is the percentage of increase?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Below 50%</th>
<th>50-99%</th>
<th>100-299%</th>
<th>300-499%</th>
<th>500% &amp; up</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is encouraging to notice that the increase in international activities and projects has been considerable, ranging in 3 cases between 500 and 900 percent (see Table 12). There was no indication of a decrease in activities, and most reported an increase in budget on top of the university’s base grant due to the increasing range of projects being attracted. This is especially remarkable in view of common budget cuts across the country.
TABLE 13

Q. Do you expect More, Less or The Same involvement in international development by your university in the future? (N=28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>The Same</th>
<th>NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the constraints in terms of budget, whether in external funding or university support, there is still optimism amongst most ILOs about the future expansion of international activities (see Table 13).

There is a hope that many universities will be more open, not only to collaborative projects, but to faculty and student exchanges. There is also a growing recognition of the benefit of knowledge sharing and knowledge exchange with developed countries, which in a sense were neglected because of the preoccupation with "helping" the developing world. There is also a strong interest in ensuring the stability of development projects rather than seeing them as "one shot" efforts; in another words, the management of projects and their integration into institutions abroad and in Canada are seen as needing special attention. Not surprisingly, the involvement in this kind of activity has greatly accelerated the move towards the internationalization of university activities, including curriculum and research. There is a solid recognition of the value of collaborative research across borders.
TABLE 14

Q. Among the projects you have had with developing countries over the last five years, what has been the rough geographical distribution? (N=25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>below 25%</th>
<th>25-54%</th>
<th>55-80%</th>
<th>81-100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China³</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding geographical areas of activity, the 25 responses received indicate the greatest amount of recent activity with Asian countries, with Africa second, and Latin America third. Much of the activity in Africa is done by French Canadian universities because of the Francophone dimension.

Sixteen institutions out of twenty-five claimed to have current projects concerned with China. Those range from two to fifty percent of their total projects (see Table 14).

Most of the programs, operate in science and technology including engineering, agriculture, health and environmental sciences. Taking the Canada/China University Linkages Program as an example, among the total number of 31 joint projects, 29% (9 projects) were in health and nutrition; 26% dealt with engineering (from communication to transportation); 13% in

³ Because the thesis specifically relates to China, statistics for that country have been isolated from the rest of the Asian countries.
education (from the higher education sector to co-operative education program); another 13% in environmental science; agriculture, community development and international relations formed 6% of the program respectively.

3.2.5. External Support

Besides the universities’ regular contact with CIDA, IDRC and provincial agencies for collaboration and funding, the respondents pointed out that they had received regular assistance from AUCC’s International Division, and some from the World University Service of Canada (WUSC), the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE), the Canadian Council for International Cooperation, and from UNDP. The other agencies and foundations which have been involved are UNICEF, the Ford Foundation, the Donner Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, SSHRCC, the Commonwealth of Learning.

In general, CIDA seems to be best known and most helpful through its information channels; IDRC comes next, followed by provincial agencies and various United Nations agencies and foundations (see Table 15).
TABLE 15

Q. (A) How regular is the communication between your office and CIDA, IDRC, provincial agencies and others? (N=28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1=none; 4=very regular; NR= no response)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDRC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial organizations</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q. (B) To what extent is the information they provide helpful, timely and relevant to your work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1=none; 4=very regular; NR= no response)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>NR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDRC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial organizations</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.6. Benefits to Canadian Universities from International Development Work

Each university responding to the survey indicated that there were distinct benefits to the university from involvement in international development work. First of all, it has resulted in a greater awareness of the international nature of learning and knowledge and of the rapid globalization of many aspects of contemporary life evident in trade, industry, business, tourism, education, environment, health, and so on. The incorporation of experience in international development into courses, research and student activity has been gradual but is on the increase, because of the growing awareness of the international nature of knowledge and processes of globalization involving universities, governments and multi-nationals.

The second advantage listed is the enrichment of teaching and research resulting from exposure to other cultures, other societies and new ways of doing things. The integration with visiting students and faculty from abroad has had a distinct influence on attitudes in Canadian university communities. This has also resulted in new courses, new research and graduate studies in international matters. It is envisaged that a modern university needs to prepare graduates who are able to work in an international arena.

Thirdly, an obvious benefit is that funds have been made available for new fields of research and faculty exchange. Though primarily this has come from CIDA and IDRC, the same kind of support has been provided by foundations, UN agencies, and some business and industries. This trend will likely continue.
Some further benefits which were cited are: changed attitudes towards working with institutions in developing countries; greater respect for differences in culture and approaches to problem solving, and greater adaptability and flexibility.

3.3. Conclusions

3.3.1. Problems worth Special Attention

Many ID projects and activities have been initiated by individual faculty members in collaboration with their colleagues abroad and have not resulted in adequate institutional building. These projects often have a life span of 3-4 years during which a good deal of time and energy is expended. However, there is often no clear strategy for the Canadian university to benefit from this activity. This needs to be part of the planning, and there need to be ways for such activity to be incorporated directly into courses, research and administrative units. There is a need for institutional building within Canadian universities, in order to recognize and utilize the value of these programs.

We have already spoken of an excessive dependence on CIDA and IDRC and it can only be noted here that universities are aware of this weakness. It is now being exacerbated by cutbacks and universities are eagerly looking for other sources of funding through a variety of avenues, including the UN, the World Bank, foundations, provincial governments, and industry.

All of the responses indicated that though experiences abroad were often incorporated into teaching and research activities this is not a consistent pattern. The feeling was that more could be done to take advantage of the experience so that the university would be truly more international in its operations.
3.3.2. *Future Trends*

The responses to the question regarding future trends were positive. There is a hope that many universities will be more open not only to collaborative projects, but to faculty and student exchanges. Interestingly, there is also a growing recognition of the benefit of knowledge transfer and knowledge exchange with developed countries, which in a sense were neglected because of the incentive for working in the developing world. There is also a strong interest in insuring the stability of development projects rather than seeing them as one short effort; in another words, the management of projects and their integration into institutions abroad and in Canada are seen as needing special attention.

Through all these years' commitment to international development work, universities have become far more knowledgeable about the process of development work and not only the technical expertise involved. Along with this, there is also evidence of a growing sensitivity to the challenge of cross-cultural knowledge sharing.
CHAPTER FOUR
HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS IN CHINA AND ITS OPENING TO THE WORLD

This chapter will deal with two related themes in the recent development of higher education in China. First is the reform brought about through changes in educational policy and new legislation by the central government and by the creation of new institutions and agencies to promote new priorities; second, the effects of China's open-door policy on the direction of higher education and the resulting influence of this interaction and international exchange.

The official end of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in 1976 marked the beginning of China's new era of national development — an era of reform rather than continued revolution. The voice of reform (gai ge) could be heard in all state institutions and in every corner of society, which was striving for domestic revitalization and "opening to the world". The major change in educational policies since 1978 has been the gradual shift towards the view that education should respond to the needs of the economy, leading to the introduction of important reforms in the structure of the education system. Chinese universities, in particular, faced a major reform oriented towards social and economic development. The debate surrounding the economic, social and educational reforms introduced after the cultural revolution has been widely discussed in the literature both inside and outside China (Lofstedt, 1980; White, 1981; Hawkins, 1983; Hayhoe, 1984; Cleverley, 1985; People's Education Press, 1985 etc.).

The current emphasis on developing a socialist market economy has had considerable influence on institutions of higher education, resulting in
curriculum reform, new studies in global economics and international law, foreign trade and international finance, management engineering, and so forth. It has already influenced the direction and content of current and future collaboration between Chinese and foreign universities.

This chapter will consider the major changes in Chinese higher education in the recent two decades of "reform" in the dual role they are called upon to play -- as an open door to the outside world and a member of the international academic community, and domestically, as a manpower producer for the current modernization cause. The following discussion deals with the university's changing role as reflected in China's 1985 Educational Structure Reforms and 1993 Guidelines for Educational Reform and Development.

4. Decision on the Reform of China's Education System in 1985

The resumption of the unified national college entrance examinations in 1977 was the first exciting sign of change for higher education in China. This move not only assured a better intake of students but also served as a strong driving force for better quality in primary and secondary education. As well, it brought hopes to save the "lost generation" who were locked outside the doors of universities during the ten years of domestic turmoil. The history of modern and contemporary Chinese education demonstrates that different educational goals have been adopted in different historical periods. Since the 1950s, educational policy in the People's Republic of China had, in general, been based upon the principle that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour (Xiao, 1984: 41-47). With the end of the cultural revolution in 1976, this was revised, and the newly stated goal was
to transform the nation "into a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry and national defense, and science and technology by the end of the century." (Documents, 1978: 19)

Two main factors led to the educational reforms. The first was the urgent need to restore the health of the national economy which was seriously hindered in the cultural revolution. Ten years of political turmoil had severely damaged the confidence and commitment of many intellectuals who had been vilified during the revolution but who had the skills and knowledge to help China develop. The new leadership quickly realized that skilled personnel were much more important than machines in the modernization process. The Chinese education system, particularly higher education, was therefore prepared for major reforms so as to become the cradle of skilled personnel and a new culture oriented towards economic development.

The second important factor was that there was an urgent need to resume educational research, which had almost completely stopped during the cultural revolution. When China began to adopt its "Open Door Policy" in 1978, there was a 12 year information gap in educational development compared with other countries over the last three decades. The focus of comparative education during this period was on the relationship between educational development and economic development in the developed countries, and on the relationship between compulsory education and social progress. This work made important contributions to the debates in China on educational reform. The central government policy, officially stated by then Vice-premier Deng Xiaoping at the 12th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1982, strongly accelerated the pace of change:

We will unswervingly follow a policy of opening to the outside world and actively increase exchanges with foreign countries on the
basis of mutual equality and benefit. At the same time, we will keep a clear head, firmly resist corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad, and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in our country (Xinhua News Agency, Sept. 1, 1982).

In May of 1985, the Central Party Committee and the State Council convened a national education conference for the purpose of discussing the implementation of the Central Government's "Draft Decision on Reforming the Education System." The announcement was made to the country shortly after. The fundamental purpose of this education structural reform was to improve the institutional system so that it could produce "more able people" as the key to the success of socialist modernization. Advocacy of increased autonomy and the return of control to the professionals was a central feature of the 1985 proposals for reform. "Education must serve socialist construction, which in turn, depends on education." (Xinhua, 1985: 1) At the same time, the State Education Commission (SEdC), a body directly under the State Council and headed by a Vice-Premier, was formally created to replace the Ministry of Education and was given the responsibility for "setting educational principles and policies, formulating education regulations, guiding, organizing and coordinating educational work and unifying educational reform." (Profile, 1986: 37-42). The policy pronouncements and the creation of SEdC provided a clear focus on the role of education, especially in training and retraining personnel for new social and economic reforms.

Higher education was envisaged as having the responsibility for "training advanced specialized personnel and developing science, technology and culture" (Profile, 1986: 40). The reforms in higher education were directed to the enrollment plan and to the graduate-assignment system. The most significant changes were concerned with assuring greater autonomy to
institutions, with academics holding key management positions. The needs of socialist modernization required a change in the "system of excessive government control" over institutions of higher education and an expansion of the decision-making powers of universities so that they could be more responsive to the needs of economic and social development (Shu, 1985).

The educational reforms announced in 1985 were probably the most significant undertaken in China since the 1960s. Some represented a consolidation of changes that had already been introduced in different parts of the country after 1978; others enshrined new thinking of which the implications were only then beginning to become apparent. Academic diversity was perceived to be important. The increased autonomy was expected to produce more efficient and responsive institutions. The practical implications for financing, and for regulating the supply and demand of graduates under the reformed systems were in need of new definitions. Their proper implementation would bring China much more closely into line with prevailing international practice.

4.2. "Replenishment and consolidation" in the late 1980s

China's rapid economic growth since the early 1980s has stimulated the social demands for a better-trained labour force. The Seventh and Eighth Five Year Plans (1986-1995) saw a closer relationship grow between higher education and national economic development. The total student enrollment in regular full-time higher education institutions increased from 1.02 million in 1980 to 2.51 million in 1994 (Min, 1994). However, the "overheated" economic growth unavoidably resulted in inflation. In an attempt to control inflation, the government adopted the policy of tightening money markets and contracting
the economy. The "replenishment and consolidation" policy issued by the
State Education Commission was to control the "overheating" or "over
expansion" fever in higher education, which was in conflict with the capacity
of the national economy to support higher education financially. In 1988, the
net enrollment, including formal and non-formal higher education, of the post
secondary sector was around 3.9 million in China. The figure held the fourth
position in the world, after the U.S.A. (13.32 million), the U.S.S.R. (5 million),
and India (4.47 million). Meanwhile, it was higher than that of Japan (2.59
million in 1987), and of the United Kingdom (1.09 million in 1987). The per
capita GNP in China was U.S. $557 in 1989, in 83th position among 126
countries across the world (Zeng, 1992). This clearly demonstrates the
important priority given to higher education by the Chinese government.

In the same period, the sources of educational investment had been
diversified, and new ways of collecting funds for education had been
developed. The main sources of educational investment and the proportion of
such investment from various channels to total educational investment were
as follows: (1) Funds from state financial departments, including government
budgetary expenditure at various levels and expenditure by various
departments on their secondary vocational schools and technical schools,
accounted for 62.87%; (2) Surtax for educational services in urban and rural
areas accounted for 10.27%; (3) Donations from various communities and
individuals, 8.59%; (4) Income from work-study programs in schools and from
paid services, 5.09%; (5) Incidental schools fees, 4.42%; (6) Funds from other
sources, 8.76%. The policy of raising educational funds from a multiplicity of
channels had stimulated the rapid growth of extra-budgetary investment in
education. In 1991, extra-budgetary investment in education was 37.13% of total

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This trend to extend extra-budgetary revenue will in all likelihood increase and will result in linking the university more closely with the community it serves and with other levels of governments. This is also consistent with the general trend towards more autonomy for universities. More freedom inevitably brings more responsibility. And it is hoped more creative and innovative methods to increase revenues will be found.

4.3. Guidelines for Reform and Development of Chinese Education 1993

As China has stepped into the overwhelmingly rapid economic growth of the 1990s, the call of "Science and technology as the first productive force" has become a dominant theme. The general objective for educational development set by The State Council was "to establish an education system which will serve the socialist market economy, contribute to social development, and meet the challenge of the world technological revolution of the 21st century -- a socialist education structure with Chinese characteristics." (The National Council of P.R.C., 1989: 12) One of the designated goals of the 1993 Guidelines of Education Reform and Development is that the nation will give special support to establishing 100 key universities at world standards with a high teaching and research quality and advanced management style by the beginning of the 21st century. The strategies for higher education reform in this regard are:

1) refining and updating the management mechanism;
2) improving teaching and research quality by optimizing institutional efficiency and effectiveness;
3) strengthening laws and regulations for higher education administration
and encouraging democracy in governance by means of legislation.
4) extending international exchange and cooperation, learning from successful innovative experiences in educational administration and development from other countries (NAEA, 1994).

Given the financial constraints of government and the urgent needs to increase resources for universities and colleges in China, one of the key aspects was to accelerate the reforms in higher education finance. First, it was intended to institutionalize a financial decentralization, characterized by sharing the costs of higher education among the central government, provincial governments, industries, communities and individuals; to increase institutional autonomy and to enhance financial management; and to provide national level coordination and intervention for addressing equity issues (Ibid.).

Second, there was an urgent need to improve further the allocation of resources. Given the increasing financial pressures expected in the coming years, the Chinese higher education system has to further implement a cost-sharing and cost recovery system. Along with rapid economic and social development, the social and private demands for higher education will continue to grow. The implementation of long-term financing strategies for higher education development will enable the higher education system to provide more student places. These were limited in the past by the high level of student subsidies and the low level of cost-recovery. Recently, a few private universities have been accredited by the governmental agencies concerned, and these institutions are operated almost exclusively on tuition fees and self-generated funding.

Third, enhancing institutional capacity for resource mobilization was one of the most promising strategies for significantly increasing resources to
higher education. University-industry relations have to be promoted. International experiences have shown that university-industry co-operation will not only help the university financially, but could also speed up overall scientific and technological progress and the economic development of the nation.

To sum up, in order to meet the highly skilled manpower demands of the socioeconomic development of China, policies for diversifying and multiplying sources for financing higher education have to be further refined and consolidated. Cost-recovery policies and student support systems have to be institutionalized. Institutional capacity for resource generation has to be further developed and enhanced. At the same time, institutional efficiency and effectiveness have to be further improved. Higher levels of internal efficiency can contribute to institutional revenue generation, while higher levels of external efficiency will better serve the increasing manpower needs of the rapidly growing socialist market economy (Min, 1994). Any assistance China requests or accepts from abroad must be consistent with their carefully developed policies, and must contribute to these trends for more institutional autonomy, greater cost-recovery and resource generation.

4.4 Chinese Higher Education in International Exchange and Cooperation

Historically, the modern Chinese higher education system has been a "smorgasbord"—an eclectic combination of American, Japanese, German, French, British, and Soviet models. There has been a considerable literature on foreign educational influence and its integration with the Chinese higher education system from the early 19th century to the contemporary

1. From this section to the end of the chapter, all the numerical data, (unless otherwise indicated) were drawn from Chapter 13 of Ji (1994).

For many centuries the Confucian ethic was the moral basis on which human relationships and the conduct of government relied in Imperial China. The traditional Confucian educational system was, to a great extent, determined by the examination system and Confucian ethics. The purpose of education was selection and ideological preparation for government service, and Confucian learning was used as a major criterion for the recruitment of the administrative elite and scholars. Although, in theory, education was open to all, in practice the poor and women were excluded. It was a highly efficient instrument for the reproduction of the social stratification that characterized imperial-feudalistic China (Lofstedt, 1980).

In the early twentieth century, Western and Japanese influences began to adversely affect the traditional educational system. The civil service examinations were abolished in 1905 and plans were made to introduce general mass education in place of elitist education (Bailey, 1990). In the 1920s, American influence was reflected in the reorganization of the education system. For the next two decades, the ruling National Party, known as the Guomindang, saw education as an instrument for modernization, and therefore, a variety of transfers were taking place. In this period the influence of Western education was at its height (Bastid, 1988).

The Japanese invasion in 1937 and the civil war from 1946-1949 resulted in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) gaining political power in China. On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded.

In the first 30 years after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, for obvious political reasons, higher learning institutions developed behind a door closed to the West. By the mid fifties the Soviet model of education was
the dominant trend. "Learn from the Soviet Union" was an official slogan and shaped major reforms in curriculum, teaching methods and institutional organization. The Soviet influence was especially pronounced in higher education. Soviet theories were accepted in science, economics, pedagogy, psychology and other fields of studies. In 1957, it was reported that 12,400 Russian textbooks had been translated into Chinese and more than 12 million copies had been printed for wide distribution (Chien, 1971). The Soviet influence was pervasive in Chinese education and society until political conflict arose between Mao's orthodox socialism and Krushchev's revisionism. Criticism of the Russian influence on Chinese education first came into the open in 1956, when Mao spoke of differences between the guidelines of the two governments. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association wound up its activities in the early Sixties, and Russian language teaching was replaced by English.

The Cultural Revolution Decade, 1966-1976, witnessed the pursuit of radical policies in the Chinese education system. It was a major attempt to salvage and revitalize the floundering socialist transition. Unfortunately, the whole university sector was attached in such a way that it cost the country a ten-year gap of trained manpower and produced a "lost generation" instead.

The question which arose when China adopted a modernization policy in 1978 was, how China can find a niche in the international world order and participate in knowledge transfer without sacrificing its own identity. Reflecting the famous slogan of the late 19th century "Zhongxue-weiti, Xixue-weiyong" (Chinese classical learning as a fundamental basis and Western learning for its practical application), the search for this correct delicate balance between Chinese and Western learning is still going on, under the present policy emphases, established by Deng Xiaoping in 1983, of "orientation towards modernization, towards the future and towards the world."
4.4.1. *The Driving Force for Chinese Higher Education Opening Up to the World*

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, there were international exchanges prior to the cultural revolution but they were small in scale, somewhat scattered and largely politically motivated. Most exchanges were with the Soviet Union and East Europe. Between 1950 and 1965, there were 77 exchanges involving 10,698 Chinese going abroad (an average of 710 per year). It was not until the 1980s, that a more open strategy got underway, with better planning and more active seeking out of appropriate fields of studies.

This was further supported in 1985 when a central government statement on educational reform stated that “higher education must be aware of global trends and contribute to the global civilization” (Profile, 1986: 37-42). In 1993, the central government, in the statement on Chinese Educational Reform and Development discussed earlier, provided guidelines for increased international activity and for increasing international exchanges. Higher education was encouraged to “boldly absorb and adapt” successful examples of higher education programs worldwide (Li, 1994: 320).

From 1985, the State Education Commission had designated authority to individual institutions to initiate international programs which led to greater diversity in such exchanges and a multi-level approach. The State Education Commission affiliated universities alone, since 1985, have developed more than 300 linkages with 20 countries. During this period, roughly from 1980 to 1990, Chinese higher education saw a great increase in international exchange activities.
After the cultural revolution, Chinese Higher Education became keenly aware of the need to catch up with international scholarship and research and for this reason, entered into activities which would promote such learning, for example, scholarly exchanges, studying abroad, joint research, institutional collaboration and partnerships with foreign universities. At the same time, Chinese Higher Education faced a pressing need for reform internally amongst its various institutions, to keep abreast of the demand for trained manpower to serve national reconstruction programs. The notions of modernization and modernity have enjoyed wide acceptance in writings and research on social change and development since 1978, as education has been perceived as a major agent in producing the skilled manpower, modern attitudes and values necessary for the existence of a modern society. Modernization, reform and opening-up have become the theme of Chinese society in the last 15 years. Higher Education in China has opened up to foreign ideas as part of the overall Chinese strategy to adapt Western ideas and practices to the Chinese socialist market economy. The special role of higher education in this process has been to examine and assess these trends in other parts of the world in terms of their compatibility with Chinese policies and strategies.

The rapid pace of social and economic change in China made it clear that many of the old educational models were inadequate to serve emerging needs. Therefore, in a very short period from 1979 on, higher education was required to reform and absorb ideas from the West. This was specially true in the revision of administrative structures, teaching methodology, and curriculum.
4.4.2. China's Response to Current Trends in the Internationalization of Higher Education

Chinese universities' experience in opening up to the world has echoed the larger movement of internationalization of higher education over the last 20 years. When reviving and rebuilding universities after 10 years of political turmoil at the end of 1970s, many of those responsible for Chinese education detected trends in higher education development worldwide, which consisted of striving for diversification, decentralization, professionalization, and the internationalization of higher education. The experiences of both developed and developing countries in improving and reforming higher education have influenced China's reforms in various ways.

The distinctive character of internationalization in higher education, according to Arum and Vande Water (1992), is the combination of three main elements: 1) international content in the curriculum; 2) the international movement of scholars and students involved in training and research; 3) international technical assistance and co-operation programs (Knight, 1994:30). This trend has opened new channels for China's participation, as the Chinese government realized the urgency of the need to make up for lost time. China began to realize more clearly what it wanted to gain from increased cooperation with foreign universities.
4.4.3. The Scale, Content, and Forms of International Exchange in Higher Education

(1) Sending students and visitors abroad

During the decade from 1980-1990, international exchanges developed rapidly in scale, content and form. In 1978, 860 scholars were sent abroad by the Ministry of Education. This increased to 2,922 in 1981, and even in 1989 with the Tiananmen Event, there were still 3,329 students being sent to 60 different countries and regions (State Education Commission, 1991: 16). The major activity remained studying abroad, whether government sponsored, institutionally sponsored or privately arranged. Such people were mainly graduate degree students or visiting scholars.

From State Education Commission affiliates, between 1978 and 1991, 42,947 students and scholars were sent abroad. According to the State Education Commission statistics, almost half of them (21,328) returned and contributed significantly in research, teaching and administration (State Education Commission, 1992: 16).

Over the same period, certain changes took place. At the beginning, most costs had been paid by the central government, but later, work units were asked to contribute a portion. The fields of study increased in variety, though natural sciences and technology remained the most popular. The trend during this period was towards sending higher level, older faculty which resulted in more visiting scholars and fewer degree students. More attention was gradually given to ensuring a return to China after the study period abroad, through providing better working conditions, better living standards, and fuller recognition of foreign achievements and qualifications.
(2) Inviting Faculty and students to visit China

One of the major indications of openness is the number of foreign students and faculty coming to China. This has been pursued in order to promote academic collaboration, and to make China better known internationally in higher education.

In the early years, students coming to China had their visits arranged by central educational administration with central government funding mainly. This was decentralized in recent years to the provincial and municipal levels. Many students have come through twinning arrangements, and as academic standards improved in China, more private students chose to come.

In the last 20 years, most students came as part of their undergraduate study, but since 1985, graduate student enrollment began and has continued to increase. At the same time, the number of visiting scholars has increased, including an increase in scholars from developed countries, indicating that China is meeting international standards and attracting serious students.

Before 1987, most students came from the Third World, but recently there has been a remarkable increase in private students from the West so that now, half of the students registered in graduate work come from developed countries. In 1979, 37 countries sent 440 visitors. By 1992, this increased to 13,000 from 126 countries studying in 200 Chinese institutions nationwide (Li, 1994: 325).

In the 12 years from 1978 to 1990, the State Education Commission sent our 1,400 faculty to 30 countries, mostly through government sponsorship. This was largely to make possible their academic upgrading, yet they also made a scholarly contribution in research and teaching to the universities they visited.
Foreign faculty visits to China were mostly in the fields of science and technology and this resulted in establishing new faculties, departments and programs, as well as the development of new curricula. Also the faculty was upgraded and updated and new teaching methods were introduced. In 1979, there were 834 foreign experts in China teaching mostly on a short term basis. In 1990, this had increased to 4,000 and involved 600 universities (Li, 1994: 325).

(3) Joint university ventures and collaborative research

Beginning in 1980, China experimented with a number of collaborative activities with foreign universities, including joint degree programs, thesis supervision and research. These efforts, many of which were supported by the World Bank in the early and mid 1980s, proved of value to both partners in training graduate students and in developing collaborative research.

During the same period, many joint research projects in a wide variety of fields were undertaken. This allowed the rapid development of a large number of competent researchers. It also served to raise to a higher level the research standards throughout the country. Each side learned from the other. The Canada-China University Linkages Program is a good illustration of such collaboration. Those Chinese universities involved have since become centres for further research in their particular area, identifying new research areas and training staff and students in new technologies. There are specific examples such as the Transportation System Research Centre jointly established by the University of Montreal and Shanghai Institute of Mechanical Engineering and a Metal Failure Analysis Centre collaboratively created by Beijing University of Aerospace and Aeronautics and the University of Manitoba, which plan to become Asian centres for training and research in advanced technology in these areas.
In 1987, there were 460 such joint research activities in which China primarily provided expert personnel, while the foreign partners provided facilities, equipment and research funds. Many such projects were initiated on a person to person basis because of the professional contact between distinguished scholars. Many also were developed between institutions in keeping with their priorities.

(4) Hosting international conferences

The number and quality of international conferences, both within and outside of China, provided an excellent opportunity for the presentation and discussion of "state of the art" research activities. China's willingness to participate in such events provided opportunities for international scholars to see what China was doing. It also showed to the world China's special interests and special fields of expertise in areas such as theoretical physics, mathematics and traditional medicine. Such events lead to important learning and further collaboration. Since the 1980s the central government has promoted Chinese academic participation in international conferences because of the real and mutual benefit to higher education.

According to the records, in the 30 years prior to 1987, China sent out 6500 people to 3000 international conferences in 50 countries. This has been increased in the past 10 years to an average of 1500 per year. During the same period, SEdC organized 200 international academic conferences in China which attracted 4000 participants from around the world (Ji, 1994: 327).²

²The figures displayed here were limited to the State Education Commission approved conferences. There were many other international conference organized in China during this period by individual institutions or jointly with institutions overseas.
4.4.4. Foreign Investment in Chinese Higher Education and Chinese Aid to other Developing Countries

China regards foreign investors in higher education as a valuable resource, provided it is able to maintain sovereignty over its development and priorities. Foreign investment is most useful when it reduces the discrepancy between current demands and needs in China, through special research, special institutions and programs. Two World Bank programs and three Canadian programs illustrate the kinds of foreign investment strategies which have proved valuable to the development of higher education in China: Chinese University Development Project I (CUDP I), started in 1982 and ran until 1986. This 295 million dollar project supported 28 key universities in China in the upgrading of their education delivery capabilities. CUDP II followed in 1986, and was designed to strengthen engineering, economics and finance education in China. In its first phase, it provided 36 key universities with 125 million dollars of research and teaching equipment (Hayhoe, 1989a: Chapter 7).

Over the past decade, Canada collaborated with China in three projects in higher education: the Canada-China University Linkage Program (CCULP), which provided upgrading for Chinese faculty through linkages with 31 universities, research institutes and hospitals; the Canada-China Management Education Program (CCMEP), which provided similar training and upgrading in the field of management education, and the Canada-China College Linkages Program (CCCLP) which involve community colleges in exchanges for faculty upgrading.

In the past 12 years, Chinese higher education has attracted four different kinds of investment. Investment from Hong Kong and Taiwan, overseas Chinese, and foreign institutions and individuals is mostly used for
scholarships and research. Educational aid from developed countries such as Canada, Germany and Japan is used primarily for academic upgrading and field research, also for equipment and materials. Loans from the World Bank are devoted to large scale projects. Since China obtained a seat on the World Bank Council in 1980, they have received loans to the value of 1.2 billion US for higher education development (Song, 1994: 115-123). Grants from agencies such as the UNDP and UNICEF generally go to smaller scale educational projects.

Over the past ten years, China has provided assistance to a number of developing countries primarily for the education of students. China has also sent teachers and experts abroad and has provided some general educational funding. In 1984 for example, 4 million yuan was provided to African countries (Li, 1994: 327). These initiatives on the part of China seem to be well received by the Third World countries, which are sometimes reluctant to depend solely on Western models of social, economic and political development. China is seen as a welcome option because of its socialist ideology.

4.4.5. Relationship with Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao

For a long time, Mainland China scholars were, for political reasons, unable to associate with Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macao. However, after 1979, activities increased greatly. At that time China made a point of stressing the vital role these three regions had in helping China in the development of higher education. Obviously, there was a sharing of culture, language and tradition, and there was a strong natural interest in collaboration, because of shared history and common cultural roots. Much of the collaboration revolves around formal and informal networks amongst the four regions at different levels of expertise, covering all fields of endeavour.
In the mid 1980s, there was a sharp increase in the amount of academic collaborative work and from the early 1990s, there was rapid establishment of joint educational projects. Most of these activities were between China and Hong Kong, because Hong Kong had a stronger economy and a better developed higher educational structure than Macao, and Taiwan was less accessible for political reasons. Hong Kong was also favored because, with the approach of 1997, there has been an urgency to improve mutual understanding and to pursue shared interests in higher education. Activities in Taiwan have been progressing but they have been smaller in scale. Communication and travel between China and Taiwan are still limited.

The Chinese Higher Educational establishment is increasingly dedicated to further collaboration with these three regions. For example, in 1987, SEdC established a special scholarship for Hong Kong students which supplied tuition and accommodation, and provided Medicare plus a small allowance. This has resulted in more Hong Kong students applying for mainland universities. And in Macao, in 1988, 40% of private high school graduates applied for mainland universities (Ji, 1994:332).

4.5. The Impact of International Exchange on Chinese Higher Education

From this review, it can be seen that international exchange has been valuable for China in reforming its higher education system to meet national development needs. Here the author would like to review two important areas of impact: the contribution of the returned scholars and the lessons learned from abroad for the reform of the higher education system.
4.5.1. Contributions of the Returned Scholars

Since 1982 the Chinese Science Academy has conducted 4 surveys on the experience of the returned scholars. These indicated that 80% of the returned scholars were promoted to higher levels, 33% were moved to higher administrative positions and many were appointed as doctoral supervisors.² Twenty percent of the returned scholars reported breakthroughs in their research results (Ji, 1994: 333). In the most prestigious universities and research institutions, the returnees became core members responsible for innovation in teaching and research activities.

Universities, for their part, have established laboratories equipped with modern technology to facilitate the adoption of new methods of research absorbed from the outside world in the last decade. At the end of 1990, there was an exhibition of the research results produced by returned scholars held in Beijing by the State Education Commission. Of the 2,500 subjects presented, 19 had obtained international awards, 540 had received national awards and 1300 had received provincial and ministry awards (Li, 1994: 334). There has also been a clear social benefit to these international activities, as many new techniques in science and technology have been applied, with direct benefits, to business, industry and other sectors. It can be expected, therefore, that the returned scholars will continue to make important contributions.

²Not all full professors in China are Ph.D. advisors. They must earn this distinction by nomination and approval by national academic committees and the State Education Commission.
4.5.2. Lessons Learned from Abroad for the Reform of Higher Education

Chinese higher education needs more modifications at the policy level, in order to respond to the social and economic reforms taking place throughout the country. Yet, underlying all of the pressures towards educational reform in higher education, and cutting across all arguments to accelerate the shift towards a market economy, is a fundamental and unresolved question of a largely cultural nature: can the culture, values and traditions of China be shaped through education to change the country from a centrally planned economy to a market economy? It is argued that there are cultural and ideological obstacles to the philosophy and practice of a market economy, even with Chinese characteristics (He, 1994: 41-42). There is a view that a market economy is incompatible with socialism, Confucianism and the Chinese history of strong central leadership. It is further stated that the idea of contracts and the law, the notions of elaborate rules and regulations, the philosophy of individualism and competition, are foreign to China, and are distinctly Western and Protestant. Nevertheless, the exchange activities described earlier in this chapter have already had a considerable impact on the Chinese higher education system, supporting its move towards greater autonomy, greater reliance on diverse sources of funding and greater responsiveness to new social and economic needs.

4.6. Summary

As we have seen in this review of educational reform and interaction with the outside world over the past thirty years, there have been a great many changes attempted through legislation, policy reviews and interaction with
other countries. Higher education has increasingly received the close attention of the central government and as a result, considerable progress has been achieved.

Over the centuries, China's relations with the outside world have ranged from complete isolation to limited and tentative interaction. Whether for political, economic, ideological, or cultural reasons, China sought to protect its sovereignty from foreign influences, which have been seen as corrupting, corrosive, decadent or bourgeois. China's reluctance to open its doors is based on a long history of invasion, exploitation, and warfare which can be traced back to the Mongol and Manchu invasions, and more recently, to British domination, the Japanese invasion and Western opportunism. This reluctance was reinforced by a conviction that not very much had been gained through commerce and communication. The Great Wall can be seen as both a real and symbolic sign of the Chinese desire to defend itself from pernicious outside ideals and questionable technologies (Chu & Ju, 1993). The recent Cultural Revolution was an extreme example of this phenomenon and was perhaps the most eloquent proof of the implausibility of isolationism in today's world.

At the same time, China has always recognized the value of selective learning from others, including the West, a theme which was expressed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the early part of the century. His plans and hopes were interrupted by the struggle between the Communist Party and the National Party for political power. This struggle was won by the Communist Party which felt that it could collaborate only with fellow communist countries. This was undertaken and many Chinese scholars and students studied in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and brought back not only social and economic ideas, but advances in science and technology.
When relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe deteriorated, China once again looked inward, but not for long. After the failure of the Cultural Revolution, China once again undertook a cautious exploration of foreign ideas and technologies, this time looking to the West and to Japan.

Since 1980, China has experimented with a large variety of exchanges and linkages with foreign countries, mostly in science and technology, but also in education, health, housing and environment. In the process, a wide variety of formats have been fashioned, some of which worked better than others. Many valuable lessons have been learned and the value of such exchanges has increased gradually.

All of these exchanges between China and other countries can been seen as experiments in the challenging task of sharing knowledge across cultures. How can this sharing best be done so that both sides benefit and positive results can be achieved? We shall now examine one such experiment in detail -- the Canada/China University Linkages Program, to determine its strengths and weaknesses and to see how future activities in this area of higher education can benefit from the lessons learned.
CHAPTER FIVE
THE CANADA-CHINA UNIVERSITY LINKAGE PROGRAM (CCULP)

The recent academic exchange between Canadian universities and universities in China dates from the establishment of Canada's diplomatic relations with China in 1970. While there was the official Canada/China Student Exchange from 1971, there were limited sustained university-to-university activities prior to 1978. With the signing of a broader agreement on educational exchanges and co-operation by the Chinese and the Canadian Governments in June 1979, the shape of Canadian academic relations with China changed dramatically, and joint higher education programs quickly became the most regular vehicle for university academic contact between the two countries (Singer, 1986: 3-4).

After China's announced its "open door" policy in 1978, many Canadian universities took advantage of this opportunity to extend their international activities to China. CIDA's Human Resource Development (HRD) program in China was shaped largely in response to China's open door policy and subsequent rapid modernization, as well as by Canada's broad based interest in China. An agreement on development co-operation between the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade of P.R.China and the Canadian International Development Agency was signed in October of 1983 (Hayhoe, 1989: 148). The priorities agreed upon included the development of human and institutional resources through training, institutional strengthening, and the transfer of technology. CIDA developed its first generation of Human Resource Development (HRD) projects in China between 1982 and 1984 in accordance with the principle, mutually agreed upon between Canada and China, of the "multiplication of contacts at the thinking level". CIDA's Country Program

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Review confirmed in 1984 that HRD was the preferred vehicle to implement this goal (CIDA, October, 1992).

Consistent with these priorities, university linkage programs were among the first and most rapidly growing activities. In many cases, Canadian universities undertook these international activities in China with the assistance of CIDA, and developed exchanges, joint research and other forms of collaboration. Because of the increase in activities by Canadian universities with many developing countries, CIDA decided to coordinate its university related activities under a branch known as Institutional Cooperation and Development Services (ICDS) in the early 1980s. ICDS was allocated a specific budget to cover all university initiated activities. This meant that all the requests from universities would be coordinated through one office instead of, as in the past, by different desks within CIDA. This also forced universities to give more careful thought at the institutional level to priorities for their international activities.¹

Given the rapid development of institutional exchange linkages, CIDA found that the administrative needs of university activities soon became cumbersome, and therefore, looked for other ways of managing the increasing number and complexity of the development projects. By 1987 the China Desk in the Asia Branch was administering 27 university linkages funded by ICDS ($5.4 million). Individual linkage projects tended to be small (under $750,000), requiring labour intensive administrative input. The China HRD program therefore put in place "umbrella mechanisms" which enabled CIDA to contract membership organizations such as the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) and the Canadian Federation of Deans of Management and

Administrative Studies (CFDMAS) to manage a series of discrete university and college linkage projects in Canada and China (Song, 1994).

CIDA’s HRD program responded to China’s development plans in a multifaceted fashion. China’s move to open to the outside world and to become involved in global economic life required changes both in terms of professional upgrading and of management culture. Under this climate, three major institutional exchange programs were launched, namely, the Canada-China College Linkage Program, the Canada-China Management Education Program, and the largest higher education project under CIDA’s Country Program – the Canada-China University Linkages Program (CCULP).

The CCULP was launched in 1988 to facilitate the funding and management of relatively smaller institutional projects to provide assistance to Chinese institutions in various priority areas for China’s professional human resources development. AUCC was selected as the executing agency to serve as CIDA’s agent for Canadian universities’ collaborative programs with China. AUCC was given overall responsibility for the coordination, implementation, monitoring and financial management of the CCULP program, including CIDA’s bilateral university projects and the ICDS projects which were already in place. This arrangement was discussed with the State Education Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade in China, and a memorandum of agreement was drawn up in 1988 giving the basic outline of the purpose and nature of the Canada-China University Linkages Program (CIDA, 1990).
5.1. The Nature and Scope of the CCULP

5.1.1. Organizational Structure

In the CCULP program, the Canadian International Development Agency and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation are the two government sponsoring agencies. Under them as executing agencies are the AUCC in Canada and the State Education Commission in China. They handle all administrative arrangements for the approved linkage projects with partner institutions on both sides.

Three cycles of university linkages were created, with a budget of about half a million for each project over a period of 3 to 5 years. The first cycle of projects began in 1988, and Cycle three, the last round of the projects, began in 1990 and 1991. CCULP has administered 19 million Canadian dollars for 31 linkage projects, which vary from 3 to 6 years each, over the period from 1988 to 1995. A coordinator was designated in the International Division of AUCC to manage the 31 CCULP projects and CIDA appointed a monitor to supervise the program implementation. Almost all the projects received an extension of at least one year because of the delay caused by the 1989 Tiananmen incident.

Projects for cycles one, two, and three received final approval from the Joint Planning Steering Committee, a group which determined linkage policy and procedures and was made up of representatives from the State Education Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, on the Chinese side, and from CIDA and the AUCC on the Canadian side, with observers from each Embassy when appropriate, and the project monitor (also see CCULP organization chart).
5.1.2 Goals and Purposes of the University Linkage Program

The Canada-China University Linkages Program responds directly to China's national development priorities and is intended to assist China to develop its human resources in key areas.

At China's request, the program focused on the identified priorities of human resource development in agriculture, forestry, energy, transportation, and telecommunications. On the institutional level, five areas were designated to receive foremost consideration in the design of linkages. Those components included 1) the enhancement of university capacities for dealing with their external environment; 2) the development of university management capacities; 3) the enhancement of teaching and research; 4) the development of curriculum, and 5) the enhancement of accessibility (AUCC, CCULP Program Guidelines, December 1990).

One of CIDA's priority themes is sustainability, which means linkages should develop the means to maintain the activities started by the projects. Another aspect of sustainability is how Chinese trainees who study in Canada will be re-integrated into their home universities once their period of training is complete (CIDA, 1990).

5.1.3 Project Selection

To be considered, each proposal had to follow certain guidelines set out by the Joint Planning Steering Committee with the most important element being the requirement that partners agreed on the objectives and the methods of operation. The proposals were signed jointly by the presidents of each university. Once the proposal was received by AUCC, prior to submission to
the Joint Committee, it was reviewed in Canada by a screening committee appointed by AUCC, which usually included the representatives of CIDA's relevant departments, and the universities.

The proposals were evaluated and judged on two dimensions: the technical dimension and the development dimension. The technical element was a matter of specific issues of project design, while the development element included strategies to enhance the partnership and to maximize participation. There was also a concern with sustainability once the specific project operation was terminated.

If the proposal received good marks on both technical and development elements, it was then submitted to the Joint Steering Committee for final approval. The committee then gave further assessment on some political and strategic considerations, which might include such matters as the region being served in China, certain specialties and certain technical areas which needed to be improved. The linkage areas proposed went beyond the original mandate favouring sciences, agriculture, environmental science and management training, with a number of new areas of collaboration being proposed by Canadian and Chinese university partners. After the proposal was accepted by CIDA, the AUCC became responsible for its administration and accounting at the university level.

The Joint Steering Committee was also responsible for arranging regular project directors' meetings in China for the Chinese, and in Canada for Canadian project directors. These proved to be valuable occasions for feedback, sharing concerns and follow-up planning.

The supervision of linkages was often provided by regular exchange visits between the two linkage partners. Additional supervision was provided by AUCC staff on periodic visits to certain linkages in either Canada or China.
As well the CIDA monitor made visits to most projects in both China and Canada on a regular basis and submitted his reports to CIDA with recommendations for appropriate action.  

5.1.4. Program Activities

The linkages were intended to strengthen institutions or departments and develop long-term self-sustaining interaction. They involved faculty exchanges, collaborative research, training in Canada, program and curriculum development. In addition, supporting materials and minor equipment were provided. There was also provision for national program elements such as conferences, seminars and study tours in Canada and in China. Funds were provided for the development of information on Sino-Canadian co-operation and to encourage contact between universities in the two nations. The project linkages were expected to become self-sustaining after the designated period was completed, usually 3 to 5 years. Partners were encouraged to seek other sources of funding from foundations, UN agencies, provincial governments, industries, and so forth.

As the projects approached the end of their term, AUCC initiated a final evaluation process. This was to be completed at the end of the project according to a format which was to provide final and complete information to CIDA, AUCC and SEdC on the outcomes and impact. During the course of the linkage, the partner in Canada was required to provide quarterly narrative reports to AUCC giving highlights of the activities, including budget details.

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5.1.5 Distribution of Subject and Geographic Areas

The scope and nature of CCULP was based on the two governments' concern for development in a wide range of areas, thought to be key to China's modernization program. Also of priority were CIDA's concerns for institutional development, women in development, the environment and the sustainability of linkage projects.

The Chinese priorities, as mentioned before, were human resource development in public health, agriculture, forestry, energy, transportation, and telecommunications at the initial stage of the program. Later, projects also involved the social sciences, with emphasis on education, and higher education in particular, as China's identified needs in these fields.

Among the 31 joint projects of CCULP, 29% (9 projects) were in health and nutrition; 26% in engineering (from communication to transportation); 13% in education (from higher education and educational management to co-operation education); another 13% in environmental sciences; and 6% each in agriculture, community development and international relations (See Appendix D).

Though there were no precise guidelines regarding the geographic distribution of linkages in China (or in Canada), there was an understanding that not all should be assigned to large, well-known universities in the central and coastal regions, even though they were often better prepared, in terms of experience and level of expertise, to gain greater benefit from the exchanges. A strong case was made to include universities in inland centres, which were eager to take part in international exchange, and showed good indications of giving a project significant support. Consequently, an informal compromise
was reached making possible the involvement of Chengdu, Chongqing, Mianyang in the Southwest region, Xian and Lanzhou in the Northwest region, Changchun in the Northeast and Wuhan in the central south. It will be noted that Beijing, not surprisingly, but perhaps unfairly, received 8 of the 31 projects. Though each was worthwhile, it would be interesting to speculate if other projects in more remote areas were sacrificed, or whether they simply were unable to compete successfully.

5.2. External Factors Influencing the Progress of CCULP

During the implementation of the CCULP, rapid social change occurred throughout Chinese society, and three developments are worth special mention because of the impact they have had on the existing international exchange programs and are likely to have on future cooperation. These were the Tiananmen Movement in 1989; the rapid transition from planned to market economy in the beginning of the 1990s; and the trend to decentralization including the administration of higher education.

5.2.1. The 1989 Tiananmen Movement

After the country’s opening its door for a decade, China absorbed not only Western science and technology, but theories of modernity and social change as well. Unsatisfied with orthodox Marxist and Maoist social science theories, the young progressive generation of intellectuals were ready to dialogue with state leaders and to request more rapid social change along with the rapid pace of economic reform.

300,000 young people who had a clear sense of a historical mission, carrying red banners, chanting, singing, and going on hunger-strikes, sat in
Tiananmen Square for more than a month, and even went so far as to erect a "Goddess of Democracy". Millions joined pro-Tiananmen demonstrations in different cities all over the country. They believed they could make their dreams come true, and they swore to fight to the end, seeing this as the only way to demonstrate the Chinese people's passionate quest for democracy.

The Chinese government lost patience with the students and imposed martial law followed by a military crack-down against unarmed civilians on June 4, 1989. The whole movement lasted 50 days, and ended in a ten hour bloodbath that shook the world. "As quickly as it had come, it was over. China's future was suddenly its past" (Simmon & Nixon, 1989: 2). Students were driven away from the square and society was forced back to the "right order" the government desired.

These events, carried on international television, shocked the world and forced a re-evaluation of China's stated policy of openness and tolerance. Many countries who were pursuing closer relations with China in trade and commerce, and in scholarly exchanges, called a halt to further co-operation while they attempted to reassess their future with China. CCULP was directly affected by the Tiananmen event and all linkages slowed down or stopped for at least a year. Some Canadian universities openly questioned whether they should continue to have anything to do with China, since its government seemed to have taken unnecessarily extreme measures to dispel a democratic protest. However, none of the linkages were canceled, and, after a delay, activities resumed. There was, nevertheless, a sharper awareness of the political situation in China and the possible implications of future involvement. The Chinese, for their part, tried to reassure their partners that nothing in the original agreement had changed and that they wanted very
much to carry on. Most linkages, as a result, were extended by one year to make up for the time lost.

5.2.2. The Transition from a Planned to a Market Economy

China's earlier tentative experimentation with the market or commodity economy in the 1980s gained support and direction from Deng Xiaoping and accreted rapidly after 1991 when it was adopted as a national policy to be supported and implemented by all sectors of society, including higher education (He, 1994). Universities were, therefore, confronted with the enormous task of providing training and research in all matters related to a market economy and increased international trade. New courses were required in economics, financial and fiscal policy, banking, securities, stocks and bonds, marketing, accounting and law. Some CCULP projects attempted modifications to include emphasis in these subjects wherever appropriate. Any future collaboration in higher education will have to recognize the importance of this transition to a market economy and new projects will need to be designed in terms of the priorities which the new market economy requires.

One immediate result of this transition needs to be recognized as detrimental to the development of higher education. This transition has created a "brain drain" from universities to business and industry, including joint-ventures and foreign multinationals. Many faculty members have been attracted by new opportunities and better compensation offered by these exciting new developments (He, 1994: 37-46). This crisis will need to be addressed urgently, if China is to succeed in its efforts to raise its universities to
an international level and if it is to provide attractive partners for international educational cooperation.

5.2.3. The Decentralization of Control over Higher Education

The third trend which became evident during this period was the decision of the Chinese government to decentralize many of its functions and responsibilities. This has implications for economic development, the management of municipalities, the development of infrastructures, social services and education. It has a strong impact on the management of universities, which have been challenged to move rapidly from an older style of administration orchestrated largely by the central government to a new, still poorly defined style which gives more autonomy to the university itself in such key matters as hiring and firing, fundraising, curricular reform and international cooperation. Many university presidents and senior administrators have accepted this challenge, and are developing creative strategies to take advantage of this new independence. However, they have expressed their strong desire to learn from what their colleagues in Canada and elsewhere are doing as chief executives of universities. There is an interest in university management generally, and in such specific matters as the involvement of faculty in decision making, student rights, student and faculty housing, the role of research and new teaching methods.

Programs such as CCULP should benefit from this trend since it will permit more university to university projects to be developed with less bureaucratic control from central or provincial governments. Initiatives will be encouraged, creativity will be stimulated and institutional innovations will be
fostered. In the future, though the central and provincial governments will retain an important role, there will be more freedom to experiment.

One of the major concerns prompted by this decentralization is that of university governance. This concern was the theme of a special CIDA sponsored “Second Canada-China University Presidents Conference” held in Canada November 5-7, 1993 at Kananaskis Village in Alberta (the first such conference was held in Tianjin, Nankai university and helped launch the CCULP). The Kananaskis conference brought together 40 Chinese and Canadian university presidents to discuss matters of mutual concern. The topics discussed were determined through consultation, and included 1) university governance, 2) the university and its constituency, 3) the internationalization of campuses, 4) teaching and learning, 5) research and technology transfer, 6) innovative approaches to Canada-China university co-operation (AUCC, 1994 b).

This conference provided an opportunity for a brief review of CCULP and helped to identify possible future directions. The conference also provided an opportunity for Canadian and Chinese universities as well as the State Education Commission in China to discuss their current themes and priorities. The conference also stimulated the preparation of a policy paper by AUCC for presentation to CIDA entitled “Canadian Universities and China: A Policy of Cooperation”. The paper offered three major recommendations:

First, CIDA’s revised China Program should feature human resource development in the university sector. Second, CIDA’s program of university co-operation with China should include five interacting elements: the Canada-China knowledge network; the Canada-China management development program; the Canada-China institutional partnerships program; the Canada-China conference program; and the Canada-China joint research program. Finally, this new program should
uphold principles of transparency, fairness and open competition (AUCC, 1994b: 2).

The author would like to argue that the above three developments -- the Tiananmen Movement, China's transition to a market economy, and the decentralization of higher education -- could not have been predicted or taken into account in designing CCULP. Important and far-reaching as they have been, singly and in combination, they have had a major impact in Chinese society and to some extent, have affected CCULP, often for the better, as both sides responded well to the challenges provided. Clearly, the implications of these changes will have to be taken into account for future programs of educational exchange.

5.3. Lessons Learned from the CCULP: Canadian Perspectives

The CCULP program has resulted in some valuable lessons learned by both Canadian and Chinese partners. Such experience will be helpful in designing and managing future institutional exchange programs. In this summary of lessons learned, the focus is on the Canadian perspective, while in Chapter Six, the focus moves to Chinese perspectives on CCULP.

The following lessons learned have been gathered from a variety of studies and reports as well as from discussions with project directors, CIDA personnel and the CIDA monitor.

1. Short, specific, finite projects have their place, particularly when viewed exclusively from the standpoint of development aid, but for sustainability and the creation of stable knowledge exchange relationships, time is essential. Both the Chinese and Canadian participants agreed that such linkages as were intended in CCULP projects need to be of longer duration to
achieve such goals as sustainability, capacity building and institutional development. And this is an important finding when one notes that most CCULP projects were originally planned to run for three to four years. Some, unfortunately, were interrupted and delayed by the aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen incident; they certainly required more time to consolidate gains and achieve their longer term objectives.

2. Canadian universities, and especially Canadian project directors, discovered that the greatest challenge in the linkage revolved around management of the activity, or what has been termed "developmental factors", rather than "technical factors". In effect, CCULP served for many project directors as a training ground, and, as a result, universities have become more knowledgeable about the process of development work, not only the technical expertise involved.

3. Linkages benefited when there was a broad base of involvement as well as support from senior administration. In addition, linkages were improved when government departments, business and industry were involved and received benefit.

4. Institutional development and capacity building were often neglected in the early stage of linkages, but became increasingly urgent as linkages proceeded. Therefore, it was learned that early attention needs to be given to these important goals to allow the institution time to adjust and assimilate new experience.

5. Linkages require clarity of goals and objectives and good understanding on both sides. Those linkages which had the advantage of a long and thorough planning period have run more successfully and with fewer difficulties than those which were launched more abruptly.
6. The CCULP's progress gave evidence of the need for some means of rapid collaborative reaction to an unexpected event. The problem of non-returnees was a serious set-back. It could be minimized if the participant selection process took this into account, with more careful preparation and a clear professional role for returnees. Without such assurance of recognition for the work done abroad, even senior scholars tended to feel under utilized and unappreciated. When projects provided for post return follow-up and continued contact with Canadian partners, the partnership persists and return rate of scholars increased considerably.

7. Some linkages created joint management teams including Chinese and Canadian academics who met periodically to review and plan activities. These proved of practical benefit and facilitated appropriate placements, modifications in schedules, and the development of further collaboration.

8. The open sharing of information, especially budgetary matters, is essential if mutuality is to be built. A number of projects suffered because the Canadian side neglected to keep its Chinese partner informed and involved.

9. Arrangements for joint degree programs proceeded slowly, since there was often reluctance for one institution to accept another institution's courses as equivalent. This needs further attention.

10. Cultural orientation for both Chinese and Canadians was not always consistently provided, but was frequently identified as an element which could accelerate learning.

11. The activities surrounding the linkage produced occasions for publications and research which are a concrete indication of the value of the linkage. As well, the publication of new texts, the revision of curricula and the introduction of new teaching methods were demonstrations of the value of the linkage.
12. The use of national elements which permitted a wider dissemination in Canada and China of the benefits of the linkage proved very popular, and in many cases, set up opportunities for further collaboration, beyond the terms of the linkage.

13. One important lesson learned reflects Canadian universities' relations with CIDA. There has been a long history of misunderstanding and disagreement between CIDA and the university community, largely because each does not understand the distinctive imperatives of the other. CIDA is a government agency working within civil-servant type policy and procedural constraints. It is clearly in the business of promoting and implementing official policy and priorities. The university is an autonomous academic institution whose main function is not enhancing Canadian foreign relations but the promotion of learning and research. The collaboration of personnel from both agencies for specific projects can improve mutual appreciation, but does not always lead to this desirable state. AUCC has performed a most important role for the CCULP in acting as a bridge, bringing the two together. It can be stated that working relations between university project personnel and CIDA counterparts are better when there is frequent consultation and collaboration, and the interpretative middleman role of AUCC was most helpful.

14. Finally, for Canadian university community, the CCULP provided access for Canada-China university collaboration in very diversified areas. In the process, it has strengthened leadership, partnership and morale in cross-cultural intellectual communication.²

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² Interview with the Program Officer, China Desk of CIDA, July 14, 1994.
5.4. Summary

It should be stated that CCULP, in its present umbrella model, is perhaps best seen as an ongoing concern which has yet to produce an ideal or perfect model. The emphasis is on the updating and learning which can be provided by Canadian universities to those universities and faculty members in China who are in need of such education programs. Even in its brief history, CCULP has undergone a number of modifications and improvements, and recent evaluations showed considerable success in terms of its achievement of objectives and its delivery of the programs specified. Based on this positive outcome, a new CIDA supported Special University Linkage Consolidation Program (SULCP) was approved recently, by the Foreign Affairs Minister. SULCP will sustain links between Canadian and Chinese universities in areas of development need in China. Its purpose is to build on the more successful CCULP projects and to consolidate their impact, in ways that maximize mutual benefit to China and Canada.3

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CHAPTER SIX
VIEWS FROM THE CHINESE SIDE ON THE CANADA-CHINA UNIVERSITY LINKAGE PROGRAM

Having presented, in the last chapter, a history of the development of the Canada-China University Linkage Program (CCULP) and a summary of lessons learned by Canadian universities in this project, it is appropriate that this chapter be devoted to analysis and discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of CCULP from a Chinese perspective. The chapter will also assess CCULP according to the model proposed by Mazrui, which has been introduced in Chapter Two of this thesis.

This chapter has three sections. The first reviews and analyses the responses of the Chinese project directors to the questionnaire designed to obtain their views of CCULP from a Chinese university's perspective (see appendix B). Of central importance to any exchange program such as CCULP is its value for the client it is intended to benefit, in this case, Chinese universities. How do the Chinese partners believe they have benefited from the programs? Were these the benefits expected by both parties? From this experience can any improvements be suggested? The second section outlines general principles and lessons learned from a Chinese perspective, and the final part includes a brief theoretical discussion of the knowledge transfer which projects of this type attempt.
6.1. Principal Observations from the Questionnaires and Interviews

Chinese opinions about strengths and weaknesses of the linkages as designed by CCULP were obtained in written replies of the Chinese Project Directors to a questionnaire including 15 questions which addressed the issues from project design to implementation, as well as the future prospects of such programs (see Appendix B), and also, through selected interviews in China with some of the project directors and a number of government officials from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation (MOFTEC) and State Education Commission (SEdC). These data were subjected to analysis both for material directly related to the question and for general reactions and common themes. There were altogether 19 respondents to the questionnaire. Interviews were transcribed and were reviewed by each interviewee for accuracy. The interviews generally took about an hour, although some were longer. The interviews were informal discussions which followed the questions in the questionnaire but permitted much lateral and incidental commentary and useful anecdotes. In the interview with Chinese officials, the purpose was to obtain opinions and reactions from their point of view and that of their office.

In this section, each question has been given and is followed by a digest or summary of the written replies and, where available, of the interview comments.

Q.1. How were the original objectives of your project defined and what were the linkage objectives as you understood them?

Responses indicate overwhelmingly that the objectives of the project were clearly understood by the Chinese partners. They had been developed in
consultation with the Canadian originator in accordance with the overall objectives of CIDA's human resources development guidelines. In each case, the number of trainees was specified, and their areas of study and schedules identified. The number and the frequency of Canadian visitors were also determined. Where modifications were suggested during the project, they had been agreed on through joint consultation and with AUCC's approval. Though the subject areas varied greatly (for example, from molecular biology to clinical nutrition, from building materials to educational administration), there were common goals and identifiable threads: faculty upgrading, joint research, capacity building, management training, and curriculum development.

To take one example, the Université de Montréal and the Shanghai Institute of Mechanical Engineering were linked in a joint research project on land use and transportation optimization. Its major objectives were (1) to train Chinese scholars, professionals and government officials in various disciplines of transportation science, and (2) to establish in Shanghai a centre for research on transportation systems. The stated program goals were 1) to achieve mutual benefit and extend the international reputation of both institutions in this area of science; 2) to build an infrastructure to meet the needs of economic reform and transition in China; 3) to improve the quality of research in this area and promote use of research outcomes; and 4) to disseminate products of this linkage project to many regions of the country.

Q 2. *Were the original objectives changed in the course of the project? If so, how did the change occur?*

Most project directors reported that no major or significant changes had been required; the linkages proceeded as planned. In some six cases minor
changes had been required, made necessary by a combination of the following factors: 1) In some cases, budgets were reallocated because of inflation in Canada. This meant that fewer trainees could be involved and/or their length of time was shortened.

2) Because of the problem of non-returnees, priorities were adjusted and personnel selection had to be revised in some cases. This required a change in the early statement of priorities which had made provision for the advanced degree training of younger faculty. Instead, preference was given to more senior faculty who went to Canada for shorter periods of time.

3) Changes often needed to be made in the study programs designed for each scholar. This was especially obvious if the program had involved degree work. However, such changes were usually effected without difficulty. It should be noted that during the first two years of CCULP, the Chinese project directors were reluctant to request changes. They were uncertain about the extent of their responsibility and that of their Canadian partners. However, by the final years of linkage projects, this reluctance to request changes was overcome, largely because of the insistence of the AUCC and CIDA personnel who at project directors' meetings, worked to establish a more equal partnership which involved greater consultation and more joint planning.

Q.3. In the management of the project, how did you communicate with your Canadian partner over information exchange, adjustments and other managerial issues?

Smooth management of the linkage between the two sets of players in a project depends greatly on the quality and frequency of communication between the partners. Such communication was necessary to keep abreast of faculty exchanges, visiting programs and schedules and to discuss requested
modifications. Sound communication also ensured careful planning of the following year's activities. In about half of the cases, project directors reported that communication occurred primarily through an annual personal visit either of the Chinese project director to Canada, or vice versa or both. This was enhanced by visiting scholars both to Canada and to China who represented the respective project directors and served as messengers. There was also, of course, frequent communication through the regular exchange of letters and reports, initially, and later in the linkage, through the use of fax machines. Telephone communication was also used when necessary. In addition, the project monitor carried information and requests back and forth between the partners of the linkage projects and between projects and the CIDA and AUCC.

In a number of cases, the project directors on both sides found it valuable to involve their administration (the dean, vice president, president) in the exchange of information, and in the clarification of important issues.

**Q.4. How were your visiting candidates selected? What was the selection process?**

It was generally recognized that selection of the best and most appropriate scholar was crucial to the success of the linkage project. But the process by which selection was made varied greatly. There was a general acceptance of the following criteria: 1) The scholar should be a core member of the department, so when he or she returned a leadership role could be taken. 2) Some attempt should be made to determine that the candidates were committed to, and desired to, return to their posts at the home university and actually use their new learning. 3) The candidates chosen must be competent, and experienced in the subject area of exchange; this was accepted as the most important selection factor. For example, in the Waterloo/Shanghai linkage,
scholars from China interested in visiting Waterloo were expected to have some field experience of cooperative education. 4) An important related factor in viewing candidates was their language skills in English or French. In most cases, the task of selecting candidates was shared with the Canadian partner who was invited to make comments and indicate preferences. In some cases the Canadian project director had the opportunity to interview candidates while visiting the Chinese partner institute.

In summary, the descriptions of the selection process and the criteria used to determine which Chinese scholars should visit Canada as part of each linkage project reveal that selection was made considering the candidate's sense of responsibility and commitment (core faculty members were given preference), and on the basis of relevant academic training and experience, language competency and position in the Chinese university. All selection processes whether involving a committee, or only a single senior staff member of the institution attempted to assess the candidate's leadership potential.

Q.5. Did you have some supervision mechanism with regard to visiting scholars? Did you set any goals in terms of evaluating them?

Responses to this question show that there is unanimous agreement on the need for both partners of the linkage and the scholar involved to have a clear understanding of the scholar's objectives and goals for the study period in Canada. Generally, this took the shape of a statement of a research topic or a mission statement prepared by the candidate and agreed to by the Chinese institution and the Canadian supervisor. In most cases, regular and/or final reports were required to be submitted by the scholar. They were expected to give some precise notions of progress. Reports were also written on the
scholar's progress by the Canadian supervisor, and these were shared with the Chinese institution.

The ideal circumstance was for the scholars to use the period in Canada as a continuation of their own teaching and research interests in China, thus ensuring that their Canadian experience could be directly applied upon their return. In the few cases, where the scholars were working towards degrees, whether in Canada or China, joint supervision was provided.

In brief, the most successful visits were those where the agenda of the scholar was understood and accepted by both the Chinese and Canadian institutions and supervision was considered satisfactory. Successful supervision depended upon clarity of purpose, joint participation and regular reporting by both the visitor and the supervisors.

Q.6. What kind of impact has your linkage project had on your faculty and your institute?

The Chinese respondents showed remarkable unanimity when considering this question. There is considerable agreement about the nature and impact which the linkage had on their institution and its related faculties. The most common clear recognition was of the value of being exposed to new technology, new knowledge and new materials. Visitors were brought up to date with advances in their disciplines and fields through their research projects, through informal discussions with their Canadian colleagues, and by attending conferences and workshops.

Most respondents indicated that the exchange had led to strengthening the core faculty of the institution in their ability to provide leadership in teaching and research, some gave specific examples. The Norman Bethune
Medical College in Changchun, Northeast China, for instance, reported that new methods in teaching, research and treatment were learned in relation to oncology. They developed a new curriculum and established a new oncology unit to treat out-patients. In the process, a complete team was developed which included physicians, counselors, technicians and follow-up researchers and social workers. The returned scholars together, had identified nine new research areas, published 50 papers and three books. Often respondents singled out curriculum development for special mention to indicate how the visiting scholar’s experience had been incorporated into new learning. Also there were several cases, where the establishment of new research centres was cited.

Transportation, life science research and cooperative education are conspicuous examples.

The Southwest Institute of Technology in Sichuan which was linked with Laurentian University of Sudbury, Ontario in a project involving geology and mining engineering, reported several outcomes of their five-year linkage. These included the installation of computer applications in mining, the establishment of a Department of Resource, Economic & Environmental Engineering, and the beginning of programs of basic training in engineering for minorities through distance education workshops. They also expressed pride in their achievement as relatively small institutions: “We are creating a sample of international co-operation for smaller universities.”

Other project results which were commonly reported as evidence of describable impact include a variety of specific additions to teaching and research, and such things as upgrading the library, adding continuing education programs and expanding the use of computer technology.

There was general appreciation of the opportunity to be exposed to Western ideas and to determine their suitability for the Chinese situation.
There was general agreement that experience abroad has led to academic innovation, to policy changes, to institutional building and, in particular, to the strengthening of research methodology. Respondents expressed their appreciation at being involved in international activities and were desirous of continuing and expanding their involvement.

Q.7. How have your visiting scholars been upgraded through their specific learning in Canada, and in which ways (performance/promotion)?

The responses to a number of the questions demonstrate that the Chinese project directors are well aware that the linkage projects produced benefits for their institutions, departments, research centres and individuals. With this question it was the individual benefit which was being probed -- perceptions of the personal and individual learning which resulted from the Chinese scholars' visits to Canada. The most common response revealed an awareness that there was indeed increased knowledge in and of the individual specialty, especially in the international context. Not only had scholars become acquainted with specific research techniques and new extensions of their fields, but also with what they termed "Western modes of thought". They had been introduced to different ways of perceiving and conceptualizing problems and challenges; they had developed networks of Western contacts and gained better understanding of Western institutions as well as teaching and research methodologies.

Side benefits which were also highly appreciated include greater competency in a foreign language, advanced computer skills and familiarity with a wider range of journals representing the professional/technical literature. These were fortunate by-products of their study programs in Canada. In some cases, visitors had become acquainted with state of the art studies in
their respective fields and got a sense of international standards of scholarship and research. This specialized study abroad put scholars in a leadership role and in many cases led to their early promotion and greater involvement in decision making.

Not surprisingly, the scholar's study abroad and their interaction with Canadian colleagues led to the publication of many academic and professional papers and textbooks, and considerable curriculum improvement. In general, respondents reported that scholars demonstrated improved professional knowledge in their field, both in theory and practice, and greater academic competence. In one case, the linkage led to a complete survey of the Canadian potential in clinical nutrition and resulted in a linkage which rehabilitated this important field, one which had been neglected in China for 30 years.

Q.8. How are returning scholars making use of their new knowledge in China? What has been their contribution to their home university?

Perhaps the most common response to the question was that contributions were made through publications both in China and abroad. These updated their colleagues in the field. Also most of the returning scholars have undertaken to give short courses and workshops on their experiences in Canada. Much of their learning has been applied to changes in curriculum and teaching methods.

Where finances were available, research centres were created. An example is the Transportation Research Centre of the Shanghai Institute for Mechanic Engineering established in conjunction with Geography Department at the University of Montreal; another is the Cooperative Education Association which emerged from the linkage between the Shanghai Textile Institute and the University of Waterloo.
An especially effective means of disseminating new knowledge which seems to have developed is collaboration with industry in China. For example, the returning scholars of Beijing University of Science and Technology, who had worked in metallurgy at McMaster University, shared their new knowledge with the Chinese iron and steel industry. This, in turn, led to the stimulation of foreign investment to China.

The value of international co-operation projects such as CCULP should be measured not only by the degree to which the new learning is relevant to the scholar's field but in addition, to how the new learning was applied, disseminated and extended. The responses to this question indicated the rich variety of ways in which scholars made use of their learning back home. Those who introduced new ideas in teaching and research contributed to the upgrading of their departments and to the status of their institutions. In general, improvements were identified in teaching, research, publications, conferences, curriculum reforms, the creation of new institutes and collaboration with business and industry.

**Q.9. How have you shared the new knowledge with the academic community at home and internationally?**

This question was intended to assess how the benefits of international exchanges are shared. Unless there is a conscious effort to share experience domestically and internationally, benefits may occur only to the individuals and their own departments or institutions. Such outcomes, while useful, are limited if they remain parochial. Therefore, returned scholars are always encouraged to find ways to share their new knowledge and experience with their colleagues in the institution and in the academic community generally. One strategy, which was frequently reported, was to invite Canadian scholars to
visit China as speakers or resource people for conferences, with a wide
spectrum of Chinese participants from universities, from industry,
government and related agencies. These Canadian visitors were asked not only
to give conference presentations but also to lecture on advanced research in
several presentations. Symposia were convened. In many cases, national
elements grants from CIDA were used for the specific purpose of disseminating
new knowledge or technology to the community.

Sharing was also facilitated by official support in China. For example,
the Ryerson/Lanzhou Railway Institute, enjoys the support of the Ministry of
Railways which provides a natural outlet for information, and a body of
officials who, as professionals, benefit from seminars and other project
activities. The Ministry connection also provides publicity through
newspapers, radio and television.

Another example may be found in the Shanghai/Waterloo linkage in
cooperative education. After several years of experimenting a new co-operation
education program, the Shanghai University of Engineering Science sent a
delegation to the World Conference of Cooperative Education in Hong Kong
where they presented papers and brought back to China an overview of new
directions in cooperative education throughout the world. The strong interest
thus created led to the formation in 1991 of the Society for Cooperative
Education, which is to promote cooperative education throughout the country.
This was a significant result of the CCULP project.

One of the most extensive examples is the Canada/China Joint Doctoral
Program in Education which links the Ontario Institute for Studies in
Education of the University of Toronto with seven normal universities in
China. One of its activities, held under the auspices of the CCULP National
Elements, the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and
UNESCO, was a large international conference entitled "Knowledge Across Cultures: Universities East and West". This took place in Toronto in October 1992, and coincided with Unesco's Decade of Cultural Development (1985-1995). It brought a distinguished group of Chinese scholars to Canada. The delegation included five distinguished senior professors in education, and Professor Xie Xide, a renowned physicist, a former president of Fudan University, and China’s most distinguished woman intellectual leader. They met with senior scholars from India, Africa, the Middle East, North America and Europe to participate in a great dialogue across civilizations to discuss systematic ways of thinking about universities and the creation and dissemination of knowledge throughout the world. The result was a remarkable conversation about knowledge and power, and the cross-cultural transfer of knowledge between the East and West. Following the conference, a book under the same title was published jointly by OISE Press and Hubei Education Press in China in 1993.

In May 1994, a follow-up conference took place in the ancient Chinese Yuelu Academy under the title of "Indigenous Knowledge and Cultural Interchange: Challenge to the Idea of the University". The themes of this conference challenged the concept of the 'university' as it approaches the 21st century. Can it accommodate concepts of higher education as expressed in different societies and cultures? Scholars from all over the world learned of and discussed the traditions and reforms in Chinese higher education, the value of alternative traditions of higher learning, and differing emerging paradigms for higher education in the coming century (Hayhoe & Pan, 1995: 12).

In summary, respondents gave many examples to show that there has commonly been a conscious attempt when visiting scholars return to their
institutions to continue and expand upon the contacts they have made. There has been recognition that benefits must be shared not only within the institution but broadly to the Chinese academic community. The most common device used is the invitational workshop and seminar. It has also been generally recognized that avenues of exchange must be kept open. This is ensured by organizing larger conferences and arranging for Canadian contacts to give papers in China which are followed, frequently, by other more specialized seminars and lectures.

Q.10. What institutional support and recognition has the linkage project received from your university?

It is evident that success in a linkage would be more likely if the partners' involvement and commitment extended to the highest levels of university administration. Therefore, in many cases, the president, or the vice president, and the director of the foreign affairs office were involved in the definition and implementation of the linkage. In some cases, the president or the vice president even served as director of the linkage project. It seems evident that the less effective projects can be traced in part to the lack of involvement of senior personnel who might have provided prestige and continuity. That this lack was recognized as a contributing factor was made apparent in the replies to the question.

One might even say that the higher the status and prestige of the persons involved in and committed to the project and the broader the backing in terms of agencies and contracts, the higher the probability of success and of creating some ongoing interest entity. If a project lacks the backing of prestigious,
knowledgeable and committed personnel, however worthy its active members, it would probably lack impact and commitment.

The strategy adopted by the Shanghai University of Engineering Science which was linked with the University of Waterloo in cooperative education, was to obtain the involvement not only of senior academics, but also of the municipal government, the Textile industry, the Bureau of Higher Education and the Unions. All were early participants in the consultations for and planning of, the linkage project. This ensured the co-operation of all parties throughout the history of the project.

The Chinese institutions were encouraged by CIDA and AUCC to appoint an advisory committee representing relevant stakeholders in the planning and the implementation of the projects. Respondents reported that the advice was generally followed and they believed their projects benefited from the advisory committee.

**Q.11. What have been the main benefits to your institution from the linkage?**

Almost all responses to this question identified such benefits as professional training, academic upgrading, and administrative improvement. Most felt that exposure to the West gave the linkage partner an introduction to international standards in their academic field and the ability to assess the utility and relevance of new knowledge to their work. This translated into improved curricula, teaching and research. The Chinese visiting scholars became familiar with new theoretical literature, and advanced computer technology. They were able to observe and participate in Canadian research and, as well, were able to attend international conferences in Canada and elsewhere.
Some linkages went even further. The returning scholars from such institutions as the Norman Bethune Medical University, the Shanghai University of Engineering Science, and the Shanghai Second Medical University have formed core staff groups which work together to provide leadership in the implementation of new ideas in teaching and research. A new generation of well trained scholars is emerging in China. They are familiar with international standards, with new structures of knowledge and new research methods. Many respondents expressed appreciation of such important incidental benefits as improved library and computer facilities and the development of new networks of friendship.

The project of the Lanzhou Railway Institute in Northwest China linked it with Ryerson Polytechnic University in Toronto in a program of computer applications in transportation, specifically focused on women. During an interview, the Chinese project director emphasized that the reason for choosing computer applications as the project focus was the expectation that this would benefit the whole institute instead of only one or two departments. He explained: "We need to improve the infrastructure and upgrade the system". He feels that they certainly achieved this goal. By the end of 1993, the Institute Library ranked number one in the province; students' general test scores were the highest, and a Northwest Railway Continuing Education Centre had been established in the Institute for the purpose of training minority women railway workers.

It is clear from the responses to this question that in many linkages, the benefits of the project went well beyond the participating institution. Returning faculty shared their overseas experiences and research outcomes with other universities, government and industry, and created networks to facilitate a broader base of support and further advances in their field.
Q.12. Have you, and are you presently, confronting problems and barriers in project implementation?

The responses to this question covered a wide variety of items. As might be expected, the most common discouraging problem was non-returning visiting scholars. In the early days of the project, they caused a very negative impact on participation-linkage projects. As a result of the distressing incidence of non-returnees, changes were made in the criteria for selection. More senior faculty were chosen and sent for shorter periods of time. It was the younger faculty who had been tempted to stay longer.

Another problem mentioned with some frequency was the lack of follow-up plans which left the Chinese partner wondering where to go for support when the linkage project concluded. However, most linkages had planned for follow-up, but with little guarantee that it would be provided. The implication was that follow-up would be provided by Chinese resources.

A further set of problems frequently encountered arose from lack of clarity about the budget and its management. In about one third of the linkages the Chinese partners had little or no knowledge about the budget and therefore, lacked the knowledge necessary to see how it could be modified when the need arose. At the halfway mark of the CCULP, CIDA did make it clear that budgetary matters should be open and flexible but, apparently, this did not always ensure budget visibility.

Other problems identified included: 1) complexity in managing joint degree programs and difficulties due to different levels of degree requirements and procedures. Also rising inflation, and increased tuition fees and living costs in Canada made it necessary to reduce the number of visitors to Canada
and the length of their stay. This led to disappointment and criticism. One respondent mentioned difficulties arising from different cultural expectations and different educational systems. This is another matter that needs further study if it is expected the Chinese visiting scholars will adapt smoothly to Canadian ways.

Several Chinese partners considered the length of projects too short. This was especially true given the delays following the 1989 Tiananmen Event and the subsequent policy changes. There was a general feeling that a longer project period would result in a more thorough assimilation of the new learning and experiences and, therefore, lead to better institutional development and more equitable participation.

Q.13. In your opinion, did this linkage achieve its stated goals? What changes would you like to see in any new project both from administrative and from implementing levels, based on your experience with the current project?

The unanimous response to this question was that all goals had been achieved. This speaks well for the quality of each linkage and for the role of the project directors and recognizes as well, the management role of AUCC and SEdC. Some Chinese partners in answering this question, went on to suggest how certain improvements could be introduced. For example, in most cases, they would appreciate having more hardware and equipment, especially when their visits in Canada introduced them to advanced conditions in the field. Obviously, to continue their work on a high level, they need equipment and material.

Some responses indicated a desire for more equal partnership where decisions were made jointly, where management was more integrated and
where the two sides worked together as colleagues rather than as donor and beneficiary. This was particularly evident in budget matters which in many cases were not shared openly with Chinese partners.

There was a strong general feeling that the benefits achieved during the length of the project needed to be reinforced and consolidated, but there was uncertainty as to how this might be accomplished. All partners would like to see their projects continue but realized this might not be possible.

Regarding the visits to China by Canadian scholars, it was suggested that more careful attention be given to specific Chinese needs and that the Canadians offer presentations on a somewhat higher level. They would also welcome longer stays in China around one month rather than brief visits which gave the visitor little opportunity to adjust to the local situation.

A perceptive suggestion made by one partner was that Canadian faculty might be better prepared to supervise the Chinese visitors through a thorough understanding of their supervisee’s level of competence, their work habits, and expectations.

Some of the smaller universities made the point that they should not be overlooked in such exchange programs and indeed, might be a better partner than some of the larger universities.

Beijing University of Science and Technology pointed out the value of returning scholars combining their teaching and research with business and industry, so that practical benefits would be more immediately realized.
Q.14. What do you think of the roles, performances and effectiveness of the agencies of AUCC, CIDA and SEdC in managing the linkage projects?

This may have been an unfair question to address to the Chinese partners since they did not all have direct experience with AUCC and CIDA, but they did have direct contact with SEdC. Also, they may have been reluctant to make too many comments of a negative nature. However, we can take heart from the uniformly positive evaluation given by each Chinese respondent. We can assume from this that relations were generally well managed and that the senior administrative bodies did not provide any impediment, but instead, appeared to facilitate the smooth running of the linkage.

All responses, indicated a positive assessment ranging from good to very good. Some additional comments are worth quoting here. For example, Norman Bethune Medical University singled out the Canadian project director for high praise. The Shanghai Institute of Mechanical Engineering suggested that SEdC/MOFTEC should provide more Chinese funding to future projects as an indication of firm commitment to the exchange program. The same institution also commented that visits to China could have been better prepared in terms of a higher level of content and longer period of stay. Several Chinese partners expressed appreciation of the CIDA monitor's role in clarifying some points and improving communication with their Canadian counterparts. Again, several project directors indicated that the project directors' meetings in China every year were very worthwhile in providing an opportunity not only to exchange experiences but to solve common problems and to clarify policy matters from both the Chinese and Canadian governments. One Chinese institution commented that the responsiveness of SEdC could have been quicker.
Q.15. Do you have any further comments or suggestions for the design of future higher education exchange programs?

As has been indicated earlier, all Chinese partners would like to see the linkage continue in some form or other, possibly with the Canadian government's assistance or through the university's own resources. This hope naturally shared way of the positive response that have been outlined above. All are convinced that the collaboration should continue formally or informally, whether it is funded or not. A number of Chinese institutions expressed the view that just as their project was ending, it really began to take off and started producing the results anticipated.

A major feature of any continued collaboration should be clear mutual benefit to both Canadian and Chinese partners. This seems more feasible as many partners find themselves working at the same level of expertise.

The focus of continuing collaboration will continue to be on improving teaching and new research methodology, the two areas of activity most prominent in the current program. Increasingly, the Chinese project directors also identified an interest in administrative matters and management techniques.

Chinese universities are very aware of the government's policy towards a market economy and, therefore, would like future projects to emphasize areas such as management training, economics, accounting, international trade, cross-cultural communication, international law, environmental science and ecology. It is clear that Chinese universities must demonstrate to their own government an interest in, and strategy for, areas of training related to the market economy.
Many of the Chinese partners were involved in new computer applications and this is something that they would like to see developed further. Also many became familiar with the value of adult and continuing education and would like to see that explored further.

Some specific suggestions were for a more open budget management as well as the creation of joint management committees to supervise the project and consult on changes. An awareness was also developed about the need for more women to be involved at all stages of project development. There are four Chinese women project directors among the 31 linkages.

In general, Chinese partners felt that future collaboration should build on the strength of the present projects and benefit from the lessons learned. At the same time, future projects would need to recognize shifting priorities in both China and Canada. There was a general recognition also, that Canada's role should continue to focus on human resource development, and higher education levels, as distinct from other forms of development.

If a true sense of mutuality and partnership is to be achieved, it would be appropriate during the course of exchange visits to have Chinese visitors present lectures and seminars in Canada. Too often, Chinese visitors are seen as people who come only to learn, but it is increasingly apparent that there would be mutual benefit if they would teach as well.

6.2. Lessons Learned from the CCULP: Chinese Perspectives

The following is a distillation of principles and lessons learned which taken together, would help ensure the success of a project. They are mainly derived from the Chinese replies reported above. These principles may be summarized as follows:
1. The purposes and nature of the activity and its plan of implementation must be clearly stated, well understood and accepted by both sides. Normally, there is an agreement between the institutions and these are stated precisely in the working documents used to guide development of the program and each of its projects.

2. Consultation and careful planning are not confined to the start of a program. Periodic consultation should be provided regularly during the life of the project and should be easily arranged spontaneously whenever project developments indicate the need to adjust plans or extensively replan.

3. It is essential that information be openly shared. This is especially true of budget information. And again, information needs to be regularly updated and adjustments agreed upon by both sides so as not to cause misunderstandings.

4. The linkage program must enjoy high level support in both countries and the projects must have an equally high level of commitment from all participating institutions. This should be made evident by the provision of support services, facilities and procedures for collaboration. The senior administration of institutions should be kept involved throughout the life of projects by frequent progress reports and direct participation in project activities.

5. There must be good rapport between the two project directors. To establish this there must be efforts made prior to, and early in, the project to ensure that each understands the other's situation and its strengths and limitations. Open and frequent avenues of communication should be created. They should habitually be able to keep in touch by fax, telephone and mail and there should be a budget for correspondence and personal visits.
6. Visiting scholars participating in the project must be carefully selected. They should have a solid and appropriate professional background of recognized achievements. Ideally, they should be of a status to provide leadership upon their return.

7. The on-going administration of the project must be flexible and must be able to adjust to large and small changes. Further, changes in scheduling personnel, budget allocation, and field of study should be jointly determined.

8. Projects should be administered in a collaborative fashion involving faculty from both universities. This ensures early attention to problem areas.

9. Every effort should be made to undertake joint research projects and to produce joint publications which should then be shared with colleagues in both countries.

10. The learning which occurs should be translated as well as possible into new courses, new curricula, new texts. This will ensure that the benefits of the exchange will go far beyond the individuals directly involved.

11. The learning which occurs on both sides should be updated through follow-up visits, seminars and conferences.

12. The Chinese scholars would welcome the opportunity to present lectures in Canada in their own field. This would give them the recognition they deserve as colleagues and not simply trainees. This enhances the notion of partnership in the program.
6.3. Some Theoretical Reflections on Knowledge Transfer across Cultures

If knowledge, whether in the form of new information, new technology or new ideas, is to have beneficial results, it needs to be integrated, assimilated or internalized, either by the individual or the institution before appropriate action can be taken. Institutions of higher education are expected to provide knowledge and information, to explain it, to disseminate it, to exchange it. This whole process affects the culture and can shape traditional beliefs and practices, changing and modifying prevailing notions.

Using CCULP as an example of the transfer of knowledge across cultures, it can be stated that the strategies employed by this umbrella program have produced significant results. Evaluations and monitoring of this program in China have produced positive feedback for this approach in linkages between institutions of higher education. Sponsors in both China and Canada, that is SEdC and CIDA, have expressed satisfaction with the program and, equally important, the participating institutions have been able to work together creatively and to learn from each other. The main objective of the program, that is the upgrading of Chinese academic capacity, has been achieved, along with many other related benefits, such as institutional strengthening, curriculum reform, joint research, and so on.

However, as Canadian universities become more heavily involved in international development, they must be more than efficient deliverers of CIDA programs such as CCULP. Though such programs are quite worthy in themselves, and though they have achieved the original objectives, they cannot stand as perfect illustrations of sharing knowledge across cultures. Universities must consider the long-term results of their international development activities, so they will not be accused, for example, of
perpetuating Western dominance in a developing nation. It is the responsibility of the university to focus on knowledge advancement and create opportunities for mutual intellectual interaction. The university must determine the best way to be involved with other cultures in the sharing of knowledge and technology.

There is a growing sensitivity on the part of the developing nations towards the dominance of Western ideas. Although they welcome knowledge sharing, they are seeking ways to incorporate innovations from the West with indigenous practices. As universities assess their expanding role, they must consider ways in which the sharing of knowledge can be mutually beneficial.

Mazrui has developed a useful model which permits a careful assessment of the impact of the knowledge being shared. Mazrui has based this model on his extensive experience in Africa, where he observed the often harmful effects of interaction between Western knowledge and indigenous knowledge. To minimize these harmful effects, he suggested, three strategies which are discussed below. The domestication of imported knowledge means that the donor and the receiving culture make every effort to "translate" new knowledge into term and practices consistent with indigenous values. In other words, the new knowledge and information is absorbed into cultural practices and is seen as supportive rather than destructive. This process of domestication requires patience and sensitivity on the part of the donor as well as a willingness to permit shifts in emphasis and priorities. On the part of the receiving culture, it requires a confidence in its own values sufficient to withstand the sometimes seductive appeal of the new ideas. For this reason, Mazrui calls this domestication, or the taming of foreign ideas. Once they are tamed, and have been adapted to local needs, they can be more readily utilized.
The second strategy is termed the diversification of the knowledge which means that a variety of ideas and knowledge systems are introduced and in a sense, compete for adoption. This prevents the domination of any one idea to the exclusion of the others, and allows the receiving culture a much wider range of options before it incorporates any one of them into its knowledge system. The obligation, therefore, is on the receiving culture to explore freely other alternatives and other knowledge systems: it should not put all of its eggs in one basket. The receiving culture must insist on its freedom to choose, even though certain donor countries would prefer the exclusive right to be of assistance.

The third strategy is called counter-penetration, and means that receiving culture must make use of the development program to test and assert its traditional values and, in fact, shape the nature of the knowledge system being introduced. Further, the donor country must recognize that it has something to learn from the receiving culture, and should be open to an exchange of ideas and shaping new knowledge. In other words, the sharing of knowledge should be two ways, in a sense of true partnership and mutual benefit. The partners are then seen as equals as there is learning and growth on both sides.

If the CCULP is measured according to the Mazrui model just described, it will prove deficient in two areas, that of diversification and counter-penetration. This should not be surprising because it is not in CIDA’s mandate as Canada’s major agency for overseas development assistance to ensure that the receiving country is also soliciting and receiving aid from other sources. In other words, it is the responsibility of the receiving country, but not CIDA to ensure that other options are being explored and that diversification is taking place. Nor is it part of CIDA’s mandate to provide opportunities for recipient
countries to share their knowledge with Canada, a role which is far more appropriate for the universities.

It therefore falls to the university, as part of its overall international strategy and policy, to ensure that its own performance in international development is balanced, and to the best extent possible, avoids the charge of deliberate domination.

What CCULP does well, because it is an integral part of a successful linkage, is to ensure that the aid provided is in response to a clearly expressed need, that it serves that country's policy preferences and that the strategy adopted ensures the adaptation and assimilation of the new knowledge. With respect to domestication of the CCULP program in China, there is little problem, because the Chinese institutions have been selective in what they choose, and are insistent that whatever is accepted will have what they call "Chinese characteristics". This means that there is a deliberate attempt on the part of Chinese partners to filter out ideas and technologies which would be counter to Chinese style, tradition or policy. This domestication process is further ensured in the Chinese situation, because its culture is so ancient and so strong that it can more readily withstand foreign intrusion. It can be seen that domestication is simply another term for sustainability, institutional development and capacity building, all of which are objectives built in to CIDA's programs.

It is worth noting, however, that as programs such as CCULP mature, they tend to move towards the model proposed by Mazrui. Quite on their own, the recipient country, stimulated by its exchange in the CCULP program, begins to explore other options and other ways of sharing knowledge across cultures. This is a natural outcome of a successful linkage and should be recognized as a indicator of success. With respect to the idea of counter penetration, many of
the Chinese partners in CCULP have expressed a strong desire to provide courses and lectures in Canada from the Chinese perspective. They prefer to be seen as equal partners jointly engaged in research and teaching rather than as simple beneficiaries. Opportunities are already been provided in the CCULP program for some presentations by Chinese visitors. This is the case in the areas of cooperative education, grasslands research and bio-technology.

Perhaps CCULP can best been seen as a laboratory or workshop which has made possible the development of new strategies and policies of particular value to the Canadian university in its expanding role in international development.
CHAPTER SEVEN
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps the greatest power of educational exchange is the power to convert nations into peoples and to translate ideologies into human aspirations. —J.W. Fulbright

In the 1990's the pressure clearly is on universities to explain their purposes, procedures and programs, to clarify their values and demonstrate their relevance to contemporary society. This is no less true in Canada than in other nations. One aspect of this is the nature and purpose of the involvement of universities in international development activities.

This thesis has explored perceptions of the effects of certain international activities on a sample of Canadian universities, seeking to understand whether and how they influence university aims, policies, priorities and academic programs. It needs to be restated that we have been concerned with only one aspect of the internationalization of higher education -- international development, usually defined as "aid". This limitation ensures that we consider the effects on both sets of universities of the "aid" from institutions of an economically developed country which has the intention of "modernizing" those of a less developed country. Other aspects of internationalization, not dealt with in this study, include collaboration with the universities of other developed countries through programs of faculty and student exchange, joint research and teaching programs, and the enhancement of international content in the curricula.
This chapter has five subsections comprising a brief re-statement of the background, a summary of the findings in general and those relating to CCULP in particular, a brief list of lessons learned from the experience of CCULP, some reflections on knowledge transfer and the interdependence of knowledge and culture, and some discussion of emerging principles and models for successful international activities.

7.1. Background

It is instructive to reflect on the differences in the Canadian university environment with respect to international development which have occurred in the recent 25 years. The Walmsley report of 1970 indicated new directions for Canadian universities in international activities, many of which have been implemented. In 1970, Walmsley found that the individual initiatives of faculty of different universities accounted for most international activities. She detected a growing interest in international work but profound ignorance on how to proceed. Walmsley concluded there was "the need for consideration of international co-operation as a concept, calling for a comprehensive and integrated approach" at the institutional level as well as the collective "academic community" level (Walmsley, 1970:13). She urged universities to expand their role in what she considered a "new" field of activity, to make full use of Canada's rich intellectual, scientific and technical resources which were desperately needed by the developing world. Internationalization was conceived as assistance for modernization, a largely one-way transfer of new knowledge and techniques from Canada to the "Third World". Such aid was generally perceived less as disinterested exchange among academics than as national policy. Therefore, her recommendations emphasized the need for
closer co-operation and better understanding amongst the proponents of Canada's ODA, its main development agency CIDA, and Canadian universities. She recommended the formation of a national coordinating and information body to ensure regular and better dissemination of information about international work which the Canadian universities might undertake. She recognized the potential value of such exchanges for teaching and research and, therefore, she thought the universities' agency, the AUCC, an appropriate one to serve this purpose. Such coordination would allow the university community to speak with a united voice to government, and international agencies.

Chapter Three of this thesis demonstrated historically the growth in Canadian universities' involvement in international development projects both in number and scope in the recent 25 years. The situation today shows much greater variety and a higher degree of activity and commitment. More than 90% of Canadian universities have designated units and International Liaison Officers responsible for international activities which include activities with developing countries. CIDA and IDRC encourage universities to take part in their development programs, particularly through the designated Education Institutional Programs (EIP).

In the 1980s, in particular, AUCC increased its staff and budget in its International Division, and at the same time, co-operation with CIDA was extended. AUCC earned the support of its member universities for its initiatives with CIDA and IDRC, and has faithfully represented the interests of its members in discussions with CIDA and IDRC about policy, governing procedures, budget, and project administration. This collective approach was welcomed by CIDA and IDRC. Federal agencies prefer dealing with a representative body on such matters rather than the individual university. In
the past decade, AUCC has arranged biannual conferences and training sessions for international liaison officers and program directors for the purpose of setting criteria and standards for universities in competing for limited funds.¹ Canadian universities seem now to be committed to playing a major role in international development.

This trend is reflected in a greater commitment of university resources for a wide range of activities. It would seem that international activity has become a source of academic status. However, it must also be recognized that universities have been encouraged in these ventures by having greater access to more federal funds. How much would remain if the funding receded is an important question. Universities, through their governing bodies, are defining and expanding their roles internationally, and providing recognition and support for faculty involvement. The lack of knowledge and the inexperience noted by Walmsley has been largely overcome. Most Canadian universities not only are well informed about CIDA and IDRC programs but also about those of such other international agencies as the United Nations, the World Bank, the UNESCO, and the charitable foundations.

We may take it as demonstrated, therefore, that the past 25 years witnessed many changes in Canadian universities' activities, prompted by Canada's growing international aid programs which led to greater internationalization of university policy and practice. However, has this merely meant that universities have become a kind of executing agency for government aid programs? Or has a new international role developed? This leads to the questions: Who benefits? Who is perceived as beneficiary? Are mutual benefits necessarily equal or identical benefits for all parties? The

¹. Interview with CCULP Coordinator, AUCC, July 21, 1993.
benefit of international development to Canadian universities can only be measured in terms of the mandate of the modern university. Has the involvement in international development programs contributed to improvements in their teaching and research, enriching the scope and nature of knowledge advancement? Has it stimulated new ventures in research through collaborative efforts with institutions in different cultures? Has it contributed to the relevance of the university as perceived by its own constituency?

These questions have not yet been debated, nor has a verdict been produced. What can be said is that a promising start has been made and much of the tentativeness apparent in the 1970s has been overcome. Universities have recognized the academic legitimacy of participating in international projects and have established small administrative units, with managerial funding from their own resources, to encourage their faculty’s interest. They have joined the Canadian government, business and industry in recognizing the value of assisting the modernization of less economically developed countries and their universities. But the internationalization of knowledge is a different challenge. It is not dependent upon government or external funding, although it can be greatly fostered by such sponsored projects. It would be appropriate for the university, as an institution, to recognize this challenge. It has a special responsibility in this field. However, it may take the position that its best stance is not to inhibit or discourage the interaction of its members globally rather than to deliberately foster them and "steer" them in the direction of policy initiatives developed elsewhere. The Canadian university community must answer these questions to its own satisfaction.
7.2. Summary of Findings

The recent history and specific details of Canadian universities’ involvement in international development have been outlined through the review of the literature, reports and through a detailed survey of 30 Canadian universities (see Appendix A). In addition, one program — the Canada-China University Linkage Program (CCULP) has been selected as a illustration of such involvement and has been presented as a case in point for this study. Feedback was obtained from the Chinese partners of the CCULP projects to elicit their views on the value of this linkage program. A combination of questionnaires and interviews with involved personnel in Canada and China was used.

In general terms, it may be said that, by the mid 1990s, in Canadian universities there was strong consensus at the level of rhetoric, of the relevance and importance of international development to the University. This becomes more tangible support if it can be demonstrated that international work does not detract from, but enhances the central functions of teaching, research, and public service; that the projects will be financed entirely or largely by external funds; that the university will be compensated for administrative costs; that the faculty voluntarily undertake participation and are recognized in the usual academic manner for their work in international development. Progress has been made on meeting these conditions, so there is increasing involvement of most, if not all, Canadian universities.
In reporting the findings and principles emerging from this study, the questions provided in Chapter One may serve as a framework to ensure consistency and completeness in this concluding section.

(1) What does the Canadian university community understand of the nature and objectives of development aid? Does it perceive its involvement in international development work as relevant to the role of the modern university?

Since World War II, the industrial nations of America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, under the auspices of the various international agencies of the United Nations and programs of international charitable non-governmental agencies, have deliberately undertaken projects to "modernize" and "assist" less developed countries. As experience was gained of projects' failures and successes, international development aid shifted from exclusively economic goals and strategies, which involved large sums of money for industrial, agricultural, transportation, and communication infrastructures, to those which recognized the need to develop human resources. The requirement was for educated people to manage programs of national development. Institutions of higher education saw a clear role for themselves in this area. In addition, universities began to see international development as a way to expand their research and apply knowledge to new and challenging situations in different parts of the world. Universities responded to the opportunities inherent in Canada's official development assistance program as they saw benefits for their faculty, students and the institution itself resulting from a global orientation. Recently, as funds for higher education in Canada became increasingly constrained, institutions have been forced to explore a variety of other sources -- donations from their alumni, business, industry,
ethnic communities and special interests as well as project support for international work from CIDA, IDRC and the U.N. agencies.

A perception of a mutual advantage between the university community and Canada's international agencies has been emerging and some members of Academia now have developed a more global outlook. Federal government development policies and programs have been the catalytic agents; CIDA and IDRC have seen the advantage of tapping the academic world's rich intellectual resources for their various programs, and have encouraged academics to act as technical advisors, consultants, project directors, evaluators, and area specialists.

In the early 1980s, CIDA created a separate unit to deal with universities -- International Cooperation and Development Services (ICDS). This encouraged the individual university to coordinate its activities; it also permitted CIDA to deal with widely diverse requests on a standardized and rational basis. It further provided a loose forum for the university community to discuss and resolve difficulties with CIDA around such issues as administrative and overhead charges, in-kind contribution, university versus CIDA priorities, scheduling and time-table problems, and release time. Over the years the AUCC took a leading role in these discussions and gradually, better understanding has been achieved between the needs of the federal government's leading aid agencies and those of the university community.

Not surprisingly, there has never been enough money to cover all requests. Universities still feel that they should receive more financial compensation to cover the costs of their involvement. CIDA, for its part, still believes that universities do not make full use of existing arrangements, and are slow to respond creatively to the opportunities provided. Although much
progress has been made in accommodating each party's expectations in the arrangements for new programs, further improvement is needed.

One problem is that the university community, like many governmental agencies and NGOs, still persists in thinking of international development as "aid" for a foreign country or institution carried out by projects explicitly designed for one or more stated purposes, to be completed within a stated time and a stated budget. Within this general understanding, precise perceptions depend on the nature of the project, whether continuing or temporary, and the role of the academic or administrator, whether s/he is closely involved or generally knowledgeable but not directly involved. No one voice speaks for the university. The extent of real acceptance of the international role depends on the audience being addressed. There are as yet, few examples which suggest that I.D. work has had a lasting impact on the Canadian university. There have been new joint ventures between universities. There has been the accommodation of Canadian programs for foreign exchanges of faculty and students. These show promise but are idiosyncratic and peripheral. Whether they will grow to become essential to the core mandate of the modern university in the Western world is debatable. Nevertheless, the gradual increase in international development activities in Canadian universities has improved their understanding of this expanding field and has demonstrated its value to the university's present mandate.

(2) How do the international development policies of Canadian government agencies influence and determine the international development work of Canadian universities?

Perhaps the most noticeable international development work of Canadian universities since Second World War has been the proliferation of area studies: East Asian, African, Latin American, Islamic, Arabic, South
Sahara, East European. This was not a new interest of Academia. Since its medieval origin, the university has undertaken the study of foreign cultures, esoteric languages, literatures and religions. But the extension of this interest into new study and research programs transformed their curricula to include not only the humanities, but also the economics, politics, sociology and history of a region, its population, geography, agriculture, geology and natural resources. There was student demand for such programs since their credentials had the useful purpose of equipping graduates with the necessary background for well paid, middle class managerial-type jobs with international aid agencies. This development was reinforced by faculty returning from assignments abroad, eager to pursue collaborative research with their overseas colleagues and involve their colleagues and students in work which had an international focus. Such faculty provided the successful role models which made the students' ambitions both meaningful and attainable.

Greater involvement in international development by Canadian universities has promoted the development of international offices and officers with the specific task of facilitating international development activities, often in addition to other tasks including foreign student counseling and faculty and student exchanges with European countries, the United States, Japan as well as developing countries. Our survey shows a dramatic increase in the number of such offices and in the scope and nature of their activities. Most Canadian universities have established international offices/centres and designated International Liaison Officers.

The status accorded to such activity has also been improved. In most cases, mission statements have been developed clearly stating the university's objectives in this new field of activity. In some cases, such mission statements have appeared in the larger statement of the university's mandate.
As the international development activities at Canadian universities increased, faculty members who were involved became concerned about the recognition (or rather lack of recognition), given for their work abroad. In many cases this work was seen as a kind of private consulting activity, not directly related to their academic workload or their responsibilities. In some, it was viewed as a free junket abroad. Gradually, however, as the choice of assignments became more selective, they were recognized as having relevance to faculty’s academic interests and of value to the profession and the institution. However, these activities are still not usually given full credit in matters of promotion and merit increments, which is a distinct hardship for junior faculty who may be eager to participate, yet fear that their academic future would be jeopardized unless fair recognition is given for such work. Lack of recognition also makes it more difficult to recruit senior staff for any extended period since they, too, undertook such work with misgivings about support from their university. This issue is still far from being resolved; in fact, it has been exacerbated by recent cutbacks in university budgets and staff, which have led to greater emphasis on "at home" teaching, or graduate student supervision and on research and publication. Nevertheless, most international offices and many of the involved faculty are optimistic about improved recognition, especially as the intrinsic value of international development work becomes apparent through its integration with the faculty’s traditional responsibilities.

There is no doubt that over the 25 years from 1970 to 1995, the traditional international interests of universities broadened considerably to include more international development work. Both the scope and nature of international development work have been expanded, as well as the geographical spread. This expansion to current levels has been largely due to
the financial support of Canadian governmental agencies. This funding has been for projects within program guidelines which the agencies designate. Universities responded to requests from CIDA and IDRC, but they also initiated their own projects, often as a result of earlier activities. Further, their involvement in international development with CIDA and IDRC put them in touch with other development agencies within the United Nations, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and similar regional banks, and a variety of foundations with international programs.

(3) Have the linkages established between universities in China and in Canada had the effect of strengthening the institutions involved and improving their capacity to incorporate new knowledge, new experience and new technology?

If universities' commitment to international development aid is to flourish and be transformed into long term international knowledge exchange, several important conditions must be met, especially the willingness amongst all parties to exchange information freely, openly and regularly. The universities involved and CIDA, in Canada, and SEdC and MOFTEC in China need to know of the progress of the programs they are sponsoring, and whether they are succeeding as intended. This question was addressed, primarily, in terms of the experience of one case study, that of CCULP. Have the human resource development objectives been met? Have those involved, the partner universities and government colleagues, been satisfied? Have they thought it worthwhile? Are there observable results which can be sustained? What other criteria should be used to determine success?

Questions such as these are considered by all participants from the outset of a project but they become increasingly urgent as termination dates approach. Often little systematic assessment had been done at the beginning; energy and
time were being spent on getting things under way, clarifying objectives, overcoming delays, juggling participants' timetables and schedules. There were occasional meetings of the respective project directors, but communication mainly was by mail, fax, and phone. About mid-way through the program, the CCULP Program Monitor's role became more proactive as he visited each partner to obtain a clear picture about the strengths and weaknesses of each linkage project. As he became more familiar with the unique characteristics of each linkage and each project director, and the concerns and need for information of the personnel in CIDA, AUCC, SEdC and MOFTEC became more evident, and as the players became more familiar with the Program Monitor, his role became more important. He was not merely a conduit for information, but helped in identifying difficulties and facilitating their solution. In addition to regular debriefing with both CIDA and AUCC, he submitted annual reports to CIDA. He regularly took part in the project directors' meetings in China and Canada. Although this had not been originally envisaged, he provided one link of continuity, since the liaison personnel of AUCC, CIDA, SEdC and MOFTEC changed two or three times in each agency over the duration of the program.

The on-going evaluation of project directors and by the monitor was valuable in maintaining effective project management. In several cases, it prevented the breakdown of linkages, for example, in those of Shanghai Second Medical University, of Beijing Youan Hospital, and of the Sichuan Institute of Building Materials.

AUCC was kept informed by quarterly and annual reports from each Canadian project director, as well as by occasional field visits by its own personnel. Toward the end of the program, AUCC instituted a detailed final evaluation, to be completed jointly by both partners based on designated
CCULP Final Evaluation Criteria. At this time (mid 1995), most evaluations have been submitted and they have provided detailed feedback on each linkage project -- its successes, weaknesses and plans for future direction.

All evaluations, whether mid-term or final, formal or informal, looked at similar criteria and provided much the same evidence. These are the basis for addressing the question above. Information was derived from interviews with project directors, quarterly reports, project directors' meetings, monitor's reports, interviews with the sponsoring agencies in both countries, the final evaluation and the questionnaires designed for this study.

From the Chinese universities' side, some 900 faculty members came to Canada to take part in studies of varying duration. Most of these scholars returned to their positions, and as a result of the experience of their visits, introduced new courses, new program curricula, and new teaching and research methods. Their exposure to Western universities familiarized them with new institutional structures, new techniques and new ideas. In many cases, their visit and its outcomes led to personal academic recognition and promotion. In brief, since the main objective the linkages projects of the program was the upgrading of university personnel in China, it was visibly achieved.

From the Canadian point of view, a considerable number of faculty members were introduced to a system of higher education in another culture. Some actually visited the Chinese institutions for varying lengths of time, and more received Chinese visiting scholars in Canada. Interest in and knowledge about China increased greatly, along with an appreciation of the value of cross-cultural activities. In some cases, further joint research projects resulted, and the international involvement of the university increased.
One of the major objectives of the CCULP was to encourage institutional development to support and sustain comparable activities in the future. This generally only received attention in the later stages of a linkage, and became the dominant theme of project directors' meetings held towards the end of the program in both China and Canada, as concern with follow-up increased. This also emerged clearly in the final year as project directors undertook their final evaluation which specifically addressed the strategies in place for sustainability, institutional development and capacity building. A further impetus was added when the possibility of a second phase became reality in the form of the Special University Linkage Consolidation Program (SULCP). It was recognized that these issues were essential in any design for future programs, and that they were necessary to assure the long term benefit of any linkage.

It must be admitted frankly that greater benefit accrued to the Chinese side than the Canadian side, as a result of this program. The projects, after all, were a matter of development aid -- so this outcome is not surprising. CCULP was not designed to serve the needs of Canadian universities primarily, though its operation relied on their good will and co-operation. However, on the Canadian as well as the Chinese side, in the case of CCULP, there were beneficial side-effects and by-products.

(4) In the case of the Canada-China University Linkages Program, can sustainability and organizational support be developed through institutional linkages established in both countries? Once the linkages have been established, what is the prognosis for their future?

In the mid 1990s, the administrators and faculty of all Canadian universities are having each year to take stock of their limited resources and face a future of dwindling support, rising costs and increasing demands from their community. As they re-evaluate priorities and accommodate to local
interests, how will they evaluate the worth of international development activities? Many began because extra governmental funds were available. In most cases the total real costs were not entirely covered but there were non-monetary benefits of status and prestige. In some cases this could be used to capture other external funding to continue the initial effort. But all international development aid work, thus far, has been costly and peripheral to the Canadian university. In the likely future can it become of central importance? What shape and direction will future activities in international development take? What has the experience of the last 25 years told them about international activities?

In a general sense, the answer to these questions should be sought from the evidence of Canadian government perceptions of the nation's foreign policy priorities rather than from university leaders' perceptions of their institutions' priorities. In Canadian institutions where a large volume of international projects has been ongoing for more than a decade, and many projects have been successful and recurring, the experience and size of the International Office will give this work sufficient status to ensure that it declines more slowly there than elsewhere. Even if governmental and other external funding becomes exceedingly scarce, its experienced personnel will have a competitive edge in putting forth project proposals.

In large and relatively developed nations such as China and India, there will remain both the appetite for, and the ability to share the costs of many types of "modernizing" projects. The case of the poorer Third World countries, such as those of Africa, could well be quite different. For both Canadian and Chinese universities, international work also faces the danger that the institutional arrangements make it so expensive that governments prefer to
use non-university bases for their projects -- business, commercial, professional agencies or private consulting firms.

However, on another level, that of the international interchange of individual academics, probably the prognosis for sustainability is good. Projects which involve Chinese academics spending months even years in Canadian universities or comparable educational/professional settings and Canadian counterparts doing likewise necessarily involve only a tiny minority of the institutions' members. They frequently lead to firm friendships, the colleagueship of experts and real knowledge exchange. They may well be fostered by institutional development and official administrative approval. In the case of a specific type of program such as CCULP, there probably is a need to ensure the following three principles: 1) deliberate institutional development and the capacity of faculty to collaborate; 2) deliberate development of partnerships which characterize mutual sharing of knowledge; 3) visible approval and support force at the highest levels of university administration and broad academic recognition and support within faculties and departments. To answer the question in terms of the CCULP, it can be said that those who participated appear hopeful that many linkages will be sustained and, in several cases, plans are in hand for the next phase of the project.

(5) What specific learning has occurred among academics and administrators in both countries through CCULP linkages about the sharing of knowledge across cultures? Can these "lessons learned" be generalized for application to similar programs as principles and guidelines?

The purpose of selecting CCULP as a case study of an international development program was to assess whether it would be a good model for universities in both countries. Did CCULP produce benefits for the Chinese and Canadian partners alike? Are the linkage relationships likely to be sustained?
Can such a program succeed as an instrument for human resource development? Of equal long-term importance is the question: what did the two partners, as well as the executing agencies in both countries, learn from this seven-year, twenty-five million dollar program? Each project provided a concrete history of an international development effort, and produced guidelines for future work in cross-cultural higher education.

In chapters five and six, the lessons learned from CCULP were presented from the Canadian viewpoint and from the Chinese viewpoint. There is a high degree of agreement about the ways in which knowledge can best be shared across cultures; moreover, the specific learning identified by each partner is consistent with, and supportive of principles enunciated in the growing literature dealing with higher education and international development. These lessons learned can be summarized as follows: If linkages are to achieve sustainability and ensure institutional development and capacity building, they must be longer than the three to four year period of this program; greater clarity and early agreement must be sought between both partners to ensure efficient and harmonious management of the linkage; linkages benefit greatly from a wide and diversified base of support both within the institution and with outside agencies; a true sense of partnership must be evident in the planning, operation and evaluation of the linkage, and must permit flexibility; there must be a free and open exchange of information in policy and budgetary matters and policy shifts; provision must be made for appropriate cultural orientation on both sides to ensure sensitivity to different perceptions and different modes of management; there must be provision for the publication of articles and texts related to the subject matter of the linkage.

However, there were some significant differences in content and emphasis with respect to priorities in the management of the program. For
example, Chinese partners expressed the desire for greater flexibility in the arrangement for awarding joint degrees while the Canadian partner was more cautious in this matter; most of the Chinese partners felt that more careful attention could be given to the appropriate placement of their visiting scholars, who in some cases, were not sufficiently challenged by their Canadian experience; though both partners expressed need for more open communication, the Chinese felt this more keenly, often because the Canadian partner was unwilling or unprepared to provide certain kinds of information; there was unanimous support amongst Chinese partners for some realistic form of continuing contact with their Canadian colleagues so as to remain up-to-date in their specialty, and to build upon the valuable connection already made.

The lessons learned by the Canadian partners which differ somewhat with the Chinese include the following points: the CCULP experience facilitated better understanding between CIDA and the university community generally; Canadian universities, in most cases, gained a fuller appreciation of the practical advantages of internationalization; in managing their CCULP linkage, Canadian academics became increasingly aware of the need for better recognition of such work done in international activities, so that it would be on a par with teaching and research; Canadian project directors learned that linkages required particular developmental management skills as well as technical excellence, to ensure the smooth operation of the linkage while recognising cultural differences.

The lessons learned just reviewed and guidelines implicit in them, provide the basis for some general statements about principles which can apply equally to programs of a similar nature.
7.3. Emerging General Principles

The following nine emerging principles have been distilled from this thesis research:

1) Universities must have a clear understanding of the policy objectives of funding agencies so that they can decide whether these expectations can be met without compromising their own autonomy, traditions and purposes. The university should strive to ensure a good match between its objectives and the practices of the funding agency.

2) The amount of time required to complete the objectives should be based on the nature of the project and the processes involved. For example, if institutional development and capacity building are included in the objectives, more time is required than was permitted in the CCULP (3-5 years). The university must therefore determine, if the time allotted is sufficient to meet its objectives and to allow the best use of its resources. In some cases, the university may wish to negotiate for longer periods of project time.

3) As the university finds itself involved in a wide range of international development activities, in various parts of the world and in various sectors, it is realizing that a sound project needs to be built on more than good technical expertise. It needs to spend an equal amount of time on the management and development processes, the human relations involved, the cultural differences, the administrative styles and the differing expectations, to ensure that the project is not adversely affected by poor execution. Much of this development expertise is now being accumulated in the office of the International Liaison Officer and can be readily utilized in designing new international development activities.
4) Experience demonstrates that there is a great advantage in careful planning, frequent discussions and consultation between the partners, permitting time to take in all factors related to the project, such as political, economic, cultural and social. More time spent "upstream" in preparing the activity, pays off significantly "downstream" as the project unfolds.

5) Any international development activity is greatly enhanced if it has the full support and commitment of the senior officials at the university. This ensures continuity, broadens the base of the involvement, and, disseminates the benefits of the project.

6) The involvement of faculty members and students needs to be recognized in terms of merit increases and credits; otherwise, it will be difficult to attract good personnel for international development work. This is often achieved when the university formally and publicly acknowledges the importance of the nature of international development work in its policy, as related to its teaching, research, and public service mandate.

7) Many international development activities which involve the training of personnel from developing countries run into the problem of non-returnees. If this continues, the recipient country regards it as a serious brain-drain. The university, therefore, needs to do all in its power to ensure the return of its trainees, while facilitating their continued contact with their Canadian partners.

8) International projects benefit when there is a sense of partnership and mutuality so that the sharing of knowledge is two-way rather than one-way. This can be ensured when the projects are managed jointly using personnel from all parties. Such committees provide ongoing supervision to the activities, and introduce modifications when necessary. They also permit an open flow of information.
9) All projects should attempt to produce appropriate publications, arising from related research, and as well, encourage the publication of new text books, the renovation of curricula and the introduction of new teaching methods. There are concrete demonstrations of the value of international work.

7.4. Trends for the Future

Four distinct trends can be discerned, shaping the future of university involvement in international development.

1. There is a marked movement in development circles and universities in particular, away from the concept and strategy of "aid". Though aid may have been appropriate at earlier stages of nation building, it can be often seen as demeaning, setting up a superior-inferior relationship, a charitable strategy, a one-way pattern, a habit of dependency. This is being replaced by a fuller sense of partnership, a sense of mutual benefit and joint progress. In the case of CCULP, as the linkages matured, there was a recognition of the need to share information about the budget and possible exchange adjustments, to explore the possibility of joint research, to plan conferences and workshops and national element events. On the part of Canadians, there was an increasing realization that they could learn not only about the management of projects, but also about their own field of scholarship, whether in failure analysis in aircraft metal, the genetics of canola, new strains of grassland vegetation, or the treatment of burns through traditional medicine.

2. As the university recognizes that it is no longer the sole repository and main disseminator of knowledge and information, a role which is now being shared by business and industry, research centers, libraries and museums, mass media and industry colleges, it must redefine its value to society. In this
redefinition of its role, it will find less in the distribution of information, and more in the production of knowledge. Its role will be to evaluate what is valuable and what is worthless, to comment upon and to research the implications of new technologies and new ideas.

3. There is a growing realization that "the earth is one country", that "the global village" is a reality, and that the future, whether in economic, political, social or cultural matters, will depend upon a recognition of the need for global thinking and for the internationalization of all institutions and enterprises. Scholars have been aware of this for some time, and intellectual collaboration across borders is becoming well established. The modern university can not compete if it remains localized and provincial, and so must initiate and consolidate new patterns and methods for its future activities. This is clearly evident in many papers, conferences, and seminars being convened around the theme of internationalization.

4. Future activities in international development will be built on the lessons derived from the past as well as some visionary thinking about the future. This vision will include a recognition of the need for reciprocity and symmetry in international undertakings: reciprocity will ensure mutuality, partnership and joint benefit; symmetry will ensure equity, balance and elegance of design – which will guarantee a holistic approach.

In terms of insights from theoretical models, two visionary writers whose work is already influencing the shape and nature of development assistance, or rather, the sharing of knowledge across cultures, are Galtung and Mazrui who have already been referred to in chapter two. Galtung states that development must be characterized by four principles: equity, solidarity, autonomy and participation. Mazrui expresses a similar conviction but in different terms: domestication, diversification and counter-penetration.
Their vision, far from being fanciful or unrealistic, is based on their own long experience in the field of development. Both are concerned about the harmful, often unintended, results of development programs which have been more destructive than constructive, more fragmenting than uniting. They outlined separately, but in total ideological agreement, the essential elements of development if it is to serve the best interests of the donor and recipient.

Perhaps CCULP can best been seen as a laboratory or workshop which has made possible the development of new strategies and policies of particular value to the Canadian university in its expanding role in international development.

7.5. Last Words

If Canadian universities are determined to take a larger role in international development, they must be prepared to incorporate into their policies and practices the lessons which have been learned through past experience with CIDA, IDRC and other international agencies. They must also be aware of the growing literature dealing with the challenge of sharing knowledge across cultures, and of the principles emerging from such theoretical studies. In addition, the World Bank and organizations within the UN have contributed considerably to the understanding of how globalization can occur in the field of higher education without allowing the dominance of one view or theory, or the destruction of indigenous strength and traditions. Principles such as sustainability, partnership, institutional development and capacity building must be built into the design and operation of university exchanges such as CCULP and SULCP. The university can not be simply a
convenient executing agency, or a fee for service consultant to CIDA, IDRC or other agencies, but must employ its own growing experience in the strategies of international development, and the design and management of such programs. This is the proper role of the university: to understand why things are being done, to examine and research their dynamics and to indicate how they can be improved. Its role, as always, is to add new dimensions and depth to new and growing fields of activity, in this instance, international development and sharing knowledge across cultures. Unless the university engages itself fully in the enterprise, and fosters a scholarly study of its strength, weaknesses and potential, it will not be taken seriously, nor will it prepare students adequately for work in this expanding, global, cross-cultural, and multinational field. Once the university has established its commitment and legitimacy in this field, it will be in a position to attract more research and program funds, not only from federal and provincial governments, but also from the private sector, which can make practical use of the university's theoretical models and applied research.
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Appendix D

Summary of the 31 CCULP Projects