

**CONDITIONAL CONVERGENCE:
A STUDY OF CHINESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS'
EXPERIENCE
AND
THE NEW ZEALAND KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY**

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Abstract

Since the mid-1990s, New Zealand has become a popular study destination for international students. In its neo-liberal knowledge economy policies including an export education policy, international education agenda, and skilled immigration policy, international students are conceptualised as ideal policy subjects: free, rational and self-interested knowledge consumers and globally available human resources. International postgraduates are expected to contribute to New Zealand's knowledge economy with their knowledge and skills. However, both the statistics and empirical research suggest that these students' experiences do not always coincide with the policy expectations owing to the involvement of multiple political and non-political factors and actors including international students themselves. Cultural differences in particular, generate extra challenges for these policies to recruit and serve international students and retain international graduates from non-Western cultural backgrounds including those from Mainland China. The gap between the policy intentions and these students' experiences draws our attention to the roles of multiple regimes of government and individual students as active agencies in overseas study and raises the question of how the two aspects can converge to achieve a 'good' overseas study in a complicated culture-crossing policy environment.

This thesis takes a post-structuralist approach and uses an adapted Foucauldian conceptual framework that develops the concept of governmentality to explore the experiences of a group of postgraduate Chinese international students studying at two New Zealand universities. It combines documentary research, an online survey and 56 in-depth interviews for data collection with culturally informed discursive,

Foucauldian descriptive statistical and Foucauldian narrative analyses of data. The findings show that the convergence between New Zealand's knowledge economy policies and Chinese students' experiences of 'good' overseas study is not straightforward. This thesis argues that Chinese international students are not made and governed by a singular political power like the New Zealand Government but by multiple regimes of practices through which these students are assembled. Chinese cultural mechanisms such as filial piety, reciprocity and loyalty, play a crucial role in constituting the field of international education and assembling regimes of subjectification. Moreover, these cultural mechanisms are not only embodied in governmental technologies themselves as technical means, but also activated through the coexistence of multiple rationalities, the hybridisation of regimes of subjectification and cross-cultural applications of these technologies.

This thesis helps explain both ways in which Chinese students get 'made into' subjects who are willing to constitute themselves as international students obliged to come to New Zealand and contribute to the knowledge economy and also the constellations of factors motivating them to move away from on-going, constant and regular engagement with New Zealand as a knowledge economy. With its findings, the thesis attempts not only to provide valuable policy recommendations but also to contribute to sociological understandings of the global governance of border-crossing population movements and comparative studies in the sociology of education.

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¹ <http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/analects.html>

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| Abstract | ii |
| Acknowledgements | iv |
| Table of Contents | viii |
| List of Figures | ix |
| Chapter 1: Introduction: International Students and Neo-liberal Knowledge Economy Policies | 1 |
| Chapter 2: Understanding International Students in the Global Knowledge Economy | 18 |
| Chapter 3: Theoretical Perspectives: Bourdieu, Foucault and International Students | 50 |
| Chapter 4: The Arts of Government and the Project of the Self: A Conceptual Framework and Methodological Considerations | 71 |
| Chapter 5: Global Governmentality and National Variations: Making and Re-making International Higher Education and International Postgraduate Students | 118 |
| Chapter 6: From Geopolitical to Liberal Rationality: Chinese International Students in the Chinese and the New Zealand Policy Contexts | 144 |
| Chapter 7: Singular Rationality or Multiple Reasons: New Zealand as a Study Destination | 176 |
| Chapter 8: Regimes of the Self and Translation of Goals: Chinese students' Pathways to New Zealand | 198 |
| Chapter 9: Human Technologies in Different Contexts and Problematizations of Chinese Students' Difficulties in New Zealand | 226 |
| Chapter 10: The Selves as Assemblages: Chinese Students' Adaptation Strategies for Study and Living in New Zealand | 255 |
| Chapter 11: Assembled Selves upon Graduation: Chinese International Students' Plans | 282 |
| Chapter 12: Governmentality, Globalisation and Culture: Making and Governing Chinese International Students | 310 |
| Chapter 13: Conclusion: Culturally Conditioned Convergence for a 'Good' Overseas Study | 340 |
| References | 367 |
| Appendices | 396 |

List of Figures

Figure 7-1 The change in the total number of international students enrolled in New Zealand tertiary institutions from 2001 to 2009 179

Figure 7-2 The change in the numbers of different groups of international students enrolled in New Zealand tertiary institutions from 2001 to 2009 181

Figure 7-3 The number of international EFTS (Equivalent Full-Time Student) by qualification level in 2009 183

Chapter One Introduction: International Students and Neo-liberal Knowledge Economy Policies

New Zealand has developed a highly successful export education industry, with a reputation not only for quality but also for offering something different (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a, p.2).

I knew that, for both of us, sending our son to study overseas was like gambling, as we did not know what would happen in the future. (Interviewee 47, a parent)

I had lots of bad experiences regarding accommodation. Most of the time, people did not genuinely care about international students but just treated it as a business. I have been here seven years and lived in all sorts of accommodation. In the first two years, I lived with three home-stay families ... We ended with the fact that either they did not like me or I did not like them. (Interviewee 19, a male student)

1.1 Introduction

The above three excerpts are drawn from a New Zealand Government document and interview transcripts, respectively. In these excerpts, the topic of international education is presented by different voices. In the first, the Government enthusiastically articulates its neo-liberal policy intention of developing international education. In the second, one Chinese student's mother talks about the uncertainty of sending her son to study abroad. The third excerpt is a student's comment on the

difficulties he experienced while living in New Zealand. These different voices suggest that distinctive rationalities and associated practices come together to enable study abroad. The multiplicity of voices raises a couple of questions: how do these voices come together to make Chinese international students? How can New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policy intentions converge with individual Chinese students' experiences in the field of international education to enable a 'good' overseas study, especially when rationalities and practices derived from the two sides are based on different cultural values?

This thesis is about how Chinese postgraduate students understand and explain the impetus to undergo postgraduate study abroad. It takes a governmentality perspective to examine the convergence between New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies and Chinese postgraduate students' experiences of overseas study. Theoretically, this thesis explores the conceptualisation of culture in relation to governmentality and contributes to sociological understanding of the global governance of border-crossing population movements and comparative studies in the sociology of education.

1.2 The research background

In the contemporary world, international students have become a major group of people on the move and have a great influence on societies. They are usually defined as "those who are not permanent residents of the host country and excludes those who are on short exchange programs of one year or less" (UNESCO, 2006, cited in Gürüz, 2008, p.161). According to UNESCO statistics, the number of international higher education students increased from 110,000 in 1950 to 2.1 million in 2002. Projections

of their numbers in the first quarter of the twenty-first century vary from five to eight million (Gürüz, 2008, p.163). With the rapidly growing number, these students would have a great influence on both host and home societies. In student-receiving countries like the UK, the financial gains from serving international students are one of the largest sources of revenue for their economy (Gürüz, 2008, p.192). Export education has become an important industry in these countries and is subject to government policy interventions.

The current policy intention of export education has developed over time. In the past five decades, policy interventions have shifted from supporting the developing world through introducing educational aid programmes to providing educational services in the international education market. As a major player in the market, the New Zealand Government has enacted policies and created instruments to recruit international students, ensure their positive living and study experiences, and retain them after their graduation. With the issue of *Export Education in New Zealand: A Strategic Approach to Developing the Sector* in 2001 (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2001), the number of international postgraduate students has increased from 1,595 in 2000 to 4,442 in 2006 (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007b, p.13). In 2005, the policy of domestic fees status for international PhD students was introduced (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a, p.46). In 2007, the Government released *The International Education Agenda: A Strategy for 2007-2012*, which valued the role of overseas research students in contributing to innovation and building academic and business linkages (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a). Accordingly, the skilled immigration scheme was adjusted to be in favour of graduates having New Zealand-recognised qualifications (Immigration New Zealand, n.d., -b; -a). With the

influences of these policies, the number of Asian postgraduate students grew substantially from 2,521 in 2006 to 4,270 in 2009 (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007b, p.14; 2010, p.12). These statistical data seem to suggest that New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies are effective in regulating the mobility of international students.

With the Government's commitment to strengthening relationships with China, Chinese international students are expected to study in New Zealand in increasing numbers. However, the number of students holding the People's Republic of China citizenship in New Zealand experienced a significant decline to 20,780 students in 2009, after a period of rapid growth from 10,906 students in 2000 to 53,340 students in 2002 (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007b, p.9; 2010, p.4). The decline in the total number of Chinese students raises a question about the effectiveness of New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies and suggests that there is a gap between New Zealand policy intentions and Chinese students' choices for study abroad.

1.3 Gaps between policy intentions and realities

Existing research shows that in the real world, there is a gap between policy intentions and their outcomes. The neo-liberal knowledge economy policies tend to portray international students as ideal subjects and perceive a 'good' overseas study through a lens of economic benefit. Current policies for recruiting, serving and retaining international students are developed mainly based on the neo-liberal free market model of international education. Accordingly, international students are viewed by the policy makers of receiving countries as an economic development tool through

their consumption of educational services while studying and serving as skilled human resources after graduation (Harman 2004; Vickers & Bekhradnia, 2007; Dreher & Poutvaara, 2011). The role of international postgraduate students is linked with the development of knowledge economies (Gempesaw & Elterich, 1989; Chellaraj, Maskus & Mattoo, 2005). Returning international graduates are valued by the governments of student-sending countries for their roles in leading scientific research, improving educational practices, and facilitating foreign capital investment and the transfer of technology (Zweig, Chen & Rosen, 2004; Gong 2006).

However, the implementation of these neo-liberal policies is problematic, and many studies reveal policy challenges or negative effects. For example, university ranking is used as a technique to build university hierarchies and regulate the flow of international students. Different university ranking systems are, however, conflicted and incomparable (Wildavsky, 2010, pp.100-140; Tofallis 2012) and can generate social inequality (Badat 2010). For sending countries, the spread of the neo-liberal market model through internationalising higher education has caused a series of problems such as credentialism, examination-oriented education, qualification-oriented teaching and learning practices, and cultural imperialism (e.g. Bai 2010; Chan & Ngok, 2011). The migration of highly skilled and well-educated people attracted to both academia and international organisations can cause the problem of 'brain drain' (Lowell & Findlay, 2011). These negative effects suggest that there are inconsistencies between policy intentions for student mobility and their outcomes in reality due to technical, social and cultural factors and multiple national governments involved in the implementation process, and raise a question about how policy intentions can seamlessly link to students' expectations of a profitable experience.

There is also a gap between policy intentions for providing high-quality educational experiences and students living and study experiences in the real world. In 2001, the New Zealand Government issued *The Code of Practice for the Pastoral Care of International Students*. Since then, it has constantly been updated to ensure high-quality study and living experiences for international students (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013). The Committee on University Academic Programmes (CUAP) and the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit (NZUAAU) have attempted to ensure that the quality assurance system in New Zealand universities is consistent with international guidelines for good practice (Universities New Zealand and the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit, 2011, p.5).

Studies suggest that international students have difficulties in adapting to life and study in host countries, owing to factors such as cultural distance, English language and financial problems, host university's lack of understanding of their background and prior experience, and lack of social support networks (Ward & Masgoret, 2004; Sherry, Thomas & Chui, 2010; McMahon 2011). Moreover, some studies highlight cultural distance as having the most significant impact on students' learning experience (Kingston & Forland, 2004; Wong 2004; Hui 2005; Wang & Byram, 2011). For international postgraduates, difficulties and challenges are related to family obligations, social problems and gender relations (Kyvik, Karseth & Blume, 1999; Scheyvens, Wild & Overton, 2003). The academic success in adaptation to postgraduate study is conditioned by students' academic interactions with others. The support provided through collaboration between university services is important to

them (Handa & Fallon, 2006; Li & Vandermensbrugghe, 2011; Zhou, Frey & Bang, 2011).

Drawing on a number of existing studies suggests that there are gaps between policy intentions for student mobility and policy implementation outcomes, and between policy intentions for high-quality education and care and international students' experiences. Policy intentions sketch a picture of a 'good' overseas study by which student-receiving and sending countries are in an economic win-win situation from student mobility, and international students are provided with a high quality of education and care. Students' experiences of a 'good' overseas study are not always positive but are filled with challenges and difficulties. Since these studies focus on either policy perceptions of student mobility or students' experiences, they cannot explain the gaps between policy intentions and student experiences. Students' experiences in entering, staying and leaving are seen as separate snapshots and fail to inform each other to explain the gaps. For example, students' study and living difficulties in host countries caused by cultural distance have been examined without cross-referencing with their pre-arrival experiences in a historical view. However, it is essential to explain the gaps so as to understand how the goal of providing a 'good' overseas study can be achieved.

Additionally, empirical studies raise other concerns in the topic area of overseas study. For example, international postgraduate students are some of the major players in developing the knowledge economy, and their experiences are related to, but different from those of undergraduates. However, there is not enough research conducted on their actual experiences (Kyvik, Karsheth & Stuart, 1999, p.379). Cultural differences

generate difficulties for international students but the previous research tend to treat international students as a homogeneous group without considering the diversity of cultural backgrounds and giving a voice to the experiences of those from a non-Western cultural background (Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012). Such studies and critiques have suggested, explicitly or implicitly, the involvement of multiple actors and factors in and throughout overseas study, but they fail to explain how these factors and actors come together to enable a ‘good’ overseas study. Given the need to explain the gaps and address these concerns, this thesis is designed to explore how New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policy intentions and postgraduate Chinese students’ experiences of a ‘good’ overseas study can converge, taking into account the relationship between cultural values and governmental mechanisms.

1.4 The structure of the thesis: Exploring convergence between policy intentions and student experiences

The thesis consists of thirteen chapters aiming to explain these gaps and explore the convergence to enable a ‘good’ overseas study. It begins by examining existing studies about policy intentions and student experiences of a ‘good’ overseas study and the relationship between them. Chapter Two reviews studies related to ways of explaining factors facilitating student mobility, policy intentions for student mobility and their implementation outcomes, and international students’ experiences at the global, national and local levels. There are multiple factors relating to international student mobility and experiences, which are explained mainly by the push-pull theory, the external-internal factor division model and the human capital theory. These theoretical explanations are criticised for their limitations including separating factors facilitating student mobility arbitrarily, neglecting dynamics and interactions between

factors, and over-emphasising economic factors. Theoretically, they emphasise either the role of the individual or that of social structure, and therefore, echo the problem of the agency-structure dualism (Adams & Sydie, 2002, p.48). Currently, Bourdieu's concepts of social capital and cultural capital, and Foucault's power-knowledge nexus approach are frequently used in empirical studies to examine contemporary issues related to international student mobility and experiences because both their works attempt to move beyond the agency-structure dichotomy. The strengths and weaknesses of studies from the Bourdieusian and the Foucauldian perspectives suggest that both are applicable and would be complementary to each other in the examination of the relationship between policies and international students.

Chapter Three compares the Bourdieusian and the Foucauldian perspectives and discusses their application to this study. It concludes that the two perspectives are parallel and cannot be combined in the same study. Since a Foucauldian perspective provides a practical 'tool-kit' applicable to the current study, the Foucauldian conception of governmentality is particularly applicable to understanding the convergence between policy intentions and individual student experiences in a complicated policy environment involving multiple actors and factors.

Chapter Four presents an adapted Foucauldian conceptual framework informed by the concept of governmentality and associated methodology and methods. The concept of governmentality was coined by Foucault in his lecture of "On governmentality" in 1978. Foucault used the term of governmentality to discuss rationalities intrinsic to the art of government and explain a specific and complex form of power with the population as its target (Foucault, 1991a, pp.88-91, 102-103). According to Larner

and Walters, the concept of governmentality has been used in two distinct ways in the literature. These include referring to a form of power with the optimisation of health and welfare of the population, rather than the defence of territory as its focus and understanding of the complex relationship between thought and government (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.496). In terms of the complex thought-government relationship, Dean notes that the concept of governmentality comprises how we think about governing with different rationalities, “how thought operates within our organized ways of doing things, our regimes of practices ...” and how thought links to technical means to shape conduct (Dean, 2010, pp. 24-27). This understanding suggests that studies of governmentality are concerned with the rationality, the practice and the technology of government. This thesis examines the relationship between thought and government from these three aspects. Moreover, as Foucault argues, “practices of government are ... multifarious and concern many kinds of people” (Foucault, 1991a, p.91). This suggests that the ways of thinking of government are multiple rather than simply focusing on political power. The thesis, therefore, draws Foucault’s three domains of government, namely the government of the state, the government of others and the government of the self (Foucault, 1991a, p.91; Dean, 1994, pp.145-154, 161), together to explore the relationship between policy intentions and Chinese students’ experiences.

Chapter Four draws upon a number of Foucauldian concepts to form a conceptual framework for this study, reflecting Foucault’s three domains of government. The primary question of this study relates to policy intentions in respect of governing Chinese international students and these students’ experiences in overseas study to realise self-cultivation. This is about the relationship between different forms of

subjectification in the global and culture-crossing context. The chapter thus uses Dean's conception of governmentality from the three forms of subjectification: governmental self-formation, political subjectification and ethical self-formation (Dean, 1994, pp.155-156). Dean's concept of ethical self-formation is substituted by Rose's concept of the project of the self (Rose, 1996, p.195) to make this analytical dimension specifically applicable to this study, because for Chinese students, overseas study is a way of self-cultivation which reflects Rose's idea of the project of the self. Ideas drawn from Larner and Walters' global governmentality (Larner & Walters, 2004a) and Bennett's culture and governmentality (Bennett 2007) are integrated to reflect and address Chinese students' experiences as transnational and culturally informed. With the substitution and integration, the conceptual framework is formed, consisting of three analytical dimensions: culturally informed governmental self-formation, culturally informed political subjectification and culturally informed project of the self.

Guided by this conceptual framework, the thesis uses Foucault's archaeology and genealogy as methodological guidance to examine policy intentions and student experiences. In particular, Foucault's archaeology and genealogy are used to examine policy intentions to show governmental self-formation and political subjectification in the field of international education. Rose's genealogy of subjectification, which is informed by Foucault's idea of "our relation to ourselves" (Foucault, 1986, quoted in Rose, 1996, p.24), is used to explore student experiences to illustrate the idea of the project of the self. With the integration of Larner and Walters' global governmentality and Bennett's culture and governmentality to include the factors of globalisation and culture in the analysis, the adapted Foucauldian methodology is formed as a

combination of a culturally informed genealogical archaeology and a culturally informed genealogy of subjectification. This methodology effectively guides this investigation of the convergence as a border-crossing phenomenon. This research is designed to be conducted with a mixed method approach combining documentary research, an online survey and 56 interviews for collecting both quantitative and qualitative data. It employs multiple analytical methods consisting of culturally informed discursive, Foucauldian descriptive statistical and Foucauldian narrative analyses.

Guided by the adapted Foucauldian conceptual framework and methodology, the subsequent seven chapters examine the development of New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies in the global context through governmental self-formation and political subjectification, and Chinese international students' overseas study experiences through the project of the self. Chapter Five addresses two questions: how does the field of international education in which Chinese international students in this study are embedded emerge? How do international students become policy subjects? To answer these questions, this chapter examines the establishment and development of the field of international education through the formation and transformation of the discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade”. This chapter examines related discursive practices in four student-receiving countries and three student-sending countries, namely the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, South Korea, India and Singapore². It suggests that the field of international

² According to statistical data from IENetwork, countries could not be simply categorised as recipients or senders of international students, as nowadays most countries might be in both positions simultaneously. In this research project, the seven countries are categorised as receiving or sending countries based on the movement pattern of Chinese international students. These countries are selected based on their relevance to the policy practices of the two countries – New Zealand and China – on which this study focuses. The four receiving countries along with New Zealand are the most popular

education is constructed as a discursive space designed to keep world order, position countries and define the direction of the international student flow. This chapter provides a global and historical context for understanding New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies.

Chapter Six seeks to answer how New Zealand and China are positioned in the field and how the flow of Chinese international students is regulated. The chapter elaborates on the process through which New Zealand and China are connected to the field of international education and Chinese students move between the two countries. It suggests that in the current neo-liberal market, the relationship between nation states and individuals is shaped by “sovereign individuality”, characterised by modelling governmental rationalities on individual rational behaviours (Foucault, 2008, p.312). Accordingly, the behaviour and choices of individual Chinese students are crucial for examining the effectiveness of policies.

Chapters Seven to Eleven explore individuals’ rational behaviours through presenting the findings generated from the fieldwork, including an online survey and a case study of 56 interviews. From the perspective of Chinese international students, these chapters examine the factors affecting their decisions and choices in their overseas study journey from deciding on pursuing overseas study to planning for future movement upon graduation. Chapter Seven presents both official statistics on the New Zealand international student population group and its sub-groups, such as Chinese international students in New Zealand, and the results of an online survey conducted with a group of Chinese postgraduates. Through comparing official statistical data and

international student study destinations, especially for Chinese students. Three sending countries are selected based on the similarity and relevance of their governmental practices in regulating international students and graduates to those of China and/or New Zealand.

data collected through the online survey, this chapter draws a big picture of this group of Chinese postgraduate students and its features in terms of mobility and overseas study experience. It shows that multiple factors and various actors are involved and different voices coexist in the process of pursuing overseas study.

Chapters Eight to Eleven present the results of 36 interviews with Chinese international students and 20 interviews with Significant Others, a term borrowed from George Herbert Mead's research on social relations involved in the process of development of the self (Macionis & Plummer, 2012, p.215), in order to examine the emergence of these factors and assembling of these actors. For this group of students, transnational movement and overseas study can be viewed as a crucial stage of their project of the self. Chapter Eight examines factors facilitating the Chinese students' decision to study abroad and their choice of New Zealand as a destination. It shows that overseas study emerges as a solution to problems caused by practices focusing on locating the students in different regimes of the self in China for their access to formal education. The convergence of policy intentions regarding student recruitment and Chinese students' choices are conditioned by cultural values and affected by assemblages of multiple actors and factors.

Chapter Nine presents Chinese international students' experiences of living and studying in New Zealand and asks whether the 'solution' of study abroad works. It shows that overseas study seems to be a solution to various problems generated in China. However, their study and life in the host country can actually become problematic again owing to difficulties in adaptation caused by their experiences of being located in different technologies of the self from those in China. Different

problematizations relating to these students' difficulties in adapting to New Zealand life and study lead to the provision of different services and support by various actors within the university and in local communities. This chapter shows that the convergence between the policy intentions of providing high-quality education and care and Chinese students' experiences of study and living in New Zealand is not straightforward but involves different regimes of the self. This chapter lays the basis for the next chapter, which examines students' adaptation strategies.

Chapter Ten presents Chinese students' strategies for adapting to life and study in New Zealand, and asks how regimes of the self eventually come together to shape Chinese students' experiences, and how Chinese students experience themselves through these regimes. The chapter shows that students employ different strategies through assembling and connecting with various actors to maximise their own power, happiness and quality of life to achieve the goal of self-realisation. Chapter Eleven develops this line of inquiry to explore Chinese students' plans. It shows that no matter where they choose to live and pursue their careers, the lines of connection through which they are assembled constitute a social space for them to respond to market forces, commit to family responsibilities, pursue lifestyles and respond to cultural values. Chapters Eight to Eleven show that the selves have been formed and re-formed as "assemblages", which connect these students into different lines of relations in and throughout overseas study. In the process, cultural mechanisms are aligned with the regimes of government through forming these assemblages to enable a 'good' overseas study.

Chapter Twelve discusses results presented in the previous chapters from three aspects of governmentality: the rationality of government, the practice of government and the technology of government. It suggests that Chinese students' project of the self involves various regimes of government and that cultural values play a crucial role in the process. Chapter Thirteen concludes the thesis through reviewing the roles of global cultural politics and culture-crossing assemblages in shaping a 'good' overseas study.

Through examining the relationship between political subjectification and individual Chinese students' project of the self realised through overseas study, this study shows that the convergence between policy intentions and Chinese international students' experiences is culturally conditioned and happens in three policy areas: student recruiting, hosting and retaining. For these students, studying in New Zealand is not only a response to the export education policy but is also attributed to problems generated by the Chinese familial model of governing based on Confucian doctrines and assemblages of different actors in the decision-making process. When they study in New Zealand universities, difficulties in accessing high-quality education are generated by their embodiment of culturally different disciplinary and pastoral technologies. Successful adaptation to study and life in New Zealand results from their strategic application of these human technologies across territories and assembling regimes of the self, based on culturally hybridised rules. Upon graduation, diversified assemblages are formed based on these hybridised rules while they accord significance to different aspects of themselves.

Based on these findings, it is argued that Chinese international students in this study are not constructed as ideal policy subjects, and their mobility is not governed by a singular political power but by multiple regimes of government through which these students are assembled. In the process, cultural mechanisms play a crucial role in making the field of international education and assembling regimes of subjectification. Moreover, the role of cultural values is not only embodied in governmental technologies themselves as technical means, but also activated through the coexistence of multiple rationalities, hybridisation of regimes of subjectification and cross-cultural application of these technologies. The argument regarding the role of culture in governmentality proposed in the thesis yields theoretical and policy implications. From the next chapter, this thesis presents how the above argument is developed to answer the research question on how New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies and Chinese students' experiences converge to enable a 'good' overseas study.

Chapter Two Understanding International Students in the Global Knowledge Economy

A well-educated workforce with connections to networks in knowledge-producing countries is a key asset in the global knowledge economy (Gürüz, 2008, p.13).

2.1 Introduction

The rise of the global neo-liberal knowledge economy highlights the significance of a well-educated workforce with connections to networks in knowledge-producing countries such as the UK, the US and Australia. As major providers of well-educated workforces, universities in these countries are now able to sell knowledge as a globally tradable commodity in the international education market. International students demanding knowledge are therefore their expected consumers; once these students graduate they serve as globally available human resources. The global knowledge-driven economy not only fuels the development of international education but also facilitates student mobility and associated experiences. Since a large number of international students move across borders for further education maintaining simultaneous connections with both host and home country, their mobility and experiences are not only important for them, but also influential on societies.

The previous chapter noted that over the last 50 years, New Zealand has become one of the major host countries for international students. After the release of a new education export policy in 2001, Chinese international student numbers in New Zealand increased rapidly and grew from 10,906 students in 2000 to 53,340 students

in 2002, followed by an unexpected decline to 20,780 students in 2009 (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007b, p.9; 2010, p.4). The fluctuation in numbers highlights the limitations of the effectiveness of this policy and draws attention to the need to examine and understand the relationship between policy intentions and these students' experiences. While numerous studies in New Zealand and elsewhere examine international student experiences and the effects of policies, it remains unclear whether, how and under what terms the neo-liberal knowledge economy and student experiences of it, converge to achieve a 'good' overseas study. Even so, existing studies offer useful empirical and theoretical insights that are reviewed in this chapter. The first section of this chapter examines empirical studies of policy intentions for student mobility, their outcomes and international students' experiences. The second section focuses on the types of theoretical explanations of student mobility and experiences that are available. These insights are used to identify what needs to be included in the consideration of convergence for a 'good' overseas study.

2.2 Policy intentions and their relationship with international students' experiences

2.2.1 The gap between policy intentions and policy implementation outcomes

International student issues are not addressed by a single policy but are embedded in broader policies and practices, including international higher education, skilled migration and repatriation of overseas talents. Moreover, these policy intentions have changed over time. For example, from the 1950s, two distinct policy discourses have framed international student mobility. After World War II, student mobility was predominantly from the South to the North under the paradigm of "education for aid", in which international students more or less acted as agents for forming educational

links and economic ties. Since the mid-1980s, “education for trade” became the prevailing paradigm (Salt, 2011, pp.133-134). This meant that an increasing number of national governments, including New Zealand, have strategically positioned themselves in the international student market to capture a large share (Welch, 2002, pp.440-441). To respond to the neo-liberal knowledge wave and generate profitable results from its education export industry, the New Zealand Government released the policy documents titled *Export Education in New Zealand: A Strategic Approach to Developing the Sector* in 2001, and *The International Education Agenda: A Strategy for 2007-2012* in 2007 (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2001; 2007a).

At the local level, the New Zealand international education industry was developed in a political formation named “After Neoliberalism” inspired by Prime Minister Helen Clark’s speech made in late 2002 on the political possibilities of “Beyond Neoliberalism” and “After Neoliberalism” (Larner, Le Heron & Lewis, 2007, p.228). In the New Zealand context, a set of co-constitutive political projects, such as globalisation and the knowledge economy/knowledge society, are increasingly drawn on economistic language, that encourages participation in a globalising economy and facilitates the building of relationships with non-traditional actors (Larner, Le Heron & Lewis, 2007, pp.228-229; Lewis, 2011, p.229). In the international education industry, “the language and institutions of industry have been deployed to set globalising education to work in earning foreign exchange, forming networks for further trade and investment, and fostering global citizens, workers for global labour markets, and the subjects of global networks” (Lewis, 2011, p.229).

Academically, there are different opinions on the effect of this paradigm shift. Some studies show the positive effect of overseas study and regard students as a source of economic growth for both student-receiving and sending countries. For receiving countries, international students are seen during their time of study as ‘brain trade’ and after graduation as ‘brain gain’ (Harman 2004; Vickers & Bekhradnia, 2007; Dreher & Poutvaara, 2011; Salt 2011). International graduates are viewed as mobile human resources that are supplied to both global and local labour markets and regulated by governmental, intergovernmental, and inter-institutional policies (Mahroum, 2000, p.28). The potential of international postgraduate students is to contribute to research programmes of host universities, as well as the new technology development and the labour market of host countries (Gempesaw & Elterich, 1989, p.279; Chellaraj, Maskus & Mattoo, 2005; Salt 2011). For sending countries, returning international graduates are likewise regarded as transnational human capital and valued for their role in leading scientific research, improving educational practices, and facilitating foreign capital investment and technology transfer (Zweig, Chen & Rosen, 2004; Gong 2006).

Under this neo-liberal paradigm, students’ return to their home country is a crucial component of economic success for sending countries. International talents on the move have multiple belongings and entail cultural politics of specific places (Yeoh & Huang, 2013). China represents a typical example. According to Pan, China’s foreign education policy shows that “sending students to study abroad is an integral part of China’s brain gain strategies” (Pan, 2011, p.123). Over the past decade, the Chinese Government has taken a proactive diplomatic approach to sending students and scholars abroad. China partially depends on higher education resources in Western

countries, such as the US and the UK, to improve the quality of its human capital and enhance its global competitiveness. A decentralised economic mechanism allows the reduction of the government's share of financing study abroad and the creation of a domestic market to reap returnees (Pan, 2011, pp.124-127). Chinese overseas student issues have been strategically integrated into the Chinese foreign policy, which encourages overseas Chinese to imagine themselves as "part of the same transnational Confucian community" (Fong, 2004, pp.631-632; Barabantseva, 2005, pp.14-16).

The perception of positive effects of the paradigm of "education for trade" sketches a picture of a 'good' overseas study in which both student-receiving and sending countries can benefit from study abroad. However, the policy intentions of student-receiving and sending countries indicate a struggle between the two sides over the 'possession' of these students and propose competing ways for students to perceive themselves as a member of a Confucian community versus international vanguards of new technology development. The presence of competing narratives about their future also suggests that students have some degree of choice over how they envisage themselves as international students and graduates.

While the effect of the neo-liberal paradigm of "education for trade" is enthusiastically articulated, a large number of studies reveal how difficult it is to make this paradigm work as an economic win-win situation for both receiving and sending countries. For example, while university ranking is used to measure a university's international standing, and therefore is a useful tool for attracting students, different and incomparable ranking systems exist side by side (Wildavsky, 2010, pp.100-140; Tofallis 2012). In this sense, university ranking is not an effective tool for positioning

universities in the field of international education and directing international students' movement. Moreover, the practice of university ranking has been criticised as technically constructing social reality, building social hierarchies and reinforcing the legitimacy of certain values and interests, which are not favourable of the South (Badat 2010). In some host countries such as the UK, the policy shift from a general fee subsidy to the full-cost fees decision is expected to lead to an improved overseas study policy (Williams 1987). However, the effect of government policies in these countries is also affected by those of sending countries seeking to regulate the flow of students abroad (Woodhall, 1987, p.124). While host countries are benefiting financially from recruiting and serving international students (Gürüz, 2008, p.192), the revenue-driven approach is criticised as international students are sometimes viewed as “cash cows” for educational institutions in these countries (Salt, 2011, pp.133-134).

In host countries, one area of policy difficulty is to do with how international higher education policies align with immigration policies. The attraction of international graduates as skilled migrants generates challenges to selection policies. These challenges include the unprecedented competition for international students among host countries; the stability of international students as a source of supply; the possibility of distorted international student enrolment by sectors and disciplines; the irresponsible responses of some questionable educational providers who are promoting migration-driven student flow-in; the public backlash of viewing international students as both opportunists and victims; pressure on domestic students entering labour markets; and the generation of management problems for mediating conflicted interests between government, employers and universities (Robertson, 2011,

p.2207; Salt, 2011, p.147; Hawthorne, 2010, pp.113-114; Baas, 2006, p.8). These studies suggest that the process of recruiting and serving international students is complex because it involves different institutions and various actors.

Another concern is about the impact of the neo-liberal market model on higher education in student-sending countries. For example, international student marketing is employed by host countries to attract international students in the global “free market” (Marginson 1986). However, scholars are concerned about the negative effects of using the free market model for selling education to the countries from which international students were recruited. According to these scholars, the internationalisation of higher education will deepen educational inequality in developing countries, and cause a series of problems such as credentialism, examination-oriented education, qualification-oriented teaching and learning practices, and cultural imperialism (e.g. Bai 2010; Chan & Ngok, 2011). One of the limits of the market model is that it is less able to achieve its aim of a ‘good’ overseas study. This limit is demonstrated in the different outcomes between publicly and privately funded students in overseas study. For example, in the Chinese context, regulations and policies for managing publicly funded students have been systematically developed to address issues ranging from the selection of students to their stay in host countries and their repatriation (Pan 2006). For private students, the literature shows the inability of policy intentions and personal expectations to converge seamlessly. Negative effects include insufficient governmental management of the international student market, unreliable overseas study service agencies, and parents’ impractical expectations of their children, which undermine the positive experiences of overseas study (Li & Wang, 2005; Zhang 2007).

The neo-liberal market model of international education is questioned in terms of its strategies for solving the problem of ‘brain drain’, which is the result of migration of highly skilled and well-educated people (Lowell & Findlay, 2011). Currently, diasporic knowledge networks and ‘brain circulation’ have become major strategies to overcome the ‘brain drain’ problem (Jeanpierre, 2010, p.121). However, scholars also find that not all efforts meet the goal with success due to the coexistence of different educational and knowledge systems (e.g. Welch & Zhang, 2008). In particular, Hoffman notes that in contemporary China, the strategy of ‘brain gain’ through repatriation could not be implemented seamlessly. Patriotic professionals including returned international graduates could be valued as new subjects to provide human capital and contribute to economic growth and national progress. However, there are contradictions between participation in a free-market economy and following the dictates of the socialist state (Hoffman 2010). Rizvi argues that merely substituting the concept of ‘brain circulation’ for ‘brain drain’ cannot solve the problem. Based on findings from interviews conducted with Indian and Chinese international students in Australian and American universities, Rizvi suggests that global inequality is not shaped by modernist models of national development, but is determined by transnational flows of capital, people, information and skills. Accordingly, he calls for efforts to examine the context of uneven distribution of opportunities and asymmetrical flows of power in which ‘brain circulation’ would take place (Rizvi, 2005, pp.175, 190). From Rizvi’s viewpoint, power relations related to student mobility and associated ‘brain drain’ problems are not sufficiently considered in governments’ development strategies. The critiques imply that there is a gap between

the ideal free market constituted by policies and the enduring power hierarchy of international education in reality.

The research and analysis of existing policies summarised above show that there are gaps between policy intentions for achieving a ‘good’ overseas study and policy effects/outcomes in reality, and between a policy-constituted free market and an enduring power hierarchy of countries. These gaps imply that New Zealand’s neo-liberal knowledge economy policies in the field of international education are immersed in a complicated, competitive, and imperfect neo-liberal policy environment. For instance, university ranking is employed to shape the relationship between countries and so regulate student movement. However, in reality, when choosing a university for study abroad, students are exposed to imperfect governmental technologies such as conflicting university ranking systems promoted by different institutions and governments. Moreover, these technologies impose hierarchical knowledge relations to define the direction of student flow. These studies have shown that student-receiving and sending countries have different concerns about the development of international education and associated student issues. Multiple factors and various authorities and actors such as universities, educational service providers, programmes, services, technologies and individuals are involved in the process of overseas study. The complexity indicates that international students’ experiences are therefore subjected to different interests and their interactions. International students are not only influenced by host-country policy intentions, but also by multiple national governments, authorities, agencies and individuals.

2.2.2 Policy intentions and their relationship with student experiences

The previous section focused on what is already known about policy limitations in terms of achieving the goal of a 'good' overseas study through student mobility. This section turns to examine what is known about student experiences of policy intentions for providing high-quality education and care. The enhancement of international students' experience is a policy focus. For example, both the British Government and its institutions focus on the quality of international students' experience in recruitment campaigns (Humfrey, 2011, p.657). Universities are encouraged to develop mechanisms and identify drivers for improving international students' experiences (Ramachandran, 2011, pp.211-216). In the New Zealand context, universities are expected to take a strategic approach to attract, recruit and serve international students in order to enhance teaching and increase income while generating a safe and caring environment through building links with local communities (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2001, pp.14, 44). In this sense, a 'good' overseas study experience includes effective teaching, a safe and caring environment, and links with local life to ensure student success.

However, studies of students' experiences draw a different picture. International students are depicted as a vulnerable population with a variety of problems such as cultural distance, English language problems, financial issues, a lack of understanding of their background and prior experience by host universities, and a lack of social support networks (Ward & Masgoret, 2004; Sherry, Thomas & Chui, 2010; McMahon 2011). Language proficiency and cultural difference are two major issues discussed most intensely in the literature. For example, university admission regulations require a high level of language proficiency before student enrolment as it is seen as key to academic success. However, studies show that language proficiency and academic

success at the postgraduate level are neither simply causal nor correlative. Other factors, such as academic discipline and language support programmes have affected students' performance in using English in an academic environment (Light, Xu & Mossop, 1987; Vinke & Jochems, 1993). Studies also show that cultural distance and different learning styles can cause different communication problems such as the expectation gap between international students and academic staff and the mismatch between different teaching and learning styles (Kingston & Forland, 2004; Wong 2004; Hui 2005). These studies suggest that cultural differences and varying training methods can contribute to international students' adaptation difficulties.

For international postgraduate students, difficulties and challenges appear more complex. Challenges are related not only to academic difficulties such as poor contact with supervisors, but also to family obligations and social problems (Kyvik, Karseth & Blume, 1999). For example, Scheyvens, Wild and Overton (2003) examined the learning experience of international postgraduate students in a New Zealand university and found that the students' academic success was strongly related to the personal well-being, especially during their first few months while they were adapting to a new cultural, linguistic and learning environment. Moreover, female students and those with children faced additional and continuing difficulties (Scheyvens, Wild & Overton, 2003). Kim's study showed that graduate classes function as communities of practice in which students and professors interact with each other in a shared repertoire. The inability of international students, to enter this culturally and socially contextualised process would contribute to their learning difficulties (Kim, H.Y., 2011). In general, these studies suggest that the academic performance of international postgraduate students cannot be understood separately from social and cultural factors.

Facing these difficulties and problems, international students are not passive sojourners but are active agents who adapt to the host country environments while keeping their national identity. Studies in Psychology examine factors contributing to international students' acculturation and adjustment such as adaptation to new circumstances. These factors include students' personalities, types of social ties in which they are involved, inter-cultural communication competence and acculturative stress (e.g. Kashima & Loh, 2006; Smith & Khawaja, 2011; Yan & Berliner, 2011). Collins uses three case studies to understand Korean international students' lives in Auckland New Zealand. In these cases, Korean students use interpersonal networks and shared objects in their negotiation of urban space as they navigate the city of Auckland. They use online/offline internet cafés to bridge the gap between unfamiliar experiences abroad and familiar virtual encounters from home. The story of a group of volunteer students shows how they organise activities to socialise with individuals from different backgrounds to overcome the estrangement of being different (Collins, 2010, pp.51, 60). Collins' studies sketch a complex picture on international students' experiences in adaptation in spatial, embodied and social dimensions.

Wu and Hammond examined the adjustment of East Asian Master's students in UK universities and argued that international students did not adjust to a host culture but to "an international student culture", which is "defined by its widespread use of English; participation of students from a range of national backgrounds; and a focus on achieving academic success" (Wu & Hammond, 2011, p.435). Within that culture, students have a continuing interest in their home country events and may, but not exclusively connect with those from similar cultural backgrounds (Wu & Hammond,

2011, p.435). Other studies show that international postgraduate students' understanding of the contextual nature of their learning processes enables them to demonstrate strategic agency to understand the academic requirement of their disciplines. They combine learning approaches drawn from their home and those based on host countries for academic adjustment (Arkoudis & Tran, 2007; Wang & Byram, 2011). From this perspective, international postgraduate students' successful academic adaptation and adjustment are an experience of cultural hybridisation involving their active participation for ensuring a 'good' overseas study.

Debates on student experience also focus on identifying the relations between their needs and available resources, especially those provided by institutions (Harris 1995). This focus recognises that international students' abilities to adapt to study and life in a host country are affected by various factors, such as gender, academic discipline, country of origin and academic performance but their needs can be generally categorised into academic, social and financial ones for a satisfactory performance (Hanassab & Tidwell, 2002; Butcher & McGrath, 2004). These needs can be met either by providing support through specific learning programmes/courses, or through collaborative efforts involving relevant parties supporting international students (e.g. Pilote & Benabdeljalil, 2007; Mamiseishvili 2012). In particular, the academic success of international postgraduate students is determined partially by their adjustment to academic interactions with others (Zhou, Frey & Bang, 2011). The significance of support provided through building collaboration between university departments and fostering a cooperative peer-learning environment is also highlighted (Handa & Fallon, 2006; Li & Vandermensbrugge, 2011). This literature strand highlights that student success is more likely to occur when institutional resources and

their interaction with others meet student needs in ways that allow them to adjust to the new academic context successfully.

Some host countries have issued regulations and guidance for practice to meet international students' non-academic needs, but the outcomes are not always satisfactory. For example, *The Code of Practice for Pastoral Care of International Students* was first enacted in New Zealand in 2001 and is constantly amended (Butcher & McGrath, 2004, p.541; New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013). An enduring theme in the Code is to emphasise information, safety and care for international students (Butcher & McGrath, 2004, p.541). However, the intent of the Code is not always reflected in student experiences. A study involving 70 semi-structured interviews conducted in two New Zealand institutions by Sawir et al. (2009) showed gaps between international students' expectations or needs and the coverage of the Code. For example, in most cases, international students knew little about the Code, a fact that constrained their ability to assert their rights (Sawir et al., 2009). Other studies, although not designed exclusively for evaluating the Code's effect, reveal related issues. For example, studies show that international students from different countries, in different cities and different institutions have distinctive responses to questions about living arrangements and home-stay experiences (Ward & Masgoret, 2004; Ho et al., 2007). This means that a universal Code may not be able to guide educational service providers to serve a diversified international student population.

Studies also suggest that information provision is insufficient. Home-stay experiences are generally negative owing to communication barriers and insufficient prior

information provided to involved parties (Xu & Campbell, 2004). A quantitative study involving nearly 1,300 Chinese high school graduates in seven Chinese cities examined the influence of information from overseas higher education institutions on students' study destination choice. It revealed that these students paid attention to quality-related information on such institutions in varying degrees, depending on scholarship availability, study destination preference, parents' expectations, and the location of their schools and home cities (Zhan & Hung, 2010). This suggests that even if students came from the same country, they would not necessarily have the same concerns over study abroad. The information provided by host countries would not be able to address every individual student's concerns.

In terms of safety, sending countries seem to have a different understanding from that of student host countries. For example, from Chinese scholars' perspectives, the issue goes beyond the safety of students' life and property to include aspects such as avoiding the 'brain drain', supervising overseas services agencies, ensuring students' research projects do not threaten national interest, and protecting students from harm caused by crimes and accidents (Li, Miao & Qin, 2012). These studies show that international students are regulated not only by receiving countries' but also by sending countries' policies. Moreover, this highlights that the respective countries' policy intentions are not always consistent. From this viewpoint, sending countries' policies need to be considered to ensure a 'good' overseas study.

Other studies of students' links to local life focused on friendship patterns and social connections. These studies show that international students tend to associate with co-nationals for social support and information. This is due to internal factors, such as

homesickness or language barriers, and external factors like racism and prejudicial attitudes (Butcher 2003; Campbell & Zeng, 2006; Ho et al., 2007; Williams & Johnson, 2011). Specific social support programmes and institutional support are applied to facilitate cross-cultural interactions (e.g. Chen, Mallinckrodt & Mobley, 2002; Sakurai, McCall-Wolf & Kashima, 2010). Recently, there has been an increase in studies exploring the use of ICTs (information and communication technologies) as a medium to support international students' adaptation to life and study in a host country. Scholars note that technological possibilities would be conditioned by cultural differences and affected by social support (Campbell 2004; Cemalcilar, Falbo & Stapleton, 2005; Hughes 2005). In these cases, institutionalised support and technological mediation are regarded as solutions. There is a need to explore how technology interacts with other factors and whether these solutions when applied as policy instruments can converge with international students' experiences to enable a 'good' overseas study.

The review of debates on academic performance, pastoral care, safety and links of international students with local life highlights attempts by host countries to achieve a 'good' overseas study experience through regulations, programmes and technologies. However, these attempts are rarely effective, or their effectiveness is unclear. While policy instruments may seek to provide high-quality educational services to international students; in reality, international students' study and living experiences are not always satisfactory, and students face difficulties owing to different cultural and social backgrounds. Different student groups have distinctive needs for university support and services. International students are simultaneously attached to sending and receiving countries. Despite these impediments to student success, students

demonstrate strategic agency to adapt to life and study in host universities and therefore, imply the presence of ‘good’ overseas study experience. One main theme that can be drawn from this review is that students’ experiences of overseas study are shaped both by themselves and other actors and are subjected to multi-faceted social, cultural, economic, technological and policy factors.

2.3 Theoretical perspectives used for understanding international student mobility and experiences

2.3.1 Agency and structure in understandings of student mobility

Empirical research has shown that international students’ mobility is shaped not only by policy intentions but also by multiple actors and diverse factors. Different theoretical perspectives have been used to guide researchers to understand these factors and their relationships. They include the push-pull theory, the internal-external factor division model and the human capital theory. The push-pull theory, primarily used in migration studies was developed by Lewin (1951) and has been applied to explain students’ study destination choice and further movement after graduation with different degrees of adjustment (e.g. Mahroum, 2000, p. 28; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Baruch, Budhwar & Khatri, 2007; Soon 2012). For example, Mazzarol and Soutar examined factors influencing the choice of study destination and concluded that economic and social factors pushed students to study abroad, whereas the choice of destination was determined by pull factors such as the reputation of higher education institutions (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002, pp.82, 89-90). Additionally, Yang’s study of Chinese students opting to study in Australia showed that an institution’s reputation was more important for students planning to return to work in China after graduation than for those who planned to stay overseas (Yang, n.d., p.72). Hazen and Alberts

identify economic, professional, societal and personal factors influencing international student decisions to study in the US or return to their home countries after graduation. They concluded that economic and professional factors encouraged students to stay in the US, while personal and societal factors tended to draw them back home (Hazen & Alberts, 2006, pp.209-214). Li and Bray extended the one-way push-pull model to a two-way push-pull model to include reverse pull factors at home and push factors outside to examine border-crossing flows of mainland Chinese students to Hong Kong and Macau (Li & Bray, 2007, p.813). These studies seem to suggest that the push-pull model has provided a perfect supply-demand relationship between student-sending and receiving countries and given a satisfactory explanation of individual students' choices based on available economic and social resources generated through transnational mobility.

However, the push-pull theory has invalid theoretical assumptions on the roles of various factors and their relationships facilitating student mobility. For example, De Haas notes that it is problematic to use the theory to explain border-crossing movements because it simply assumes that there is a negative linear relationship between sending country development and emigration (De Haas, 2010, p.239). The studies reviewed above also indicate that the push-pull theory for understanding international student mobility is based on the assumptions that student mobility factors can be separated and arbitrarily linked to either sending or receiving countries and that these factors are static.

Additionally, the push-pull theory cannot be empirically verified. For example, empirical studies suggest that factors facilitating student mobility are inter-related and

interactive rather than students simply being pushed or pulled. There are variations of push-and-pull factors among individual students and different cultural groups of international students (Altbach, 1991, pp.309, 320-321; Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012, p.92). In respect of returning students, scholars argue that there is no such clear division between push and pull factors. Instead, home countries' economic development and national policies and their dynamics should be considered when examining students' mobility intentions. Moreover, people's social background, age, gender and marital status determine the effects of different pull and push factors (Zweig, 1997, pp.92, 107-108; Kim, Bankart & Isdell, 2011, pp.153-157).

Both empirical evidence and theoretical assumptions suggest that the push-pull theory does not specifically take account of the roles of policy intentions and individual students in the study-related transnational mobility but simply categorises them as push and pull factors. It is therefore an insufficient approach for understanding international student mobility and explaining the gap between policy intentions and students' choices for mobility to ensure a 'good' overseas study experience.

Besides the push-pull theory, some studies employ an internal-external factor division model to explore what facilitates student mobility. In these studies, researchers categorise factors into internal and external and seek to identify the primary determinants for student mobility. There are a number of studies focusing on internal factors such as individual students' satisfaction, perception and professional motivation for movement and their responding to "migration potential" generated by socio-economic conditions for career development (Guth & Gill, 2008, p.825; Park, 2009, pp.744-753). Others studies of student mobility focus factors at a broad level

and identified external reasons. For example, a document published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) showed that the international mobility of doctoral students was attributed to factors including geographical proximity, cultural and historical links, the existence of exchange programmes or scholarships, and immigration policies (OECD, 2010, p.138). Similarly, in a case study of international students in the UK, Findlay found that the financial interests of the supply side of international education had a significant influence on recruiting students to the UK (Findlay, 2011, pp.163,185). This finding suggests that the structuring influence exerted by the national policy of student-receiving countries is effective in facilitating student mobility.

The two sets of studies emphasise either the role of individual students as active agencies or external environments including policies as the structure, and so echo the problem of agency-structure dualism. In Sociology, the agency-structure debate is at the heart of the discipline when theorists attempt to understand the social world and explain the cause of its change. Agency is understood as a rational individual whereas social structure refers to “the continually reconstructed result of rules, resources, and agency” (Adams & Sydie, 2002, pp.48-49). Anthony Giddens uses a pair of terms to reconceptualise the duality of “individual and society” in the social world. He introduces the concept of structuration to bring the individual back into social theory and emphasises the interaction between individuals and the society in order to overcome the dualism that “he sees as plaguing other theories – a dualism that gives priority either to actors or to social structures” (Adams & Sydie, 2002, p.48). In the studies reviewed above, researchers give priority either to individual students or socio-economic conditions including policies. They are therefore unable to bring the

two together and examine the gap between student experiences and policy intentions and account for a 'good' overseas study.

With the rise of the global knowledge economy, understandings of student mobility and experiences are informed mainly by the neo-liberal market model of international education, which focuses on the role of economic capital accumulation in regulating student mobility and experiences. Studies based on the human capital theory on the role of education in building human capital (Schultz 1970) tend to emphasise the increasingly significant role of economic factors in student mobility. For example, Barnett compares the structures of international student exchange networks in 1970 and 1989 and holds that, while the pattern of student flow from the South to the North remained; economic development became an important factor in student exchange in that period of time (Barnett & Wu, 1995, pp.364-367). Rizvi's study suggests that, through the 1990s, Australian policies and institutional practices were developed with neo-liberal imaginaries with assumptions about calculations of students and their parents and returns on international education (Rizvi, 2011, p.698). The role of education marketing is highlighted (Binsardi & Ekwulugo, 2003, p.324; Chen, 2008, pp.25-28). International students are seen by governments in economic terms, institutions perceive them in financial terms, and large employers like transnational corporations see them as "global human resources" (Salt, 2011, pp.133-134). In other words, these studies suggest that international students have been treated as both foot-loose consumers and globally available human resources to fit into the neo-liberal market economy. This perspective is based on the assumption that students are rational individuals who can make a decision based on economic calculation guided

by market logic and neo-liberal policy intentions so it cannot explain the existence of gaps between policy intentions and students' choices.

These three approaches for explaining student mobility are limited in their ability to provide empirical verification and in the theoretical assumptions on which these explanations are based. The three perspectives articulate a long-standing theoretical sociological debate on the agency-structure relationship (Giddens 1984). The push-pull theory is derived from “institutionalised individualism” which emphasises the role of social systems in determining individual action (Shilling, 1999, p.544). Similarly, the internal-external division model echoes the agency-structure dualism (Adams & Sydie, 2002, p.48). The human capital theory is derived from “rational individualism”, which is based on rational choice theory and methodological individualism (Ritzer, 1996, p.290), consequently focusing on the role of individual students in making mobility decisions. Since the three perspectives give priority either to actors or to social structure, they cannot be used to examine the relationship between experiences of individual students as active actors and policy-enabled structure.

2.3.2 The post-structuralist approach of understanding student mobility and experience

To overcome the agency-structure dualism, two strands of studies use the post-structuralist approach. One strand of studies is guided by Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and its relationships with other forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986). This approach highlights the roles of social as well as cultural capital in facilitating overseas study and associated mobility. Studies following this approach emphasise the

influence of parents and families on Asian students' overseas study choices (Hodgkin 1963; Pimpa 2005; Ho et al., 2007). They suggest that Asian students' social capital plays a crucial role in their decision to study abroad and choice of a study destination for gaining culture capital. For example, a comprehensive study by Findlay et al. (2012) revealed that transnational movement enabled students to gain not only formal, but also socially and culturally constructed knowledge. Meanwhile, a university hierarchy constructed by the differentiation of higher education at global level helped produce different opportunities to accumulate cultural capital and directed students to access "world class" education. For individual students, the purpose of mobility was to achieve difference and distinction when gaining cultural capital. Accordingly, the reputation of higher education institutions, constructed by both institutions and individuals, had a great potential for directing students' movement as a means to achieve a good experience (Findlay et al., 2012, pp.118, 128-129).

Following the same capital accumulation model, many studies show that the mobility is facilitated by Asian students' and their families' existing strategies for accumulating cultural capital. For example, Kim's study of Korean students in the US, Waters' research of Hong Kong students in Canada and Butcher's doctoral thesis on Asian students in New Zealand are examples of this (Butcher 2003; Waters 2008; Kim, J., 2011). According to this theoretical approach, the internationalisation of higher education through the neo-liberal market led to the differentiation of national education systems. This differentiation shaped the Asian families' strategies for their children's cultural capital accumulation. Korean students were expected to become cosmopolitan elites with English communication skills enabling them to escape from competition in the educational system at home, while internalising the US hegemony

(Kim, J., 2011). Hong Kong students gained their Canadian credentials and then transferred them to economic and social capital in the Hong Kong job market (Waters 2008). The East Asian students focused on the accumulation of cultural capital through overseas study (Waters 2013). Asian students used study in New Zealand to gain a foreign degree in order to convert it from cultural capital to economic capital in their country of origin or elsewhere (Butcher, 2003, p.67). In general, this theoretical approach explains Asian student mobility in terms of the students as well as their parents' expectation of gaining cultural capital and facilitating the conversion of different forms of capital.

Xiang and Wei's study on the relationship between international student migration and social stratification in China reveals complexity in cultural capital accumulation and its conversion to other forms of capital in the Chinese context. According to them, cultural capital accumulation through overseas study is not only generated by Chinese students and their families' concerns about job market competitiveness but it is also correlated to social stratification facilitated by gender discrimination in the domestic job market and wealth gained through questionable businesses or official corruption. They conclude that China has moved from elite circulation to elite reproduction in the 2000s, which allows transformation across different types of elites and between different forms of capital to be concentrated at the top stratum of society. Moreover, the Chinese Government's returnee policies further facilitate this process (Xiang & Wei, 2009).

Compared to explanations based on mobility for human capital, a cultural capital-based explanation presents a more complex picture of factors facilitating student

mobility. They not only notice the role of economic factors and market forces in facilitating mobility, but also realise the role of social and cultural factors in shaping the direction of these flows. Moreover, Bourdieu's conception of different forms of capital allows these researchers to overcome the agency-structure dualism through combining personal and institutional aspects and examining the relationship between them. However, these studies have been criticised for their failure to take into account power relations at play in the process of study abroad. Zhang views the research of Waters (2008) as providing "a peculiar perspective concerning the global flow of capital – the economical on the part of host countries and the cultural for international students" (Zhang, 2009, pp.106-107). Zhang notes that Waters fails to question the uneven flow of capital in the current international education market and neglects associated power relations and politics in the local context (Zhang, 2009, p.107). These cultural capital-based explanations are limited because they neglect the relationship between knowledge and power in the global context. They have accepted the existing global hierarchy of knowledge or educational systems without question, and the direction of flows of capital and students is assumed to be fixed.

By introducing a power-knowledge lens, Sidhu (2006) provided an alternative understanding of supply and demand in the international education market. Guided by ideas drawn from Foucault's methodologies, cultural studies, sociology and cultural geography, Sidhu uses examples drawn from "the first world" education exporters, including the US, Australia and the UK, and postcolonial consumers, including Singapore and Brazil, to examine "how power relations shape international education networks, and how these relations shape and sustain the desire for a Westernized template of international education in the post-colonial world" (Sidhu, 2006, p.viii).

According to Sidhu, the demand for international education in the postcolonial world rests on its “productivity of power relations” as Western credentials have cultural capital and increase graduates’ employability in the global labour market. Moreover, the market was not universal as the education exporting countries deployed different sets of images and symbols as marketing strategies to promote their educational institutions (Sidhu, 2006, p.300). For Sidhu, “[n]ation-states are implicated in the cultural, political, and symbolic economies of education markets” (Sidhu, 2006, p.300). With this study, Sidhu made a valuable contribution to the study of international education from a cultural politics perspective. As the author notes, her study seeks to introduce greater complexity to supply-and-demand dynamics through examining international education consumption in Brazil and Singapore so it “can be faulted for failing to convey in more detail the productive possibilities that surround the active transgressive subject” (Sidhu, 2006, p.301). Sidhu’s self-reflection implies that the responses of both student-sending countries and individual students to neo-liberal policies should be considered when examining the operation of power and knowledge in international education. Moreover, the relationship between cultural and political factors should receive attention when the focus is on the convergence of policy and experience towards a ‘good’ overseas study.

A Foucauldian understanding of the knowledge-power relationship is also useful to explain international student experiences in host countries. Gunawardena and Wilson (2012) reviewed studies on international students in Australia and noted that Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak³, three post-colonial theorists,

³ Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient*. London, Penguin.

Bhabha, H. (1994) *The location of culture*. London, Routledge.

Spivak, G. (1988) Can the Subaltern speak? In Neslon C. and L. Grossberg eds. *Marxist interpretations of culture*. Basingstoke, Macmillan Education, pp.271-313.

provided unique viewpoints on the experiences of international students studying in metropolitan universities. According to Gunawardena and Wilson, Said's writing on *Orientalism* explained the ideological practices of imperialism in education through the hegemonic status of European knowledge and post-colonial representation. For example, Asian students were represented as "rote-learners with a surface approach to learning" owing to educational providers' poor understanding of cultural differences (Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012, p.60). The complicity between politics and academic knowledge was conveyed through the curriculum. The hybridity theory understands "[h]ybridisation is the process by which the Western canon of colonial authority attempts to include people from the colonies and their histories in the dominant discourse" (Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012, p.73). It was adopted by scholars to examine international student experiences regarding English language usage. However, Bhabha criticised the theory for its lack of attention to "locating where power resides" (Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012, p.74). In a similar view, Spivak's critical account of the marginalisation of the colonised people's knowledge and experiences urged the need to pay attention to the voices of students from developing countries studying in metropolitan centres (Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012, pp.57-88). Despite different academic interests, these post-colonialists portray international students' experiences through a knowledge-power lens. Their focus echoes Foucault's perspective of the knowledge-power nexus (Foucault 2000d) although Spivak challenged Foucault's idea that subordinate classes can represent themselves (Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012, p.79). Given the influence of a Foucauldian perspective when explaining the relationship between power and knowledge, it suggests that a Foucauldian perspective would be useful when examining the experiences of international students from a non-Western background.

2.4 Accumulated knowledge on international students and its implications for the current study

Studies of international students concentrate on two aspects: empirical research on policy intentions and their actual outcomes at the global and national levels and international student experiences at the local level, and theoretically informed explanations on international student mobility and experiences. Taken together, these studies suggest that while national policies and governmental practices are major factors shaping international students' movements and experiences, multiple and contradictory gaps exist between policy intentions and their outcomes, and between policy intentions and international students' experiences. While identifying the different forms these gaps take, they fail to show how these actors and factors combine and condition the implementation of policies to make individual students receptive to overseas study. The thesis will consider how policy intentions and international students' experiences may converge. More specifically in respect of Chinese students in New Zealand, how do New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies and Chinese international students' experiences converge to enable a 'good' overseas study? This is the research question explored in the remainder of the thesis.

To answer the research question, this study needs to examine how policy intentions and students' experiences come together. Given that existing studies usually focus on a particular event in the overseas study process such as the decision to study abroad, adaptation difficulties and student mobility, the different sets of literature fail to inform each other to explain, in a life course approach, how the gaps between policy

intentions and student experiences are generated. Moreover, because they focus on either policy perceptions or individuals' experiences, they are unable to give an account of any convergence. The literature review highlights the scarcity of studies which examine both aspects as inter-related. This implies the need for a holistic approach, which examines students' overall experiences from the point of going abroad to returning home.

The literature review also suggests aspects that need to be considered to account for the convergence required for a 'good' overseas study. For example, the review shows that policy implementation always involves various actors and multi-faceted factors in complex global, national and local contexts. It is not only policies but also families, especially Asian families, have an influence on student mobility. International student experience and movement are attributed to both cultural factors and power relations. At different periods in history, policy expectations of international students have differed and subjectified students distinctively. Students with different social, cultural and economic backgrounds have different concerns and respond differently to education export policies. The policy intentions of international students' home countries affect students' needs and performances in host countries. Generally, the findings depicted in the literature review suggest that historical, cultural, political, individual, and transnational factors should be examined comprehensively and contextually to show their roles in the convergence of policies and individual experiences enabling a 'good' overseas study. Given that the experiences of international postgraduate students are connected with, but differ from those of undergraduates, the former should be examined separately to respond to the value attached to them by neo-liberal knowledge economy policies.

In view of the literature review findings, it is necessary to devise a suitable conceptual and research strategy to examine how policy intentions and student experiences come together as a means to decipher how governance and the self converge to enable a 'good' overseas study.

The studies reviewed highlight a complex relationship between structural influences, such as policies, and individual agency. This suggests that it is problematic to make a dichotomous separation between agency and structure. Both Foucault's and Bourdieu's ideas are productive attempts to bridge the gap and have been applied by scholars to examine issues related to international student mobility and experiences in the global knowledge economy. The review suggests that both perspectives are suitable as conceptual guides; however, researchers tend to apply Bourdieu's ideas to examine social and cultural factors and Foucault's ideas for analysing the power-knowledge relation in student mobility and experiences. This raises a question on whether they can be combined effectively to examine these factors comprehensively. If not, which perspective is suitable? This issue is explored in Chapter Three. In Chapter Four, the thesis provides a conceptual framework combining an analysis of policy practices with an exploration of individual postgraduate students' experiences to investigate convergence in a way that can incorporate multiple factors and various actors and historical, global, transnational, national and local dimensions. It does so by examining the whole process of overseas study from initiation to completion of that study.

2.5 Conclusion

The change in focus from “education for aid” to “education for trade” has meant that international students and issues related to them have gained greater academic attention than ever before. Although relevant studies are scattered across various disciplines, they fall into two categories: policy perceptions of student mobility and experience, and theoretically informed explanations of factors facilitating international student mobility and affecting their experiences. Studies identify policies as a major factor in facilitating the transnational movement of international students. Policy interventions related to international students operate in a complex environment, including university ranking at the global level; education marketing, skilled migration and repatriation policies at the national level; and relevant policy instruments at the local level. There is an expectation that these interventions will generate intended economic results through the regulation of international student mobility and at the same time enhance student experiences. However, studies also show the mixed effects of these policy intentions. Moreover, policy intentions are not the only factor influencing student mobility and experience. In reality, social, cultural, economic and personal factors affect the way by which these students move to and study in a host country. This suggests that there is a complex gap between policy intentions and students’ experiences of international education. Even so, a significant, despite fluctuating, number of students undertake overseas study in New Zealand. Given this, it is appropriate to examine whether, how and under what circumstances international students bridge the gap and undertake study.

Theoretical approaches likewise shape the understanding of factors influencing international student mobility and experience. The agency-versus-structure-based push-pull theory, internal-external factor division model and human capital theory are

of limited use when examining international student mobility and experience as a multi-faceted transnational phenomenon involving cultural concerns and power relations. In the current neo-liberal market, student mobility and experience can be potentially explained using the Bourdieusian or/and; the Foucauldian approach as they both overcome the limitation of agency-structure based accounts. Both appear to be suitable theoretical perspectives for this study. The next chapter will assess the feasibility of using and combining concepts drawn from the Bourdieusian and Foucauldian approaches to examine the convergence of policy and experience in international postgraduate study.

Chapter Three Theoretical Perspectives: Bourdieu, Foucault and International Students

Their [Bourdieu's and Foucault's] intellectual projects are self-sustaining and incommunicable, but parallel (Callewaert, 2006, p.76).

3.1 Introduction

Through a review of existing themes and debates on policy discourses of student mobility, international student experiences and theoretically informed explanations of student mobility and experiences, it is apparent that convergence between policy intentions and student experiences is crucial to successful study abroad. However, it is also noted that there are not only empirical gaps between policy and experience but also theoretical ones. A conceptually consistent theoretical and methodological approach can examine convergence as a means to explain gaps and inconsistencies between intentions for and experiences of a 'good' overseas study. Two main theoretical perspectives seem conceptually equipped to examine the issue of convergence in ways that engage with the gaps. Given that each has distinct strengths and limitations in relation to what it can afford the thesis question, it is appropriate to evaluate each to decide the best course of action to explore the thesis question. In particular, the Bourdieusian approach is predominant among current studies which examine Asian students' experiences in engaging with overseas study as a family strategy for accumulating cultural capital. This chapter reviews how Bourdieusian and Foucauldian perspectives would approach the thesis question. The review compares and contrasts each as a means to detail the reasoning that led to the subsequent

adoption of a Foucauldian perspective to explore and examine the thesis question in full.

The first section of this chapter reviews how Bourdieusian and Foucauldian approaches have been used in educational research. Then, their similarities and differences are discussed in light of the current study. The aim of this chapter is to explain the decision to use an adapted Foucauldian perspective to examine the convergence between policy intentions and the experiences of individual students.

3.2 Bourdieu, Foucault and education

3.2.1 Bourdieu and Bourdieusian approach on international education

Pierre Bourdieu is an influential thinker in educational research (Grenfell et al., 1998, p.1). His contribution to social sciences is recognised through his effort to construct a general theory of practice (Mahar, Harker & Wilkes, 1990, p.1). Accounting for individuals' practices and strategies in a practical situation is central to Bourdieu's work, shown in *Outline of A Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu 1977a), *Distinction* (Bourdieu 1984) and *The Logic of Practice* (Bourdieu 1990). He summarises his relational approach with an equation: "[habitus] + field = practice" to overcome the agency-structure dichotomy (Bourdieu 1984; Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986, pp.111-112).

To understand practice, Bourdieu employs the concept of "the field" to construct the object of research and explain a system of objective relations of power between social positions (Mahar, Harker & Wilkes, 1990, p.8). He specifically coins the concept of 'habitus' to illustrate the relationship between practice and a situation. According to

him, the habitus is mediation "... [b]etween the system of objective regularities and the system of directly observable conducts" (Bourdieu, 1968, p.705). It is also defined "as a principle of a *structured*, but not structural, *praxis*, the *habitus* – internalization of externality – contains the reason of all objectivation of subjectivity" (Bourdieu, 1968, p.706). According to Grenfell and James, in *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, 'habitus' is "a medium of inculcation and production of the cultural arbitrary" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, cited in Grenfell et al., 1998, p.15). In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu defines habitus as "the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (Bourdieu, 1977b, quoted in Garnham & Williams, 1980, pp.212-213). Despite different conceptualisations of habitus, this theory generally emphasises the interaction between arbitrary rules and individual adaptation strategies for the purpose of transcending opposition between objectivism and subjectivism. In terms of the thesis question, the production of habitus through education allows individuals to internalise reality and then act accordingly. Individual choices and practices result from combining the internal subjective aspiration with external objective conditions. In this study, the concept of habitus can be used to explain why different students have different choices for study abroad and plans upon graduation. Knowing this would go some way to explain the gaps in convergence between policy objectives and student accounts of a 'good' overseas study experience.

For Bourdieu, individual's habitus needs to be examined through the properties and factors agents possess in forms of capital. To deny the reduction of the social world to "a discontinuous series of instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.241), Bourdieu defines capital as "a potential capacity to produce

profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.241) and re-introduces the concept in all its forms, including cultural capital, social capital and economic capital. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in three forms: the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 1986, p.243). Examining the accumulation of institutionalised cultural capital can show the intervention of institutions, such as nation states, in cultural reproduction and thus in social reproduction. Bourdieu holds that conferring institutional recognition on cultural capital through the educational qualification makes the conversion between cultural capital and economic capital possible (Bourdieu, 1986, p.248). In this context, Bourdieu especially emphasises the role of the nation state. From the perspective of capital, Bourdieu holds that “[t]he state is the culmination and product of a slow process of accumulation and concentration of different species of capital” (Bourdieu, 2005, p.12). According to Bourdieu, the state plays a role in the economic field through policies that generate structural effects (Bourdieu, 2005, pp.12-13). This means that policy interventions are realised through the market. This idea can guide the thesis on how New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies play a role in regulating international students through the market.

The intervention of the nation state and the market means that cultural capital is inevitably related to the subtlest way of domination; that is what Bourdieu calls symbolic power or symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1987, p.14; Bourdieu, 1998, p.40). As Swartz suggests, the concept of cultural capital is central to Bourdieu’s analysis of the processes through which cultural knowledge and lifestyle operate to create social inequality. Furthermore, symbolic forms of coercion rely upon more discreet means of social control than direct and physical violence (Swartz, 1977, pp.546-547). For

explaining symbolic forms of coercion, Bourdieu adds the concept of symbolic capital and defines it as “the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu, 1987, p.4). According to Moore, Bourdieu’s purpose in examining types of symbolic capital is to show their arbitrary and instrumental character, which links social and cultural advantage or disadvantage to relations of economic power and inequality (Moore, 2008, p.104). From this viewpoint, the examination of institutionalised cultural capital can show the role of the nation state in configuring the economic and cultural fields through both educational and economic policies and generating cultural advantages or disadvantages. This concept could be usefully employed to show how overseas study can bring advantages for international students in job markets and so help explain motivations behind overseas study decisions and the way by which they may clash with policy objectives

Embodied cultural capital can be linked with an individual’s habitus, which is illustrated through social position and choices. Bourdieu argues that to acquire embodied cultural capital one needs to convert external wealth into an integral part of the person, in other words, into a habitus, in the whole period of socialisation (Bourdieu, 1986, pp.244-245). In this sense, the examination of the accumulation of embodied cultural capital is a way of understanding the acquisition of habitus. This would mean that this thesis needs to show how the economic wealth of international students’ families enables them to gain a habitus, which would direct them to choose overseas study. From this viewpoint, overseas study would be possible only for Chinese students from well-to-do families.

Bourdieu's ideas on practice and his concepts of 'habitus', 'cultural capital' and 'symbolic violence', are applicable to educational research. In particular, Bourdieu's ideas are useful for explaining social inequality based on different educational attainments and differences between people's backgrounds in terms of their lifestyle, tastes and trajectories. For the thesis, these ideas could help explain how policies enable the imposition of hierarchies of international education and how individual students find their own position according to their family's economic background and the tastes they inherit.

The subsequent sections will discuss the applicability of Bourdieu's ideas to the thesis question, compare and evaluate them alongside what a Foucauldian perspective offers.

3.2.2 Foucault and Foucauldian approaches on international education

Michel Foucault is generally regarded as one of the most influential thinkers in the social sciences. His thoughts continue to inspire academics in different fields and shape current thinking. There has been an accumulated effort to introduce Foucault's work, thoughts, life, texts and contexts into the academic field (e.g. Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000; O'Farrell 2005; Downing 2008; Oksala 2008; Fendler 2010; Oliver 2010). According to Oksala, Foucault's work is usually divided into three phases, including the archaeological phase in the 1960s, the genealogical phase in the 1970s and the ethical phase in the 1980s (Oksala, 2008, p.3). In the archaeological phase, Foucault focuses primarily on structural assumptions in the relationship between truth and subjectivity through problematizing both of them (Fendler, 2010, p.19). This makes his historical studies, known as archaeology, different from traditional historiography. He challenges "the philosophy of the subject" (Oksala, 2008, p.14),

which is regarded as a source of knowledge, through focusing on practices. “He was interested in fundamental but historically changing practices, categories, concepts and structures of thought in terms of which people are able to think, perceive and act in certain ways” (Oksala, 2008, p.14). This means that Foucault’s approach notes that history is a useful reference for understanding individual practices. In this study, individual international student mobility and study experiences are influenced by historically changing practices and structures of thought in the field of international higher education. An understanding of the latter would make it possible to analyse individual experiences and understand how these students think, perceive and act in certain ways.

It is useful to outline this unique approach as knowing how it works helps when it comes to assess its ability to advance the thesis question. *The Order of Things* and *the Archaeology of Knowledge* are devoted to an explanation of Foucault’s unique approach to the study of history (Fendler, 2010, p.82). In *The Order of Things*, Foucault explains theories and methods he utilises to examine the relationship between words and things, people and discourses. He argues that history is written based on selective criteria and the order taken for granted is arbitrarily imposed rather than naturally existent (Fendler, 2010, pp.82-87). In *the Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault systematically explains the historical approach used in his previous work. His archaeological investigation is viewed as being provocative and critical (Fendler, 2010, p.92), enabling one to “... [dig] down through history to understand the present” (O’Farrell, 2005, p.64). For Foucault, the task of writing history is to explain its discontinuity rather than continuity as history is produced selectively by discourse through imposing order on chaos (Fendler, 2010, p.90). From this viewpoint, the

investigation of discursive formations is closely related to understanding history and so, is useful in grasping the present. Used in this thesis, the archaeological investigation of the field of international education would reveal how a particular discourse emerges, and how the associated world order comes to dominate at a specific historical time. Foucault's approach to history could usefully examine what discursive practices operate in the field of international education and regulate Chinese international students. Knowing the kind of discursive formation that shapes international education would advance the thesis question because it would give an account of the power-knowledge regime that contextualises and shaped study abroad for authorities and students alike.

In the early 1970s, Foucault's interest shifted from archaeology to genealogy as is shown in his essay *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* (Oksala, 2008, p.46). Despite the shift, his archaeological and genealogical approaches are interconnected. While the former concentrates on the principles of ordering to make discursive practices possible, the latter focuses on the linkage between power relations and the domination of knowledge (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, p.24; Oksala, 2008, p.48). This intertwining of knowledge and power explains the emergence of powerful institutions and discourses that claim to be universal. In terms of the thesis question, the knowledge-power lens could help explain the gaps between policy intentions of regulating student mobility and experience through constituting knowledge relationship between student-receiving and sending countries and student experiences of a 'good' overseas study shaped by multiple national governments.

In his last two books, volumes two and three of *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault shifts his attention to Ancient Greece, Rome and the early Christian period and examines the idea of ethics in relation to sexuality and self-formation. He makes a distinction between moral codes and ethics or morality of behaviour and holds that the ethical practice of the self is closely related to aesthetics, known as “the arts of the self”. The notion of ethics and aesthetics has been critiqued for valuing taste, privileging beauty, de-politicising people with a shifting focus on private life and encouraging elite pursuit and self-indulgence (O’Farrell, 2005, pp.113-118). However, Foucault argues that an emphasis on ethics and aesthetics is not meant to encourage people to make themselves look beautiful but is concerned with empowerment and resistance to normalising power of self-creation and self-presentation (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, pp.159-163; O’Farrell, 2005, pp.113-118; Oksala, 2008, pp.91-99; Fendler, 2010, pp.95-100). Considering Foucault’s notion of ethics of self-formation is useful when examining the study plans of Chinese international students as it focuses attention on how these students intend to form themselves as morally respectable people, and how this is achieved through the normalising power of tastes such as policy intentions and cultural beliefs. In addition, it is useful in addressing how both Chinese and Western moral codes influence their project of the self.

Reviewing Foucauldian ideas or studies related to education and international issues reveals that, although Foucault himself did not carry out any educational research, there are many educational research projects inspired by his thinking (Marshall, 1990, pp.22-26). These usually concentrate on the analyses of power and knowledge relations in pedagogic practices and educational policies. For example, Popkewitz and Brennan are concerned with power exercised across populations. They note that

one of Foucault's contributions is his recognition of the role of discourse in the construction of social spaces in which individuals are constituted as subjects. Accordingly, locating individuals in discursive spaces is a way to problematize classificatory criteria and understand how individuals are disciplined and self-regulated (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998, pp.12-14). Both Hoskin and Jardine hold that using Foucault's analysis of the Panopticon constitutes school examinations as a special micro-technology that imposes disciplinary power and knowledge relations on the individual in educational settings (Hoskin, 1990, pp.31-33; Jardine, 2005, pp.62-65). The ideas that discursive spaces help embody forms of power in and through educational settings and disciplinary power is embedded in pedagogic practices can advance the thesis question as they would focus attention on how pedagogic practices take shape in the Chinese and New Zealand context. These could help in understanding how Chinese students are constituted as subjects in the discursive spaces of international education.

In terms of analysing educational policies, Foucault's approach to history and his power regime of governmentality also provide analytical frameworks for education policy scholarship (Doherty 2007). Olssen, Cood and O'Neill review aspects of critical policy analysis proposed by James Scheurich and Trevo Gale based on Foucault's ideas on archaeology and genealogy. Although the review argues that there are limitations to the methodology of Scheurich and Gale, it recognises that archaeology and genealogy are feasible for policy analysis (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill, 2004, pp.53-58), because they generate a history of the present that combine an account of what discourse has come to dominate with that of discursive struggles and silences in that discourse. In applying the concept of governmentality to the analysis

of education policy, Doherty suggests that “policy is read as an intervention, as the initiation and legitimation of a set of practices, as the planting and nurturing of certain screens of subjectivity, and as retrospective display of ‘state reason’” (Doherty, 2007, p.199). Foucault’s discussion on liberal and neo-liberal forms of governmentality has been particularly influential in studies on neo-liberal educational policies and governance. For example, Peters summarises the elements of neo-liberal governmentality and traces the influence of human capital theory on education and welfare policy through what he calls the development of the “entrepreneurial self” (Peters, 2001, p.60). These studies imply that the integration of Foucault’s ideas on archaeology, genealogy and governmentality would provide a useful analytical tool for examining policy documents and understanding how individuals are subjectified by policy intentions in a neo-liberal knowledge economy.

Foucault’s ideas could be applied to examine issues across territories, in other words, international issues. In this case, the concept of governmentality is integrated into globalisation studies to investigate power/knowledge beyond the state. For example, Larner and Walters propose the idea of global governmentality to encourage the examination of the political rationality of the globe (Larner & Walters, 2004b, p.17). In contrast to global governance, which is regarded as more descriptive and concerned with current transformations, the concept of governmentality emphasises the historical perspective of global governance, liberal political reason, a particular technology of rule and “a reworking of the very modern Weberian notion of rationality” (Amos, 2010, p.80). While this approach is still experimental and provisional (Larner & Walters, 2004b), it is of value in studies exploring global issues in education. To take one example, Sidhu’s study on international education reviewed in the previous

chapter examines how international education is assembled and ordered under conditions of globalisation with the guidance of global governmentality. Rather than viewing international education as an unproblematic flow, Sidhu explores the construction of subjectivity, the generation of truth and power-knowledge relations, and associated practices during the process (Sidhu, 2006, p.296). This suggests that the thinking of Larner and Walters on global governmentality can be used in this study, because it synthesises education and individual aspiration in a global context of knowledge economy.

The discussion above shows that Foucault's approach and ideas, such as the archaeological analysis of discourse, knowledge-power, subjectification and governmentality, are potentially useful for examining convergence. Specifically, Foucauldian studies and ideas on education and international issues can provide a basis for examining the relationship between knowledge, power and the subject and the interaction between policy interventions and individual student experiences in the global context.

3.3 A comparison of Foucault and Bourdieu when examining the thesis question

As post-structuralist theorists (though there are debates on Foucault's position as a structuralist or post-structuralist (Fendler, 2010, pp.18-19)), Foucault and Bourdieu have much in common in terms of their academic trajectories such as similar training in philosophy, appointment to the highly prestigious *Collège de France* and reputations as the most prominent French Leftist intellectuals since the 1970s (Rieger-Ladich, 2010, p.108). Both theorists have numerous followers, and both have been the subjects of intensive critiques.

A Foucauldian critique of education is useful in raising questions on power relations at the global level previously neglected in respect of education. However, Woermann notes that the philosophical analysis of power obscures the role of social, political, legal and psychological factors in education. Moreover, Foucault's later work needs to be scrutinised to determine whether his analysis of caring for the self with ethical freedom and self-formation needs to be extended to caring for society (Woermann, 2012, pp.115-119). Barnett critically discusses the Foucauldian re-conceptualisation of culture and governmentality, which gained popularity in Australian cultural-policy studies in the 1980s and the 1990s. He argues that the complex relations between culture, power and different spatialities of social practices should be considered while developing the concept in order to avoid an overly coherent image of practices of government in producing subject-effects (Barnett, 1999, p.369). This critique implies that because the subjects of this research are Chinese students, that is, a student population from a non-Western cultural background, cultural factors should be considered and integrated if a Foucauldian approach is to be employed in analysing the convergence between policy intentions and student experiences.

Bourdieu is well known for his understanding of late capitalist culture through his theory of culture as a system of symbols. However, Gartman argues that Bourdieu's ahistorical view of class and its cultural legitimation prevent him from grasping completely the cultural changes wrought by the transition to capitalism (Gartman, 1991, p.445). Jenkins argues that although Bourdieu attempts to transcend the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism, his social theory is contradictory, owing to his deterministic model of social reality and the practice of social agents, and

the circular relationship between social and cultural reproduction proposed in Bourdieu's work (Jenkins, 1982, p.270). Moreover, as the literature review shows, power relations at the global level have been ignored or presumed in Bourdieusian studies on international education (Zhang 2009). In choosing to apply the Bourdieusian approach, this thesis would need to consider an adapted framework for addressing power relations and the historic viewpoint.

The shared features of the two perspectives and their respective strengths and weaknesses suggest that they could complement each other. However, as Callewaert notes, "their intellectual projects are self-sustaining and incommunicable, but parallel" (Callewaert, 2006, p.76). For Bourdieu himself, the differences arise from the distinctive positions and dispositions he and Foucault take in the French intellectual field and the effect of expectations objectively inscribed in the two fields of sociology and philosophy (Callewaert, 2006, p.74; Bourdieu, 2007, pp.81-82). Bourdieu seems generally reluctant to bring together, or separate the two intellectual styles by "leading readers to recognize the similar in the different and the different in the similar" (Bourdieu, 2007, p.82); although, since 1984, Bourdieu's critique of Foucault has been increasingly noticed (Callewaert, 2006, p.76). There are still academics who attempt "reciprocal observance and critique" of the two perspectives (Rieger-Ladich, 2010, p.107). For example, Rieger-Ladich holds that a Bourdieu-inspired reading of Foucault might prove appealing for pedagogical discourse and notices that a small number of educational philosophers "productively refer to both theoreticians" (Rieger-Ladich, 2010, p.107). However, fundamental differences between Foucault and Bourdieu mean that their perspectives are generally not complementary and cannot be used in the same study simultaneously.

[E]ven if we feel we must “take a side” between Foucault or [Sic] [and] Bourdieu, there is much to be gained by reading both of them, whichever side one chooses to be on ... One thing that Bourdieu shared with Foucault was a desire for his work to be seen not as an imposing theoretical edifice but as a practical “tool-kit” for researchers and political activists alike (Blogspot 2009).

In terms of the aims of the thesis, comparing and contrasting Foucault’s and Bourdieu’s ideas needs to go beyond an intention to evaluate their strengths and weaknesses, and to identify who provides a more practical and applicable tool-kit to help answer the research question. To do so, the rest of the chapter will contrast the two theoretical perspectives by focusing on three significant aspects relating to the current study: government, market and the logic of individual agents for taking action.

Firstly, there are fundamental differences between Foucault’s and Bourdieu’s ideas on government in terms of the role of the institution and governmental rationality for exercising power. In respect of the role of the institution, their views on the relationship between institutions and history differ. For Bourdieu, the institution is an original condition or site for the making of history, whereas Foucault views the institution as what is brought into history (Blogspot 2009). In other words, Bourdieu holds that the institution itself is a part of history. For Foucault, the institution comes up with the emergence of the discourse and is made up as part of history. This divergence leads to distinctive views on a specific form of institution, the state, and its reason.

For Bourdieu, the state is the one institution that successfully claims the monopoly of the use of physical and symbolic violence. The ability of the state to exert symbolic violence is attributed to both its organisational and mental structure. The state's task is to concentrate different species of capital and inculcate common forms and categories of perception and appreciation to create conditions for exercising power over the different fields and defining habitus for all subjects (Bourdieu, 1998, pp.35-60). As a result, symbolic power exercised by the state becomes the subtlest form of domination so that it is not experienced as violence and does not encounter any resistance (Rieger-Ladich, 2010, p.113). For Foucault, understanding the modern state is linked with the examination of the art of government. He sees the state's task as continuity building upwards in order to realise self-government, and downward to the government of the family. Governments have to deal with the complex composition of people and things rather than territories (Foucault, 1991a, pp. 91-93). In this sense, power is diffused rather than being concentrated, as Bourdieu would expect.

These differences have three implications for this study. First, Bourdieusians and Foucauldians have different foci where the field of international education is concerned. For Bourdieusians, university hierarchies in the field of international education would remain unquestioned. Instead, they would be interested in how nation states attempt to accumulate different types of capital in order to promote their universities, increase their cultural capital and upgrade their positions to attract international students. However, studies conducted from this perspective cannot explain how the hierarchies originated and why the flow of international students follows a specific route generally from the South to the North. In contrast, Foucauldians might not take the existing university hierarchies for granted. They

would dig down through the past to find out how the present pattern of student flows and university hierarchies originated. They would also be interested in how institutions in the field of international higher education emerge and develop within particular discursive formations.

Their different views on power and resistance imply that followers of Bourdieu and Foucault may disagree in regards to the relationship between governments and international students. For Bourdieusians, the disguising feature of symbolic power means that they pay more attention to adaptation than resistance. Accordingly, Bourdieusians would be interested in the strategies of individual students for accumulating different forms of capital in response to practical situations and adapting to the environment imposed by government policies. Their strategies for competing for social positions would fall into fields defined by policies. However, this cannot explain the existence of policy challenges and failures demonstrated in studies mentioned in the previous chapter. For Foucauldians, the idea of the coexistence and intertwining of power and resistance can instead provide an explanation the situation. Students' strategies are understood as a combination of the result of conducts and counter-conducts involving multiple actors such as governments, families and students.

Second, they have different views on neo-liberalism and the role of market. Bourdieu refines “the anti-liberal understanding elaborated by the classics of sociology” and focuses on social practices (Callewaert, 2006, p.75). For him, the changed role of the state under neo-liberalism coincides with inequality, exclusion, marginalisation and stigmatisation (Rieger-Ladich, 2010, p.115). The forms of capital they accumulate in

the market determine individual freedom. For example, the literature review shows that Bourdieusians view overseas study as a middle-class phenomenon related to one's habitus. However, Foucault sees neo-liberalism as a way of urging the art of government and the freedom of individuals as something "absolutely fundamental" (Rieger-Ladich, 2010, p.115). He is interested in the "reconstruction of the historical and present 'liberal' understanding of man and society as a discourse" (Callewaert, 2006, pp.74-75). For him, both German ordo-liberalism⁴ and American neo-liberalism are versions of power exerted through free individuals based on market mechanisms (Rieger-Ladich, 2010, p.115). From this viewpoint, the market economy is a way of introducing politics into economic practices – the art of government (Foucault, 1991a, p.92). Accordingly, Bourdieusians would be interested in social exclusion and inequality under neo-liberal development while Foucauldians might pay attention to the art of government developed under such market forces.

Finally, according to Bourdieu, the main difference between Foucault and himself lies in the concepts of 'field' and 'habitus' (Callewaert, 2006, p.94). This leads to distinctive ideas on an individual's logic for taking action. For Bourdieu, human social action is directed by a combination of objective relations and subjective involvement. Agents act according to their own perception of the situation rather than through listening to discourses; this is because the practical sense is an embodied situation. In contrast, Foucault holds that human social action is involved in consideration of "conscious, explicit discourses, procedures and technologies" on the one hand, while on the other hand, "the outcome of discursive and non-discursive practices is different from what was intended and managed" (Callewaert, 2006, p.94).

⁴ German ordo-liberalism is a German version of neo-liberalism, developed during and after World War II by scholars from the Freiburg School, like economist Walter Eucken and jurist Franz Böhm. Eucken formed the School or the "ordo-liberals" around the journal *Ordo* (Foucault, 2008, pp.102-103).

Applying these ideas here, Bourdieusians would be interested in a student's habitus, which relates to, or determines his or her choices regarding overseas study. Foucauldians would pay attention to the gap between an individual's choices and actions and the intended results of policy interventions.

The above comparison indicates that these perspectives would shape the study interest and focus in different directions. If a Bourdieusian perspective were to be employed, the thesis would mainly address issues related to cultural and social reproduction. The intended questions would be: how can the accumulation of cultural capital enable universities to gain a place in and improve their position in global university hierarchies? Why does international higher education serve as a way of generating new inequality? How do individual international students adopt different strategies for accumulating cultural capital and enhancing their economic and social positions? In contrast, a study with a Foucauldian perspective would focus on a different series of questions, namely: why does the flow of international students follow a specific route from developing to developed countries? How does the emergence and development of the field of international education define the flow? What are policy intentions and associated instruments and practices? What are an individual international student's choices, practices and strategies for overseas study? How do policy interventions converge with students' experiences? Are there any gaps between students' social actions and policy intentions? If so, what are the gaps between policy intentions and the choices and actions of individual international students? It is clear that the latter perspective provides a more practical tool-kit for answering the current study's research question, and it is for that reason, the Foucauldian perspective and associated concepts will be employed in this inquiry.

This study explores how Chinese international students' experiences and neo-liberal knowledge economy policies converge to achieve a 'good' overseas study. This means that both governmental rationalities and practices, and individuals' experiences are pertinent to identifying possible ways of convergence. Theoretically, Foucault's ideas on governmentality provide a useful framework for this since studies of governmentality have been "extremely helpful in illuminating the 'soft' or 'empowering' mechanisms of power and in demonstrating how individuals and social groups are governed by freedom and choice" (Lemke, 2011, p.87). This suggests that Foucauldian understandings of the concept of governmentality can form a conceptual framework for this study. Moreover, the review of empirical work and theoretical perspectives suggests that the factors of globalisation and culture should be integrated into that framework. The next chapter will explain how a Foucauldian conceptualisation of governmentality can be integrated with factors of globalisation and culture to provide a conceptual framework for this study.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the Foucauldian and the Bourdieusian approaches. The former is shown to provide a more practical and applicable conceptual "tool-kit" for this inquiry although both approaches have their strengths and weaknesses. Bourdieu is interested in the relationship between educational attainment and people's social status. He holds that education is social reproduction. The Bourdieusian approach is prevalently used by researchers to examine issues related to educational inequality. Bourdieu's ideas on cultural capital and its relationship with other forms of capital enable researchers to integrate cultural, economic and social factors into their study,

but his approach is criticised for its ahistorical standpoint and its neglect of power relations. Foucault has an insightful and unique understanding on the power-knowledge nexus. His work does not focus on education, but his understanding of the relationship between power and knowledge is informative for educational researchers though they note the need to integrate cultural dimensions into Foucauldian work.

The strengths of the two approaches appear complementary but their combination proves impossible, as they are parallel but self-sustaining and incommunicable. Comparing and contrasting the two shows that the Foucauldian approach is a more suitable perspective for the current study. In particular, the concept of governmentality can guide the examination of policy intentions and individual student experiences, although specific factors like culture and globalisation have to be considered. The next chapter will elaborate on how an adapted Foucauldian conceptual framework based on governmentality is formed with these considerations in mind.

Chapter Four The Arts of Government and the Project of the Self: A Conceptual Framework and Methodological Considerations

An analytics is a type of study concerned with an analysis of the specific conditions under which particular entities emerge, exist and change. It is thus distinguished from most theoretical approaches in that it seeks to attend to, rather than efface, the singularity of ways of governing and conducting ourselves (Dean, 2010, p.30).

4.1 Introduction

The comparison of Bourdieu and Foucault's theoretical approaches in Chapter Three suggests that while Foucault's conceptualisation of governmentality is the most appropriate to examine the thesis question, a specific consideration is needed in relation to factors of culture and globalisation. The concept of governmentality is derived from Foucault's work which ranges widely "from general discussions of power to the micro-politics of disciplinary institutions", from bio-power to technologies of the self and from different forms of governmental thought to neo-liberal forms of government by the state (Huxley, 2007, p.186). The multiple dimensions from which the concept is derived indicate the need to consider how the concept can be synthesised to form a conceptual framework for this study and how associated research methods can be derived from it.

The three sections of this chapter explain this conceptual framework and its associated methodology and research methods. The first section explains what relevant Foucauldian conceptions of governmentality apply here, how Dean's three analytical

dimensions of governmentality makes them operational and why Rose's project of the self, ideas drawn from Larner and Walters' global governmentality and Bennett's culture and governmentality need to be integrated to form an adapted Foucauldian framework of analysis. The second section elaborates how Foucault's archaeology and genealogy are applied to respond to the three analytical dimensions and form the methodology for this study. The third section considers research methods including methods of data collection and analysis followed by ethical and methodological reflections. The conceptual framework and methodological considerations developed in this chapter guide subsequent chapters in examining New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies and Chinese international students' experiences and analysing their convergence.

4.2 Governmentality, globalisation and culture: An adapted Foucauldian conceptual framework

4.2.1 An adapted Foucauldian conceptual framework

The study is conducted with the guidance of Foucault's concept of governmentality (Foucault 1991a), and informed by Larner and Walters' and Dean's interpretations of governmentality studies concerning the complex relationship between thought and government that includes the rationality of government, the practice of government and the technology of government (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.496; Dean, 2010, pp.24-27).

Conceptually, Foucault's three domains of government serve as a starting point for forming an analytical framework to respond to multiple regimes of government involved in overseas study. The research question is about a relationship between

making and governing policy subjects through the art of government and forming and re-forming individuals through the project of the self. This is a relationship between the government of the state and the government of the self. However, the literature review showed that the experiences of international students were not only determined by national policies, but were also influenced by various agencies, actors and programmes as well as students' own aspirations and strategies. The complexity means that the convergence needs to be examined through multiple regimes of government beyond the political one. Regimes of practices refer to the meaning of "how thought operates within our organized ways of doing things" (Foucault, 1991b, cited in Dean, 2010, p.27). The concept of government in Foucault's sense is "conduct of conducts" (Foucault, 2000c, p.341). Thus, an examination of multiple regimes of government in international students' experiences enables an understanding of how different conducts act on Chinese students' conduct in organised ways. From a governmentality perspective, "practices of government are ... multifarious and concern many kinds of people" (Foucault, 1991a, p.91). The multiplicity of government means that Foucault's triple domains of government: the government of the state, the government of others and the government of the self (Dean, 1994, p.161), can come together to examine the convergence.

These multiple regimes of government seek to shape international Chinese students' experiences through making them as their subjects, that is, they are different ways of subjectification, "in which humans are capacitated through coming to relate to themselves in particular ways ..." (Rose, 1996, p.172). To illustrate Foucault's triple domains of government and make them operational, this thesis takes up Dean's three analytical dimensions of governmentality: governmental self-formation, political

subjectification and ethical self-formation as they are devised to understand the complexity in terms of governing through subjectification. Dean explains the dimensions thus:

To clarify, by political subjectification I mean the practices and discourses that treat individuals *as if* they were political subjects in their diverse forms, particularly the treatment of individuals as sovereign subjects or citizens within a self-governing political community under the conditions of liberal democracy (cf. Hindess, 1991). Governmental self-formation refers to the ways in which various authorities and agencies seek to shape the conduct, aspirations, needs, desires, and capacities of specified categories of individuals, to enlist them in particular strategies and to seek defined goals; ethical self-formation concerns practices, techniques, and discourses of the government of the self by the self, by means of which individuals seek to know, decipher, and act on themselves (Dean, 1994, pp.155-156).

This segregation of the concept of governmentality into three sub-concepts is instructive as it allows analyses of forms of subjectification to go beyond the political one.

In this study, these three analytical dimensions can be used to explore policy intentions, student experiences and their relationship. The concept of governmental self-formation is related to the establishment and development of the international education field, which is an entity external to the state. It accounts for the global and historical context of New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies. Political

subjectification is relevant to the New Zealand Government's and the Chinese Government's policies for connecting the two countries to the field of international education and governing Chinese international students. Chinese international students' experiences are likewise related to ethical formation of self. However, since Dean does not fully operationalise this concept, and Rose does through the term "the project of the self" (Rose, 1996, p.195), Rose's concept is taken up and applied in the thesis. To illustrate, existing studies argue that international students are active agents who respond to policy requirements strategically and have their own aspirations, desires and choices in the process of overseas study disciplines (Arkoudis & Tran, 2007; Wang & Byram, 2011). This suggests that subjectification at the individual level through student experiences in overseas study should receive attention. For the Chinese, moral education is a major content in Chinese formal education and a means for achieving self-cultivation, as true nobility can be attained through self-cultivation and inner enlightenment (Tu, 1998, p.4; Hui, 2005, pp.20-24). From this viewpoint, the self is not pre-given but needs to be developed to achieve a goal. This coincides with Rose's understanding of the self as a project, as depicted in the following quotation:

[c]ontemporary practices of subjectification, that is to say, put into play a being that must be attached to a project of identity, and to a secular project of 'life-style', in which life and its contingencies become meaningful to the extent that they can be construed as the product of personal choice (Rose, 1996, p.195).

In the thesis, this means that Chinese students' choice of overseas study is related to their project of the self or project of identity. In this sense, Rose's understanding of the self from the perspective of government is used to understand students' ethical self-formation through their overseas study experiences and forms a dimension of the conceptual framework.

4.2.2 Two factors: globalisation and culture

Globalisation and culture, two factors noted in the literature review, need to be considered to understand the relationship between governmentality and globalisation; and between governmentality and culture. The relationship between governmentality and globalisation draws on Larner and Walters' understanding of governmentality beyond borders (Larner & Walters, 2004a;b). They propose that globalisation can be understood as a series of spatial and social imaginaries such as double movements of de-territorialization and re-territorialization, geopolitical rationality and being situated and embodied (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.496-510). Their ideas on global governmentality are integrated into the framework by charting how individual countries are connected and re-connected; and how Chinese international students as embodied subjects of globalisation, are made and re-made through these social and spatial imaginaries.

The relationship between culture and governmentality is also essential to this study because Chinese students have educational experiences in different cultural contexts. Greenhalgh and Winckler note: “[t]he culturalist objection holds that Chinese history and culture are too different from those of the West to allow use of these constructs [ideas drawn from Foucault] ... China lacks the flourishing professions and self-

governing subjects of the liberal societies Foucault studied ...” (Greenhalgh & Winckler, 2005, p.31). Likewise, De Bary holds that the Western notions of “liberation” and “individualism” have no precise equivalents in Chinese parlance. Instead, he uses the term of Confucian personalism to explain the self in neo-Confucian discourse, which emphasises the self-cultivation and self-fulfilment of a person in a cosmic or social setting and the autonomy of the self, retaining a sense of collectivity (De Bary, 1991, pp.1-11, 25-29). This suggests that there is no lack of self-governing subjects in the Chinese context, but these subjects are placed in relation to others. Jeffrey and Sigley note:

China’s adoption of market-based economic reforms has resulted in the emergence of a hybrid socialist-neoliberal (or perhaps ‘neo-Leninist’) form of political rationality, one that is both authoritarian in a familiar political and technocratic sense and yet also seeks to govern certain subjects through their own autonomy (Jeffrey & Sigley, 2009, p.2).

Their comment implies that the concept of governmentality is applicable to the examination of Chinese international student issues as Chinese international students can, to some degree, make autonomous choices in the international higher education market.

In the Chinese context, the application of the concept of governmentality seems to be problematic as the Chinese version of neo-liberalism has greater similarities with German ordoliberalism in which the enterprise is made as the universally generalized social model (Foucault, 2008, p.242). However, Foucault argues that “I do not think

that there is an autonomous socialist governmentality ... socialism can only be implemented connected up to diverse types of governmentality” (Foucault, 2008, p.92). From this viewpoint, governmentality is intrinsic to neither capitalism nor socialism. In this sense, the principles of governmentality could be applied to socialist China. In the last ten years, the concept of governmentality has been increasingly employed to analyse contemporary Chinese society and politics including studies of policing and punishment in China, the socialist work unit, population policies, prostitution controls and other fields (Jeffreys & Sigley, 2009, p.2).

In particular, an emerging number of scholars examine educational policies and practices in China using the concept of governmentality. For example, Kipnis studies subjectification under the policy discourse of education for quality (*suzhi jiaoyu*). Kipnis’ findings suggest that the blending of *suzhi* discourse labelled as neoliberal governmentality with the authoritarian aspects of *suzhi* discourse in practices and attitudes, would be problematic as the actual processes of subjectification always occur through social relations and “in the context of stereotyping, long-standing narratives about how those social relations play out” (Kipnis, 2011, pp.293, 303). Similarly, Crabb conducts ethnographic research in Beijing to examine the relationship between recent educational reforms in China and the growing urban middle class in terms of shifting modes and techniques of governing and a changing public-private relation. She suggests that although the transformation of education into a market approach emphasises personal responsibility and seems to grant individuals autonomy and freedom from state intervention, family life “is not outside the workings of power, but intimately tied to a changed set of social and political values and rationalities” (Crabb, 2007, p. 21). These cases justify the applicability of

governmentality to Chinese studies. However, Chinese cultural uniqueness calls for efforts to examine social and cultural dimensions of governing and their relations to governmentality.

In the Chinese context, Confucianism is a major Chinese cultural heritage with a strongly emphasised political orientation. The origin of the English term “Confucianism”⁵, and its Chinese equivalent word *ru*, may be traced back to the Jesuit missionaries in the late 16th century. These Jesuits were representatives of European values and intellectual methods and used the term to understand Chinese intellectual life and the tradition of transforming Chinese scholars (*Ju*) into *literati* based on Confucian doctrines (Dawson, 1981, p.1; Yao, 2000, pp.16-17). It is recognised that “there are enormous difficulties” when discussing the authentic teachings of Confucius and Confucianism (Dawson, 1981, p.2). These difficulties are attributed to the hardness of establishing individual authorship of some Confucian classics, distinct attitudes to Confucianism among European missionaries, divergent developments of different sections led by Confucius’s disciples after the death of the Sage, multiple interpretations of Confucian teachings, historically changing meanings of Confucianism with its interaction with other traditions, Confucianism variations in Asian countries, and multiple ways of using Confucianism in intellectual works (Dawson, 1981, pp.1-5; Rule, 1986, pp.70-123; Berthrong, J.H. & Berthrong, E.N., 2000, p.1).

The multiplicity and broadness of Confucianism are illustrated in conceptions provided by different scholars. For example, Nivison notes that “‘Confucian’ really

⁵ In findings and discussion chapters of the thesis, the term of “Confucianism” is used to refer to different versions of Confucianism including Confucian tradition, Neo-Confucianism and New Confucianism.

means simply ‘Chinese’” (Nivison, 1959, p.3). This conception refers Confucianism to Chineseness and Chinese ways of living. As John H. Berthrong and Evelyn Nagai Berthrong note, “Confucianism has been and still is a vast, interconnected system of philosophies, ideas, rituals, practices, and habits of the heart that informs the lives of countless people in East Asia and now the whole inhabited world” (Berthrong, J.H. & Berthrong, E.N., 2000, p.1). For them, the influence of Confucianism is not just confined to the Chinese and their ways of living but reaches up to other Asian countries including Korea, Japan and Vietnam. According to Xinzhong Yao, “the word of ‘Confucianism’ is a misnomer for the tradition that is normally referred to as *ru jia*, *ru jiao*, *ru xue* or simply as *ru* in China and other East Asian countries. Confucius played a key role in the development of the tradition which had originated long before his time” while “*ru jia*, *ru jiao* or *ru xue* may be translated roughly as ‘the doctrine, or tradition, of scholars’” (Yao, 2000, p. 17). This definition provides an understanding of Confucianism through identifying its contents and opens up to navigate the Confucian world.

Xinzhong Yao’s definition locates in debates on and evolution of Confucianism, shows its richness, at least, in three aspects. First, it shows the relationships between Confucius, the *ru* tradition and the followers of Confucius (*ru jia*). The term of Confucianism was introduced to the Western world by Jesuit missionaries (Yao, 2000, pp.16-17). However, Rainey argues that “there is no such thing as ‘Confucianism’” as the term *ru* has nothing referring to Confucius (Rainey, 2010, p.65). According to Yao, the origin of *ru* refers to evolving understandings of the groups of men who were called *ru*. In different historical periods before the time of Confucius, *ru* sequentially referred to dancers and musicians in religious rituals, masters of rituals and

ceremonies, and teachers in official education who were able to look after rituals and mastered the ‘Six Classics’: history, poetry, music, astrology, archery and mathematics.

Confucius worked on the *ru* tradition and transformed it to restore the value of rituals and to propagate the rules of propriety. He was born and lived in the Spring and Autumn period of the Zhou Dynasty (770-476BCE) when military conflicts between states under the Zhou Kings caused endless suffering and misery to ordinary people. He believed that social chaos and disorder were attributed to misuse and abuse of ritual/propriety (*li*) and music (*yue*). He embarked upon his life-long enterprise and spent 13 years travelling from one state to another to teach the princes and dukes of the states in order to turn his doctrines into practices. When he recognised the situation was hopeless, he returned home and devoted the rest of his life to teaching disciples and editing the classics. Confucius had three thousand students including 72 intimate disciples during his lifetime.

During Confucius’s lifetime, *ru* became a term specifically referring to those who followed Confucius, a symbol of the *ru*. They were Confucius followers devoted to interpreting and teaching the classics, and engaged themselves in administration, education and the preservation of ancient rituals and music. After the death of Confucius, his followers continued to study, edit and interpret the classics and develop Confucian doctrines in different directions. For example, Mencius and Xunzi were two great interpreters of Confucius. They agreed with each other in many aspects of Confucianism such as the importance of education, morality and ritual while explaining Confucius’ teachings in radically different ways (Rainey, p.118).

The different sections were all known as *ru jia* (family or school), one of the *bai jia* (a hundred schools) (Yao, 2000, pp.17-27). The origin and evolution of the *ru* tradition suggest that “Confucianism is no monolith, no repository of the unchanging truth, imperious to time and tide” (Nivison, 1959, p.3).

Second, Yao’s definition suggests a way of understanding of the relationship between Confucianism and other two Chinese cultural doctrines: Taoism and Buddhism. In European writings Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism are three religions of China (Dawson, 1981, p.3). However, Yao argues that Confucianism is different from other religious tradition. As *ru jiao* (the cult of Confucius), Confucianism is the learned or cultured tradition through following Confucius, which is illustrated in the Chinese character of *jiao*, consisting of ‘teaching’ and ‘filial piety’, meaning that a child is brought into a filial relation through education. While Confucianism and Daoism are both indigenous doctrines in China and emerged approximately in the same period, they have different foci and doctrines and criticise each other. Confucianism is politically oriented and encourages self-cultivation and following the instructions of the sages, whereas Taoism is characterised by its mysterious and spiritual features and puts an emphasis on the natural law. The rise of Neo-Confucianism made it possible to form an alliance between Confucianism and Taoism to combat Buddhism while incorporating Chan Buddhism. Neo-Confucians hold that loyalty (*zhong*) and filial piety (*xiao*) are the path to Taoist truth and criticise Buddhists’ spending time working on a good rebirth rather than facing up life responsibilities (Yao, 2000, pp. 28-29, 229-233; Rainey, 2010, pp.75-80). The relationships between the three cultural doctrines suggest that Confucianism was developed by merging instrumentally with some components of the other two religious doctrines. Confucianism is, therefore, a

basis for shaping attitudes and behaviour of the Chinese and their societies, and “it permeates Chinese culture” (Rainey, 2010, p.188).

Finally, *ru xue* relates Confucianism to a form of learning and self-cultivation. Confucians hold that learning the classics is a way to understand the Way of Heaven in both the inner self and external practices. Since the Way (*dao*) represents the most basic values of this culture and tradition, self-fulfilment can only be realised through learning the classics and relating the self to the tradition. Confucius is regarded as the Sage because he embodies ancient culture. For ordinary people, learning the classics helps achieve sagehood (De Bary, 1991, pp.54, 71; Yao, 2000, pp.29-30). From this viewpoint, Confucianism as *ru xue* is related to ethical self-formation as it views learning as a way of promoting virtuous action and cultivating moral characters.

Defining Confucianism as *ru*, *ru jia*, *ru jiao* and/or *ru xue* suggests that Confucianism is related to politics, religion and ethics in social, economic, cultural and political dimensions of everyday life. The deep permeation of Confucianism to Chinese culture and societies implies that it is impossible and unnecessary to examine every aspect of Confucianism in this thesis. Instead, there is a need to locate this thesis in multiple understandings of and debates on Confucianism to identify which ideas could be used to address the research question and examine the relationship between culture and governmentality. For this purpose, the following paragraphs selectively account for Confucianism at its different and evolving stages, including the formation of Confucian classics, the emergence and development of Neo-Confucianism and New Confucianism, and discussions on emerging ways of post-Confucianism.

This thesis draws basic Confucius' teachings to guide analysis. The basic components of Confucian classics consist of the "Five Classics": the *Book of Changes* (*yi jing*), the *Book of Poetry* (*Shi jing*), the *Book of History* (*Shu jing*), and the *Book of Rites* (*Li Ji*)⁶ and the "Four Books": the *Analects* (*Lun Yu*), the *Book of Mengzi* (*Meng Zi*), the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhong Yong*) and the *Great Learning* (*Dao Xue*). The Confucian scriptures contain ancient classics and a "record of sayings" that elaborate principles that guide life and history (Yao, 2010, pp.56-57). According to Rainey, Confucius' teachings include those related to cultivating an inner self with morality and virtues, and to building a good society caring for the people (Rainey, 2010, pp.23-62). The building blocks of inner disposition include filial piety, dutifulness/loyalty, honesty, sincerity, rightness, wisdom and courage (Rainey, 2010, p.23).

This study partially examines Chinese students' project of the self through overseas study. These Confucian concepts are useful to understand their ethical self-formation. In particular, filial piety (*xiao*) and loyalty (*zhong*) are applicable to this study. They provide guidance to examine how Chinese students form themselves as ethically acceptable people while maintaining relationships with others such as nation states, families, parents and friends throughout overseas study. The basic meaning of filial piety is "respect and reverence for one's parents – this is then extended to one's teachers and elders" (Rainey, 2010, p.24). The doctrine of filial piety derived from the father-son relationship is regarded as central to all basic human relationships known as the "Five Relationships": father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger brothers, friend-friend and the ruler-minister. Loyalty is implied in filial piety as it is a result of

⁶ The standard collection of the Confucian classics consists of the "Thirteen Classics" which were established through constantly adding to the earliest Confucian classics known as the "Six Classics" from the Spring and Autumn period of the Zhou Dynasty (770-476BCE) to the Song Dynasty (960-1279CE). The "Five Classics" among the "Thirteen Classics" are regarded as the basic components (Yao, 2010, pp.56-57).

extending the father-son relationship from a family term to a political ethics (Zhao, 2007, pp.29-30; Rainey, 2010, pp.28-29). From this viewpoint, all human relationships are modelled on familial relationships based on filial piety. However, Roetz questions the relationship between Confucianism and familism. Drawing from Mencius' and Xunzi's teachings, he argues that "the architecture of *xiao* [filial piety] is more complex than the familistic or consanguinistic reading suggests" (Roetz, 2008, p.43).

The centrality of filial piety in "Five Relationships" and the anti-familistic notion of filial piety have two implications to the study. First, it means that there would be different opinions on the alignment between Chinese cultural values and governmental mechanisms. The literature review shows that Asian families played a crucial role in their children's choice of overseas study (e.g. Pimpa 2005). Crabb's study (Crabb, 2007, p.21) shows that the transformation of education into a market approach in China has made the Chinese family a mediator between Chinese students and the Government in terms of governing at distance (Rose 1999). To some degree, it echoes the Roetz's anti-familistic notion of filial piety and because of this, many believe that the Chinese cultural values based on filial piety enter governmental mechanisms *merely* through the regime of family.

However, this study takes the standpoint of the centrality of filial piety to all human relationships. The literature review shows that the Chinese Government introduces Confucian doctrines into its repatriation and overseas Chinese policies to shape the relationship between international students/graduates and China and promotes the idea of building a harmonious society (Barabantseva 2005; Pan 2011). This strategy

suggests that the Government attempts to revitalise Chinese cultural values through filial piety in building all sorts of social relationships. A Chinese society thus formed means that cultural values based on filial piety also align with government through other regimes and relationships. In this thesis, Chapter Eight examines Chinese students' choice to study in New Zealand with the guidance of ideas of both governing through family and familial model of governing.

Second, the father-son relationship based on filial piety explains features and cultural values of Chinese society which are different from Western ones. According to Zhao, a Confucian secular father-son relationship is father-centred and hierarchical as both the father's rights and authority and the son's obedience and responsibility to his father are the centre of the relationship. The relationship requires mutual responsibilities and secular reciprocity. In contrast, the Western world can be guided by a secular individual centred father-son relationship or a mixture of secular individual centred and divine God centred father-son relationships. In such a society, equality and hierarchy can co-exist, as obedience to God is compulsory while people have an equal position in front of God. The mutual love derives from the reciprocity motive but repayment in the secular world is not the most important thing (Zhao, 2007, pp.78-92). In this thesis, these differences help explain how Chinese students' adaptation difficulties occurred when they came to New Zealand from China.

The examination of the relationship between culture and governmentality is also informed by ideas drawn from Neo-Confucianism. Neo-Confucianism emerged in Northern Song (960-1126) and was fully developed during the Southern Song (1127-1279). The new type of Confucian Learning was established to respond to the decline

of Confucianism, the dominance of Daoism and the rapid spread of Buddhism in social life. Neo-Confucianism “turned Confucian Learning from the pedantic exegetical study the classics (*Jing xue*) prominent in the Han and Tang Dynasties to the study of principle and philosophy (*yili xue*)”. The Neo-Confucian concepts such as Great Ultimate (*taiji*), principle (*li*), material force (*qi*) and heart/mind (*xin*), greatly contribute to its criticism of Buddhist doctrine that the world is an illusion (Yao, 2000, pp.96-115, 117; Rainey, 2010, pp.159-175).

In this thesis, the Neo-Confucian ideas of gender ideology, the Way of Harmony (*he*), and “learning for one’s self”, informed by the above concepts, are used to guide analysis. Although Neo-Confucianism is not the source of the decline in the status of women in society, it continues the Confucian tradition which views women as subordinate and loyal, serving families, and maintaining chastity (Rainey, 2010, p. 175). This thesis deploys this gender ideology to interpret female students’ experiences. Similarly, the Way (*dao*) is fundamental to the Confucian worldview. Neo-Confucian concepts mentioned above help explain the Way of Confucianism. For Neo-Confucians, the Way of Harmony is achieved at the point when the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humans converge (*tianren heyi*). The Way of Heaven presents Natural Law whereas the Way of Humans is essentially one where self-cultivation leads to the moral life. Morality as transcendence leads to a life that is in accordance with natural principles and so achieves harmony. This idea is widely used to discuss human-nature relations, social conflicts and resolutions, and issues related to education (Yao, 2000, pp.139-189). This thesis uses this idea to understand the Chinese Government’s overseas Chinese and repatriation policies and Chinese students’ strategies for coping with study difficulties in New Zealand. Regarding self-

cultivation through education, Confucianism as *ru xue* emphasises learning. Furthermore, the Neo-Confucian idea of “learning for one’s self” provides a basis for understanding the relationship between education, personhood and reciprocal obligations in which one finds and defines oneself and achieves the Way (De Bary, 1991, pp. 1-2, 34). This idea is used to understand Chinese students’ strategies for adaptation to study and life in New Zealand.

In this thesis, understandings of Chinese culture and its influence on Chinese students are also informed by New Confucianism. The emergence of New Confucianism as a distinctive philosophical movement was related to Neo-Confucians’ debate on the relationship between Confucianism, modernity and capitalism. Although the debate has been there since the Opium Wars in the mid-19th Century, it was not until the mid-1970s that there was a sufficient coalescence among Neo-Confucians to enable them to distinguish themselves collectively from other Confucians and identify themselves as New Confucians. This wave of Confucianism coincided with economic success among Asian countries and regions such as Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore from the 1950s to 1970s. The roots of this success were believed to be the result of the inspiration of Confucianism and its doctrines and a group of Confucians in Hong Kong rejected the positivist paradigm informed by Westernisation and demanded a place for Chinese cultural values at the global level. New Confucians used the term of *daotong* (interconnecting thread of the way) to justify this special status of Confucianism in Chinese identity and shared values among East Asia and the Chinese around the world.

The *daotong* claim led to debates on issues such as the role of Confucianism in modernisation among East Asian countries and the problem of differentiating Confucian and Chinese values. It also led to criticisms including the orthodox transmission idea in the name of *daotong*, the idolisation of the early New Confucians and the prevention of Confucianism from developing new directions. For some scholars, New Confucianism can be seen as a complex intellectual movement consisting of many threads of thought rather than a single lineage of orthodoxy. Despite the debates, it is believed that the impact of the emergence of New Confucianism is important. Given that China is a major player on the global stage, the definition and development of Confucianism in light of Chinese cultural and governmental attitudes influences the Western world (Makeham, 2003, pp.25-28, 44; Rainey, 2010, pp.182-191).

Critiques of Confucianism allow Confucian scholars to notice the diversity of Confucianism studies. For example, Huang holds that in a post-modernist context, the study of Confucianism become diverse. She investigates three internationally renowned schools of Post-Confucianism which are related to scholars from overseas Sinologists, overseas Chinese and Mainland China. Overseas Sinologists have different attitudes towards post-modernism. Some of them stress the differences in thinking between ancient China and the modern West. Others hold that some components of Confucian thought resemble new developments in Western philosophy. Among North American academia, it has become popular to apply Confucian thought to post-modern issues such as diversity studies and the re-examination of core values of Western political and communitarian issues. While overseas Sinologists have a post-modern discussion of Confucianism from a Western perspective, overseas

Chinese scholars draw from their Chinese backgrounds and have different interests in developing Confucianism. Chinese scholars in North America and Southeast Asia have related their studies to diaspora whereas scholars in Taiwan are interested in issues of modernisation and democratisation. While Mainland China was the cradle of Confucianism, Confucianism has experienced political and cultural movements and co-exists with Marxism and liberalism. This shifting political and cultural context underpins Mainland Confucian scholars' complex attitudes toward, and layers of thought on, Confucianism (Huang, 2010, pp. 545-556).

Academically, Confucianism-inspired studies reflect the debate between *daotong* and Post-Confucianism. For example, in 1989, a workshop sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences brought together scholars from China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. These scholars discussed how Confucian ethics served as a common intellectual discourse in East Asia and shaped cultural identity, gender and familial relationships, political culture, economic ethics, popular thought and religion. Meanwhile, Confucianism variations among East Asia countries are noticeable (Tu, Hejtmanek & Wachman, 1992). In the field of education, Confucianism is regarded as a form of subject knowledge that should be included in the modern academic system (Li & Yan, 2006); is used as a context to shape the content of educational research (Sun 2011); is employed to discuss Asian values for citizenship or moral education (Chia 2011); is made relevant to social and personal education (Yee 2001); and is used to justify the role of economic development of East Asian countries (Morris 1996). While the boom in intellectual work on Confucianism illustrates the trend of *daotong*, the connection between education and Confucianism in different contexts also indicates a 'Post-Confucian call' for differentiation and

diversity. To some degree, both political and academic discourses are informed by the intellectual movement and debates around it. Therefore, it is important to note that the current study is situated in such a policy environment and an academic discourse so that the author can be self-reflexive in terms of understanding Chinese students' experiences informed by Chinese cultural values.

The above elaboration has shown a complex relationship between Chinese cultural values based on Confucianism and government in social, political and individual lives. Theoretically, Bennett provides the most complete and explicit discussion of the relationship between culture and governmentality. He examines the relationship and seeks to add analytical value to governmentality studies. According to him, it is crucial to juxtapose cultural and governmental analyses when attempting to understand relations between culture, society and the social. He notes that Dean's concept of government, which the perspective of governmentality entails, contains culturally-related ideas on governing such as: the way of seeing and thinking, individuals' desires, dispositions and aspirations (Bennett, 2007, p.72). This leads him to examine the meaning of culture and its relation to government, that is, mechanisms governing our relations to ourselves and to others. He critically reviews Stuart Hall's understanding of the "cultural turn" and the linguistic construction of the social as well as Nickolas Rose's understanding of governmentality and the technical construction of the social. Based on this review, Bennett summarises:

[I]n following Rose's specification of the concept of discourse, is a way of treating culture as discourse which, rather than tending to merge the relations between culture and the social by construing the former as constitutive of the

latter, retains a distinction between them. It does so by representing culture as a distinctive set of knowledges, expertise, techniques and apparatuses which – through the roles they play as technologies of sign systems connected to technologies of power and working through the mechanisms of technologies of the self – act on, and are aligned in relation to, the social in distinctive ways (Bennett, 2007, p.83).

Bennett's understandings show that if culture is treated as discourse, it is an integrated part of the social rather than being constitutively represented, and the mechanisms of government have been connected with cultural mechanisms through mediation of technology. For Rose, technology is "any assembly structured by a practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal" (Rose, 1996, p.26). Bennett's understanding suggests that technology in Rose's sense is the key to understanding the relationship between culture and governmentality. To account for the role of cultural mechanisms in the mechanisms of government, a researcher needs to examine human technologies.

In this study, although different cultural mechanisms would be territorially bound, Chinese students can be understood as engaging with these cultural mechanisms embodied in technologies of sign systems, of power and of the self simultaneously through their transnational movement. This thesis does not seek to account for a universal meaning of cultural representation of Chinese students, but to explain how cultural mechanisms work through their individual experiences, especially technical forms and make a set of relations and conducts by which cultural mechanisms were materialised. In this sense, Bennett's ideas on culture and governmentality are useful

and integrated into this analytical framework through the adoption of Rose's "project of the self".

In summary, taking into consideration historical, global, cultural and individual aspects, this thesis uses Foucault's three domains of government: the government of the state, the government of others and the government of the self to examine policy intentions and student experiences. Given the generalist nature of Foucault's concepts, the work of scholars who have extended and refined his "tool-kit" is used to generate an adapted Foucauldian conceptual framework. It consists of Dean's governmental self-formation, political subjectification and Rose's project of the self, integrated with ideas drawn from Larner and Walters' global governmentality, and Bennett's culture and governmentality. This conceptual reworking translates into three aspects to be considered by the analysis of government policy and student experiences. These are: a culturally informed governmental self-formation, a culturally informed political subjectification and a culturally informed project of the self. The next section explains how this conceptual framework works methodologically.

4.3 Culturally informed methodology

4.3.1 Culturally informed archaeological genealogy

New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies, one aspect of the research question, are examined through a configuration of Foucault's archaeology and genealogy that draw on Larner and Walters' global governmentality, and Bennett's culture and governmentality. The configuration is used to understand both developing the field of international education through governmental self-formation and forming relevant New Zealand and Chinese national policies through political subjectification.

For Foucault, archaeology is a method of understanding history, which is made through discourse, which is defined by Foucault as “the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation” (Foucault, 1972, p.107). Accordingly, descriptions of the formation and transformation of “education for aid” and “education for trade” can account for the history of the international education field. Since genealogy is a supplement to archaeology in Foucault’s methodology (Oksala, 2007, p.48), it is integrated into these discursive descriptions to show how power relations are imposed through transferring Western knowledge from developed to developing countries, through students’ transnational movement. In this thesis, one section of Chapter Five describes discursive formations that account for the emergence of the discourse of “education for aid”. To understand the shift of discourse from “education for aid” to “education for trade”, another section of Chapter Five explains how changed social, political and economic conditions have caused new governmental rules to contradict the discourse of “education for aid” and enabled the emergence of a new discourse of “education for trade” and the re-making of international students as policy subjects.

This kind of description of formations and transformations of “education for aid” to “education for trade” integrates Larner and Walters’ idea of global governmentality and Bennett’s idea of culture and governmentality. From Larner and Walters’ viewpoint, these discursive formations and transformations are related to the process of the globalisation of higher education. The authors suggest that globalisation in which power relations are embedded can be seen as the double movement of de-territorialization and re-territorialization (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.498), since

according to their thinking, globalisation is a process where a social space is created across national territories and power relations are imposed. The combination of Foucault's discursive formations and transformations and Larner and Walters' account of globalisation processes helps explain how the field of international education is established and developed as a discursive space across territories and how rules are imposed. This configuration also allows Bennett's idea of discourse as culture to be integrated into the analysis of power relations, since according to Bennett, discourse as culture plays a role in government through human technologies (Bennett, 2007, p.83). For the thesis, this means that the examination of human technologies employed by organisations to keep world order in the field of international education reveals how particular power and knowledge relations and cultural mechanisms are imposed at different historical times.

Besides the global and historical context of national policies, New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies themselves are a major aspect that needs to be examined to account for convergence. With the advent of the global market, the role of nation states in governing international students seems to have diminished. However, Larner and Walters suggest that rather than discussing the relevance of nation states, researchers need to pay attention to "the discourses and practices through which organizations and actors represent themselves and their relations with each other" (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.508). Existing studies discussed in the literature review highlight that individual countries have different strategies in respect of attracting and regulating international students in the international education market. Foucault's idea of comparison in archaeological analysis can reveal the diversity in terms of governmental practices and rationalities (Foucault, 1972, pp.159-160). In light of this

idea, another section of Chapter Five examines the way in which the four levels of discursive formation are configured differently in different countries when they respond to the global discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade”.

As far as China is concerned, the influence of cultural differences must also be considered. One of effects of internationalisation of higher education is the spread of the neo-liberal logic to developing countries like China (Bai 2010; Chan & Ngok, 2011). The Chinese version of neo-liberalism combines governing through authoritarian rules and that through autonomy (Jeffreys & Sigley, 2009, p.2). This means that the nation state does not totally withdraw from the free market. Currently, the Chinese Government attempts to apply Chinese cultural beliefs based on Confucianism to its repatriation policies. This suggests that there is an alignment between cultural and governmental mechanisms. At this point, Bennett’s ideas on culture and governmentality are applied to allow cultural mechanisms, bound up with national territory, to be integrated into the analysis of political subjectification. Chapter Six shows how making Chinese international students, the subjects of New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies, was a result of the interaction between the discourse of “education for trade” based on Western cultural mechanisms and political rationalities based on Chinese cultural values.

4.3.2 Culturally informed genealogy of subjectification

Besides policy intentions, the thesis also needs to examine Chinese international students’ experiences to account for convergence. This is related to Rose’s project of the self. Methodologically, this is configured through Rose’s genealogy of subjectification (Rose, 1996, p.24), combined with Larner and Walters’ global

governmentality (Larner & Walters, 2004a) and Bennett's culture and governmentality (Bennett 2007). Following Foucault's idea of "our relation to ourselves" (Foucault, 1986, quoted in Rose, 1996, p.24), Rose uses the concept of the genealogy of subjectification to examine the history of contemporary regime of the self, saying that:

[w]hile a genealogy of subjectification is concerned with human being as it is thought about, therefore, it is not a history of ideas: its domain of investigation is that of practices and techniques, of thought as it seeks to make itself technical (Rose, 1996, p.23).

This definition means that the genealogy of subjectification is concerned with the relationship between thought and self-government. In this sense, it is useful to this study as its focus is the genealogy of the relations that Chinese international students have established with themselves in and throughout overseas study. Moreover, Rose's concepts of the assemblage of subjectification (Rose, 1996, p.172) and human technologies as hybrid assemblages (Rose, 1996, p.26) mean that these students' project of the self throughout overseas study can be understood through examining assemblages of human technologies. These concepts, which are explained in the data analysis section in detail, make it possible to examine the assemblages of human technologies formed throughout overseas study to demonstrate Chinese students' project of the self. The focus of assemblages of human technologies also means that Larner and Walters' idea of globalisation as "subjects effects" and "modes of embodiment" (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.507) and Bennett's idea of culture as discourse playing a role through human technologies (Bennett, 2007, p.83) are

integrated in the account of interactions between different cultural values alongside Chinese students' transnational movement. This configuration of concepts forms a culturally informed genealogy of subjectification to explore Chinese international students' experiences.

The combination of Foucault's archaeology and genealogy and Rose's genealogy of subjectification suffused with Larner and Walters' global governmentality and Bennett's culture and governmentality informs the methodology of this study, with the aim of producing a culturally informed genealogical archaeology and a culturally informed genealogy of subjectification. With this configuration, this study sets out to explore international student issues in a global, cross-cultural and transnational context. The next section elaborates on data collection and analysis methods.

4.4 Methods for data collection and analysis

4.4.1 Data collection

To examine convergence between policy intentions and individual student experiences, this study collected three sets of data related to New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies and their global and historical contexts and Chinese international students' experiences. First, secondary data on policy discourses and governmental practices were collected through documentary research and were used for understanding the global and historical context of New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies. Second, official statistics and data on individual student choices during overseas study were collected through the New Zealand Ministry of Education website and an online survey conducted with a group of postgraduate Chinese student. The two sets of quantitative data, which illustrate policy intentions

and Chinese students' choices throughout overseas study, are brought together. The purpose of the collection and analysis of quantitative data is to question official statistics, which are regarded as the knowledge of the state (Foucault, 2000a, p.317). Third, 56 interviews were conducted to collect primary data on these students' experiences of overseas study. The data gathering with different methods helps collect information on governmental rationalities and practices, students' choices and experiences throughout overseas study in the historical, global, transnational and local context to understand policy intentions and student experiences and examine the gaps between them.

As the previous section suggests, New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies related to international students need to be understood in the global and historical context. To facilitate this, this thesis examines policy documents drawn from seven countries in terms of their national government intentions to regulate international student or graduate mobility and commit to global governance. Four student-receiving countries, namely the UK, the US, Canada and Australia, and three student-sending countries, Singapore, India and South Korea were examined. These countries were chosen because they were found to be the most popular study destinations for Chinese students and had shared policy interventions in respect of international student issues or historical and geographical similarities to those of China and New Zealand. These national policy documents serve as a starting point for discursive analysis of how these global discourses became acceptable.

Data was also gathered on historical changes to the current international education scene. This was done mainly through document searching conducted in libraries and

online. Historical data were accessed mainly through reviewing existing publications on the governmental practices of each country. Current practices were identified through the websites of international educational organisations such as IIE Network, and national educational institutions. In particular, the websites of the New Zealand Ministry of Education and the Chinese Ministry of Education and those linked with them were major resources of relevant publications on the two countries' governmental practices. Information on local policy instruments was identified through New Zealand universities websites. This information was used to understand governmental practices at both the national and the institutional level.

The second data set, official statistics, was gathered from the New Zealand Ministry of Education website. Additionally, an online survey was devised specifically for the thesis. The official statistics related to changes in the numbers of international students, Chinese international students and Chinese postgraduates between 2001 and 2009. These were used to develop an account of the knowledge of the state. Additional quantitative data was collected through the online survey, which involved the whole target group of the study, labelled as Main Group 1. This group consists of 122 postgraduate Chinese students from Mainland China who first entered New Zealand after 2000 (inclusive), and enrolled in a postgraduate programme at the University of Canterbury or Lincoln University and were studying towards a Master's or a higher degree at the time of the fieldwork (between June and October 2009). Focusing on postgraduate students is attributed to the findings of the literature review noting that this group of international students has not been paid enough academic attention, but they became important players in the global knowledge economy. The questionnaire gathered information on the demographic features of respondents,

factors facilitating their choice of study in New Zealand, their social relationships, activities and practices when they studied in New Zealand and their plans. The responses were related to the three policy areas of international student recruitment, educational service provision and international graduate retention. A pilot survey was conducted with 10 Chinese students within the target group in early June 2009 to get feedback on the survey design. Because the purpose of this survey was to reveal those hidden factors and actors and raise questions for further inquiry rather than to make statistical generalisations (De Vaus, 2002, p.69), an Internet sample rather than a probability sample (De Vaus, 2002, pp.71-80) was obtained through emailing a survey invitation to the target group of students. The survey data was used to compare the reasoning of individual students and governmental rationality and raise questions for interviews.

The third set of primary qualitative data was collected through 56 in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with two groups of interviewees. Each interview lasted one hour to one and a half hours. The first group consisted of 36 current postgraduate Chinese international students invited from Main Group 1 and labelled as Main Group 2. The second group of 20 participants called Significant Others, a term borrowed from George Herbert Mead's research on social relations involved in the process of development of the self (Macionis & Plummer, 2012, p.215), consisted of individuals or organisations connected in different ways to students from Main Group 2 and their overseas study. The Significant Others were categorised into three sub-groups: Significant Others Group 1, Significant Others Group 2 and Significant Others Group 3. The 20 Significant Others were identified through interviews with the 36 students comprising Main group 2. Four interviews with Significant Others were

conducted in China and two interviews with Significant Others were conducted through telephone. Detailed information on these groups is shown in Appendices 4-1 and 4-2.

Both empirical and theoretical evidence suggested the need to interview Significant Others. Empirically, the literature review shows that there are multiple factors and various actors involved in the overseas study experience of international students. Interviewing Significant Others can account for multiple subjectifications. Theoretically, Rose's idea of the self as an assemblage of subjectification (Rose, 1996, p.171) suggests that the formation of the self is based on multiple lines of relations. This implies that as well as the 36 Chinese students, it was necessary to interview other actors involved in the overseas study process. Particularly, interviews with Significant Others Groups 1 and 2 could provide information on how different actors, such as parents, service providers and local communities, were involved in these students' project of the self. Practical considerations influenced the design of the interviews with Significant Others Group 3 (former postgraduate students). It was not cost efficient to interview current postgraduate students again after they had graduated and dispersed. However, information on their future trajectories was important in terms of understanding how they shape relations with others and themselves. The experience of former postgraduates could complement an understanding of the plans of current postgraduate students and suggest how they would form themselves as ethically acceptable persons upon graduation.

Rose holds that selves are constituted within talk. Telling a story about oneself leads to self-awareness and self-understanding (Rose, 1996, p.175). This suggests that

personal stories are useful for understanding how the self is made and re-made. Therefore, a narrative approach was employed to collect information on Chinese international students' experiences. In this study, each interviewee from Main Group 2 was asked to tell stories about their experiences of formal education in general and overseas study in particular. At the end of the interview, they were also asked to draw a diagram to show their social relationships. This was to explore their perceptions and visualisation of their social milieu in order to understand how the operation of relevant regimes of government was made possible.

This study combines quantitative and qualitative methods to gain information on policy discourses and governmental practices and to collect data on Chinese international students' overseas study experience. The next section will elaborate on how these data were processed and analysed.

4.4.2 Data analysis

Guided by the conceptual framework and its methodological application, this thesis uses three analytical methods to process the three sets of data. These methods include a culturally informed discursive analysis of policy documents and governmental practices, a Foucauldian descriptive statistical analysis of official and survey data and a Foucauldian narrative analysis of interview transcripts.

4.4.2.1 Culturally informed discursive analysis

Culturally informed discursive analysis was used to process the information on policy discourses and governmental practices, and the results were presented in Chapters Five and Six. To analyse discourses in policy documents, this study used the software

tool NVivo 8, to identify the groups of signs in policy documents drawn from seven selected countries: the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, Singapore, South Korea and India. According to Foucault, discourse is a specific way of using signs or language to form ideas or rules in order to allow things to be seen. The specific way of using language is defined as a statement or modality of existence, which makes a group of signs meaningful. Statements are not linguistic units (Foucault, 1972, pp.106-107). “To analyse a discursive formation therefore is to deal with a group of verbal performances at the level of the statements” (Foucault, 1972, p.125). This suggests that the analysis of discourse is not equivalent to linguistic analysis, but should focus on practices in imposing rules and ideas through forming signs and their relationships with language. In Chapter Five, these signs and groups of signs served as a starting point to identify and analyse the formation and transformation of discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade”.

The next step was to develop an archaeological genealogy of these discursive formations to account for the establishment and development of international education, which served as the historical and global context for understanding New Zealand neo-liberal policy intentions. Marshall suggests that genealogy can be integrated into archaeology through treating power-knowledge as an analytical grid (Marshall, 1990, p.23). Chapter Five therefore described four levels of discursive formation, that is, the formations of object (Foucault, 1972, pp.40-49), enunciative modalities (Foucault, 1972, pp.50-55), concepts (Foucault, 1972, pp.56-63) and strategies (Foucault, 1972, pp.64-70), through a lens of power relations. The first level of description of object formation includes mapping the first surface of the emergence, describing the authorities of delimitation and analysing the grids of specification

(Foucault, 1972, pp.40-42). Chapter Five explains how the field of international education emerged as an object with the intervention of technologies of power such as differentiation, institutionalisation and rationalisation (Foucault, 2000c, p.344).

The other three levels of description of discursive formation can be combined with Foucault's idea of the relationship between truth and power and Bennett's idea of the relationship between culture and governmentality to account for historical and global context of neo-liberal policies of international education. According to Foucault, "it's not a matter of a battle 'on behalf' of the truth but of a battle about the status of truth and the economic and political role it plays" (Foucault, 2000d, p.132). This suggests that the status of truth is dependent on power relations and serves economic and political interests. These ideas mean that describing discursive formation at the three levels aims to explain how power relations give a truth status to a discourse through manipulating concepts, types of statement and strategies. Chapter Five described the three levels of formation and explained how different economic and political interests made concepts coexist and rules be imposed, how a subject gained the status or power to make a discourse as truth, how a certain rationality gained its truth status and was accepted as a discourse and accordingly, how particular cultural mechanisms were introduced.

Chapter Five also integrates Foucault's historical view on power itself to explain the discursive transformation from "education for aid" to "education for trade". According to Foucault, a history of governmentality is not "in terms of the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a disciplinary society and the subsequent replacement of a disciplinary society by a society of government" but a triangle,

sovereignty-discipline-government (Foucault, 1991a, p.102). Currently, the neo-liberal governmentality is characterised by “sovereign individuality”, that is, governmental rationalities modelling of individual rational behaviours (Foucault, 2008, pp.312-313). Chapter Five examines how the field of international education is governed by the three different forms of rules and their combination which reflect changing conditions at different historical times and discuss the implication of the neo-liberal governmentality.

The description of discursive formations and transformation helps explain the relationship between political rationalities at the national level and the universal rules imposed by global discourses. Chapter Six examined the relationship in the Chinese-New Zealand context and explained how New Zealand neo-liberal policy intentions were shaped in the historical and global context. According to Foucault, “[t]he rules of formation are conditions of existence ... in a given discursive division” (Foucault, 1972, p.38). This implies that local conditions for the emergence of discourses should be examined to understand how national governments respond to global discourses. Foucault’s method of eventalization is applicable as it enables the analysis of “an event according to the multiple processes that constitute it” (Foucault, 2000b, p.227). Moreover, he notes that the problem of rationalities is that, rationalisation is formed through both “positioning an absolute value inherent in reason” and “applying the term empirically in a completely arbitrary way” (Foucault, 2000b, p.229). Accordingly, the analysis of rationality needs to account for codification/prescription, that is, “how it forms an ensemble of rules, procedures, means to an end” (Foucault, 2000b, p.230). The two concepts of eventalization and rationality suggest that the analysis of a discursive formation needs to account for the emergence of a discourse

resulting from legitimating a particular rationality among multiple rationalities and imposing a cultural value. For this analysis, Larner and Walters' idea of globalisation as both geopolitical and geo-economic power (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.508) and Bennett's idea of culture as discourse and human technologies as embodied culture (Bennett, 2007, p.83) were also integrated to reveal the coexistence of multiple rationalities and associated technologies, cultural values and power relations. With this configuration, Chapter Six unpacked the moment of coexistence of multiple rationalities to understand nation states' rationalities and practices in responding to global discourses and building their relationships with other countries.

4.4.2.2 Foucauldian descriptive statistical analysis

The data collected from the New Zealand Ministry of Education and through the survey were subjected to a Foucauldian descriptive statistical analysis, which was presented in Chapter Seven. Foucauldian descriptive statistical analysis combines descriptive statistical analysis with Foucault's understanding of numerical symbols as statements (Foucault, 1972, pp.85-86) and his method of eventalization (Foucault, 2000b, p.227) as well as Dean's idea of the visibility of government (Dean, 2010, p.41). Foucault holds that:

the table of random numbers that statisticians sometimes use is a series of numerical symbols that are not linked together by any syntactical structure; and yet that series is a statement: that of a group of figures obtained by procedures that eliminate everything that might increase the probability of the succeeding issues (Foucault, 1972, pp.85-86).

From this viewpoint, both official statistics and data collected through the survey can be read as statements, representing the neo-liberal policy intentions for regulating the inflow of international students and Chinese students' reasons for choosing to study in New Zealand respectively.

Foucault's method of eventalization (Foucault, 2000b, p.227) is also applied. Foucault holds that the analysis of an event is to "... [make] visible not its arbitrariness but its complex interconnection with a multiplicity of historical processes" (Foucault, 2000b, p.225); "the further one breaks down the processes under analysis, the more one is enabled and indeed obliged to construct their external relations of intelligibility" (Foucault, 2000b, p.227). Accordingly, "[t]he internal analysis of processes goes hand in hand with a multiplication of analytical 'salients'" (Foucault, 2000b, p.227). In this study, the two sets of data collected through official statistics and online survey were presented based on the logic of de-construction to allow multiple causalities to emerge and those hidden factors to become visible.

The survey involved two stages of data processing, which included coding and analysing data. To process data with SPSS, responses were classified and codes were allocated to each variable through following the coding procedure (De Vaus, 2002, pp.148-158). However, "[c]lassification systems are human constructions and the system that is used can reflect particular social and political arrangements" (De Vaus, 2002, p.147). In this study, the establishment of classifications in the process of coding was not only done for the purpose of allocating numbers to responses, but also to make both visible and invisible factors equally apparent.

Following the coding, descriptive statistics were employed to process the data to generate frequency tables and associated bar graphs and tables using SPSS. The choice of analytical method for processing the survey data was informed by Foucault's idea of discursive analysis. According to Foucault, "[t]he analysis of statements, then, is a historical analysis, but one that avoids all interpretation" (Foucault, 1972, p.109). This does not mean that survey data as statements cannot be interpreted, but it does mean that a Foucauldian analysis should allow different factors to become equally visible rather than building a singularity. This is different from explanatory statistics dealing with causal processes, as its purpose is to explain patterns in the data through "[eliminating] as many alternative explanations of the patterns as possible" (De Vaus, 2002, p.31). With descriptive statistics, frequency tables and associated bar graphs were generated to present different probabilities equally rather than eliminating alternatives to explain patterns in the data.

De Vaus suggests that for descriptive research, a context is needed to make sense of most data (De Vaus, 2002, p.31). In this study, analyses and discussions of policy environments in Chapters Five and Six and issues identified in the literature review in Chapter Two served as a context for understanding the results of the survey. De Vaus also notes that comparative data about different groups is useful for descriptive research (De Vaus, 2002, p.31). For this, the findings from the 2007 national survey on international students' experiences were compared with those in this study. However, the purpose of the comparison was not to make generalisations or to see how well the present target group matched the national data, but to identify invisible factors.

Comparing and contrasting the two sets of data was a way to juxtapose the government rationality and individual students' reasoning so as to raise questions and generate themes for analysing interview transcripts.

4.4.2.3 Foucauldian narrative analysis

The data collected through 56 interviews were processed using Foucauldian narrative analysis, and the results were presented in Chapters Eight, Nine, Ten and Eleven. Narrative analysis was employed to give an account of the genealogy of subjectification, that is, how the self was formed and transformed through the process of overseas study. In this sense, the narration of self, contained in the interview transcripts, was investigated as practices which locate Chinese international students in particular "regimes of the person" and form the self as assemblages of these regimes.

In particular, Chapter Eight used Rose's concepts of the regime of the person or the regime of the self, problematization and the assemblage of subjectification, and Bennett's idea of culture and governmentality, to analyse why Chinese students decided to pursue overseas study and how they chose New Zealand as their destination. For Rose, regimes of the person mean that human beings come to relate to themselves and others as a certain type of person by particular practices (Rose, 1996, p.25). Problematization means that, in everyday practices, conduct becomes problematic for others or ones' self, while the mundane texts and programmes seek to make the problem manageable (Rose, 1996, p.26). Then subjects are formed through "assembling us together with parts, forces, movements, affects of other humans, animals, objects, spaces, and places" (Rose, 1996, p.171). Chapter Eight then

explained how Chinese students were subjectified by different regimes of the self while receiving education in China, how these regimes became problematic, and how study in New Zealand became a solution through assembling different actors and factors, all of which are vital components of convergence.

In Chapter Nine, Rose's concepts of human technologies (Rose, 1996, pp.26-27) and problematizations (Rose, 1996, pp.25-26) with integration of Larner and Walters' idea of globalisation as embodiment (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.506-507) and Bennett's idea of human technologies embodying cultural values (Bennett, 2007, p.83), were used to examine the difficulties faced by these Chinese students in adapting to life and study in New Zealand. Regarding the technology, Rose regards it as:

[A]ny assembly structured by a practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal. Human technologies are hybrid assemblages of knowledges, instruments, persons, systems of judgment, buildings and spaces, underpinned at the programmatic level by certain presuppositions and objectives about human beings (Rose, 1996, p.26).

In this sense, human technologies shape conduct in desired directions through being embodied in the person. In particular, Rose uses Foucault's conceptualisation of disciplinary and pastoral power to refer to the two types of human technologies that operate in different ways. In this study, the concepts of disciplinary and pastoral forms of power were used to explain how these students' difficulties in adapting arose from those human technologies in China and New Zealand which were brought together with the transnational movement of these students. The concept of problematization

guided the examination of how these difficulties were problematized by different actors in order to become subject to different regimes of practices.

Chapter Ten used the concepts of strategies and the self as assemblages to guide the exploration of how these Chinese students adapted to life and study in New Zealand with various strategies. This chapter showed that assemblages of regimes of subjectification were formed as a result of these students' adaptation strategies. Moreover, Larner and Walter's idea of globalisation as embodiment (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.506-507) and Bennett's idea of culture and governmentality (Bennett 2007) underpinned the examination of how these assemblages were formed, based on different governmental rules informed by different cultural values and how the configuration of the rules allowed Chinese students to adapt to life and study in New Zealand.

Chapter Eleven used Rose's concepts of the self as assemblage (Rose, 1996, p.171) and practical rationalities defined by Rose as "regimes of thought, through which persons can accord significance to aspects of themselves and their experience, and regimes of practice, through which humans can 'ethicize' and 'agent-ize' themselves in particular ways" (Rose, 1996, p.173). The two concepts guided the exploration of the way in which after graduation, these Chinese students assembled with others in different ways and accorded significance to different aspects of the self in order to form themselves as different types of people.

The three analytical methods are used to examine three sets of data to understand how policy intentions and individual students' overseas study experiences converge. The

next section discusses and reflects on the methodological limitations of the conceptual framework and ethical considerations encountered in the process of gathering the data.

4.5 Ethical and methodological reflection

Approval from the University Canterbury Human Ethics Committee had been obtained in advance before the fieldwork because this study involved investigating the experience of human subjects. Informed consent had been given by respondents of the online survey and interviewees before the survey and interviews were conducted. However, some practical ethical issues arose at both the fieldwork and the interpretation stages of this study. During the fieldwork, my status as both a research and an insider as a member of the target population generated a need to consider specific ethical issues while trying to explore these students' personal experiences. There are different opinions on building the relationship between ethnographic researchers and participants in the field. Some required researchers' "intimate and reciprocal" involvement with community members in the research site (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999, p.10). Others suggest that "[w]hat is required of an ethnographer is neither full membership nor competence, but the ability to give voice to that experience ..." (Pearson, 1993, p.xviii). Although this study was not a standard ethnographic one, advice from both perspectives was considered. It was important to be flexible and able to negotiate with different identities at different settings and to prepare for providing help and assistance in the research site while keeping the necessary distance from potential participants to give voice to them.

In particular, my dual status required me to consider the relationship between my research participants and myself. Like the 36 interview participants, I came to New

Zealand as an international student. Difficulties I experienced in living and studying in New Zealand were similar to those of some interview participants. As a female student with a family, I faced extra challenges while pursuing postgraduate study. I owed much to the generosity and kindness of those with whom I associated. They included my supervisors, friends, family members, service providers and institutions. From my own experience, I appreciated the significance of support. During fieldwork, I tried to position myself in such a way as to be considerate, friendly and reciprocal. I voluntarily helped my interview participants with various issues including helping to enrol their children in school, being a cook for their events, occasionally being a babysitter for some of them, giving them a ride to and from the airport and providing temporary accommodation in an emergency situation. The support I provided to them enabled me to gain their trust, which facilitated the recruitment of interviewees and conducting interviews.

At the same time, I also paid attention to giving voice to my participants. Although I helped my participants and understood them from their perspective, I was reflexively aware of, and watchful for the influence of my subjective understanding on my observation and interpretation of their experiences. For example, to being aware of the potential influence of my gender and age in recruiting participants, I used multiple methods rather than just snowballing so as to make sure that I recruited participants from as diverse backgrounds as possible. I participated in social gatherings in which potential participants were involved and provided support to them if needed. However, I avoided developing a close relationship and having opinion-oriented conversations with them before actual interviews with them. In the interviews, I used a narrative approach and asked my participants to share their stories rather than directly asking

their opinions on policies, regulations and services. While interpreting interview transcripts, I used cue cards to summarise and sort out their ideas to search for themes rather than using their accounts to fit into my framework. The fieldwork experience showed me that research ethics is not equivalent to getting the boxes in the ethical application form ticked but is the consideration of how to position myself as both an insider and outsider and being able to negotiate these contextual complexities.

At the stage of data processing and writing up the thesis, a specific ethical concern was the need to ensure participant anonymity and confidentiality as a great deal of information was collected on interviewees, especially the personal experiences of current Chinese postgraduates (Main Group 2). To ensure anonymity, I used a profile as a 'filter' to remove any personal information in the relevant transcript that could potentially enable others to identify the interviewee. In the profile, the original sentences containing personal information were deleted, while notes were written alongside to record the information as reflections on certain phenomena rather than as narratives. The ideas emerging from the notes were used in the thesis. This ensured the protection of anonymity while at the same time preserving valuable information.

Methodologically, the conceptual framework and associated concepts permitted an examination of how policy intentions and individual Chinese students' experiences converged. Meanwhile, there was a need to be aware of its limitations. Existing governmentality studies have not paid enough attention to non-Western culture and regimes. This made it challenging to draw on others scholars' ideas and put them together to guide this study. The issue of cultural differences and the role of individuals as active agents are especially underplayed in existing governmentality

studies. The conceptual framework developed considered how to integrate the role of cultural mechanisms with the mechanisms of government. However, apart from a short chapter of Bennett's book on culture and governmentality (Bennett 2007), no other resources addressed this issue systematically to provide guidance for this study. Bennett provides a general idea on the relationship between culture and governmentality and suggests that culture as discourse plays a role in government through human technologies. However, this study needs to find out how exactly it works in these students' cross-cultural experiences. This is especially so since the concept of culture is still controversial and under-developed. Additionally, Rose's definition of human technologies is very broad, leaving gaps for this study to fill. Similarly, this conceptual framework shows that Foucauldian studies give insufficient attention to the role of agency. For example, Rose's idea on the self as assemblage seeks to account for the role of agency while it interacts with the structure represented by different regimes of the self. However, there is no detailed explanation of how an assemblage should be examined. These limitations suggest that this study can provide empirical evidence to contribute to an understanding of these issues and fill these gaps.

4.6 Conclusion

The chapter shows that Foucault's three domains of government comprised of the government of the state, the government of others and the government of the self can be used in the thesis. Operationally, Dean's three analytical dimensions of governmentality, namely governmental self-formation, political subjectification and ethical self-formation, can illustrate the three domains and be used here. With the replacement of ethical self-formation with Rose's project of self and the integration of globalisation and cultural factors, the three analytical dimensions were developed and

formed as an adapted Foucauldian conceptual framework, consisting of a culturally informed governmental self-formation, a culturally informed political subjectification and a culturally informed project of the self, to address the research question. Methodologically, Foucault's archaeology and genealogy and Rose's genealogy of subjectification are combined into a culturally informed genealogical archaeology and a culturally informed genealogy of subjectification to respond to the conceptual framework.

In light of the conceptual framework and associated methodology, this study collected three sets of data including secondary data on policy discourses and governmental practices through the documentary research, official statistics from a government website and survey data collected from the target group of Chinese students plus primary data on these students' overseas study experiences collected through interviews. Accordingly, a culturally informed discursive analysis, a Foucauldian descriptive statistical analysis and a Foucauldian narrative analysis were used to process the three sets of data. Recognising ethical and methodological limitations, the thesis applies these strategies, from Chapter Five onwards, to analyse and present the fieldwork data to examine the convergence between New Zealand policy intentions and the experiences of individual Chinese students.

Chapter Five Global Governmentality and National Variations: Making and Re-making International Higher Education ⁷ and International Postgraduate Students

[W]hile globalization is certainly a phenomenon that is broadly recognizable, rather than a unified process, it is more usefully understood as a complex of effects that have shifted the spatial and social imaginaries through which we think consolidation and dispersion (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.510).

5.1 Introduction

This study examines how New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies and Chinese international students' experiences converge to enable a 'good' overseas study. This chapter sets out to understand the former aspect. Current policy interventions of receiving countries including New Zealand in the fields of international education and skilled migration concentrate on how to attract international students and provide high-quality educational services for them, as well as recruit international graduates in the global labour market. These policy interventions are different from their historical version of developing international education through launching aid programmes in the 1950s. The historical and global context of the shifted practice, therefore, needs to be examined to understand how the field of international education is established and developed.

⁷ In this thesis, international higher education and international education are treated as exchangeable concepts.

This chapter examines historical changes in governmental rationalities and policy practices in four student-receiving countries, namely the US, the UK, Canada and Australia, and three student-sending countries: Singapore, South Korea and India. Analyses of these changes are guided by a culturally informed genealogical archaeology with a focus on governmental self-formation. To guide the exploration of the historical development of the field of international education, the chapter employs Foucault's ideas on discursive formation and transformation, comparative archaeological analysis (Foucault 1972), genealogical analysis of power relations (Foucault, 2000c, p.344), and the historical view of power itself (Foucault, 1991a, p.102), as well as Bennett's idea of discourse as culture that is embodied in human technologies (Bennett, 2007, p.83). Larner and Walters' idea of globalisation as de-territorialization and re-territorialization (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.497-498) and Foucault's idea of truth and power (Foucault, 2000d, p.132) are used to explain how the field is formed and transformed as a discursive space and how the world order in the field is maintained to enable the exercising of power.

The first section of the chapter focuses on searching for key words in current policy documents from the seven selected countries to identify signs or a group of signs to serve as a starting point for a discursive analysis. Second, a description of each of the four levels of discursive formation is combined with Foucault's idea on the analysis of power relations informed by his genealogy to account for the formation of the discourse of "education for aid". Third, the discursive transformation from "education for aid" to "education for trade" is elaborated. This is followed by a discussion on how these discourses serve as practices for imposing distinctive forms of rules, introducing specific cultural values, and making international students particular

policy subjects at different historical times. The final section explains national variations in current practices in developing international education to respond to the global discourse of “education for trade”. This chapter presents an archaeological account of global governmentality of international education through discursive formations and transformations and national variations in discursive practices. It therefore provides a global and historical context for analysing the convergence between New Zealand policy interventions and the experiences of individual Chinese students explored in subsequent chapters.

5.2 Signs in policy documents related to international students or graduates

Chapter Four suggests that an archaeological discursive approach can help understand both the historical and the global dimensions of New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies. The examination of government documents and official speeches can serve as a starting point for a discursive analysis as they articulate governmental mentalities that emphasise particular discourses. Government documents or speeches by officials from the seven countries,⁸ which included reference to international students, were

⁸ These documents are as follows:

British Council (2010) *Making it happen: the Prime Minister's initiative for international education*

[Internet]. London, British Council, Available from:

<http://www.britishcouncil.org/making_it_happen_-_the_prime_ministers_initiative_for_international_education.pdf> [Accessed 20 June 2012].

Council of Australian Governments (COAG) (2010) *International students strategy for Australia 2010-2014* [Internet]. Canberra, COAG. Available from:

<http://archive.coag.gov.au/reports/docs/aus_international_students_strategy.pdf> [Accessed 20 June 2012].

Council of The Federation (Canada) (2011). *Bringing education in Canada to the world, bringing the world to Canada: an international education marketing action plan for provinces and territories* [Internet]. Ottawa, Canadian Council of the Federation. Available:

<http://www.cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/264/COF_Bringing_Ed_to_Canada_Eng_final.pdf> [Accessed 20 June 2012].

Ministry of Education Science and Technology Of Republic Of Korea (MEST) (2008) *National project towards building world class universities (2008-2012)*. Seoul, MEST. Available from:

<<http://english.mest.go.kr/main.jsp?idx=0301050101>> [Accessed 20 June 2012].

gathered and processed with NVivo 8, a software tool, to identify the key words which represent groups of signs for discursive formations (Foucault, 1972, pp.107-109).

The 20 most frequent words in each of these policy documents were assembled to form common groups of signs. For example, among the documents issued by the four student-receiving countries (Australia, Canada, the UK and the US), four groups of sequences of signs can be identified. There are education-related words (such as *student/students, education, university, scholar, school*); geopolitical words (such as *countries names, international, global, national, federal, provincial, territories*); market- or business-related words (such as *market, marketing, services, sector, quality, competitiveness, strategies, partnership*); and government-related words (such as *governments, institutions, ministry, department, policy*). Among the documents issued by the three student-sending countries (India, Korea and Singapore), the groups of common signs are geopolitical words (such as *countries' names, national, international, country, states, international, global, overseas, foreign*) and technology- or knowledge-related words (such as *science, technology, innovation, academic, skills, brains, talent, development*).

Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) (2012) *Annual report 2011-2012* [Internet]. New Delhi, MOIA. Available from: <http://moia.gov.in/writereaddata/pdf/Annual_Report_2011-2012.pdf> [Accessed 20 June 2012].

NAFSA: Association of International Educators (2006) *Restoring U.S. competitiveness for international students and scholars* [Internet]. Washington, NAFSA. Available from: <http://www.nftc.org/default/Visa%20Policy/2006_06_nafsa_restoringuscompetitiveness.pdf> [Accessed 20 June 2012].

Singapore21. n.d. *Attracting talent vs. looking after Singaporeans* [Internet]. Singapore, Singapore21. Available from: <<https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:3OdKIMvS0bcJ:www.singapore21.org.sg/>> [Accessed 20 June 2012].

The juxtaposition of groups of signs, such as international students, government and market, in documents of student-receiving countries shows that they have a modality of existence, which is defined as a statement by Foucault (1972, p.107). For example, international students, the government and the market are related words, which keep appearing together in the documents. These signs also appear with other concepts such as education, school, countries and services. They are articulated by particular subjects such as authorities and government officials. In this sense, these signs have a similar modality of existence; that is, a similar statement (Foucault, 1972, p.107). Moreover, statements in these documents may belong to a single system of formation that is a discourse (Foucault, 1972, p.107). Based on the observation, the next section examines how these groups of signs are made as statements and formed as discourses in order to build an archaeological account of neo-liberal knowledge policies in New Zealand. This is done, not by focusing on the meaning of the signs, but by asking particular kinds of questions on the modality of their existence. For example, because they have some common groups of signs in the policy documents, what are the relationships between these documents? Is there a similar discourse in these documents? How are these policy documents related to the discourse? How is the discourse formed? How is the field of international education established and developed through these groups of signs and discourses? How do international students or overseas educated people (brains and talents) enter the policy discourse? How are concepts, such as international education and international students, formed in different societies? What are the strategies applied by different countries, and how are they formed? How are discourses formed and transformed over time? These questions require the formation and transformation of policies to be examined at the statement level beyond language and texts.

5.3 The establishment and development of the field of international education through discourses

5.3.1 The formation of discourse of “education for aid”

From the perspective of Foucauldian discursive analysis (Foucault, 1972, pp.40-70), World War II and its immediate aftermath was a starting point for discursive formations about international education. After World War II, object status was given to international education, international students and graduates with a series of actions that Foucault calls “the first surfaces of their emergence”, “the authorities of delimitation” and “the grid of specifications” (Foucault, 1972, pp.41-42). For example, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, a series of programmes were launched to support post-war economic recovery and the demand for peace and development. These were the establishment of the Fulbright Scholarship Program in 1946; the issue of the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948 to support cultural programmes; and the launch of the Marshall Plan in 1948 to re-build European economics. The same period saw the birth of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The end of colonialism and aspirations for providing development assistance to newly independent third world nations brought some philanthropic foundations and universities on to the scene (Holzner & Greenwood, 1995, pp.38-39). In 1948, NAFSA: Association of International Educators was founded to enhance international student living and learning environments, provide professional resources and generate economic impact statements of international students and their dependents (NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 2010). In 1950, the Colombo Plan agreement was signed by British Commonwealth countries to provide technological support to South and South-East Asia (Smith & Parata, 1997, p.123). The launch of a series of

aid programmes saw national foundations like the Ford Foundation and Carnegie Corporation become influential in the developing world in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Holzner & Greenwood, 1995, p.39).

In the developing world, different but related actions were taken. In Singapore, during the second half of the 1940s, top students in governmental programmes like Colombo Plan scholars were sent to Commonwealth universities in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the UK (Lee, 1997, p.141). In 1958, a scheme called “Scientists Pool” was launched in India to attract overseas scientists and technologists including graduates who had completed doctoral or equivalent tertiary education in science and technology (S & T) (Krishna & Khadria, 1997, p.356). South Korea took a “small-but-top” approach and “researcher-first (in addition to the “Ph D-first)” approach to affirm the powerful status given to elite foreign trained scientists and engineers in the 1970s (Yoon, 1992, pp.13-14).

Not only did these actions make it possible to talk about higher education at an international level, but they also enabled the establishment of relations between institutions, economic and social development, scientific technologies and education. Moreover, the relations were imposed through the institutionalisation, differentiation and specification of these authorities. The establishment of institutions, such as NAFSA: Association of International Educators and the definition of their roles, enabled developed Western countries to host and train international students in Western knowledge and technologies. Accordingly, the established knowledge relations between the developed and the developing world defined the direction of students’ movement. From a Foucauldian perspective, this was a way of imposing

power relations, allowing one to act on the actions of others (Foucault, 2000c, pp.340-342). In this case, hosting international students allowed developed countries to act upon developing ones with Western knowledge and scientific technologies and define their actions.

However, these acts did not automatically lead to the formation of a discourse. The discourse functioning in the field of international education needed to be made by a person who had the right to make it. To speak of, name and classify these objects, an enunciative subject and the institutional sites for him to make the discourse needed to be made manifest (Foucault, 1972, pp.50-55). In the field of international education, as the US became the centre for higher education due to post-war migration of academics, the US president positioned institutional sites to make a discourse (Holzner & Greenwood, 1995, p.39; Knight & De Wit, 1995, p.8). Harry S. Truman, the 33rd President of the United States, brought international education on to the scene and made the discourse of “education for aid” acceptable with his well-known four-point inaugural address in 1949⁹. According to him, a bold new programme could transfer the benefits of scientific advances and industrial progress in the developed world to underdeveloped areas. In this way, a new world order and justice were expected to be built (Truman 1949). His speech defined the prestige of Western countries and set up objectives for them to govern the developing world at a distance through educational aid. The Fulbright scholarship programme was an example of this. The Prime Ministers of the three student-sending countries, Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Park Chung-hee (Korea) and Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore) responded to the US

⁹ The address articulated four sources of action: giving support to the United Nations and related agencies, continuing programmes for world economic recovery, strengthening freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression, and embarking on “a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas” (Truman 1949).

President's speech accordingly (Grice & Drakakis-Smith, 1985, pp.347-348; Yoon, 1992, pp.17-18; Krishna & Khadria, 1997, pp.348-349). They recognised the need for modernisation and industrialisation and built institutions like the five Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), inspired by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) model to facilitate technology transfer from Western countries (Krishna & Khadria, 1997, pp.352-353). Powerful leaders articulated the discourse of development aid through promotion of international education, that is, "education for aid".

Following Truman's speech, the appearance and recurrence of concepts in the field of international education started to be governed by a set of rules (they arranged statements in a particular succession). Peace and development became a supreme need; Truman's inaugural address indicated the US's intention to define the world order and justice; the world superpowers expected to have a better understanding of the rest of the world and maintain and even expand their sphere of influence; human capital theory based on neo-classical economics justified the role of education in economic growth; educational and cultural exchanges administered by the Institute of International Education (IIE) and the British Council were employed as the instruments of foreign policy; educational programmes, such as the Fulbright programme, served as an agent of face-to-face exchange (Knight & De Wit, 1995, pp.8-9; Gürüz, 2008, pp.135-158). In developing countries, modernisation and industrialisation were imperative for economic development. It was believed that science and technology could solve economic and social problems. Foreign trained manpower was subsequently regarded as the transferor of the benefits of scientific and technological advancement (Grice & Drakakis-Smith, 1985; Yoon 1992; Krishna & Khadria, 1997). Within this enunciative series, concepts like education, development,

exchange programme, modernisation and industrialisation were linked, assembled and redistributed. The assembling and redistribution of the concepts followed a set of rules, such as economic growth and cultural influence based on Western scientific knowledge, to introduce the discourse of “education for aid”.

With the emergence of objects, modalities of enunciation and associated concepts, the introduction of the discourse of “education for aid” was eventually determined by the formation of a strategy; that is, the individuality of discourses relied on the definition of the system of formation of different strategies (Foucault, 1972, p.68). After World War II, there were various rationales for developing international education and encouraging student exchange. The establishment of international education was debated in response to nationalism in both student-receiving and sending countries. In student-receiving countries, such as the US, international higher education was regarded as a way of exporting cultural and moral values and ensuring national interest on the one hand (Knight & De Wit, 1995, p.8). On the other hand, it was criticised for its increased public expenditure, which led to a policy of differential fees for international students in countries like the UK and Australia (Woodhall 1981; Back & Davis, 1995, pp.123-125). In student-sending countries, international education was generally viewed as an agent of economic development because international students could serve as scientific and technological transferors and facilitate the process of modernisation and industrialisation (De Wit, 1997, pp.25-26; Krishna & Khadria, 1997, p.348; Song, 1997, p.325). However, in India and Korea, overseas study was criticised for triggering the ‘brain drain’ problem and restricted at an early stage (Yoon, 1992, p.5; Krishna & Khadria, 1997, pp.361-365; Song, 1997, p.329). The different rationales form possible alternatives for internationalising higher

education. This means that the strategic choice made from all possible alternatives depended on higher level principles of modernisation and industrialisation, seen as the outcome of adopting Western knowledge and technology transfer through educational aid. The effect was that alternatives to development aid were excluded from the discourse.

The above descriptions have shown how the emergence of the discourse of “education for aid” is a process of building regularities at the statement level with the four levels of discursive formation. In this process, the objects of international education emerged along with social and economic processes after World War II, the institutionalisation and specialisation of relevant aid programmes in both developed and developing countries, and the designation of the role of international students with scholarship programmes. The formation of the modalities of enunciation was realised by the subjects who positioned powerful institutional sites for making the discourse. The succession of statements allowed concepts such as, peace and development, scientific technology and economic development, and cultural and educational exchange, to appear and be distributed and linked to justify the role of international education in development aid. The deployment of strategic choices ensured that the individuality of discourses was built through excluding rationalities other than the idea of development aid. In general, the four levels of formations established the field of international education along with the emergence of the discourse of “education for aid”.

The four levels of discursive formations not only enabled the establishment of the field but also shaped the world order by imposing power relations and cultural mechanisms. The formation of objects made it possible to institutionalise aid programmes and delimit the responsibilities and roles of relevant authorities. This allowed power relations between national and international institutions to be built and distributed. The formation of enunciative modes, concepts and strategic choices enabled Western knowledge and cultural values to be linked with power relations so as to gain the status of truth since “[t]ruth is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it” (Foucault, 2000d, p.132). The rise of the US as an economic and political power after World War II positioned its president to articulate a discourse of development aid. The demand for industrialised development justified the role of Western knowledge and technologies while excluding other rationalities and theories. In this sense, the status of Western knowledge and values as truth was an outcome of Western countries led by the US exercising power over the developing world through forming the discourse of “education for aid”.

Meanwhile, the identification of truth with power also allowed the introduction of specific Western cultural mechanisms in which scientific knowledge and technologies were regarded as facilitators of modernisation and capitalist development (Kalberg, 2005, pp.53-64). In particular, this system of differentiation in wealth, knowledge and competence in industrialised development among countries allowed on-going Western influence on various aspects of the developing world including Western higher education which was highly regarded in most Asian countries. Western higher education became the ‘gold standard’ (Altbach & Selvaratnam, 1989, quoted in De Wit, 1997, p.22). Aid programmes served as human technologies to enable

governmental rationalities and institutional practices informed by Western cultural values to spread through international students' embodiment of these values. From this viewpoint, governmental and cultural mechanisms were aligned through establishing the field of international education, imposing the discourse of "education for aid", training international students and regulating their movement.

5.3.2 Transformation of discourses: From "education for aid" to "education for trade"

The previous section has shown that, after World War II, worldwide expectations of peace and development provided conditions for the discourse of aid development to influence international education. However, the discourse was not fixed but changed as social and economic conditions shifted. Post-1960 new conditions for discursive formation started to emerge: influential works by American scholars such as Daniel Bell, Peter Drucker and Fritz Machlup, on the emergence of the post-industrial society in the 1960s and 1970s (Machlup 1962; Drucker 1969; Bell 1973); the influence of neo-liberal economic reforms originating in the UK on higher education in the mid 1980s (Gürüz, 2008, pp.58-59); the converging and mutually reinforcing impact of economic globalisation and the ICT revolution on international education; and the promotion of the ideas of the new economy, the knowledge society and human capital by international organisations such as OECD (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and EU (European Union) since the late 1990s (e.g. UNESCO, 1998; Andersson 2000; OECD, 2001a; b; UNESCO, 2005). Influenced by these forces, people generally believed the global economy was moving towards a neo-liberal knowledge one, where countries fell into three groups:

knowledge producer countries, knowledge user countries and passive knowledge user or technologically disconnected countries. As a result, the general direction of international student flow was from knowledge user countries to knowledge producer ones (Gürüz, 2008, pp.12-13). By this point in time, the conditions for the existing discourse of “education for aid” changed and generated the possibility of a new discourse.

In the field of international education, it is noticeable that the elements of the four levels of discursive formations altered to different degrees with changed social, economic and political conditions. The alignment of market neo-liberalism and the knowledge economy enabled governments in the selected countries to reconceptualise higher education institutions and individuals in the global context through rationalisation, institutionalisation and differentiation. For example, in 2003, the 275,265 foreign students in UK higher education institutions earned over £3 billion for the UK economy through fee revenue and students’ spending while studying (Gürüz, 2008, p.192). The economic benefits justified the re-conceptualisation of international education as export education, and international students as knowledge consumers. In 2009, the Australian Government announced significant changes in its international education arrangements. Through institutionalisation, it transferred responsibility for international promotion and marketing to the Australian Trade Commission (Austrade), and responsibility for the regulation of education service provision such as quality assurance and qualification recognition, to the new Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) and the new national VET (vocational education and training) regulator (Australian Education International, 2010). In the UK, the distinctive contribution of highly skilled migrants to UK

innovation was emphasised in the national innovation policy entitled *Innovation Nation* released in 2008 (Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills, 2008, pp.50-51).

In developing countries, the advent of free market neo-liberalism and the knowledge economy also enabled international education to be re-conceptualised. For example, the Singaporean Government in the early 1990s identified knowledge infrastructure and human and intellectual capital as two key development ingredients for advancing the knowledge economy (Lek & Al-Hawamdeh, 2001, pp.19-20). In India and Korea, the key aspects of the knowledge economy are regarded as the possession of skilled and creative human resources, a dynamic information infrastructure, an effective innovation system, and a regime offering economic incentives and associated institutions (The World Bank, 2000; Dahlman & Utz, 2005). In these cases, international education was reconceptualised as knowledge infrastructure, and international students as human capital.

The discursive transformation is also associated with a change in strategy formation. During the period of development aid, the formation of strategies was based on political-economic rationales. Countries were connected and positioned in the field of international education through political alliances and economic partnerships shaped by educational aid. Nowadays, these are replaced by market strategies. For example, in its recent publication *International Students Strategy for Australia 2010-2014*, the Council of Australian Governments states that the purpose of the strategy is “to support a high-quality experience for international students, in order to ensure a sustainable future for quality international education in Australia” (Council of

Australian Governments (COAG), 2010, p.2). This document includes sections on serving international students and dealing with such topics as student wellbeing, quality of education, consumer protection and information provision. The document allocates tasks and designates responsibilities for providing services to governmental agencies. Market strategies and the business model reinforce the idea that international education is a commodity, and international students are knowledge consumers.

The discursive transformation is realised through the replacement of human technologies to keep the world order in the field of international education. One current technology frequently used in the field is university ranking; ranking lists are constantly generated by national or international organisations and serve as a basis for higher education reforms in a number of countries. Another technology of domination is institutionalised ways of marketing and networking through the media, the Internet or university-based alumni associations and networks. These instruments are employed to generate desires in relation to the discourse of “education for trade” and introduce an ‘enterprise culture’ (Rose, 1996, pp.153-155), in order to form individuals who are self-interested, self-actualised and rational knowledge consumers. Among student-receiving countries, media coverage ranges from socially constructing international students as human capital to promoting market accountability (Sidhu, 2006, p.82, 146). Rather than giving direct commands, these media and Internet constructions intend to make international students mobile, autonomous, individualistic subjects with their own free choices. These actions suggest that, with the discursive transformation, there are changes in the way power is exercised, and cultural mechanisms imposed. The next section will discuss this in detail.

5.4 Discourses as practices and culture for global governmentality

The discursive formations and transformations outlined in the previous sections show that the two discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade” are practices which are “places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken-for-granted meet and interconnect” (Foucault, 2000b, p.225). Moreover, under different discourses, the practices enable global governmentality through establishing the field of international education, imposing the rule of government and using human technology to shape and re-shape conduct of involved countries in different ways.

With the formation and transformation of discourses, the field of international education is established and developed. Each set of discursive practices has enabled particular spatial and social imaginaries with a double movement of de-territorialization and re-territorialization (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.497-498) in response to different conditions. For example, the formation of the discourse of “education for aid” after World War II made it possible to establish the field of international education across national territories with political alliances and economic aid. With the substitution of “education for trade” for the discourse of “education for aid”, a new hierarchy of countries was created characterised by their differentiated capacity for selling knowledge in the global market.

With the establishment and development of the field of international education, different governmental rules are imposed. National governments generally intend to impose rules with a triangle of sovereignty-discipline-government. However, the

contents of the triangular rule are different under the two discourses. The art of government in modern society involves “an attempt to see what juridical and institutional form, what foundation in the law, could be given to the sovereignty that characterizes a state” (Foucault, 1991a, p.101). In this case, post-war governments, like the US Government, exercised sovereign power through conceptualising international education as a way of protecting national interest and state security and regulating international students’ movements with specific aid programmes. Among national governments today, the wide application of market mechanisms in international student recruitment and services suggests that the sovereign power no longer features prominently in today’s international education.

Disciplinary power is also exercised differently under the two discourses. Disciplinary power proceeds with techniques of enclosure, definition of functional site and ranking to distribute individuals in space (Foucault, 1979, pp.141-149). In this case, countries, like individuals, are distributed in the field of international education through these techniques. Under the two discourses, the formation and transformation of the international education field is a way of enclosing a specific place for knowing, mastering and using it as an object (Foucault, 1979, p.143). However, the rules of functional sites and ranking are used differently. In the post-war period, disciplinary institutions including governmental agencies and universities hosting aid programmes such as the Fulbright programme, served as functional sites for providing correct training for students from developing countries. With the rise of the neo-liberal knowledge economy, the international education and global workforce markets serve as functional sites for governing international students and exerting disciplinary power. Current practices in university ranking are an illustration of the intense use of

this technique to classify universities and countries. Comparatively, in the post-war period, the differentiation of countries is achieved through polarising and dividing universities into dichotomous groups of technology providers and receivers.

The two discourses have introduced types of power that differ not only in content, but also in the composition of the triangular rule of sovereignty-discipline-government. Under the discourse of “education for aid”, sovereignty and discipline are the constitutive forms of rule. With the substitution of discourse of “education for trade”, the triangular rule has shifted with an emphasis on disciplinary power and government power although the exercise of sovereign power is still present. Accordingly, different contents and compositions of forms of rule leads to different formations of order in the international education field and distinctive ways of making international students governable subjects, embodied in different social and spatial imaginaries. The distinctive compositions imply that the governmental rule has shifted to micro-power focused on individuals.

The rule of government was also imposed differently under the two discourses. An essential aspect of the art of government is the introduction of economy into politics and the exercise of power over things in relation to people (Foucault, 1991a, pp.92-93). In this case, it means that the imposition of governmental rule involves a concern with things related to international student issues; that is, their living and learning environment, safety and welfare. In the post-war period, the establishment of national institutions such as NAFSA: Association of International Educators, shows governments’ intention of caring for international students and enhancing their living

and learning experiences. However, their motive was humanitarian rather than a major part of their strategies for governing international students. The rise of the global neo-liberal knowledge economy made selected countries shift, to various degrees, to exercise government power through market techniques. For example, the Australian Government's international student strategy mentioned above, illustrates how governments now focus on attracting students in the international education market through providing high-quality services and ensuring student safety.

The discourse is not only about practice, but also about a culture enabling global governmentality. Moreover, different discourses introduce different cultural mechanisms along with the mechanisms of government. Under the discourse of "education for aid", Western cultural values emphasising the role of scientific knowledge in industrialised development, spread to the developing world through aid programmes. International students trained in Western knowledge and technologies, embodied associated cultural values and served as development agents. With the rise of the discourse of "education for trade", the shift of governmental rule gave rise to an enterprise culture emphasising self-interest, self-actualisation, free choice and competitiveness (Rose, 1996, pp.150-151). It triggered a new set of human technologies, such as university ranking and marketing, exercised power while imposing an enterprise culture. Market logic came to shape individual international students as knowledge consumers who are well informed and able to make rational decisions and free choices.

The different sets of cultural mechanisms have reshaped relationships between countries at different times. In the post war period, the formation of the discourse of “education for aid” enabled the establishment of a world order with a developed-developing polarisation and a dichotomy between technology haves and have-nots. Through correct training, international students became development agents and technology transferors between the two parts of the world. Accordingly, relationships between aid providers and recipients were relatively fixed by educational aid programmes. With the rise of the discourse of “education for trade”, the world order of international education became more complex than ever before and was defined in a series of classifications based on countries’ and their universities’ degrees of capacity to serve as knowledge producers. This implies that countries may have different strategies for placing their education in the global education hierarchy. The next section will elaborate on national variations in response to the present global discourse of “education for trade”.

5.5 Archaeological comparison: global discourses and national practices

With the rise of neo-liberalism and the global knowledge economy, each selected country applied these rules to reflect specific local conditions. For example, the US mainly employed the skilled migrant approach, combining study opportunities provided by its higher education institutions with job opportunities created through its skilled immigration policies. These measures not only attracted international students to enrol in American universities but also affected their destination choice after graduation. After the ‘9/11’ terrorist attack, a major concern regarding developing international education was to find ways of attracting global talent, while at the same time guarantee border security (Gürüz, 2008, p.189).

Strategies for developing international education in the UK, Canada and Australia, differ from those of the US and combine revenue generation and skilled migration approaches. Regarding revenue generation, these countries are concerned with ways of using market measures to recruit international students. For example, since 1999, the UK Government has eagerly promoted their education brand with the two phases of Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI), focusing on market campaigns and institutional partnership (Merrick, 2007, p.1). In September 2008, Canada officially launched a brand for its higher education to co-ordinate different provinces' efforts to attract international students (Tachdjian 2008). Recently, the Edu-Canada II Initiative was launched to target key markets like China, India, Brazil and the US in order to develop Canadian Centres of Excellence and strengthen Edu-Canada international networks (The Illuminate Consulting Group, 2009. pp.126-127). In 2009, the Australian Government announced *Study in Australia 2010* through Australian Education International and its worldwide networks in a drive to mobilise resources in order to ensure Australia remained an attractive international student destination during the global financial crisis (Australian Education International, 2009).

The skilled migration approach gradually attracted the attention of policy makers in the UK, Australia and Canada although it seemed to be overshadowed by the revenue generation approach before 1990. Major policy instruments include relaxed immigration and visa policies for highly skilled immigrants, talented postgraduate students and visiting scholars, but each country has a different focus. In the UK, all postgraduate students and undergraduates in physical sciences, engineering and mathematics are allowed to work for up to twelve months on graduation without a UK

work permit (Salt, 2011, pp.133-134). The Canada Excellence Research Chairs Programme and the Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarships Programme were established to attract top academic talent and talented doctoral students respectively (The Illuminate Consulting Group, 2009, p.127). A recent Australian initiative brought seven Australian international scholarships together under the Endeavour Programme to attract high-achieving students, researchers and professionals to study in Australia in order to build people-to-people and institution-to-institution links and networks (Hayton 2010).

In the three student-sending countries, strategic choices for fighting the ‘brain drain’ problem are varied. In 1999, The Indian Government enacted a PIO (Persons of Indian Origin) Card scheme to facilitate the entry of non-resident Indians. In 2003 dual citizenship was granted to Indians living in selected Western countries, such as the UK and the US, to strengthen the link with expatriates of Indian descent (Khadria, 2004, p.26). Although few returned permanently to India from Silicon Valley in the 1990s, the links between professional and personal networks in Silicon Valley and family members, friends and colleagues at home played a crucial role in the development of India’s IT industry (Saxenian, 2005, p.53). In 1994, the Korean Government introduced the Brain Pool Programme to enable local universities and government sponsored institutions to hire overseas trained Korean scientists and engineers (Song, 1997, p.339). In response to local geographical, economic, political and cultural conditions under globalisation, the Singaporean Government pursued a marketing strategy of hybridity (Sidhu, 2006, p.269). Since 1997, the Government endeavoured to turn Singapore into an international hub for students from primary to university level with the tagline "Singapore: The Global Schoolhouse". The message

is that Singapore combines the best of East ("Asian school systems") and West ("Western-styled education practices") to market its education brand (Yeoh & Lin, 2012). These strategies show that student-sending countries have attempted to capitalise on the role of local cultural values and social networks in the repatriation of returnees.

Generally, the diversity of discursive practices among the selected countries suggests that, although individual countries have followed the global trend in the field of international education, the discourse of "education for trade" does not constitute a universal truth. Different countries hold their own rationalities on and strategies for positioning in the field and connecting with other countries. Moreover, the transformation of discourse from "education for aid" to "education for trade" means that the positions of and connections between countries in the international education market is not fixed, but is dynamic and substitutable. This raises the next question that underpins the thesis: in a dynamic market, how can a connection between a student-sending and a student-receiving country be established and maintained to ensure the flow of international students? The next chapter will examine this question in the New Zealand-Chinese context.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the establishment and development of international education and the making and re-making of international students and postgraduates are both practice and culture enabling global governmentality in international education. The analysis of policy documents drawn from the selected seven countries shows that the four student-receiving countries and the three student-sending

countries have similar groups of signs that were examined through four levels of discursive formations and transformations to understand how these signs have been brought into existence at different historical times. After World War II, particular social, political, economic and cultural conditions enabled the emergence of international education, international students and international graduates as objects of the discourse of “education for aid”. The substitution of formative rules by the neo-liberal knowledge economy facilitated the substitution of concepts and strategies for international education. As a result, the discourse was transformed from “education for aid” to “education for trade” with differentiated practices among selected countries.

This account of the formation and transformation of two discourses shows that discourses are both practice and culture that enable global governmentality in international education. They enable the making and re-making of an imagined discursive space for international education with de-territorialization and re-territorialization that leads to the imposition of particular forms of rule and the introduction of the associated culture. With the rise of the discourse of “education for trade”, the composition of the triangular rule of sovereignty-discipline-government has shifted to emphasise government and disciplinary forms of power and impose an enterprise culture that presumes international students as self-interested, self-actualised, rational knowledge consumers. National variations in response to the universal global discourses are evident. Knowledge of global discourses and national variation is useful for understanding the global and historical context and national conditions in which national policy intentions of regulating international students are shaped and re-shaped and their relationship with international student experiences are formed and re-formed. It is particularly important to examine how this maps out in the

New Zealand and Chinese context to approach the research question of convergence between New Zealand policy intentions and Chinese international student experiences.

The next chapter will attend to this task.

Chapter Six From Geopolitical to Liberal Rationality: Chinese International Students in the Chinese and the New Zealand Policy Contexts

[C]areful attention needs to be paid to the discourses and practices through which organizations and actors represent themselves and their relations with each other (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.508).

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that the emergence of discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade” saw the field of international education established and developed, power relations imposed, associated cultural mechanisms introduced and international students made and re-made. The ways in which individual countries are positioned in the field and connected with each other are not universal but diverse. Each country has distinctive political rationalities and policy practices to address different local concerns while responding to global discourses. With the emergence of a discourse of “education for trade”, the connection between countries became flexible and substitutable. This raises two questions, which should be addressed in order to understand how New Zealand policy intentions and Chinese students’ experiences converge. In the New Zealand-Chinese context, what political rationalities and governmental practices respond to both global discourses and local conditions? How are the two countries connected to facilitate the flow of Chinese international students?

To answer these questions, this chapter examines the events making and re-making international education and Chinese international students in the New Zealand-

Chinese context. It reviews the social, political, economic and cultural conditions that shaped policy practices and political rationalities in New Zealand and China and their interaction locally and globally. This chapter employs culturally informed genealogical archaeology with a focus on political subjectification to guide the discussion. It combines Foucault's ideas on the relationship between truth and power (Foucault, 2000d, p.132), eventalization (Foucault, 2000b, pp.226-229) and the problem of rationalities (Foucault, 2000b, pp.229-230) to unpack the pre-discursive phase when multiple rationalities coexisted, and explain how Euro-centric rationality gained a truth status and shaped the way by which the Chinese education system was connected and re-connected to the field of international education. Larner and Walters' ideas on the role of nation states in the globalisation process (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.508) and Bennett's idea of discourse as culture playing a role in government through human technologies (Bennett, 2007, p.83) are applied to examine how both the New Zealand and the Chinese Government appropriated strategies for establishing and developing international education, and how cultural mechanisms were introduced accordingly.

This chapter has three sections. The first section shows how the rules of discursive formation of "education for aid" shaped international education and made international students in both the Chinese and the New Zealand context. Next, the strategies for representing the two countries in the international education and global labour markets are elaborated to show how they embrace the transformed discourse of "education for trade". Finally, policy instruments for building a connection between the two countries to encourage the flow of Chinese international students are identified, and their thesis implications are discussed. This chapter explains how

Chinese international students are subjectified by New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies that are shaped by global discourses and conditioned by Chinese policy intentions in international education. It shows how cultural mechanisms are aligned with governmental mechanisms not only through global discourses, as Bennett notes (Bennett 2007), but also through the coexistence of political rationalities to make and re-make Chinese international students. This chapter helps understand New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policies of international education in the global and historical context and lays the foundation for examining the question of convergence.

6.2 The discourse of “education for aid” and multiple rationalities

6.2.1 Pre-discursive stage: Chinese students under multiple geopolitical rationalities

China, as one of the major student exporters, has a long-standing history of developing its higher learning with embryonic forms traced back to government schools in the late Shang Dynasty (1523-1027 B.C.) (Du, 1992, p.1). The historical process of connecting the nation to the international education field and sending students overseas cannot be divorced from the development of domestic higher education systems along with their global interactions and local power struggles.

Western-style universities first appeared in China after the Opium Wars¹⁰ in which China was defeated by an alliance of eight Western countries (Fay 1975; Rowe 2009). This historical event challenged the long held Chinese understanding of China’s position in the world, based on a culturalist view of Sino-centric universalism, and

¹⁰ The First Opium War between the United Kingdom and the Chinese Qing Empire between 1839 and 1842 and the Second Opium War between an Eight-Nation Alliance and the Chinese Qing Empire between 1856 and 1860 led to ceding Chinese ports for opium trade, signing up unequal treaties and defining Western countries’ “spheres of influence in China” (Fay 1975; Rowe 2009).

unexpectedly marginalised the nation as a semi-feudal and semi-colonised land in a Eurocentric world (Chen, 2005, pp.36-38). The Opium Wars and associated processes of colonisation destroyed the traditional Chinese knowledge system based on Confucianism, which privileged pure knowledge and viewed knowledge of moral truth as true knowledge (Moody, 1988, p.1147). The colonisation processes urged the Chinese to appreciate Western technological superiority and educated Chinese to recognise the incompatibility of the traditional order and the requirements of modernisation (Moody, 1988, p.1146).

For the Qing Government, a desire for the state's self-strengthening and an ambition to recover the Qing Empire's central position drove it to sponsor Chinese youth to study overseas. Two waves of overseas education mission aimed to introduce Western knowledge and technologies while avoiding Western cultural hegemony. In 1871, the first Chinese overseas educational mission, known as the "Westernisation Movement" (*yangwu yundong* 洋务运动), terminated abruptly, mainly owing to conservative Chinese officials' concern about the influence of Western culture on Chinese youth. While studying overseas, some Chinese students started to go to church, cut their plaits and wore suits (Lu, 2003, p.73). The second wave of overseas study stemmed from the abolition of the imperial civil service examinations in 1905, when the Qing regime took a series of social and political measures in response to the political crisis caused by the invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance and the domestic Boxer Rebellion¹¹ (Rowe 2009). Western educational models began to be perceived as a

¹¹ The Boxer Rebellion (also known as the Boxer Uprising or the Righteous Harmony Society Movement) was a proto-nationalist movement among ordinary Chinese in North China from 1898 to 1901, in reaction to European "spheres of influence in China", unequal treaties, political invasions and economic manipulation. The movement was suppressed by the Imperial Qing Government and an Eight-Nation Alliance and ended with the Boxer Protocol by which the Qing Government at great cost indemnified the eight nations involved (Rowe 2009).

solution to these crises. Even so, Chinese officials insisted that Chinese learning should serve as the essence, or cultural core (*ti* 体), and the principles of Western learning could only be treated as a means or adopted for practical affairs (*yong* 用) (Ye, 2001, pp.2-9).

Global forces and local responses enabled Sino-centric and Euro-centric geopolitical rationalities to coexist, and power and resistance to be interwoven in shaping the relationship between the Chinese and the Western educational system. Moreover, the multiple involvements of Western countries in the Opium Wars meant that China had become a power ‘arena’ in which multiple rules were simultaneously imposed by different Western countries. After the Opium Wars, Western practitioners, including French Jesuit missionaries, American Protestants with the cooperation of British and Canadian colleagues and German industrialists built different academic models of educational institutions and sponsored and staffed universities in China (Hayhoe, 1989, pp.57-60). Meanwhile, Chinese students studied in different countries returning with new connections with Western educational systems and power networks. For example, from 1909 to 1929, American-educated Chinese, sponsored by the American Government through the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Programme, were among “the first for whom ‘modernity’ became a lived experience” (Ye, 2001, p.5). The lived experience enabled them to think differently and become leading figures in various walks of life in China (Ye, 2001, p.5). Besides America, the rapid development of the recently modernised Japan made it a popular study destination for Chinese students and professionals, serving as a shortcut to access Western knowledge. Chinese students also travelled to European countries including England, France, Russia, Germany and Belgium either to meet the Qing Government’s needs for advanced

Western technical knowledge on shipbuilding and military defence, or to be exposed to the civilizing influence of France and develop habits of frugality and hard work (Bailey, 1988, pp.450-451; Ye, 2001, p.9; Yao, 2004, p.3).

A new stratum of Chinese intellectuals emerged and grew with the increase of communication with the outside world. The intellectual is “the [a] person occupying a specific position – but whose specificity is linked ... to the general functioning of an apparatus of truth” (Foucault, 2000d, p.131). In this case, these new Chinese intellectuals, especially the Western educated, generally advocated adopting Western ideas of democracy, technology, science and individualism as they believed that China’s political weakness stemmed from its traditional values and an educational philosophy based mainly on Confucianism (Yang, 2007, pp.19-25). The different attachments to Western countries and motivation for overseas study led to the formation of different intellectual factions during the May Fourth Movement¹² (Zhou 1999). Liberal intellectuals, who had received Anglo-American education, valued individual freedom and supported a reformative way of salvaging China, whereas radical intellectuals influenced by Marxist-Leninism, insisted on completely eradicating feudalism and imperialism through revolution (Moody, 1988, pp.1145-1151; Zhou 1999).

During the Republican period, from 1911 to 1949, educational practices were generally diverse with universities drawing on a wide variety of sources. Many prestigious Chinese universities were sponsored and staffed by foreign governments

¹² It was known as the New Culture Movement, which then turned into the May Fourth Movement on 4 May 1919 when Beijing students protested over the decision at the Paris Peace Conference to transfer German rights over Shangdong Province to Imperial Japan (Zhou 1999).

or non-government organisations¹³. However, there was still a dominant higher education pattern promoted at different times by the central Government. For example, Japanese higher educational patterns were introduced in the early 20th century but abandoned quickly with the rise of Japanese imperialism. In 1927, the Nationalist Party (*Guomindang* 国民党) led mainly by liberal intellectuals came to power. The need for ruling the nation motivated the Government to access the Western knowledge and academic models selectively. American higher education patterns were adopted first owing to America's increasing political influence in China. Later, American-inspired patterns were replaced by European patterns of greater centralisation and standardisation, as the latter were more appealing to Nationalist leaders in terms of facilitating central control (Hayhoe, 1989, pp.53, 59; Brown, 1991, p.454). These shifting connections suggested that under the umbrella of Euro-centric rationality, political power determined the status of truth, defining a correct training for Chinese students and regulating their flow accordingly. Up to this point, the unstable social conditions caused by the clash of civilizations and power struggles failed to provide positive conditions for building a complex group of relations which were crucial for the formation of objects (Foucault, 1972, p.45) such as international education and international students. As a result, the emergence of a particular discourse was impossible.

6.2.2 The discourse of “education for aid”: Alternative aid for development in

Mao's China

¹³ For example, before 1949, Qinghua University was sponsored and staffed by the United States, Tongji University by West Germany, Dalian University by Japan, Harbin University by the USSR. The Beijing Institute of Technology was based on the Yanan Academy of Natural Sciences founded by New Zealanders, Rewi Alley and his grandmother in 1940. The German model had inspired reforms in Beijing University in the 1920s (Brown, 1991, p.454, Hayhoe, 1989, p.62).

In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (*Gongchandang* 共产党), representing radical intellectuals, took over China. Communist Party rule created political, social and economic conditions enabling a new discursive formation. In 1950, in the eyes of the first Chinese higher education conference, the main task of higher education development was to “serve the economic construction, which is the foundation for all the other[s] (i.e., politics, culture, and national defence)” (Hayhoe, 1996, p.75). However, the desperate need for development did not direct China to seek Western aid although at that time the North-South relationship was shaped by the discourse of “education for aid”. Instead, a different regime of truth that served as geopolitical rationality enabled the country to build its international higher education connections.

During this period, the presence and absence of China and Chinese students in the international education field paralleled the struggle for truth within the Chinese Communist Party and also reflected the hostile relationship between the global superpowers, namely the US and the Soviet Union. After 1949, Leftists in the Communist Party greatly influenced Chinese higher education. Chinese leaders saw themselves in the socialist bloc led by the Soviet Union and regarded Communism as a true way of nation building (Men, 2003, p.8). Accordingly, radical Marxism was a criterion for accessing higher education (Moody, 1988, p.1151-1152). The newly founded People’s Republic of China sent its first group of students to socialist countries including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary (Yao, 2004, p.6). These students were regarded as ‘socialist constructors’ and agents for building friendship among Communist countries.

Among socialist brothers, the Soviet Union was the only industrialised country willing to offer China large-scale economic aid. The Soviet model of higher education was strongly rooted in the European tradition, so for China, the Soviet Union, although thought of as “the East” in terms of the Cold War and East-West political conflict, culturally represented the West. For the newly founded People’s Republic of China, this meant that the Soviet Union could provide Western technology and science to aid its economic development while ensuring the right track towards socialism (Hayhoe, 1996, p.74). Mao Zedong (毛泽东), the Party Chairman, commented that China belonged to the side of the anti-imperialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and could turn only to this side for genuine and friendly help. He visited Moscow in 1950 and signed *the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance*. Following this, China closed its doors to the West and formed an alliance with the Soviet Union (Roy, 1998, p.16).

The political alliance and economic partnership with the Soviet Union also led to China copying the Soviet higher educational system. In 1951 the Chinese Government began sending students to study in the Soviet Union. The adoption of the Soviet model led to the establishment of a bureaucratic knowledge system and a hierarchical centrally-controlled structure of education institutions similar to that in the late Qing dynasty, by which pure knowledge was prioritised (Hayhoe, 1996, p.90). The establishment of a knowledge hierarchy enabled the Government to exercise sovereign power and impose authoritarian rule within its territory.

Although the Soviet model helped the higher education system to meet immediate economic development needs to a certain degree, it did not achieve the Communist

Party's goal of social transformation through generating new professionals from proletarian workers and peasants. Subsequent socio-political and socio-economic movements, such as the Hundred Flowers Movement, the Great Leap Forward and the Chinese Cultural Revolution¹⁴, would be understood as a political and cultural backlash against Soviet revisionists in knowledge regimentation. From 1966 to 1976 the Cultural Revolution stopped all international communication in education (Hayhoe, 1996, pp.90-106). For ordinary Chinese students, overseas study was nearly impossible since it was considered to have a close relationship with Western capitalism and Soviet revisionism (Bray & Qin, 2001, p.455).

Chinese history in the period from 1949 to 1976 suggests that political and economic conditions after 1949 permitted the emergence of a discourse of "education for aid". However, the truth status was given to radical Marxism rather than to Western science and technology. Cultural values attached to knowledge were subjected to political power. This led to the emergence of a Soviet-centric geopolitical rationality different from the Eurocentric one imposed by the discourse of "education for aid". The next section will look at what was happening in New Zealand at the same time.

6.2.3 New Zealand's commitment to the Colombo Plan and the formation of an alliance with the West

Historically, New Zealand as one of the Western English-speaking countries, became a study destination for international students in the 1950s and 1960s through

¹⁴ The three sequential socio-political and socio-economic movements or campaigns took place between 1956 and 1976 and illustrated ideological struggles in the Chinese Communist Party. The Hundred Flowers Movement was to encourage the intellectuals of the country to voice their opinions on how to promote new forms of the arts and new cultural institutions. The Great Leap Forward was an effort to realise industrialisation and rural economic collectivisation. The Cultural Revolution was to reinforce communism while removing the influences of capitalism and traditional and cultural values from the political, economic and cultural domains of this country.

implementing a series of Plans or Programmes underpinned by the discourse of “education for aid”. Among these aid programmes, the Colombo Plan agreement signed by Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1950 was intended to provide foreign expertise and equipment and bring social and political stability to South and South-East Asia (Smith & Parata, 1997, p.123).

New Zealand regarded the Colombo Plan as both actual and symbolic (Tarling, 2004, p.9). As a collective effort of Western Commonwealth countries, including New Zealand, the Plan provided Asian countries with assistance comprising capital aid projects, the provision of equipment, the supply of experts and the training of students. In the late 1950s, a revamped Plan brought Asian students to New Zealand through scholarships as that was regarded a more effective way to provide technical assistance than capital projects (Tarling, 2004, pp.9-16). Besides material assistance, the Colombo Plan aligned New Zealand development aid tasks with related attitudes and beliefs. A geopolitical rationality was constructed by New Zealand’s geographical position in the Asia-Pacific region and political alliances and economic connections with other Commonwealth countries (Butcher, 2003, pp.20-22).

Within this geopolitical rationality, the New Zealand Government selected international students from specific Asian countries and decided on the forms of knowledge they would gain by means of policy instruments or human technologies such as scholarship provision, language training and accommodation arrangements. For example, scholarships were initially given to students from three Asian Commonwealth countries, namely India, Pakistan and Ceylon to attend practical courses in agriculture, health and engineering in 1951. Between 1955 and 1961, an

increasing number of students from South-East Asia countries like Malaya and British Borneo arrived in New Zealand. To enable Asian students to master and apply scientific and technical knowledge more effectively, the New Zealand Government established an English Language Institute at Victoria University of Wellington in 1961 and then selected a group of Indonesian English language teachers to attend a one year training course there (Tarling, 2004, pp.9-29). With the growth in numbers of Colombo Plan students, the Department of External Affairs attempted to encourage home-stay accommodation for these students so they could “gain an insight into the responsibilities of good citizenship” and “appreciate the full meaning of community responsibilities” (External Affairs,1962, quoted in Tarling, 2004, p.20).

Through participating in the Colombo Plan and accommodating Asian students, New Zealand occupied an intermediate position between the West and South and South-East Asian countries. Participation in the Plan reinforced New Zealand’s connection with the anti-communist alliance and its attachment to Western cultural values and the Western knowledge system. Hosting Asian students not only built its connection with Asian countries but also allowed it to transfer and diffuse knowledge and values through these students. The formal courses were designed to train Asian students in practical scientific and technical knowledge including English. Home-stays were intended to demonstrate to Asian students the idea of a civil society exemplifying good citizenship and community responsibilities. Thus, training these students allowed New Zealand to diffuse the disciplinary power, which the Western world intended to exert over developing Asian countries. This type of power was exercised through educational institutions.

English language teaching, Western scientific and technical knowledge, scholarships, the English Language Institute and home-stays served as human technologies for turning international students into development agents and knowledge transferors. During this period, New Zealand was an aid provider whereas China was receiving education and economic development aid. However, the two countries were guided by different geopolitical regimes without any opportunity to connect with each other. Few Mainland Chinese students studied in New Zealand. The next section will look at what happened when the two countries joined the international education market in response to the discourse of “education for trade”.

6.3 To market: The discourse of “education for trade”

6.3.1 China’s participation in the international education market

In China, overseas study was revitalised through the reform and opening-up policy shortly after the Cultural Revolution. In 1978, an article entitled *Practice is the Sole Criterion to Test Truth* (*Shijian shi jianyan zhenli de weiyi biao zhun* 实践是检验真理的唯一标准) was published in a Chinese Communist Party’s theoretical journal *Theoretical Progress* (*Lilun dongtai* 理论动态) (Men, 2003, p.14). Chinese leaders were convinced that the Four Modernisations (economic, political, scientific and technological plus national defence) could only be achieved through knowledge and expertise rather than ideological struggles (Moody, 1988, p.1155). In December 1978, the Chinese leadership under Deng Xiaoping announced an economic reform programme whereby the Chinese economy took account of market forces and China opened its doors to the West.

With China's opening-up, international academic communications resumed. From 1978 to 1980, the resumption of study abroad served to build international academic connections, renew knowledge and revitalise China's higher education for economic development. Individual Chinese scholars, selected mainly from university faculties, were sent abroad for MA or PhD studies. From 1981, publicly sponsored programmes and private funding for overseas study have coexisted. The Chinese Government employed various criteria to select publicly funded students and restrict private students through their choice of study major so as to channel their interests to the State's needs (Du, 1992, pp.93-99). After the 1989 student protests, the Chinese Government gradually diversified study destinations for Chinese students to enable multiple connections with Western countries.

In 1993, the Government introduced an enlightened twelve-character policy direction which stated "support study overseas, promote return home, [and] maintain freedom of movement" (*zhichi liuxue, guli huiguo, lai qu ziyou* 支持留学, 鼓励回国, 来去自由) (Barabantseva, 2005, p.16). This shift in policy direction was a significant step towards a Chinese version of neo-liberalism, which is like German *ordo-liberalism* where the institutionalisation of economic freedom serves to form political sovereignty (Foucault, 2008, pp.82-83). In making this shift, the Government focused on three policy areas: managing overseas study, repatriating Chinese graduates from overseas and 'storing brains' overseas. To manage overseas study, the Government established two non-profit organisations affiliated to the Chinese Ministry of Education, the China Scholarship Council (CSC) (China Scholarship Council, 1999) and the Chinese Service Centre for Scholarly Exchange (CSCSE) (Chinese Service Centre for Scholarly Exchange, n.d.). They aimed at providing information, services

and economic incentives for overseas study to Chinese students and scholars. Through these services, the two organisations functioned to install a governing mechanism and realise political sovereignty in the name of economic freedom.

The Government's efforts to repatriate Chinese graduates from overseas are also noteworthy. From the mid-1990s, the Central Government launched a series of programmes such as the "100-Talents Scheme" (*bai ren jihua* 百人计划) initiated by the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1994, and the "Yangtze River Scholar Scheme" (*Changjiang xuezhe jiangli jihua* 长江学者奖励计划) initiated by the Ministry of Education in 1998. With China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, the demand for overseas study increased, making policies for preventing the outflow of talent imperative (Ding, Yue & Sun, 2009, p.17). In 2003, more than 60 Returned Overseas Students Industry Parks were established nationwide to attract Chinese graduates from overseas (Barabantseva, 2005, p.16). In December 2008, *Opinions of the Central Personnel Work Coordinating Group of the Central Government on Decisions of The Central Government to Organise and Implement Plans to Attract High-level Overseas Talents*¹⁵ was released. A website¹⁶ established by the CSCSE provided returning graduates with information on job dynamics in various fields and Chinese cities. These national policies and practices aimed to recruit senior expatriate scientists and academics, and meanwhile demonstrate policy directions for local governments. Regular academic research projects have been conducted to provide expertise on how to establish a comprehensive overseas study management and supervision system (e.g. Cui 2010; Chen & Feng, 2012).

¹⁵ Also known as "One Thousand Talents Scheme" ("千人计划") as it aimed to attract about 2000 overseas Chinese talents within five or ten years.

¹⁶ 中国留学英才网 <http://www.tochinajob.com/publish/portal0/tab41/>

Specific policies were devised to handle the relationship with overseas Chinese including international students. In 1996, the State Council circulated directives emphasising that the work of Chinese migrants should focus on cherishing the national feeling of overseas Chinese, cementing their close relations with China and encouraging them to imagine themselves as a part of the transnational Confucian community (Fong, 2004, pp.631-632; Barabantseva, 2005, p.17). The aim was to build friendly relationships between the Government and new Chinese migrants¹⁷, including overseas Chinese students, to facilitate their contribution to China through business and academic connections.

The above policy interventions suggest that current policy practices and political rationalities are different from those in the past. Historically, the emergence of Western-style universities and Chinese international students was bound up with Chinese people's concerns about salvaging China from economic underdevelopment, technological backwardness and political marginalisation caused by the invasion of Western countries. The coexistence of Sino-centric and Euro-centric rationalities and associated power struggles did not provide positive conditions for a discursive formation. After 1949, Chinese Communist rule enabled the emergence of the discourse of "education for aid". However, the Soviet-centric rather than Euro-centric rationality was viewed as truth for building China as a socialist country. The history of developing international education suggests that the emergence of the discourse of "education for aid" in China resulted from the interaction between this discourse and

¹⁷ "The term 'new migrants' refers to a group of Chinese immigrants [emigrants] [sic] from China, as well as from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other South-East Asian countries, who left their places of residence for foreign destinations after the start of the reforms in the 1970s" (Barabantseva, 2005, p.15). All kinds of current Chinese overseas students are a major sub-group of these people.

multiple rationalities. Moreover, Chinese cultural mechanisms based on Confucianism, such as loyalty and the significance of moral knowledge, conditioned the way that Western cultural values on the truth status of scientific knowledge aligned with governmental mechanisms for shaping the world order of international education. In this sense, cultural mechanisms played a role in government through not only a particular discourse but also coexisting rationalities.

The current market has become a site to regulate Chinese international students, overseas and returned Chinese graduates. With the rise of market forces, a liberal rationality replaced a geopolitical one. The relaxation of restrictions on overseas study seems to mean a decrease in the employment of conventional sovereign power. The services and care provided by the Government and its organisations can be interpreted through the concept of sovereign individuality. As a liberal rationality, this art of government treats individuals as power-ends and recognises that the rationalisation of the art of government has to coincide with the rational behaviour of those who are governed (Foucault, 2008, p.312). In this case, the Chinese Government exerted sovereignty through addressing issues and concerns related to the rational choices of individual Chinese students in respect of studying abroad and further movement upon graduation rather than just constraining their movement.

To govern, the Chinese Government not only commits to the liberal rule but also relies on Chinese Confucian-based cultural values such as loyalty. It seeks to balance sovereignty and government with a combination of market and state, granting students freedom of movement based on liberal rationality while using authoritarian rules based on cultural beliefs to regulate their pathway. While the Chinese Government's

strategies for repatriating and connecting with overseas Chinese students have some similarities with those in South Korea and India, cultural mechanisms based on Confucian values have been strategically employed to impose these rules. In this way, Chinese cultural mechanisms are integrated into the mechanisms of government to make Chinese international students free, yet loyal subjects. Undoubtedly, these Chinese political rationalities and governmental practices have generated challenges for host countries of Chinese students like New Zealand whose historical development and cultural concern for international students is different. The next section examines how New Zealand promoted its export education to attract and retain international students.

6.3.2 Export education and New Zealand as a study destination

New Zealand's route to the international education market is different from that of China. The Colombo Plan enabled New Zealand to connect with South-East Asian countries so as to open a window of opportunity for overseas study not only for publicly sponsored but also for privately funded international students. The latter were pioneers of today's international students. Although there is no simple practice of policy borrowing, New Zealand policies resembled those of other major Western English-speaking countries, such as the UK, in terms of applying policy instruments to govern international students. This entailed initially excluding private students from educational subsidies, and then charging full fees to make money while skimming off top students with financial incentives such as scholarships.

From the early 1950s to the late 1970s, the New Zealand Government employed quota policies and fees regimes to control the inflow of students. The length of stay, even

for Colombo Plan students, depended on their academic performance in New Zealand universities (Tarling, 2004, p.24). While the 1980s saw obvious signs of moving towards a neo-liberal market economy in response to global trends in international education, New Zealand also demonstrated “an extraordinary attempt to combine a negotiated inclusion in the global economy with a strong commitment to social diversity” (Larner, Le Heron & Lewis, 2007, p.228). During the 1980s and 1990s, New Zealand was an early example of the shift from social democracy to neo-liberalism which then moved away from “more market” approaches toward a period of “After Neoliberalism” under the fifth Labour government. In late 2002, Prime Minister Helen Clark made a speech to the London School of Economics on the end of neo-liberalism in New Zealand; the political formation of “After Neoliberalism” actually made it possible for multiple political projects, such as globalisation, the knowledge economy and sustainability, to emerge from the continual imagining and reimagining of actors, contexts, objects, subjects, expertise and practices. The co-constitution of these political projects allowed economic and social policies to continue to draw on highly economistic languages and tie to increasing participation in a globalising economy while building connections with non-traditional actors (Larner, Le Heron & Lewis, 2007, pp.228-229). Since the 1990s in particular, the globalisation project has encouraged broad-based participation in global flows and networks and government funding has been used to support building international relationships in a range of sectors including the educational domain (Larner, Le Heron & Lewis, 2007, pp.231-232).

In the global and local contexts, globalising education in New Zealand was framed as a national ‘international education’ industry (Lewis, 2011, p.225). It aimed to make

entrepreneurial education providers, international students and other subjects and spaces available for political projects of globalisation, knowledge economy and other after-neo-liberal political projects (Lewis, 2011, p.225). The industry-making project under neoliberalism and “After Neoliberalism” could be roughly divided into three periods (Lewis, 2011, p.231). The first period of globalising education from 1985 to 1991 was marked by a largely unregulated cash-cow approach to foreign fee-paying students to fund state education. For instance, in the mid-1980s, a group of small-scale English Language Schools emerged in Auckland and in 1987, the New Zealand Market Development Board (NZMDB) published a report naming ‘export education’ as an ‘industry’ (Lewis, 2011, p.230). In the late 1980s, a series of policy documents, such as *Directions in Foreign Exchange Earnings: Educational Services, The 1989 Education Act* and subsequent amendments, gave advice and directions on charging full education fees. For New Zealand universities, foreign fee-paying students (FFPs) became an ideal alternative financial resource in response to neo-liberal reforms to education that included for instance changed funding models, reduced government spending and devolved responsibility for funding. Despite such policy directives, in this period, international education remained as “a distinctive configuration of educational and economic activities” without proper regulation (Lewis, 2005, p. 24; Lewis, 2011, pp.230-231).

The second period from 1991 to 2004 saw more concrete and decisive interventions to develop globalising education as a ‘maturing industry’ (Lewis, 2011, p.231). Since the early 1990s, early industry institutions were established to regulate and promote export education. In 1991, New Zealand Education International Limited (NZEIL) was established as a subsidiary of government market development agency the New

Zealand Trade Development Board, later Trade New Zealand, to develop export education and enhance market penetration (Lewis, 2011, p. 236; New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2001, p.24; Tarling, 2004, pp.150,180). A review of international education in 1994 made the Ministry of Education responsible for international education. A Consultative Committee, that included representatives from education sub-sectors, trade agencies and education regulators, was established to oversee the development of a voluntary Code of Practices for the Pastoral Care of International students, coordinate provisions and build linkage between concerns with student welfare and New Zealand's reputation as an education provider. Apart from these direct interventions, between 1996 and 1999 globalising education still went unregulated with diverse interests and practices among stakeholders, such as the New Zealand Vice Chancellor's Committee and English language schools, and the disestablishment of NZEIL.

From 1998, government interest in defining and developing international education became even more concrete. In 1998, NZEIL was revived as Education New Zealand (ENZ) which later defined itself as a professional representative industry body (Lewis, 2011, p.237). In 2001, the Ministry of Education published the Government's strategic document entitled *Export Education in New Zealand: A Strategic Approach to Developing the Sector*, which defined the Government's supportive role in facilitating the market and administering pastoral care for international students with a voluntary code of practice (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2001, p.25). *The Code of Practice for Pastoral Care of International Students* was first published in New Zealand in 2001 and constantly revised. The Code's role was to "support the New Zealand education export industry by ensuring that international students receive

both high quality education and high quality care” (Education Review Office of Ministry of Education, 2004, p.1). The newly revised 2013 version contains nine sections setting out detailed guidance for practices such as marketing, recruitment, enrolment, accommodation provision and support services (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013). To commit to internationally endorsed academic quality assurance, the Committee on University Academic Programmes (CUAP) and the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit (NZUAAU) have attempted to ensure that the quality assurance system in New Zealand universities is consistent with international guidelines for good practice (Universities New Zealand and the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit, 2011, p.5). These policy practices suggest that the New Zealand Government has embraced education for export and considers international students as rational consumers who can be attracted and served through market principles in ways that can be used to finance domestic education.

The strategy of financing domestic education through harnessing international education became unstable with the 2003-2004 collapse of international student numbers. From 2003 to 2004, Education New Zealand hosted two ‘Pan-Industry’ summits to bring together industry organisations and government departments, such as the Ministry of Education and New Zealand Immigration Services. The summits emphasised diversification in modes of international education, quality provision and contribution to a knowledge society (Lewis, 2011, p. 239).

A further re-shaping of the international education industry led to the third period of globalising education in New Zealand with its focus on national competitiveness. Since 2005, a diversification in modes of international education has gradually

become noticeable. A survey conducted by New Zealand Education in 2008 showed the prevalence of low-level offshore provision of educational services among academic and business entities. Offshore initiatives enabled New Zealand universities to pursue international research funding and host regionally targeted centres. For example, in 2010, the University of Auckland joined the World Wide University Network which provides opportunities for benchmarking, student and staff exchange and access to international funding agencies through research collaborations. At the same time as overseas operators were getting institutionalised into the New Zealand chain, New Zealand based initiatives were going global. For example, Australian universities Melbourne and Wollongong set up Foundation Programmes for foreign students in Auckland and the Academic Colleges Group founded by Auckland educators owned three international school overseas (Lewis, 2011, p.232).

Meanwhile, the idea of developing the knowledge economy has also influenced international education. In the context of “After Neoliberalism”, the knowledge economy project aimed to enhance national competitiveness since New Zealand was falling behind other OECD countries in terms of the development of high technologies and human capital. In 1992, the Ministry of Research Science and Technology released a report titled *Investing in Science for Our Future*. It argued that New Zealand needed to increase the number of science and technology graduates to build high technology industries and release creative potential and knowledge embodied in people. Named the knowledge economy project, this project in the period was linked to a reworked conceptualisation of human capital. Knowledge was now understood as a factor of production (Larner, Le Heron & Lewis, 2007, p.233). In the late 1990s, the Labour-Alliance Government promoted the idea of the knowledge

economy and society, inspired by Bill Clinton's new progressivism in the US and Tony Blair's 'Third Way' in the UK. Tertiary education was expected to contribute to the development of such an economy and society (Roberts 2005).

The 2001 and 2003 *Knowledge Wave Conferences* marked the turn to the knowledge economy project and a broadened understanding of knowledge began to be accepted. A discursive shift from the knowledge economy to the knowledge society happened along with a move from a message about economic growth and international competitiveness to one about socioeconomic inclusiveness, human capital and leadership. The shift to the articulation of knowledge society encouraged government, business, and communities to share knowledge, and individuals to compare themselves and their organisations in a global context. The knowledge economy/knowledge society project is, therefore, reliant on comparative techniques to facilitate constant investment in human capital and to form ever-changing 'fast' subjects to pursue international competitiveness in the global knowledge economy and its labour market (Larner, Le Heron & Lewis, 2007, pp.232-234).

In the field of international education, globalising education was promoted through the aspiration of connecting to globally networked knowledge economies and constituting a particular form of subject for the knowledge society who is "innovative, entrepreneurial, globally oriented and internationally cultured (either domestic or foreign)" (Lewis, 2011, p.240). In 2005, the Government introduced the policy of applying domestic fees to international PhD students and in 2007, it published *The International Education Agenda: A Strategy for 2007-2012*. The document reinforced the Government's supportive role in developing international education while adding

more “flavour of knowledge” than the 2001 export education strategy. The connection between new knowledge and research activities by international postgraduate students was emphasised. In particular, the Agenda announced the Government’s decision to attract top international students at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels with scholarships and re-enforced the application of domestic fee status to international PhD students and their dependents (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a, p.46).

Alongside education policies, immigration policies were employed to regulate international student flows. In 1986, the New Zealand Government moved to adopt an immigration policy based on skilled migration, which emphasised personal merits, such as skills and knowledge, rather than country of origins (Wang, 2008, pp.65-67). This policy and its later versions enabled international students to upgrade to skilled immigrants after graduation in New Zealand. Since 2007, the immigration policy has started to shift further in favour of international students with a recognised New Zealand education, especially at the postgraduate level, and New Zealand work experience. For example, according to the current skilled immigrant scheme, applicants with New Zealand work experience and recognised New Zealand postgraduate qualifications including Master’s and PhDs could be granted bonus points (Immigration New Zealand, n.d., -b; -a).

With these policies and regulations, the New Zealand Government voluntarily embraced the discourse of “education for trade” based on liberal rationality (Foucault, 2008, p.312). The co-constitution of the political projects of globalisation and knowledge economy/knowledge society under the political formation of “After Neoliberalism” means that New Zealand knowledge economy policies still continue

to move in a neoliberal direction. Although the revenue-generation and the skilled immigration approaches co-exist, international education policies still focus on international student fees. The knowledge economy/knowledge society is expressed more explicitly under neoliberalism. Individual international students have become the ends rather than the means to power. To govern, the New Zealand Government has to model its own rationality on the rationality of these students and consider their interests and desires. Accordingly, good pastoral care and pleasant living and study environments are to be provided to encourage these students to choose New Zealand as their study destination. The Government's goal of developing international education was therefore set to enhance international students' study and living experience. One of its major tasks therefore was to manage education providers to ensure that they provided pastoral care for international students. Particular types of knowledge and skills, including the knowledge of English, became commodities to be sold and served as these students wished.

Given that the Chinese Government also entered the international education market and deployed a similar set of liberal rules of sovereign individuality (Foucault, 2008, p.312) to attract and serve Chinese international students and graduates, the coexistence of individual sovereign relationships implies that the New Zealand Government had to pay attention not only to the stance of other student-receiving countries on international education, but also to the Chinese Government's intention to send its students overseas and repatriate them. In other words, the New Zealand Government had to compete with other education providers and build a connection with China to attract and retain talented international students, such as Chinese postgraduates, in a highly competitive international education market. The next

section will examine how New Zealand and China became connected in the international education market.

6.4 Policy instruments and postgraduate Chinese international students between New Zealand and China

The previous sections show that under the discourse of “education for aid”, there were few opportunities for New Zealand and China to be connected as geopolitical rationalities shaped and reshaped their positions in ways that made a connection between the two countries unlikely. With the advent of the neo-liberal knowledge economy, political rationalities for regulating international students in both New Zealand and China shifted towards a neo-liberal direction. Ways of exercising power became individualised as individual international students were targeted as the ends rather than the means of power. The New Zealand Government attempted to attract international students through the provision of pastoral care and good living and study experiences for them. The Chinese Government started to grant individual Chinese students freedom to travel while attracting overseas Chinese graduates. These policy intentions constituted a potential route for Chinese international students to move between the two countries.

In reality, New Zealand experienced a rapid growth in the number of students holding People’s Republic of China citizenship from 10,906 students in 2000 to 53,340 students in 2002, followed by a drop to 20,780 students in 2009 (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007b, p.9; 2010, p.4). The explosion and rapid withering of the market called for a policy intervention. Both the New Zealand and the Chinese Government took cautious measures to facilitate the movement of Chinese students

between the two countries. At the national level, New Zealand and China reached an agreement on the recognition of each other's higher degrees. The China New Zealand Free Trade Agreement signed in 2008 provided New Zealand education providers with an opportunity to expand their services to Chinese students. The Chinese Ministry of Education included New Zealand's eight universities on its Study Abroad Website. Reciprocal New Zealand-China Doctoral Research Scholarships were established to fund ten Chinese students to study in New Zealand each year (New Zealand Vice-Chancellors' Committee, 2012).

Institutionally, New Zealand universities are committed to international education and make an effort to attract international students. The focus of this effort has two aspects. At one level, New Zealand universities participate in the global education market at a distance through providing online information and services to help international students, including Chinese postgraduates, to choose New Zealand as their study destination. All of the eight universities have their own websites providing relevant study and living information for international students to promote their choices. At another level, educational marketing and institutional programmes are major policy instruments. For example, the University of Auckland emphasises its international ranking and promotes itself as New Zealand's leading and most internationally connected research university, with an international mission of producing graduates who are responsible global citizens. It has established partnerships with 21 Chinese universities and higher education institutions (University of Auckland, n.d.).

The University of Canterbury (UC) has established partnerships mainly with universities in Wuhan, the sister city of Christchurch. A PhD Scholarship Programme

jointly provided by the China Scholarship Council and UC aims to develop research collaboration between UC and Chinese universities. Some short-term training programmes have been developed to foster academic connections. For example, in 2009 the College of Business and Economics hosted a two-week training programme for six staff from the Zhongnan University of Economics and Law in Wuhan to learn how the university delivers MBA courses (University of Canterbury, 2009).

Other New Zealand universities have adopted similar strategies to build connections with Chinese universities. For example, WaikatoLink, the commercialisation and technology transfer company of the University of Waikato built a partnership with its equivalent at Qing Hua University (Tsinghua University) in 2008 (University of Waikato, 2008). Massey University signed an agreement with Beijing University (Peking University) and the China Scholarship Council respectively to foster academic cooperation through teaching and research exchanges and hosting of top Chinese postgraduate students (Massey University, 2005).

These policy instruments suggest that interactions between the two countries in international education are promising but limited. The limited interactions raise the question of the effectiveness of policy interventions. As a study destination for Chinese international students, New Zealand, with its policy interventions, is in a complicated global context compared to other student recipient countries. It does not appear to offer enough advantages allowing it to compete in either the international education or the global labour force market. For example, the previous chapter showed that it has not invested as much as the UK in marketing their education services in China. It has not established or restructured relevant governmental

agencies similar to those in Australia where international student issues are integrated and managed with its international trade agenda management. Although New Zealand is a small country, commitment to the Colombo Plan and educational aid has enabled the country to define itself as a mediator between the West and the Asian-Pacific region in international education. Keeping this position is a challenge for the New Zealand Government today, especially when considering regional competition from other small players like Singapore, which is ambitiously promoting its export education and attempting to become a new West-East educational hub. Furthermore, the New Zealand Government's policy instruments at the institutional level and its immigration policies intended to attract Chinese international students and graduates. The Government seems to have borrowed mainly from others and fail to differentiate itself from other education providers while facing Chinese Government competition to repatriate its graduates.

The art of government with liberal rationality requires the rationalisation of government to coincide with rational behaviour of those who are governed (Foucault, 2008, p.312). This means that the identification of rational behaviours of those governed, that is, Chinese international students, will disclose whether government policies are rational and effective. Accordingly, the question becomes: what is the rational behaviour of Chinese international students? The above policy interventions indicate that it is assumed that Chinese international students are rational individuals with freedom of choice in the international education market and can be self-interested and self-managed in terms of using services. In other words, Chinese students are expected to make decisions on overseas study and associated travel and live an autonomous life based on the logic of the perfect market. Is this the case? The

answer will not come from the policies themselves but from Chinese international students, those who are governed. These students' experiences of overseas study and movement can provide a tangible reference point for evaluating the effectiveness of relevant policies and the appropriateness of the art of government in New Zealand. In the next and following chapters, this study will explore the overseas study experiences of a group of Chinese international students.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that under the two discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade”, both China and New Zealand are presented and re-presented in the international education field in different ways. With multiple geopolitical rationalities, China has developed an uneven route towards international education. Furthermore, cultural concerns have greatly conditioned China's connection with the international education field. With a different geopolitical rationality, the emergence of New Zealand in the international education field is relatively straightforward, starting from its commitment to provide aid to South Asian countries, such as Malaysia, through the Colombo Plan. During that time, the two countries' different geopolitical rationalities defined their routes to international education and their connections specifically, so there was a rare chance for the two countries to meet and be connected in the field.

Moving in a neo-liberal direction toward the knowledge age, both the New Zealand and the Chinese Government shifted to a liberal rationality characterised by sovereign individuality. Individual international students became the ends rather than the means of power. To govern them and regulate their movement, both Governments needed to

model governmental rationalities on the reasoning of individual students and employ policy instruments to meet their interests and needs. This opened up potential routes for Chinese students to move between the two countries or stay in New Zealand in accordance with its policy intentions. Current New Zealand practices at both the national and the local level are expected to build academic connections so as to make Chinese international students consumers of export education and postgraduate Chinese international students skilled immigrants to New Zealand. However, in the complex global context with competition from other student recipient strategies and China's repatriation policies, whether these policy intentions can coincide with the reasoning of individual Chinese students is a question worth further exploration if an understanding of convergence is to be gained. To address the issue, the next chapter presents results of an online survey based on postgraduate Chinese students' experiences.

Chapter Seven Singular Rationality or Multiple Reasons: New Zealand as a Study Destination

The art of governing, characteristic of reason of state, is intimately bound up with the development of what was then called either political “statistics” or “arithmetic”... Such knowledge was indispensable for correct government (Foucault, 2000a, p.317).

7.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters have given an account of the art of government that established and developed international education and regulated international students both globally and locally at different historical times. With its rationalities, practices and techniques, New Zealand is now competing with other student receiving countries, such as Australia, the US and the UK, and building academic connections with China to host Chinese students. In this complex global context, the effectiveness of relevant New Zealand policy intentions and interventions needs to be evaluated with reference to these students’ reasoning for their choices for and experiences in overseas study.

This chapter is designed to show the relationship between the knowledge of the state embodied in official statistics and the choices of individual students illustrated in the survey research. It is informed by Foucault’s idea of statistical data as numerical symbols, which represent particular statements (Foucault, 1972, pp.85-86), Dean’s idea on the visibility of government (Dean, 2010, p.41) and Foucault’s concept of eventalization, which examines causal multiplications (Foucault, 2000b, pp.226-227). In light of these ideas, this chapter combines official statistics held by the New

Zealand Ministry of Education and data collected through an online survey of the target group of postgraduate Chinese international students. The former set of data is used to reveal how the statistics can serve as a way of governing and allow the state to justify its conduct. The latter set of data serves as a counter-narrative to reveal salient points, which had been made invisible in the official data. The two sets of data are analysed to show how knowledge of this population group is made visible, what statements are embedded in both official and survey data, and what constitutes their inter-relationship. Through presenting the two sets of data, this chapter serves as a transitional point in the thesis to shift discussions from New Zealand policy intentions to Chinese students' experiences.

This chapter consists of two sections. The first section presents official statistics showing the dynamics of the inflow of international students and Chinese international students in particular to New Zealand. This will disclose whether statements embedded in these data and policy intentions under the discourse of "education for trade" are consistent. The second section presents the result of the survey conducted with postgraduate Chinese international students to highlight factors affecting these students in terms of their choice of overseas study and associated experiences. Through bringing together official statistics and the data collected from the particular group of Chinese international students, this chapter serves as a transitional point to build a connection between policy intentions and the choices of individual students.

7.2 Visibility of government: The discourse of "education for trade" in official statistical data

Each year the New Zealand Ministry of Education produces a series of reports on international student trends, which contain statistics on the inflow of international students¹⁸. This data is used to monitor changes in international student numbers and provide the state with information on student inflow. What exactly does the data tell? How is it compiled to serve as a governmental apparatus?

The line graph in Figure 7-1 was made based on statistics from the New Zealand Ministry of Education. It presents changes in the number of international students enrolled in New Zealand tertiary education institutions over the nine years from 2001 to 2009. From a Foucauldian perspective, the line graph could be read as a statement reflecting both the reason of the state and assumed rational choices of individual students, as it was drawn using “procedures that eliminate everything that might increase the probability of the succeeding issues” (Foucault, 1972, p.86). Accordingly, the description of the curve can serve to understand governmental mentalities and evaluate the effectiveness of policy interventions. In this case, if the statements embedded in the curve obey the rule of liberal rationality, it can be assumed that there is a consistency between government rationalities and individuals’ rational choices. This assumption can lead people to believe that the policy interventions are effective and the discourse of “education for trade” has been embraced.

¹⁸ <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/international/15260>

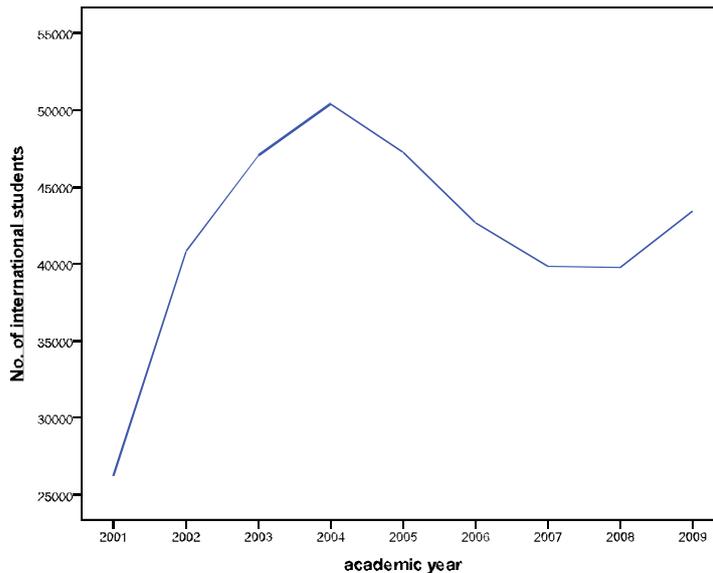


Figure 7-1 The change in the total number of international students enrolled in New Zealand tertiary institutions from 2001 to 2009

Source: A graph based on data drawn from the New Zealand Ministry of Education¹⁹

At first glance, the graph in Figure 7-1 suggests consistency. It shows that despite fluctuations, there was a general increase in the number of international students enrolled in New Zealand higher education institutions in the period from 2001 to 2009. This trend seems to justify the effectiveness of gradually intensified neo-liberal policy interventions over time. For example, there was a rapid increase in the number of international students between 2001 and 2004. This increase could be related to the release of *Export Education in New Zealand* in 2001. Similarly, the increase in the number of international students from 2008 coincided approximately with the release of *International Education Agenda 2007-2012* in 2007. The correlation seemed to suggest that “education for trade” would be an effective strategy for increasing international student numbers.

¹⁹ The Ministry of Education Website (<http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/indicators/data/student-engagement-participation/3748>), International student trends reports (International Student Enrolments in New Zealand 2001-2007 and International Student Enrolments in New Zealand 2003-2009 <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/international/15260>)

However, “[t]he manifest discourse, therefore, is really no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say; and this ‘not-said’ is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said” (Foucault, 1972, p.25). In this graph, the hollows were the decrease in international student numbers in the period between 2004 and 2007 and the stable period between 2007 and 2008. If the general trend of an increase is accepted as ‘truth’ to fit in with the discourse of “education for trade”, the decrease or the stability in the number of international students over this period has to be ignored and hidden to show continuity rather than discontinuity. Otherwise, it is necessary to scrutinise those discontinuities to reveal what has been hidden.

To reveal the hidden or ‘not said’, “[w]e must also question those divisions or groupings with which we have become so familiar” (Foucault, 1972, p.22). In this case, it is necessary to break down or deconstruct the data on this international student group, which has been presented in a particular way of division and grouping with which we were familiar. Figure 7-2 contains a graph, which consists of the same curve (Curve 1) and three additional curves representing three sub-groups generated through breaking down the group of international students. The three additional curves represent changes in the numbers of Chinese international students (Curve 2), international postgraduate students (include Chinese postgraduate students) (Curve 3), and Chinese doctoral students (Curve 4). The deconstruction reveals continuities, contradictions, discontinuities and gaps. For example, between 2001 and 2007, Curve 2 (representing changes in the number of Chinese international students) had a similar shape to Curve 1 (representing the whole group of international students). From 2001, both the number of international and Chinese students experienced a rapid increase

peaking in 2004. Between 2004 and 2007, the numbers in both categories decreased. However, from 2007, the number of international students stabilised and then increased, whereas the number of Chinese international students decreased continually and then became stable in 2008. The difference in numerical symbols, in this case, shapes of curves, meant that there were different patterns between the data of Chinese international students and those of the whole group of international students. This suggested that statements embedded in the two curves were not always the same. More noticeable, Curve 3 and Curve 4, representing changes in the numbers of international postgraduate students and Chinese doctoral students had different shapes from that of Curve 1. Curve 3 shows that from 2001 to 2009 the number of international postgraduate students kept growing constantly. Moreover, from 2007, there was a greater growth rate than ever before. However, from 2003 to 2009 the numbers of Chinese doctoral students grew slowly and remained at a roughly similar level.

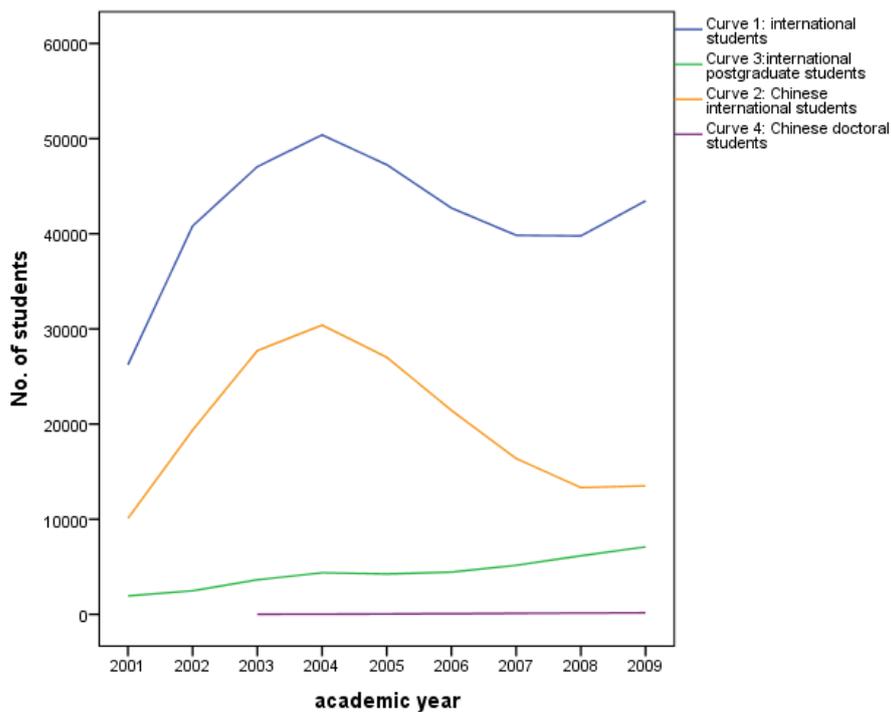


Figure 7-2 The change in the numbers of different groups of international students enrolled in New Zealand tertiary institutions from 2001 to 2009

Sources: A graph based on data drawn from the New Zealand Ministry of Education²⁰.

Besides the above-mentioned inconsistencies that emerged by breaking down the statistics chronologically, the deconstruction of data from the same year also revealed different statements and allowed those that were invisible to be viewed. The bar graph in Figure 7-3 was generated by breaking down international student numbers in 2009 based on their level of qualification and country of origin. The first group of clustered bars represented the total number of international students from the top four countries: the People's Republic of China (PRC), India, the US and Malaysia. In that year, Chinese international student number ranked well above India, the USA and Malaysia.

However, when the numbers were broken down by level of qualification, inconsistencies emerged. For example, the second group of clustered bars in Figure 7-3 represented a breakdown of the total number of international postgraduate students by country of origin. They showed that in 2009, the number of international postgraduates with PRC citizenship was not significantly different from the numbers with Indian or Malaysian citizenship. Further deconstructions of the data revealed more inconsistencies. The third, fourth and fifth groups of clustered bars represented three different groups generated through further breaking down international postgraduate student numbers: Honours or postgraduate diploma students, Master's students and doctoral students. The three groups of clustered bars showed that the

²⁰ The Ministry of Education Website (<http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/indicators/data/student-engagement-participation/3748>), International student trends reports (International Student Enrolments in New Zealand 2001-2007 and International Student Enrolments in New Zealand 2003-2009 <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/international/15260>)

number of postgraduate students by qualification differed among the four countries. The largest numbers of Master’s and Honours students were those of PRC citizenship. At the doctoral level, however, Chinese international students ranked fourth.

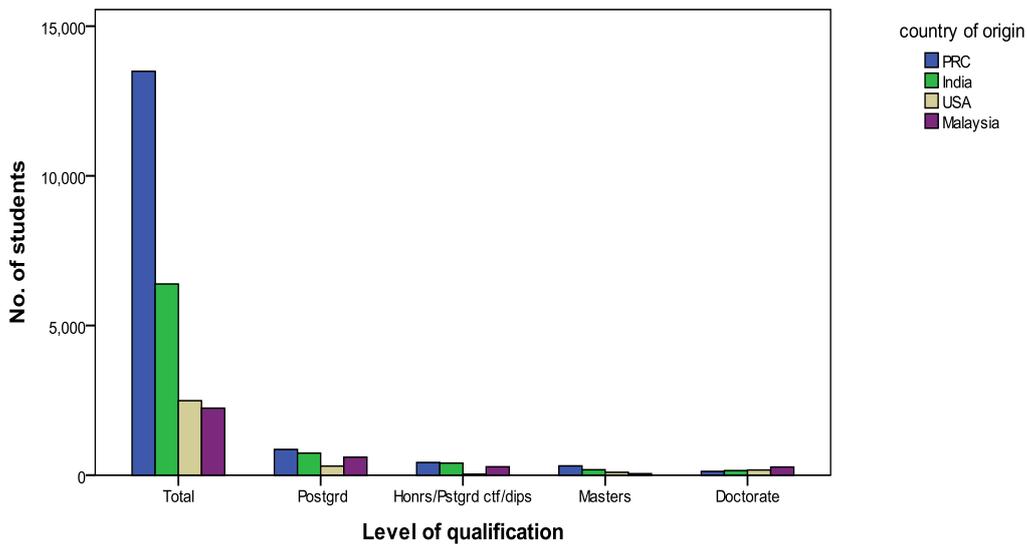


Figure 7-3 The number of international EFTS (Equivalent Full-Time Student) by qualification level in 2009
 Source: This graph is based on data from the Ministry of Education²¹

Generally, the breakdown of the numbers of international students in the graphs in Figure 7-2 and 7-3 allowed different shapes of curves and patterns of clustered bars, different “statements” in a Foucauldian term, to emerge and become visible. With different statements, the two graphs brought both those originally visible and those originally hidden into view. Some patterns or statements in Figures 7-2 and 7-3 repeated what was originally visible in Figure 7-1 and illustrated the effectiveness of policy interventions coinciding with the discourse of “education for trade”. For example, the number of Chinese students coming to New Zealand had a similar

²¹ The Ministry of Education Website (<http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/indicators/data/student-engagement-participation/3748>), International student trends reports (International Student Enrolments in New Zealand 2001-2007 and International Student Enrolments in New Zealand 2003-2009 <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/international/15260>)

pattern to that of the total number of international students presented in Figure 7-1 though there were different tendencies after 2007. In other words, if the decrease between 2004 and 2007 was ignored, there was the same growth trend in the number of Chinese international students as that in the international student total over the nine-year period. There was also a similar growth trend in international postgraduate student numbers over the same period (Curve 3) though the rate of increase differed from that for the international student total (Curve 1) and the number of Chinese international students (Curve 2). Moreover, the rapid increase in international postgraduate student numbers from 2007, shown in Curve 3, would be attributable to the release of *International Education Agenda 2007-2012* and the application of domestic fees to international doctoral students.

A breakdown of the total number of international students in the two graphs allowed two originally invisible contradictions and inconsistencies to emerge. First, changes in the number of international postgraduate students (Curve 3) had a different pattern from those in the total number of international students (Curve 1). The different pattern might imply that neo-liberal knowledge policies in New Zealand had different effects on international undergraduate and postgraduate students. Second, the number of Chinese doctoral students (Curve 4) had a different dynamic from the number of postgraduate students (Curve 3). In particular, the number of Chinese doctoral students in 2009 was smaller than the number from the US, India and Malaysia although there were no significant differences at the Honours and Master's levels. This pattern might imply that the policy of applying domestic fees to international doctoral students was not as appealing to Chinese students as to students from the US, Malaysia and India.

These emerging contradictions suggest that the official statistics on which state reason is based construct truth about international students through hiding inconsistencies and contradictions. Accordingly, political subjectivity or the subjectification of international students based purely on neo-liberal governmental rationality would be problematic and cannot be accepted without question. Instead, it raises a series of questions. For example, to what extent have other rationalities played a role in facilitating Chinese students' transnational movement? Were there other hidden factors affecting their choices regarding study in New Zealand? If so, what were those invisible factors? Since the number of Chinese international students was much greater than the numbers from other countries, why did the total number of postgraduate Chinese students not differ significantly from the international postgraduate student total from other countries? Why were there fewer Chinese doctoral students than those from other countries? The next section presents survey results in the light of these questions and their implications.

7.3 Existence of multiple reasons: Survey findings on postgraduate Chinese students in Christchurch

7.3.1 Different backgrounds of Chinese international students

The survey was conducted with 122 Chinese international postgraduate students at the University of Canterbury and Lincoln University in Christchurch between June and October 2009 (methods for data collection and analysis are elaborated under 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.2 of the thesis). There were 82 respondents with a response rate of 67.21%. Questions grouped in four sections aimed to discover the general characteristics of this group of Chinese postgraduate students and to identify both visible and invisible

factors that facilitated their transnational movement and contributed to their overseas experience. Section A, was designed to break down this group of students by demographic feature and academic background in New Zealand universities and allow invisible factors to emerge. For example, the breakdown of this group by gender showed that 44 female and 38 male postgraduate students at the University of Canterbury (UC) and Lincoln University responded to the survey in 2009 (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section A-Question 1). Although this result would not represent the actual gender ratio, because female and male students in this group would have different possibility in terms of responding the survey, a large number of female Chinese students at the postgraduate level still raised questions about the relevance of gender with reference to the pursuit of a higher level of education overseas. This result indicated the necessity of examining individual choices regarding overseas study, with special consideration of the influence of the China's One-Child Policy, which could challenge the traditional Chinese preference for sons. Similarly, the breakdown of this group by age and years of study revealed various sub-groups. They included three age groups: 21 to 30, 31 to 40, and 41 to 50; there were five groups of students in different years of study ranging from under one year to more than four years of study (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section A-Questions 2 and 7). The different responses to these questions implied that under the umbrella of Chinese postgraduate students at UC and Lincoln, individual students of different ages whose years of study differed would have distinctive concerns about their choices regarding overseas study and varying understandings of their study experiences. Accordingly, their choices based on different situations need further exploration.

Additionally, the breakdown by academic background also revealed interesting issues. For example, out of 81 responses, 28 Chinese students were working towards their first degree in New Zealand, whereas 53 students had already gained an undergraduate and/or a postgraduate degree before their current postgraduate study (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section A-Question 6). This suggests that the two sub-groups would have different routes to postgraduate study in New Zealand. The breakdown of this group of postgraduates by the degree for which they were enrolled showed that doctoral students were the largest sub-group, accounting for 53.75% of the 80 students who had responded to the question of the degree towards which they were working (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section A-Question 4). This result differed from the position of Chinese doctoral students enrolled in New Zealand universities in 2009, shown in Figure 7-2. Furthermore, the breakdown of this group by academic discipline generated another unexpected result; that is, Chinese postgraduates who enrolled in social sciences, humanities and fine arts were the largest sub-group, accounting for 29.63% of 81 responses (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section A-Question 5). This number was bigger than that for commerce, which was very popular among Chinese students at the undergraduate level (Skyrme, 2007, p.358). Although this inconsistency could be simply attributed to different response rates, it indicated the necessity of further investigating the question in interviews.

Questions in Section B were designed to explore the students' socio-economic and educational background and place of origin in China. In this section, the responses were broken down by geo-economic origins and Chinese academic positions. The deconstruction allowed unexpected or unnoticed results to emerge. Geo-economically, nearly half of these students (44.93% of 69 responses) were from cities, such as Xian

and Changsha, in the middle regions of the Chinese hinterland rather than from coastal cities and economic and cultural centres like Beijing and Shanghai, which accounted for 36.23% of the responses (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section B-Question 1). It is common knowledge that the latter group of cities are advanced economically owing to their having benefited from China's Opening Up and Reform policies in the past three decades. These cities generally have a higher per capita income than cities in the middle and Western regions of China (Benjamin et al., 2005, pp.22-23). Theoretically, the cost of overseas study implied that these regional income disparities should have been reflected in the numbers of students from different regions enrolled at UC and Lincoln. This logic has also been justified by empirical studies guided by Bourdieu's ideas on capital accumulation reviewed in Chapters Two and Three. In this survey, however, the numbers or rates of Chinese students from these regions did not conform to expectations. Inevitably, the unexpected result raises questions worth further exploration.

Academically, this group of students came from varied backgrounds in China. Before coming to New Zealand, out of the 70 students who answered the question of their pre-arrival condition, 35.71% were working, 58.57% were studying and 4.29% were working while studying (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section B-Question 2). Their different pre-arrival experiences meant that they might have had different concerns when making a decision about study abroad. High school students and university teachers were the two biggest sub-groups, accounting for 40.58% and 33.33% of 69 students respectively (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section B-Question 3). All 13 of the 69 students, who responded to the question of the highest degree they held prior to arrival, had already studied, or were studying towards Master's or doctorates in China

when they decided to study in New Zealand (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section B-Question 4). Their decision to study in New Zealand and choice of postgraduate study at UC and Lincoln University should, therefore, be investigated. Apart from high school students, the largest number of Chinese students among 67 of the responses had a major in social science, humanities and fine arts in China (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section B-Question 5). This result coincided with that of the largest number of postgraduate Chinese students studying in these areas at UC and Lincoln University (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section A-Question 5). However, the relationship between majors in China and those in New Zealand still needs to be examined to understand their decision on overseas study.

In general, these unexpected, unnoticed and inconsistent results suggested that once the statistics for this group were broken down a diversity of reasons was revealed. The diversity implied that these students might respond to the policies of international education under the discourse of “education for trade” in different ways and choose overseas study because of different circumstances.

7.3.2 Different responses to policy interventions

Sections C and D of the questionnaire were designed to evaluate the effectiveness of New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies and their instruments in three respects: recruiting international students, ensuring high-quality living and study experiences and skimming off elite international graduates. They also contained questions exploring students’ responses to the roles of policy and non-policy factors and actors in their decision to come to New Zealand, their experience of studying and living in New Zealand, and their plans for future movement after graduation.

Section C of the questionnaire was designed to examine the assumption of whether the decision of these students to study overseas and their choice of New Zealand as a study destination were closely related to the policy intention of recruiting international students. The results showed that Chinese students in this group were able to make free choices regarding overseas study as their plan was initiated mainly by non-official actors such as themselves, their families and friends. Moreover, family members in both China and overseas played a crucial role in the decision (Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section C-Question 1). Additionally, the results showed that New Zealand had to compete with other countries like Australia, the US, Canada and the UK for its position as a study destination in the international education market. Among 63 students responding to the question of their study destination choice, 14.29% applied to study both in New Zealand and in one of the above four countries at the same time. For 23.81% of the students, New Zealand was not their first choice for overseas study (Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section C-Question 2).

What had eventually caused these students to come New Zealand? The survey results showed that multiple factors were involved in the process. On the one hand, the roles of neo-liberal international education policies and their instruments were noted. For example, to obtain information on both universities, before arrival, Chinese students relied greatly on the Internet (the university website) with 43.28% of 67 students answering the question of how they got information on New Zealand institutions while choosing a study destination (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section C-Question 3). This may indicate the efficacy of the policy instruments for information provision through ICTs revealed in Chapter Five. Similarly, the reputation of New Zealand

tertiary institutions, the academic advancement of its institutions and safety, which accounted for 23.44%, 12.50% and 7.81% of 64 respondents respectively, were also factors facilitating their choices (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section C-Question 4). The New Zealand Government recognised these factors, discussed in Chapter Five and Six, as the goals for New Zealand institutions to work towards in order to respond to global university ranking practices and provide pastoral care at the local level.

On the other hand, student responses were not always as expected. The findings from the 2007 national survey showed that Chinese students were subject to the cost of New Zealand education and the financial support from governments while making a choice of study in New Zealand (Deloitte, 2008, p.47). However, in this survey, their responses placed values on other factors and actors. For example, the physical environment in New Zealand was highlighted by 67.19% of 64 respondents; the cost of study and financial support (scholarships) were significant factors, accounting for 62.50% and 14.06% respectively. The presence of family members and friends and the time taken to get a visa were important, accounting for 32.81% and 35.94% of the responses (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section C-Question 4). In addition, students' responses in this section also raised questions for New Zealand policy makers. For example, the survey results showed that the significance of overseas study service agencies in China was noted by 38.81% of 67 respondents. This result suggests that these agencies play a crucial role in distributing information on study in New Zealand to Chinese international students (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section C-Question 3).

Section D was designed to explore students' study and living experiences at UC and Lincoln and their plans for further movement after graduation. These were related to

the export of education policy instruments at the local level and the skilled immigration policy schemes. Regarding students' study and living experiences in New Zealand, the policy intention is to provide high-quality education and care (Education Review Office of Ministry of Education, 2004, p.1). The literature review showed that international students' experiences in host countries, including New Zealand, do not always coincide with policy intentions. Students face various difficulties such as language barriers and cultural distance. In particular, the results of the 2007 New Zealand national survey showed that of all international students, the Chinese were reported to have the least difficulty with academic tasks such as, writing assignments, sitting exams and making oral presentations, but felt culturally marginalised in class. Generally, international students rated highly the quality of the library and computing services, the international student office, learning support and student orientation services, and sports and recreational facilities. Chinese international students were more likely than other internationals, to seek the help of their international peers for social support (Deloitte, 2008, pp.58-77).

Some, but not all, of the students' responses to relevant questions matched those in the national survey. Their educational experiences raised concerns about information resources, academic connections, campus services and English proficiency. For example, this group also rated university facilities and services highly, and referred to the different ways in which they accessed information using technological devices, such as the university website (61.19%, n=67), email (37.31%, n=67) and personal contacts, including friends and fellow students (44.78%, n=67) and supervisors (32.84%, n=67) (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Question 7). 77.42% of 31 respondents to the question of academic membership were members of academic

organisations and nearly half of the 65 students responding to the question of conference participation attended conferences and regular seminars (weekly or monthly). The respondents seemed to be keen on maintaining academic connections. However, a significant number of students (63.08%, n=65) were not involved in informal social groups as recipients and providers of support (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Questions 4, 5, 8). Instead, they actively kept in touch with friends in both New Zealand and China. More than 70% of 66 respondents to the question of academic communication discussed their research with their friends (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Questions 11, 12 and 13). This result suggested that informal communications and small group interactions might play a role in their study experience.

There was a similarity among students in terms of their opinions on making academic connections and commitment to their studies. For example, students rated highly (“strongly agree” or “agree”) the roles of both English proficiency (54.55%, n=66) and good relationships with supervisors and fellow students (68.18%, n=66) in successful postgraduate study (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Questions 15.2 and 15.3). 73.13% of 67 respondents to the question of the form of collaboration, experienced academic collaboration with supervisors and fellow students in different manners, including writing a journal paper, working as a tutor and participating in projects (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Question 10). However, their ideas on participation in social activities were different. A similar significant number of students either, to various degrees, agreed (42.43%, n=66) or disagreed (50.00%, n=66) on the idea of actively participating in social gatherings (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Question 15.1). Their opinions regarding the statement that

postgraduate study is mainly about learning from books and supervisors also varied from “strongly agree” (4.55%, n=66) to “agree to some extent” (36.36%, n=66) to “strongly disagree” (12.12%, n=66) (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Question 15.4).

The Code released by New Zealand Ministry of Education contains regulations and recommendations on the roles of accommodation providers in hosting international students (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013). Students in this group chose different types of accommodation, ranging from living with a home-stay family to living on their own (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Question 1). The extent to which students were engaged in local voluntary communities, especially local Chinese communities, varied. 45.31% of 64 respondents showed no interest in participating in activities organised by local communities while the remainder were involved in different voluntary societies. Among them, the Christchurch Chinese Students and Scholars Association and the University of Canterbury Chinese Students and Scholars Society were the most popular groups (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Question 2). The results imply that in providing high-quality care to this student group, the role of these local voluntary communities could be considered in the Code. Regarding future movement after graduation, students’ diverse responses ranged from choosing to stay in New Zealand (30.30%, n=66), returning to China (24.24%, n=66), going to other Western countries like Australia and the US (13.64%, n=66), to undecided (31.82%, n=66) (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section D-Question 16).

The survey results painted a complex picture of this group of Chinese postgraduates in terms of their decisions relating to overseas study, staying in New Zealand and plans

after graduation. They placed value on different factors and actors, including government agencies, service providers, local voluntary groups, families and friends. Students' responses to the significance of these factors indicate that statements embedded in the data either followed the rules imposed under the policy discourse of "education for trade" or were constituted through rationalities or logic different from the official one. On the one hand, factors for which students showed a preference showed that they would be, as policy makers expected, rational individuals with regulated freedom (Rose 1999) to make a choice in the international educational market. They calculated the cost of study in New Zealand, considered the efficient handling of visa applications, and evaluated the reputation of New Zealand tertiary institutions. On the other hand, their responses also suggested the existence of different calculations where preferences were shown for New Zealand's physical environment, personal contacts, and the presence of friends and relative in New Zealand (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section C-Question 4).

For their life and study in New Zealand, these students were informed in various ways on campus services and facilities, which they actively used. The role of ICTs was especially highlighted in their choices. This result suggested that they responded to these policy instruments well. Meanwhile, they connected with actors in, and outside the two universities and had different opinions on participation in local social activities, making academic connections and commitment to postgraduate study. They were generally willing to commit to activities in academic communities both in New Zealand and overseas and keen on keeping family connections, but preferred being flexible regarding participation in social groups. This indicated that they might have different preferences regarding their involvement in the local community or linkage

with global connections, based on their own calculations and interests. The certainty and uncertainty about choosing a country for life and work after graduation, shown in their responses to the question about their plans, suggested that the students' calculations and reasoning were not universal but diversified. In turn, the different voices and preferences suggested that there were multiple ways of reasoning in respect of implementing their project of the self through overseas study. The reasoning can, but does not necessarily coincide with the governmental rationality on which political subjectification is based. The results of the survey suggest that further inquiries are needed for a deeper understanding of the role the reasoning of individual students had on their choices in the process of pursuing overseas study and on the interactions between these factors and actors if an understanding of convergence is to be gained.

7.4 Conclusion

Under the discourse of “education for trade”, the New Zealand Government is actively promoting its export education and recruiting international students with its policy interventions. As “the knowledge of the state”, official statistics are regularly generated for the Government to monitor the dynamics of international students and evaluate the effectiveness of its policies. This leads to the necessity of examining these data to reveal embedded statements. The deconstruction of a series of statistics drawn from the New Zealand Ministry of Education showed the coexistence of the statements consistent with the rules imposed by the discourse of “education for trade” along others, which were inconsistent or contradictory.

This chapter explored whether a singular rationality or multiple reasons existed in the decisions and experiences of a group of postgraduate Chinese international students who enrolled at Canterbury and Lincoln Universities in 2009. The survey results showed both consistencies and inconsistencies with those from the 2007 national survey designed to monitor New Zealand's performance as a study destination in the international education market. The presentation of the survey data through descriptive statistics allowed the breaking down of the responses of this group of postgraduate Chinese students by demographic characteristics, geo-economic and academic backgrounds to reveal invisible or hidden features. A further investigation suggested that there were diverse factors involved, various actors connected, different voices articulated and in turn, multiple reasons imposed in the students' choices and decisions regarding overseas study. This suggests that the convergence of New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies and Chinese international students' experiences may be affected by these actors, factors and reasons. The next four chapters will present the findings of 56 interviews to explore how different actors have been assembled, multiple factors configured, and diverse reasons imposed in the process of overseas study.

Chapter Eight Regimes of the Self and Translation of Goals: Chinese students' Pathways to New Zealand

Human beings are not the unified subjects of some coherent regime of government that produces persons in the form in which it dreams. On the contrary, they live their lives in a constant movement across different practices that subjectify them in different ways (Rose, 1996, p.35).

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that official statistics represented the state's knowledge of international students and enabled the New Zealand Government to monitor changes in student numbers and identify inflow trends. However, the breakdown of this data, revealed contradictions in the general trends, indicating that international students in New Zealand are not a universal group who will automatically fit in with policy intentions. The survey showed that the target group of Chinese students in this study had diverse backgrounds, different motivations for studying in New Zealand and various connections with families, institutions and service providers while also responding to New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies related to student recruitment, service provision and international graduate retaining.

The first step towards overseas study, making the decision to study in New Zealand, was not only promoted by policy instruments such as university rankings, but also by other non-political factors such as the presence of friends and families. The literature review suggests that international students' pre-arrival experiences are important for

understanding their decision to move as well as for their post-arrival experiences in the host country. This prompted a need to explore historical interactions between these political and non-political factors to account for the convergence between recruitment policy instruments and students' overseas study choices.

This chapter aims to explore the process through which Chinese international students decided to study in New Zealand through the lens of the culturally informed genealogy of subjectification. The chapter integrates Bennett's idea on the alignment between cultural and governmental mechanisms with Rose's genealogy of subjectification (Rose, 1996, p.24), regimes of subjectification (Rose, 1996, p.25), the assemblage of subjectification (Rose, 1996, p.171), and problematization (Rose, 1996, pp.25-26). With the guidance of these concepts, this chapter is organised into three sections to account for the process of making a decision for Chinese students to study in New Zealand. The first section elaborates on how Chinese students were located in different regimes of the self while receiving formal education in China. This is followed by explanations of how overseas study became a solution for various problematizations of the self they were experiencing. The final section explains how these students chose New Zealand as their study destination and how the different actors and multiple factors assembled in the process. Through examining this process, the chapter shows how Chinese cultural values or mechanisms condition the convergence between policy intentions for student recruitment and Chinese students' overseas study choices to achieve a 'good' overseas study.

8.2 Familial model of government: Chinese students in different regimes of the self

8.2.1 Chinese students in the political regime of the self

Chapter Six has shown that China's road to develop its higher education systems has been uneven. Since the late 1970s, reforms of the management and structure of higher education have granted universities institutional autonomy but at the same time, raised financial concerns about their operation (Du, 1992, pp.21-22). In the 1990s, market forces played an important role in Chinese university reforms (Yang, 2000, pp.326-327). Out of the 36 Chinese students in this study, 28 had completed undergraduate study at Chinese universities before coming to New Zealand. The Chinese educational reforms of the late 1990s made the dramatic increase in tuition fees an intimidating issue. One student talked about the impact of increased university tuition fees in 1997 on her family, and explained:

I came from an ordinary Chinese family although I could not say that we were not able to make ends meet. My four-year university study cost all of my parents' savings. I went to university in 1997 when the Government started to introduce a policy of increasing tuition fees for university study. The tuition fees increased from 800 yuan to 2500 yuan each year per student. My mum said that we were unlucky. If I had gone to university a year earlier, we would have paid much less. However, my parents still decided to send me to study in a university with their savings. (Interviewee 35, a female student)

Similar to the interviewee's family, many Chinese families were shocked to confront, for the first time the newly introduced policy of tuition fees in the late 1990s. For them, from 1949 when the People's Republic of China was established, receiving education in the socialist country had never been an issue of money. Ordinary Chinese

had generally been able to receive free or low-cost higher education on a non-compulsory basis. For ordinary Chinese families, changes starting in 1997 meant that higher education, at least partially, became an individual investment and a family responsibility (Du, 1992, p.82; Yang, 2000, pp.326-327). This policy practice was a way of building a downward continuity through the government of the family (Foucault, 1991a, pp.91-92). In this example, the connection between the state and the family was built through the parents' investment in education and then, this student became governable under the new tuition fee regulations.

The political regime of the self was not only introduced by economic measures but also imposed through *gaokao* [高考 the Standardised National University/College Entrance Examination], a disciplinary technology in Rose's term (Rose, 1996, pp.26-27). During the interviews, all 36 student participants talked about their study experiences in Chinese high schools. For those who attended university in China, the pressure of accessing higher education was extremely high. All 28 students mentioned the importance of *gaokao* for their future and described how they had to concentrate on their study both in school and at home and how their parents were keen on their academic performance. In an interview, one parent commented:

This [The whole family was involved in the child's education and preparation for gaokao] is a common practice. As parents, we have no other choice. We have to do what other parents do. We don't want our kid to fall behind just because we are not able to provide him with the necessary material conditions for his study. Moreover, school teachers push us so hard that we have to discipline children over their study at home. If we did not pay enough

attention to our son's homework, his teacher would be unhappy with us. Each year, the parent-teacher meeting was an extraordinary experience for me. I always noticed that some parents were very pleased as their children were praised whereas a few parents seemed to have lost face owing to their children's unsatisfactory performance. (Interviewee 46, a parent)

This parent's comment suggests that Chinese students were located in the political regime of the self through active families, diligent individuals and voluntary school communities formed by parents and teachers. In particular, Chinese families played a great part in their children's self-cultivation through receiving formal education and preparing for *gaokao*. In the Chinese educational system, children had to pass various exams during their twelve-year study journey from primary to high school. However, *gaokao*, a three- or four-day event each year was seen as decisive since it was tied with what the future held for Chinese children (Li, 2005, pp.3-4). It was believed that children's academic performance at school was always an indicator of whether they would have a good future. Accordingly, parents put a huge effort into ensuring that their children performed well academically and could do well in examinations so as to qualify for access to higher education.

It seems that Chinese students, with parental assistance, received relevant training voluntarily and responded actively to a series of examinations including *gaokao*. Because the Chinese examination system has a long history and has been well developed (Li, 2005, pp.30-33), the Chinese could be deemed to be keen on examinations. However, the examination is the technique by which power holds them in the mechanism of objectification (Foucault, 1979, p.187). For the students

interviewed for this study, examinations served as a technique to exercise power and transform them into objectified ‘cases’ represented by grades and marks.

Up to this point, it is possible to see the significance of Chinese families in responding to policy intentions regarding educational provision. One parent’s comments on the family’s role in children’s education provides a good illustration of the relationship between the individual, family and society; and explains the subjectification of Chinese students in the political regime of the self, saying that:

As the Chinese say, “xiu shen, qi jia, zhi guo, ping tian xia” [修身、齐家、治国、平天下 if there is light in the soul, there will be beauty in the person; if there is beauty in the person, there will be harmony in the family; if there is harmony in the family, there will be order in the nation; if there is order in the nation, there will be peace in the world]. You can see the connections between a well-educated individual, a harmonious family, stable society and a peaceful world. It is said that families are cells of a society. As parents, we should provide a good family environment for children to grow up physically, mentally and even academically, and prepare them for taking responsibilities in society as “eligible social men”. Especially, we just have one child in each family. We parents will do everything for the child’s good. (Interviewee 48, a parent)

This parent believed that self-cultivation through receiving education, family harmony, social stability and a peaceful world were closely related to each other. For him, the family should not only provide a space for enlightening individuals but also for taking

some social responsibility. From this point of view, the Chinese family could be regarded as a social institution, connecting education for individuals with social responsibility. It is important to note that the connection between individuals, family and society is a concept based on Confucian doctrines. As Wright notes:

The basic social unit of the Confucian system was the well-ordered family. The family was seen as a microcosm of the socio-political order; the wise father was model for the wise ruler or minister, and dutiful children were the models for properly submissive subjects who knew their place, their role and their obligations to others (Wright, 1975, quoted in Zhao, 2007, p.18).

This understanding implies that Chinese values based on Confucianism serve to define the mediating role of Chinese families in exercising political power to make governable subjects. In the context of the One-Child Family Policy, the family's role seems to be even more important. Nearly half of the 36 students who participated in the study came from single child families. They were living in a policy context where great emphasis was put on the population's quality rather than quantity. This policy preference has been reinforced by Chinese family planning policy, which is implemented mainly through families. Because education is considered an effective way for improving the quality of the population, Chinese families are encouraged to take responsibility for their children's education (Zhu 1999; Greenhalgh & Winckler, 2005). The parent's explanation (Interviewee 48) suggested that the Chinese cultural belief in the role of family was instrumental in subjectifying Chinese children in the political regime of the self.

8.2.2 Chinese students in the family regime of the self

Once the Chinese students participating in this study graduated from high school and had taken *gaokao*, they proceeded to choose the university, the major and even the city for their higher education. Among those interviewed, only a few students (five) who were from rural areas said that they were allowed to choose a university or a major by themselves. In contrast, most of the interviewees from urban centres explained that they were too young to have any ideas on university and choice of major. They mentioned their parents' role in the decision-making process. Moreover, job prosperity was a major deciding factor for most Chinese families when selecting a suitable major for their children's university study. Parents who had received higher education themselves had a strong influence on their children's choices, as explained by one student:

My parents graduated from an agricultural university so they sent me to the same one. I did not want to study agricultural subjects but was interested in arts and wanted to do landscape architecture. However, as a respectful daughter, I had to listen to my parents' opinions. Actually, once I studied agriculture, I found it was not as boring as I had imagined. After a while, it turned out to be very positive. I heard lots of complimentary comments on our practice of "zi cheng fu ye" (子承父业 a son or daughter inherits his or her father's business). After having graduated and worked in the field, I found that the working environment was very friendly as some of my parents' former classmates or colleagues, whom I called aunts and uncles, became my supervisors or senior colleagues. (Interviewee 29, a female student)

Her parents' choice of major and university turned out to be a positive one as this interviewee seemed always to be studying and working in friendly and familiar environments surrounded by [adopted] uncles and aunts. Like her, other students mentioned their [adopted] relatives' role in the process of choosing a major for university study. In particular, the choice of major became more important after the mandatory job assignment policy was abolished in 1995. One student explained that her choice of Forestry as a major was based on the suggestion of her uncle, who was working in a relevant governmental department and could help with her future job applications.

Another student explained:

As you know, Chinese parents always persuade their children to think about the parents' occupations when choosing their career. Parents hope that their renmai (人脉 interpersonal veins/networks) could be a certain kind of help to their children. In particular, with the rapid social and economic changes, renmai would become more important. I remembered that in the last year of my university study, one of my classmates went to a job interview. After he had come back, I asked him how it went. He said that it was hopeless for him to get the job as he heard that another applicant called one member of the recruiting panel 'uncle'. Apparently, they knew each other well ... My mum explained that it was not her intention to constrain me from doing anything that I wanted, but the field in which she was working was the only place in which she was able to help me with her renmai.(Interviewee 06, a male student)

For this interviewee, the interpersonal relationships (*renmai*), which his parents possessed, were important for a future job application. For these students, their parents' decision and relatives' suggestion directed them to study and work where they could benefit from established interpersonal relationships. From this viewpoint, Chinese families and parents were strategic in subjectifying their children in their own regime of the self in response to the political regime of the self, which aimed at building human capital through education. For parents and family members, university study should enable their children not only to be equipped with formal knowledge and skills but also to build their *renmai*.

The two interview excerpts in this section suggest that Chinese parents' way of building social relationships is based on the view that society is an extended family. Inter-generational relationships can be established with the *Ru* (Confucian) tradition based whereby a child should obey and follow its elders to fulfil *Xiao* (filial piety) (Zhao, 2007, p.19). In these examples, the students were introduced to and connected with the networks of their parents' generation in the academic field and job market. Their respect for their parents' friends whom they called aunts and uncles enabled them to create a supportive and friendly environment in which to pursue a career.

8.2.3 Chinese students in their own individual regime of the self

The familial model of governing and subjectification not only functioned through the political regime and the family regime of the self but also worked in the Chinese students' own regime of the self, as explained by one student:

In my extended family, I was the first person to go to university. When I got a university admission letter, my parents were so excited and invited all the members of our extended family to dinner. Automatically, I became a role model for my younger cousins ... Sometimes, what motivated me to work hard at my study was not only my personal desire but also my parents' expectations. They did not receive much formal education so they did everything they could to support me in receiving an education. As an only child, I owe my parents more than I can ever repay. What I can do is to become well educated and get a decent job. Then, I will be able to take care of them in their old age.

(Interviewee 34, a male student)

This student's higher education was a way of serving his parents in the future; that is, fulfilling filial piety. In this sense, university attendance was a symbol of growing up and a transitional point in becoming an independent adult. It became a crucial part of this student's regime of the self. Particularly, as an only child in a Chinese family, he linked his regime of the self with family responsibility owing to the Chinese traditional belief in *Xiao* (filial piety) and the underdevelopment of elder care for an increasing number of aging people in China (Hesketh, Lu & Zhu, 2005, p.1174; Zhang & Goza, 2006, p.153; Zhao, 2007, p.20).

These interviewees' comments show that different practices regarding access to higher education in China enabled multiple regimes of the self. Through these regimes, these Chinese children eventually became university students. In the process, they were subjectified through building relationships with the state, others and themselves, based on the familial governing model guided by Confucian doctrines. This means

that subjectification made in the Chinese context was culturally conditioned. It implies that when these students were recruited as international students for study in New Zealand, they had already been subjectified throughout the process of receiving their formal education in China. These familial ways of subjectification have to be considered when attempting to understand the students' motivation for coming to New Zealand and their associated study and living experiences.

Although attending a university and choice of major were well defined by the familial model of government through voluntary schooling communities, co-operative Chinese families and diligent Chinese children, this did not mean that these Chinese students were always passive and obedient followers. All 28 students who went to university in China mentioned their active roles in choosing a city for university study when they filled in an application form. Major urban, economic and cultural centres, such as Beijing and Shanghai, were popular study destinations. The students usually saw university attendance as an opportunity for living away from their parents and gaining life experience. While talking about his choice for university study, one student explained:

In high school, my life could be described as “two points and one line”. Every day, I followed the same route between the school and my home. When I passed gaokao, I decided to find an ideal place to attend university. So I chose Suzhou, a tourist destination, as my study destination. A good combination, isn't it? I dreamt of travelling around the world one day so I thought that I should start with travelling around China ... (Interviewee 09, a male student)

For this student, university study provided an opportunity for travel. Compared to the student who saw university study as a way of fulfilling future family responsibilities, this student had a more exciting goal. He tried to establish a relationship to self characterised by pleasure and freedom rather than responsibility and filial duty.

These multiple regimes of the self seem to work together well to regulate these students through preparing for *gaokao* and choosing a major for university study. However, opposition and alternatives existed alongside the well-defined rules and practices for locating them in the Chinese educational system. The above example of the student's choice of city for university study indicates opposition to their well-defined role. This suggests that, for these students, different regimes of the self would not always work well together to subjectify them as Chinese university students. The next section examines how the practices that located those interviewed in different regimes of the self became problematic so that overseas study emerged as a solution.

8.3 Problematizations of the self and overseas study as a solution

8.3.1 Privately funded students and problematic of the self

The 36 students interviewed could be categorised into two broad groups consisting of 31 privately funded students and five publicly funded students²². For the two groups, practices in locating them in the regimes of the self became problematic in different ways. Eight of the 31 privately funded students came to New Zealand to attend high school or enrol in a language programme between 2000 and 2003 and then went on to a New Zealand university. The parents of these eight students were the major initiators of the overseas study. They made a calculated investment in their children's

²² This categorisation was made based on funding resources on which these students relied when they first entered New Zealand.

overseas study and obtained information from their social contacts, such as relatives, friends and colleagues. However, these considerations alone would not have motivated them to send their children to study overseas. A significant catalyst urging parents to find an alternative for their children was the problematic process of accessing higher education in China. For example, the parents of one student saw overseas study as a way of avoiding the weaknesses of Chinese educational practices characterised by intense high school examinations and over-relaxation at university. For them, examinations as a disciplinary technology to locate the student in the political regime of the self became problematic. The student's parents initiated a new regime of the self in which the student would not become examination-oriented. From this viewpoint, the problematization of educational practices in China, in other words, the political regime of the self enabled this student and her parents to justify their decision to pursue overseas study.

For another student, an interview with his mother revealed a complex process leading to a decision on his overseas study. While talking about the decision to send her son to study abroad, the mother described their situation thus:

We have a unique family environment. My son is the only male in his generation in my and my husband's extended families, so we worry lots about his growing-up in such a spoilt environment. In the broad social environment, there is a great difference between elite and ordinary schools. I had to make sure that my son always went to good ones. Until he went to high school, we had not thought about sending him to study abroad ... One day, I was asked to meet one of his teachers because he was naughty in the class. His teacher

suggested that I could sort out alternative schooling for my son since my family environment was good enough for us to do so. From then on, I started to pay attention to advertisements of overseas study service agencies in newspapers. When I discussed the matter with my husband, he said that this was the most sensible decision I had ever made for my son. I knew that, for both of us, sending our son to study overseas was like gambling, as we did not know what would happen in the future. Some of my friends suggested that we should consider this thoroughly. Sometimes, I regretted making such a decision, especially when I went home after work and felt lonely ... However, we'd like to let him live independently and see the real world. We thought that some Western countries would provide an appropriate environment for him to develop his personality while avoiding the complexity of life in China.

(Interviewee 47, a parent)

This long narrative would be a typical voice of Chinese parents who sent their only child to study abroad. Kipnis' study of education for quality (*zuzhi*) in China notes the failure of the education system with 5 to 10 per cent of students dropping out of school before completing the nine years of compulsory schooling (Kipnis, 2011, p.301). To some degree, this would explain some Chinese parents' choice to send their child to study abroad. This case was full of rational justifications based on the family and their social environment and emotional struggles. For them, overseas study seemed to be a solution to construct a *shi wai tao yuan* (世外桃源 a fictitious land of peace away from the turmoil of the world) for their child and find an alternative for him to receive education while encouraging his independence. However, they were still not sure whether it was a sensible decision. As this parent commented, sending

her son overseas was like gambling combining hopes and risks. In this case, the parents' concerns about the family environment in which their son was growing up and their son's unacceptable behaviour in a Chinese high school rendered problematic. From this viewpoint, the parent problematized not only the political regime of the self but also the family one. In turn, these problematizations facilitated the idea of sending her son to study abroad.

However, it was not a straightforward process of entailing a solution of overseas study, but happened along with the involvement and the introduction of their regimes of the self of various actors such as, the extended family, teachers, overseas study agencies. As Rose notes, "[a]ctors in locales separated in time and space are enrolled into a network to the extent that they come to understand their situation according to a certain language and logic, to construe their goals and their fate as in some way inextricable" (Rose, 1996, p.55). In this example, the extended family attempted to subjectify the male student through traditional values defining the role and position of males in the family. Schools were keen to respond to the policy requirement of correct training and good schooling. The overseas study agencies would act as service providers to bring market forces to bear on the case. The decision to pursue overseas study was made in the light of all these actors and through assembling their regimes of the self. It was a decision that translated various problems into a specific solution.

Unlike these eight students, the 23 privately funded students who came to New Zealand universities for postgraduate study were motivated mainly by an intention to pursue their career or lifestyle. Their own regime of the self seemed to have more influence than that of others. For example, one student explained:

You might notice that I had different study majors over time. My father is an environmental engineer working in a factory and in charge of waste water processing. My first major was exactly the same as his. He is a practical person with a scientific brain. He thought that we could live without arts but could not without science. At that time, I was young and had no clear idea of what I wanted to do so I chose my major as my father expected. After several years, I realised that, as an individual, I was not merely a cog in a big machine. The most important thing was what I wanted to do. I started to learn some subjects in the humanities for myself and got a Master's degree in the field. Now, I am studying here and can pursue my interests freely. (Interviewee 10, a female student)

The change of major for this student was accompanied by a shift in value of the role of individuals in society. Like her, another three students in this study had different majors between their undergraduate and postgraduate study for similar reasons. The transfer happened mainly in cases where students switched their major from the natural sciences to the social sciences and humanities.

Similarly, another student talked about how overseas study served as a way of making a lifestyle change. He explained:

My parents opposed my plans for overseas study while my two aunts, who were living overseas, gave me lots of help while I was applying to study here. I think my parents are typical Beijingers who tend to work for an institution till their retirement. They thought that since you have a good job you should be satisfied

and loyal to your institution. The next step should be to get married and bear a child. However, I do not think so. Sometimes, a stable job is not everything ...

(Interviewee 13, a male student)

For these students who intended to make a change in either their study major or life experience, overseas study became a solution to avoid conflict between the family regime of the self and their own. To some extent, their rebellious behaviour suggested that they were challenging traditional Chinese cultural values based on the Confucian doctrine of filial piety requiring a child to obey and follow their parents (Zhao, 2007, p.20).

The examples in this section suggest that for privately funded students, overseas study emerged as a solution to problems generated in the process of attempting to realise their project of the self in China. For the students who began undergraduate study in New Zealand, the problematization of the familial mode of government through schooling facilitated their parents' decision to send them overseas. For the postgraduate students, the family and their own regimes of the self became conflicted. They began to challenge the rule of filial piety based mainly on Confucian teaching and sought to find an alternative to realise their own project of the self. This suggested that the convergence between their choice of New Zealand as an overseas study destination and the policy intention of international student recruitment was not straightforward. It was not only determined by the policy and its instruments, such as university ranking and export education marketing, but also conditioned by the attitude of individual students to the familial governing in China and their concern to realise their project of the self.

8.3.2 Publicly funded students and problematizations of the self

Five of the 36 students interviewed came to New Zealand on either Chinese or New Zealand government scholarships. For them, the problematization of the political regime of the self and making a decision on overseas study were distinctive. All the students coming under the publicly funded programmes were lecturers in Chinese universities and were selected according to strict criteria such as English proficiency, academic position and performance in the department in which they worked. Their mission was, either explicitly or implicitly, aligned with tasks such as updating knowledge, learning advanced skills and building academic connections. One interviewee commented:

Teachers in our department called studying abroad “dao xi tian qu jing”²³ (到天取经 a journey to the West to obtain sacred texts). In recent years, it became an inevitable choice for university teachers. If you have an overseas qualification, especially a doctoral degree, you may find it easier to be promoted and apply for projects as people would assume that you have more advanced skills or complete knowledge. Then, I thought that I’d better study abroad to get a doctoral degree although I had already had a domestic one before I came here. (Interviewee 23, a female student)

The interviewee’s comments explained why overseas study became a popular choice among Chinese university teachers. Since 1978, China had opened its doors and sent

²³ This phrase was drawn from one of the Four Great Classical Novels of Chinese literature – *Journey to the West*. This well-known fiction was about a group of pilgrims journeying to India to obtain sacred texts. It represents the individual’s journey towards enlightenment as four of five main characters took part in the journey as atonement for past sins.

an increasing number of university teachers for overseas study under various government programmes. On their return, they became the backbone in their field and were assigned leading administrative or academic positions. Gradually, university teachers came to regard study abroad for a doctoral degree as a necessary step to career success (Du, 1992, pp.106-108). From a governmentality perspective, university teachers were subjectified and located in a changing political regime of the self with criteria such as overseas qualifications as well as Western knowledge and skills. For this student, the global university hierarchy, which regards Western knowledge as superior, generated a problem. Accordingly, she had to obtain an overseas qualification to be re-recognised in the changing political regime of the self.

For these students, overseas study was a solution enabled by various problematizations of their own and others' conducts which were devoted to locating them in multiple regimes of the self. For those who chose to start undergraduate study in New Zealand, the examination-oriented teaching and learning in Chinese schools or their living environment became problematic for them and their parents. For those who came to New Zealand for postgraduate study, the pursuit of overseas study at that level was an opportunity to make career and lifestyle changes. The publicly funded students treated study abroad as a way of solving the problem rendered by the university hierarchy imposed by the internationalization of higher education. The multiplication of regimes of the self implies that the export education policies and its instruments, such as university ranking, indeed played a role in facilitating students' study in Western societies. Information on host countries was important for individual students and their parents to make a decision. They considered overseas study as a sensible investment to increase job opportunities when the students returned and to

enhance their competitiveness in the job market. However, their considerations on overseas study went beyond this. For them, overseas study was an alternative to receiving education at home when the familial model of governing, based on Confucian doctrines did not function well, and multiple regimes of the self and their relationship became problematic. The next section will examine how different regimes of the self were assembled to lead these students to New Zealand.

8.4 Conditional convergence: Study in New Zealand as translated goals

Overseas study became a solution for Chinese students and their parents to problems generated by the familial model of governing in the process of realising their project of the self. For those coming to New Zealand, online information and the time and cost involved in obtaining a visa were factors they frequently mentioned when talking about their choice of study destination. This implied that export education policy instruments, such as the provision of technologically supported information, were working well to recruit this group of students. They seemed to be rational consumers in the international education market.

However, the interviews also revealed deeper meanings and more complex processes than they initially expected when deciding to come to New Zealand. For example, for some students, university ranking did not always work as expected. One interviewee explained:

When I left China to study in the UK, my parents and I were very happy. After I had arrived, it was surprising to find that I actually had to study in a class where 90 percent of the students were Asians, and nearly half of them were

Chinese. Since the class was very big for a Master's programme, it was hard for each student to get enough attention from supervisors. Moreover, we always struggled to get high demand books from the library. After a while, I started to regret our decision. Before I left China, my parents and I had no idea about Western universities but just made a decision based on a university's ranking or reputation learned from media. Once I entered the Western educational system, I realised how naïve we were. After I had completed my UK Master's study, I decided to find a suitable place to study for my PhD. I got some information from one of my friends on the situation here and ended up at this university. (Interviewee 11, a male student)

In this example, UK university study became problematic for him as it failed to provide an English learning environment and the high-quality learning experience he expected. In turn, study at a New Zealand university emerged as a solution to these problems. This implied that Chinese students planning to come to New Zealand did not always readily follow the rules imposed by the neo-liberal international education market and were not subjectified directly by New Zealand policy interventions. Accordingly, the convergence between New Zealand policy intentions and the experience of Chinese students was not straightforward but were achieved through translation in study destinations.

Although overseas study can be a solution to problems generated by China's familial model of governing, the process of choosing New Zealand as a study destination could still be quite convoluted. For example, one interviewee explained:

I first came here for eight months under a collaborative programme between the UC [the University of Canterbury] and the Chinese university where I was working. Then, I decided to stay on to get a doctoral degree. I think that the major reason was my unhappy marriage. While staying in a quiet place like New Zealand, I could think about my past and find my own way forward. In China, parents encourage both boys and girls to work hard and go to university when they are young. Then, they would start to pour scorn²⁴ upon a girl if she continues to study for her Master's or PhD. The basic reason is that it is still a male-dominated society. Girls are encouraged to do the same before they have to play a social role as a female in society. When girls grow up, they are expected to bear children and support their husbands. In individual families, it is also hard for a woman to strike a balance ... Another reason to study here is my daughter. She could come here and stay with me and receive a Western education for a period. (Interviewee 12, a female student)

For this interviewee, the shift of identity from being a visiting scholar to PhD student was not only prompted by her pursuit of a higher degree, but also by other factors such as, her concerns for her daughter's education, unhappy marriage and general expectations of Chinese society based on gender roles predicated by Confucian gender ideology that women should confine themselves to their domestic role as good wives and wise mothers (Lebra, 1998, p.210). Although she did not explicitly state this, the conflict between others' expectations and her own sense of value, which the conventional gender role denied, was a trigger for overseas study. New Zealand served as a place for her to escape from the dilemma. In this sense, her regime of the

²⁴ Pour scorn in Chinese culture means that people are unhappy with and complain about an idea or an action.

self accorded with neither regime based on Chinese cultural values nor that of New Zealand. Her marriage, daughter's education and gender stereotyping were rendered problematic in terms of her social identity as a female, a wife and a mother. Under such circumstances, she deliberately aligned her own regime of subjectification with the political one imposed upon her by the government programme. In this case, the goal of both the Chinese and New Zealand Governments for building academic connections through collaborative programmes was unexpectedly translated and modified in the process of sending or receiving publicly funded international students.

However, the traditional gender role of Chinese women did not bother some of the other female students. Instead, separation from their boyfriends or husbands who were studying in New Zealand seemed to be the 'problem'. Three female students came to study in New Zealand in order to be united with their boyfriends or husbands. For them, this was a solution to the problem of living separately. Despite different concerns, these cases suggest that the policy intention of recruiting international students was conditioned by cultural expectations regarding women's gender role.

For the students who started as undergraduates in New Zealand, their choice of study destination was also a complex process. For example, one student described the process for making a decision on her overseas study. As she described it:

My parents are different from others. They wanted me to live away from them, be independent and receive a Western education although I was their only child. I think that they would have been influenced by the macro environment. In 1995, lots of parents in the city in which I was living sent their children to

America. My dad's friend who had a relative in America had sent his daughter there and promised to help me with my application. I was living with my grandparents and did not want to go anywhere. My grandparents did not want me to leave either and complained that my parents were 'cruel' and should not consider sending such a little kid overseas. I told one of my teachers about my parents' decision and asked her to dissuade them. Fortunately, the teacher convinced my parents that the Chinese primary and secondary education systems were good enough. Then, I continued my studies until the second year of high school. In 2001, my parents started to prepare for my overseas study again. It was not easy to go to America any longer. Most applications were not approved after '9/11'. One of my dad's friends, who worked in the Foreign Affairs Office and had sent her daughter to New Zealand, told my dad that New Zealand was also an ideal place for overseas study in terms of the cost and the application time. Then, we applied, and I came here – a place which was not part of my overseas study plans. I cannot say I came here totally by chance. My parents and I did not think I would come to New Zealand although we had prepared for my overseas study for a long time. (Interviewee 36, a female student)

The student described a long process, which led to her coming to New Zealand. In the process, different actors involved influenced the plan to study overseas in different ways. In 1995, her parents intended to send her to study in America. In different ways her parents' friend, the friend's relative and the friend's daughter encouraged her parents to implement their plan for their daughter's overseas study. Then, the student, her grandparents and her school teacher modified the plan; giving reasons which

justified its suspension. After six years, new actors were introduced into the process, and the situation changed. Overseas study once more became possible but with a destination shift from America to New Zealand. For this student, pursuing overseas study in New Zealand was not straightforward. Instead, it was a constantly modified decision involving various actors and assembling their regimes of the self based on either the neo-liberal market's valuing of Western knowledge or the Confucian familial rule governing family and social relationships.

Examples in this section suggest that these Chinese students eventually came to study in New Zealand and met the policy intention of international student recruitment. However, the convergence was not straightforward. They neither totally abandoned the way they were governed and subjectified in China nor fully embraced the neo-liberal international education market. University rankings did not always work as expected to direct their movement. Coming to New Zealand was conditioned by their attitudes to Confucian ideology on gender roles. They fitted in with New Zealand policy intentions through connecting with both political and non-political actors and assembling their regimes of the self. From this viewpoint, the Chinese familial model of governing based on traditional cultural beliefs that subjectified them conditioned their choice of New Zealand as a study destination in a complex and contingent environment involving multiple actors. Because their actions challenge the assumption that they and their parents are free and rational education investors and consumers, this suggests that cultural considerations are a vital component of a governmentality account of the convergence between policy intentions and these students' choices. The next three chapters will examine their experiences of living and

studying in New Zealand to discover whether their problems relating to receiving an education and pursuing a career would be solved after they came to New Zealand.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that for Chinese international students, receiving a New Zealand university education was a negotiated decision, contingent solution and translated goal in these students' project of the self. In China, access to higher education was the sole goal of multiple regimes of the self. Eventually, these regimes of the self, based mainly on the familial mode of governing inspired by Confucian doctrines, became problematic. The complicatedly allied and contested regimes of the self led to various problematizations of practices that located these students in these regimes. Only then, overseas study emerged as a solution for re-assembling different regimes of subjectifications. The solution did not require them to totally abandon traditional Chinese values and fully embrace the regimes of subjectification in New Zealand. For some postgraduate students, university hierarchies prompted them to study abroad. However, study in New Zealand also happened when university ranking did not work as it was expected to. Although the familial model of the self became problematic and facilitated their decision regarding overseas study, it could still influence the process of choosing New Zealand as a study destination. For privately funded students starting as undergraduates, the self as an international student was an assemblage of regimes of the self including theirs, their parents' and others' as well as the New Zealand Government's.

The decision-making process suggests that although these Chinese students eventually came to New Zealand and met the New Zealand Government policy intentions of

export education, these policies alone could not make it happen. The convergence between the New Zealand policy intention of student recruitment and choices for overseas study of individual Chinese students was conditioned by Chinese cultural values and social relationships. This finding challenges explanations based simply on neo-liberal rationality as it highlighted the significant role of other social and cultural factors in students' choice of New Zealand as a study destination. For each student, a particular assemblage of these factors would lead to a distinctive experience in living and studying in New Zealand. The next three chapters will look at the students' experiences caused by these choices.

Chapter Nine Human Technologies in Different Contexts and Problematizations of Chinese Students' Difficulties in New Zealand

[A]n analytics of government directs us to examine the different and particular contexts in which governing is called into question, in which actors and agents of all sorts must pose the question of how to govern (Dean, 2010, p.38)

9.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has shown that study in New Zealand was a translated goal and a contingent decision when practices devoted to locating individual Chinese students in different regimes of the self became problematic in China. After arriving in New Zealand, these students were not problem-free but faced new challenges. The literature review suggests that international students face various difficulties and their study and life are affected by different actors. At the same time, host governments are intent on providing high-quality educational experiences. What were the difficulties confronting this group of Chinese students? How were these difficulties problematized by different actors based on their regimes of the self? The answers to these questions will help understand how the gaps between policy intentions and student experiences were generated and how the convergence happened to achieve a 'good' overseas study.

To answer these questions, this chapter examines human technologies involved in the study and living experiences of these students as: "our very experience of ourselves as certain sorts of persons ... is the outcome of a range of human technologies" (Rose, 1996, p.26). To understand the difficulties Chinese students faced throughout overseas

study, the chapter draws on a combination of ideas. These include: Rose's concept of disciplinary and pastoral relations of subjectification embodied in the regimes of the self (Rose, 1996, pp. 26-27); Larner and Walters' idea of globalisation as embodiment (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.506-507); and Bennett's idea of the alignment between cultural and governmental mechanisms through human technologies (Bennett, 2007, pp.81-83). Rose's concept of problematization (Rose, 1996, pp.25-26) is used to analyse how different actors involved in the process of overseas study think about these difficulties and introduce their regimes of practice to overcome them.

To elaborate student difficulties and associated regimes of practices, this chapter is organised in two sections. The first section explains how disciplinary and pastoral technologies experienced by Chinese students in different contexts generated difficulties for them in adapting to study and life in New Zealand. The second section illustrates how these difficulties were problematized by various actors and are based on different regimes of practice. The combination of the two serves as a foundation for the next chapter, which explores how policy instruments of export education converge with Chinese students' New Zealand study and living experiences to enable a 'good' overseas study.

9.2 Differences in disciplinary technologies and difficulties in adaptation

9.2.1 Different structuring of the university space and normalising conduct

Although individual students, with the help of others, intended to search for a *shi wai tao yuan* (世外桃源 a fictitious land of peace away from the turmoil of the world) through overseas study, their way forward was not always straightforward. When these students arrived at a New Zealand university, the first thing they faced was a

different physical environment. For example, one student describing her first impression of a New Zealand university said,

When I arrived at the university [in New Zealand], my first impression was the different physical environment. There was no gate at the entrance of the university. There were no clear boundaries between the university and the neighbourhood either. Most Chinese universities had one or more gates and high walls round them. Usually, there were guards at the entrances, and you might be asked to show your ID if you looked like a visitor. The university here seems to welcome everyone though they do have some security cameras on campus ... (Interviewee 22, a female student)

This student's observation of the difference in layout between Chinese and New Zealand universities seemed to be trivial, however, the different layouts embody distinctive management mechanisms or philosophies. In China, gated communities and walled buildings, in both ancient and modern forms, are prevalent. Architectural and art historians always refer to ideas underlying the design of the Forbidden City and imperial city planning, linking them to their symbolic meanings such as royal power, authority, imperial planning and enclosure (Steinhardt, 1990, pp.4-12; 2004, p.229). In China today, the coexistence of gated communities and dilapidated migrant enclaves has become a unique spatial feature, illustrating ideas such as differentiation, segregation, division and housing inequality across occupation and education (Huang, 2005; Ma & Wu, 2005, pp.2,10). From this viewpoint, gated buildings in the Chinese context are culturally informed and a symbol for exercising power through enclosure and division.

This student's observation on the gated and walled Chinese university reflected, to some degree, the ideas of enclosure and division. In Foucauldian terms, it embodies the idea of discipline as “[d]iscipline sometimes requires enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself” (Foucault, 1979, p.141). In this example, the walls and gates associated with Chinese universities could be viewed as disciplinary technologies, which create a space and locate individuals in it. The guards at entrances were conducting “dividing practices” between university students and others, and in so doing, were demonstrating one mode of objectification defined by Foucault (2000c, p.326). In contrast, the New Zealand university without walls and gates granted everyone free entry. This seemed to shape another type of university-student relationship. Entering or not becomes an individual choice. However, this freedom is conditional because individuals on campus are watched by security cameras and are expected to be responsible for their behaviour. In this context, the cameras serve as a perfect apparatus enabling hierarchical observation since “[t]he perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly” (Foucault, 1979, p.173). In a general way, these different forms of disciplinary technology would make these Chinese students different types of subjects.

The role of material or immobile technologies in subjectification and the idea of discipline through manipulating space were also illustrated in other interviewees' comments. For example, one interviewee said:

In Chinese universities, students with the same major were assigned to the same class once they enrolled. They always attended the same compulsory first-year courses so they could get to know each other easily. Moreover, several same-sex students usually shared a dormitory so they might have a similar daily routine. Here, learning is more individualised. Students do not belong to any specific class. They have their own timetable, attend lectures according to their own choice and have their own rooms. When I was a first-year undergraduate, I felt panic-stricken and totally lost as I seemed to be in a constantly unfamiliar environment and did not know anyone. Even if students share a flat, they might respect other students' privacy and have limited interactions with each other. I think that the population size is not the only reason for the differences. There might be something deeper... (Interviewee 2, a female student)

Similar to this interviewee, other students had the same observation that there seemed to be no concept of 'classmates' in New Zealand universities. It was difficult for them to make friends in the first few months even though they eagerly wanted to integrate into New Zealand university life. For some interviewees, even at the postgraduate level, it was not easy to find opportunities to associate with fellow students and make friends owing to flexible and individualised schedules.

In these examples, students were assigned to specific locations in the university space, and their conduct was normalised accordingly. In Chinese universities, they were located in a more collectively based space to allow individuals to be present, observed and associated. The centrally controlled organisation of Chinese universities had been

influenced by the Soviet model, which was similar to that found in the late Qing dynasty (Hayhoe, 1996, p.90) as mentioned in Chapter Six. This guarantees the imposition of authoritarian rule. In New Zealand, more individualised time and space constitutes different ways of presence and absence. In turn, the difference in the physical environment for study and living contributes to the distinctive ways in which students interact. The former tends to facilitate collective behaviour, whereas the latter encourages individual choice and freedom. From this viewpoint, cultural values are embodied in the disciplinary technologies. Cultural mechanisms are, therefore, aligned with the mechanisms of government through mediation of human technology (Bennett, 2007, p.81).

These students' experiences suggest that in the Chinese-New Zealand university context, different spatial structures shaped conduct and expectations regarding university life and study in distinctive ways. Since these technologies were materialised and immobile, there were bound to be difficulties for Chinese students accustomed to the technologies of Chinese universities in adapting to New Zealand university life and study. These difficulties militated against a positive study experience as defined in *The Code of Practice for Pastoral Care of International Students* (Education Review Office of Ministry of Education, 2004, p.1).

9.2.2 Correct training in different contexts: Teaching and learning methods

Ensuring high-quality education for international students was established as a goal in New Zealand export education policies. However, the study experiences of this group of students did not readily coincide with this goal. Differences in teaching and learning methods between the two educational systems generated difficulties for them

in adapting to study in New Zealand and were evident in their accounts. Moreover, the differences in postgraduate study were particularly striking. One student described a postgraduate course she attended and said:

I had an interesting experience in an Honours class here. In the first lesson of the course, the lecturer brought some biscuits and shared with us and then, told us that we were going to watch a film. This was what I had never experienced in a Chinese university ... There are different ways of teaching. For example, in a Chinese class, the lecturer would ask students to learn a sentence with a comment like this, "Read the well-written sentence. Please learn how to write it." In a class here, the lecturer would say, "Have a look at the sentence. What do you think about it?" There are many assignments rather than examinations. When writing an essay, students here are encouraged to be critical, to look at what others have done on a topic and meanwhile, give their own opinions. At university in China, I felt that I was encouraged to work on my writing differently. I found it hard to adapt to study here in the first year. I could not understand lots of things ... (Interviewee33, a female student)

The student vividly described the ways in which classes operated and students were trained differently in the two educational systems. In this example, disciplinary power was exercised in both contexts since "[t]he chief function of the disciplinary power is to 'train'..." (Foucault, 1979, p.170). Thus, distinctive techniques, such as class organisation, assessment methods and the way of giving instructions were employed to ensure correct training in different contexts.

According to those interviewed, the different ways of teaching and learning trained students with different mind-sets. One interviewee explained:

I am tutoring a level-one course and marking some exam papers. One question asked students to estimate the length, width and height of a building and calculate its cubic volume. Kiwi students used an equation and got an answer directly. Chinese students used the equation but tried to make it accurate by using a coefficient for each variable, based on theories they learnt. In the next question, the students were asked to explain why they answered the previous question in the way that they did. Most Chinese students failed to give an explanation while Kiwi students provided various answers. I think that the failure of Chinese students in the second question is rooted in their way of learning. For them, theories are theories. They are expected to understand and apply theories rather than questioning why they are formed in a certain way. Since I have experience of the two educational systems, I can see that the different systems produce different mind-sets. Chinese students would do very well if they know they should use calculus to solve a problem. If they don't know which part of their knowledge should be applied to answer a question, they would get lost ... (Interviewee 27, a male student)

With his observation, this interviewee suggested that respect for authority, in this case leading to unchallenged acceptance of theories, had influenced Chinese students' mind-sets and shaped their way of thinking, so they tended to need more guidance.

This opinion was reinforced by a Chinese lecturer at a New Zealand university who was interviewed during the fieldwork. She commented:

Chinese people called receiving education dushu [读书 study books]. In this sense, books are sacred and cannot be challenged. Most Chinese students are good at dushu if books are given to them to study. If not, they may get lost. This would represent a great challenge for Chinese students pursuing doctoral study in the New Zealand education system where they are expected to find books to read, initiate ideas and organise their study rather than waiting there for supervisors' instructions. (Interviewee 40, a supervisor)

This lecturer's comments suggest that Chinese students expect to be guided in their study. The comments were also verified by some doctoral students' description of the difficulty of the first three and even six months, as they did not have clear directions regarding what they were supposed to do for writing a proposal.

The section shows that for these Chinese students, different teaching and learning methods, embodying different forms of disciplinary technology, generated difficulties for them in adapting to study in New Zealand. By means of training, students were expected to gain knowledge and learn the truth. In turn, knowledge relations were imposed, and the truth was established through power relations embodied in these techniques. In different contexts, the truth was established, and knowledge was transmitted with distinctive techniques and accorded values. In China, a major basis for correct training was provided by the textbook on which students should carefully work. This was based on the Chinese traditional value of learning through reading,

repeating and reciting the classics (De Bary, 1991, pp.59, 64). Teachers were there to give detailed instructions on ways forward. Constantly repeated examinations ensured successful objectivization of students. In this sense, the Chinese method of teaching and learning, which was characterised by what Dean terms as authoritarian governmentality (Dean, 2010, p.155), aimed to build authority and impose an authoritarian type of rule on obedient subjects.

In New Zealand, however, the art of correct training was different. Students needed to work on different resources and think about them critically. In the class, teachers did not act as instructors but were more like facilitators. Replacing examinations with assignments required students' active engagement in the learning. Teaching and learning methods appeared liberal and sought to impose their rule through free and active subjects, which Dean terms the liberal government (Dean, 2010, p.155). When these students moved from the Chinese to the New Zealand educational system, their greatest challenge as postgraduate students was the shift in the role from obedient followers to active explorers. Inevitably, difficulties in adjusting made students think that there was a lack of clear instructions and guidance in their study. These study difficulties imply that Chinese students were subjectified according to different cultural values in different contexts so that difficulties can arise with their culture-crossing movement.

9.3 Guidance and care: Pastoral relations in different contexts and difficulties in adaptation

Ensuring high-quality care is another goal mentioned in the New Zealand export education documents. For this group of students, however, the interview findings

highlighted that they felt a lack of guidance and care owing to different expectations of interpersonal relationships in the two educational communities. During an interview, one student talked about his observations of the relationship between students and supervisors and said:

Although doctoral students in Chinese universities work very hard by themselves, they would usually follow the directions of their supervisors. They are required to respect their supervisors and other senior scholars. This is Chinese tradition – “yi ri wei shi, zhong shen wei fu” [一日为师, 终身为父 a teacher for one day equals a father for the whole life]. Nowadays, students call their supervisors bosses as their research is usually a part of their supervisor’s project and sponsored by the latter. In contrast, the situation in New Zealand is different. Supervisors here usually allow students to think for themselves, and they are more like a supporter than a leader. Sometimes, it seems tough for Chinese students. I felt strongly about this when I started my PhD study. I told my supervisors that I was like a weak swimmer floating in the sea without a clear direction ... (Interviewee 20, a male student)

Similarly, another student described his study experience in two universities as follows:

After I had finished my Master’s study, I went to a university in Shanghai to do my PhD. I enjoyed studying in the university as I had some shixiong [师兄 elder brother, senior male students under the same supervisor] and shijie [师姐 elder sister, senior female students under the same supervisor] around.

They were all willing helpers and generally cared for newcomers. I quickly became familiar with the department, the university and even the city through chatting with them. They always shared their experiences and reminded me of important events. It was like living in a big family where I did not need to worry too much but just followed their advice ... When I came here, I noticed that the relationship between students was not very close though they were friendly towards each other. They seemed to be very independent and avoid getting involved in each other's businesses. (Interviewee 31, a male student)

These two excerpts show that there were different expectations regarding the relationship between students and supervisors and between students themselves. The traditional Chinese familial view played an important role in shaping the relationship between Chinese scholars. Traditionally, teachers' duties were encapsulated in the doctrine of *shi zhe, chuan dao, shou ye, jie huo ye* (师者，传道，授业，解惑也 teachers' responsibilities are transmitting Confucian morals, imparting knowledge and resolving doubts) (Hui, 2005, p.20). This defined the teacher's role not only as a knowledge transmitter but also as a moral cultivator and accordingly, assigned them a highly respected social status (Zhao, 2007, pp.134-135). The influence of this traditional view was even evident in contemporary educational practices and reflected in some proverbs and idioms promoted by the Chinese Government. For example, education policies were promoted encouraging students to respect teachers and revere their moral teachings (*zun shi zhong jiao* 尊师重教). Teachers were seen as diligent gardeners (*xin qin de yuan ding* 辛勤的园丁) who should be rewarded with the achievements of their students who would go all over the world, like gardeners' being rewarded by their diligent work when harvesting peaches and plums growing in the

whole garden (*tao li man tian xia* 桃李满天下). Teachers are like candles that burn themselves while giving light to others (Hui, 2005, pp.26-27).

In these two examples, the interviewees' comments showed that the traditional view shaped pseudo-patriarchal family relationships between supervisors and students and between fellow students and defined their roles respectively. These relationships were based on Confucian doctrines of society, built upon the basis of filial piety, consisting of *Wulun* (Five Relationships), namely, the five relationships of ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and brothers, and friends (Zhao, 2007, pp.20-23). In this case, the responsibilities of supervisors were to take care of their students morally, academically and even materially like a father to his sons/daughters. Students were required to respect supervisors as if they were their fathers. Older fellow students like older siblings bore caring responsibilities to make newcomers feel supported. Since supervisors' research projects were a major financial resource for student research, the Chinese supervisor-student relationship was not only academic but also financial. This allowed their work and interests to be bound firmly together.

The relationship between a Chinese supervisor and students was like a shepherd and their flock. The pastoral power modelled on the shepherd-flock relationship ensured students' moral, academic and financial well-being. It should be noted that pastoral power "is not merely a form of power that commands; it must also be prepared to sacrifice itself for the life and salvation of the flock" (Foucault, 2000c, p.333). Based on the ideal model of a good educator, teachers were likened to 'gardeners' and 'candles'. They were willing helpers and caregivers for their students and could even, like candles, sacrifice their interests for students' well-being. Accordingly, students

were encouraged to be obedient. The Chinese traditional value of filial piety and the pseudo-patriarchal family relationship between supervisors and students in contemporary Chinese universities ensured students turned themselves into obedient subjects and followers as was expected of them.

Having transferred from the 'big family' to New Zealand universities, the students in this study faced a different relation of the self to others. In this context, the supervisor's role was more like that of a supporter than a leader. The previous section showed that New Zealand teaching and learning methods were based on a liberal government mind-set. In pastoral relations, "a liberal approach to education must assume that most children will be capable of being trained in those habits that will lead them to a state of maturity and reason" (Dean, 2010, p.157). This suggests that the liberal government emphasises self-improvement and attaining autonomy. Accordingly, the role of New Zealand teachers was to help students acquire habits for advancing their self-improvement and independence.

The different mind-sets or mentalities of government embodied in the pastoral relations of subjectification were evident in another student's comment. He said:

One thing that I really appreciate is that my supervisors have never compared my performance with those of other students they supervise. They always encourage me to keep working on my research no matter how good my academic performance is. For me, this is very positive. We Chinese pay too much attention to others rather than ourselves. Schools always inform you who the best pupil is. Parents judge their children's performances against

those of the best they know. I think that Chinese parents tend to criticise their children because they always look at the best one rather than their own children. Supervisors may have the same mind-set. I remember that when I was doing my Master's in China, my supervisor cared about my day-to-day life but academically she was very critical. At every meeting, she would focus on all the weaknesses in my thesis. When I met the supervisor here, she always said something encouraging. The phrases she used most frequently were "very good". This enabled me to work at my own pace and be free from peer pressure. However, some students would find it hard as there was no role model to refer to. (Interviewee 28, a female student)

From this students' viewpoint, the mentalities of government in the two contexts were different. The Chinese teacher's criticism and New Zealand supervisor's compliments actually formed different pastoral relations of subjectification. According to Foucault, "The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivizes him" (Foucault, 2000c, p.326). In China pastoral relations aimed to transform students into the best one based on practices of standing out from others. In New Zealand, dividing practices were focused on making a division inside oneself. Accordingly, students were encouraged to work at their own pace and judged against their own performances. According to this interviewee, the different mentalities embodied in pastoral technologies would cause difficulties for some Chinese students when they move to New Zealand.

For these students, different pastoral technologies also led to their perception of lack of guidance and care in their daily life. Their accommodation and relationships with

home-stay families were topics interviewees talked about frequently. For example, as one student described it:

I had lots of bad experiences regarding accommodation. Most of the time, people did not genuinely care about international students but just treated it as a business. I have been here seven years and lived in all sorts of accommodation. In the first two years, I lived with three home-stay families ... We ended with the fact that either they did not like me or I did not like them. When I entered university, I started living in a student hall. The conditions were good, but I was annoyed by their requirements. Every year I had to move from one residential hall to another from November until January. I got a satisfactory room in the first year. Afterwards, it seemed that I never found the right time to book a room with which I was satisfied. I could not understand their booking system and was not properly informed. Maybe they just cared about attracting first-year students. Now I am sharing a flat with three other students. I have more freedom than ever before, but the landlord is not easy to deal with. I learnt from these experiences and can make better decisions now. I always advise newly arrived students and tell them that they have to be independent. No mum and dad are here, so they have to learn how to take care of themselves. (Interviewee 19, a male student)

This student's description of his experience of living in different types of accommodation drew a complex picture in which various service providers were involved. In this example, pastoral power was exercised by various public and private accommodation providers who attempted to sell their services in the market. Students'

difficulties in accessing satisfactory accommodation could be attributed to various factors such as the availability of accommodation and management issues. However, their feeling of not being cared for was closely related to their understanding of “care” in different contexts. In China, they lived in a fully protected environment. Their parents provided pastoral care for them. After arriving in New Zealand, they were regarded as mature subjects capable of handling the freedoms and responsibilities of mature subjectivity – the assumption of liberal government (Dean, 2010, p.157). However, they were not actually such ideal subjects as expected or defined in the Code. Accordingly, difficulties arose out of their transnational movement.

To summarise, after these students came to New Zealand they encountered different disciplinary and pastoral technologies, which contributed to their difficulties in adaptation to study and life here. Additionally, differences in spatial structure generated different opportunities for students to communicate and respond to others’ behaviour, which in turn created difficulties in making friends and associating with others. Chinese teaching and learning methods transformed students into obedient subjects, and so students coming to NZ found it hard to cope with study in the country. The authoritarian mentality of government embodied in pastoral technologies shaped students’ expectation of their relations with supervisors in Chinese universities. This expectation in turn led them to being dependent on guidance and affected their performances in New Zealand’s universities in which liberal government embodied in pastoral technologies emphasised self-improvement and independence. Dependence on guidance and a different understanding of care also contributed to their difficulties in adapting to life in New Zealand such as access to satisfactory accommodation. These living and study difficulties prevented them from accessing high-quality

education and care, which New Zealand export education policies intended to provide for international students. The next section will examine how these difficulties were problematized by different actors in this study.

9.4 Problematizations of students' difficulties in adaptation to study and life in New Zealand

9.4.1 Problematizations of the political regime of government

The interview findings showed that there were different opinions among involved individuals and institutions on factors contributing to the difficulties this group of students faced. This suggests that actors in different positions would problematize the difficulties differently as “[p]roblematizations are made on the basis of particular regimes of practices of government ...” (Dean, 2010, p.38) For example, there were observations by and discussions among supervisors on difficulties in recruiting and training international students. One supervisor said:

We are trying to hire a post-doc at the moment, and have a sort of complaint. Human resource people tend to see everybody as resources. When they come, they are our resources. When they leave, they have gone – a kind of business model just like running a fast food chain. To a certain extent, supervision of research students from other countries is a sort of long-term investment. You keep working with them and visiting them in their home countries. The positive thing goes beyond a particular piece of work. Superficially, you just supervise an overseas student. However, if you get the right person, the relationship can last for decades rather than just for a year or two. Of course, it is not easy to get the right person. Some people have the perception that all students from

Asia are smart and hard working based on the students who originally came through some scholarship programmes. For example, students from Malaysia through the Colombo Plan were very good. Now, we have taken a market approach and get students from more diverse backgrounds and different academic levels. Some of them are good while others are not ... (Interviewee 41, a supervisor)

For this supervisor, the question regarding supervision of international students was how to get “the right person” and keep a long-term relationship. According to him, it should be a natural and gradual process, happening along with the establishment of academic connections. The problem of institutionalised arrangements was its business model of recruiting and training international students, which neglected long-term benefits of hosting international students. Moreover, with practices in international education changing from “education for aid” to “education for trade”, the diversification of student resources could lead to the risk of recruiting the wrong people and cause supervision difficulties.

Like this supervisor, another supervisor was not interested in institutional collaborations imposed from the top to build teaching and research connections. He commented:

As you see, my experience in collaboration for teaching and doing research came from contacts with people in a particular area I got to know rather than a university sort of thing, which comes from mutual visits of vice-chancellors. You know, they think that we should collaborate with a certain Chinese

university. Then, they start going around and asking who you know and whether you could find someone to collaborate in a certain Chinese university. Potentially, this way could be useful. However, you are so busy with other things and don't really want to be involved. Probably, some people would take advantage of this and resources would not necessarily go to the people who really need it. (Interviewee39, a supervisor)

Clearly, this supervisor was critical of the institutionalised approach to encouraging collaboration between universities in New Zealand and China. According to him, the problem of the top-down and task-oriented collaboration would create difficulties in mobilising supervisors' active participation and unreasonable distribution of resources. The two supervisors' comments suggested that top-down institutional arrangements, different operational systems, and conflicting interests of administrative and academic staff made it problematic to recruit and train international students.

9.4.2 Problematizations on teaching and learning

Regarding supervising international students, the difficulties preventing students from performing well were more practical and straightforward. Supervisors did not see the difference in educational practices as an issue but seemed to be worried about Chinese students' English language proficiency. During their interviews, a few students (five students) clearly expressed their dissatisfaction with their supervisors. One student described it thus:

My supervisor's strictness was well-known in our department. The good thing is that I can gradually improve with his criticisms. The word "unacceptable"

was one he always used to comment on my writing. The bad thing is that it was very discouraging. Recently, I wrote extremely slowly. When I wrote each sentence, I kept worrying about whether it was grammatically correct and acceptable. I can show you a piece of my writing he commented on now. It was covered with red ink marks showing grammatical errors ... (Interviewee 15, a female student)

Like this student, most students agreed that the proficiency of English was one of the challenges for them when studying in the Western English-speaking system. Some students said that sometimes their confidence in English depended on their supervisors' tolerance of their English proficiency. Some supervisors could be very strict and easily upset by grammatical mistakes while other supervisors, made things easier by being encouraging and tolerant.

From the supervisors' side of the story, supervision of international students was exciting but challenging work. Supervisors problematized student difficulties in language as an issue of insufficient support for these students. One supervisor commented:

I have supervised or worked with several Asian students including a Chinese student at the postgraduate level for a while. In general, students from language backgrounds different from English have to work really hard at the subject because the critical thing is language. In this subject, there is terminology like learning a language within a language. Especially, discussions about the content and science stuff become much more intense,

and vocabulary becomes more expanded at the postgraduate level. Even for native speakers, it is difficult. I found the Chinese student I supervised was extraordinarily hard working, and she also showed me she was capable of studying in this field. Maybe, something to think about is, for students coming from other language backgrounds to do doctoral studies, to have some sorts of backup – put some money aside for experts to edit their work. I know my students learn from details. In this way, the process would go more smoothly. Sometimes, our supervisors become frustrated if they cannot understand what a student wants to express and think that it is an issue of competency. I think that many of my students are bright and capable. There is nothing wrong with the content. They just need to get the level of precision and make what they expressed work. (Interviewee 39, a supervisor)

According to this supervisor, it is important for postgraduate students to have a high level of English proficiency. However, she was concerned with how to provide extra or specific discipline-based support to these students to facilitate the learning and teaching process. From this viewpoint, the implementation of the international education agenda at the institutional level not only involves provision of general services but also recognition of specific needs of international postgraduate students from non-English speaking backgrounds.

9.4.3 Problematization of university services and community support

Regarding language support for international students, both universities on which the research was based had a Learning Skills Centre. The interview findings showed that it was also one of the services used by most of the Chinese students in this study.

There were different opinions on the service. Some students raised concerns about using the service such as limited consulting time, insufficient subject knowledge of staff members and frustration with grammatical errors. During the interview, a staff member of a centre raised her concerns. She commented:

Since we are small and have a large proportion of international students, we always try to find a way in which we can meet the huge need with limited resources. We are doing lots of one-to-one but clearly; we cannot give everybody as much attention as they need. I have been doing workshops for students for a long time. One thing that really stuck in my mind was the very first writing group I started with. I asked people to go round [the class and say] why they wanted to be a part of the writing group. The most amazing conversation followed: I had to hold back my tears because they all talked about isolation ... So although students focus very much on grammar and language when they come here, I still think that there is something underneath for them to meet each other, especially for international students ... As you know, we are providing teaching services but for students and even supervisors, what they like is an editing and proofreading service. That's not what we are set up to do ... (Interviewee 38, university staff)

The staff member's comments indicated that adequate financial support and an accurate understanding of the features of their services by faculties and students are viewed as essential. The findings drawn from the interviews with Chinese international students and supervisors raised the following question: are the existing

services sufficient for supporting Chinese international students in overcoming language difficulties?

In addition to the Learning Skills Centre, students use other services provided by New Zealand's universities to facilitate their study. Generally, they highly valued the library system compared to those in Chinese universities. However, one librarian was still concerned about Chinese students' access to library services, saying that:

At the postgraduate level, our services are individualised since students work on different topics and would have different issues at different stages. For newly arrived Chinese students, especially for those who come here to study at the postgraduate level, they are not familiar with the library system. They usually have no clear idea on how to start searching for information and materials in the library or online. At this point, it is important for them to take the initiative to contact us. I have worked with some Chinese students before. It seemed to me that they were more comfortable with getting information from their fellow Chinese students rather than coming to a librarian's office. If the department has Chinese students, it would be fine as newcomers would learn from senior ones. Otherwise, it would be problematic. (Interviewee 37, university staff)

According to this librarian, because the library service is individualised to fit the needs of research students, students were supposed to take the initiative to get help. However, this would become problematic for Chinese students who tended to get help and information from their fellow students in an informal way.

There were different opinions on international students' relationships with New Zealand society and local communities. One of the issues was about building friendships between international students and local people. The interview findings showed that most of students in this study had much fewer contacts with local people than with their compatriots, and their friends who were predominantly Chinese. They gave various reasons such as language barriers, distinctive cultural backgrounds, different leisure time interests and different ways of socialisation. Some students also mentioned complaints of local people about Chinese students' habits of sticking together and speaking Chinese loudly in public places without being aware of the presence of people from different backgrounds. Follow-up interviews with persons with whom the students associated were conducted to explore the issue. During an interview, an American doctoral student who was a close friend of one of Chinese students in this study commented:

I actually found that native New Zealanders, at least New Zealanders in Christchurch are very much closed off. It seems that lots of them went to school with the same people. They all grew up together. It is very hard for outsiders to break into their group. When I attended a semester course, the Kiwis in the class did not talk with anybody else. It was kind of like "internationals at one corner of the class". Afterwards, I even got in trouble with one of the women at Finance. In front of me and my supervisor, she said that they did not want Americans. I was surprised that this came from someone in the university who was supposed to be helping all students. This was what I encountered when I had just arrived here, so I could imagine what

the situation would be for a non-English speaking person. This might be the reason that I was willing to become a friend of XX [the Chinese student] and help with her study. (Interviewee 49, an American friend of a Chinese student)

From this interviewee's viewpoint, differences in cultural and linguistic backgrounds were not an obstacle to building cross-cultural friendships. What mattered was local people's attitudes and openness to newcomers. Another participant talked about the same concern. This interviewee was a New Zealand post-doctoral fellow carrying out research on local people's opinions of international students who associated with international students including several Chinese postgraduates in this study. She said:

We had a push sometime in the 1990s to increase the number of students from Asia. I felt a little bit concerned about this as it was just about the money. Suddenly, the government was going to do it. There was no preparation for schools, and they just had to do it. It was difficult if you were just told that you had to be nice and accept diversity without involvement. One of my early research projects showed that people who had personal experiences, such as hosting Asian home-stay students, or who had previously visited Asian countries, were comfortable with the increasing number of Asian students. Otherwise, they were uneasy about this ... (Interviewee 50, a New Zealand friend of a few Chinese students)

For this participant, there was a gap between the policy intention to attract international students and people's reactions and understanding of the issue. She raised the concern that the economically oriented approach to export education is a

cause for difficulties at the local level with regard to how local people and international students would interact with each other.

The home-stay seemed to be an ideal place for international students to build good relationships with locals. One student recalled her experience and said:

I think that the home-stay provided me with a cultural and social environment which I was otherwise unable to access based on my cultural background. It enabled me to gain knowledge, if it can be called knowledge, about the real nature of family life in the Western world and social relationships including relationships between family members. This might be helpful when I associate with people here and make friends with them. For example, my home-stay has two boys. The brothers get along with each other very well. One day, the elder brother was not at home, and the younger one wanted to use his walkman, so he asked his mum when his brother was coming back. I asked him why he did not go to his brother's room to get it himself. He explained that he had to ask for his brother's permission as the walkman was his brother's. This is a totally different idea from what we Chinese have. In Chinese families, we do not make such a clear distinction about belongings. We tend to say it is ours rather his or hers. Parents even encourage siblings to share some stuff. I think that it is the reason that some of our students have found Kiwi home-stays very uncomfortable. They might take it for granted that they can use everything at home without asking. This might cause problems if Chinese students do not understand and pay attention to this. (Interviewee 32, a female student)

According to this interviewee, living with a family in a home-stay was a valuable way of obtaining first-hand knowledge and information about daily life in Western society and learning how to associate with locals appropriately. For her, problems would arise if Chinese students lacked knowledge of the way in which local people associated with each other and failed to respect others' privacy.

Generally, there were multiple problematizations of Chinese international students' difficulties in studying and living in New Zealand. Different actors and agents posed the question of "how to govern these students?" in different ways. For supervisors, the problems stemmed from the political regime of government which encouraged an institutionalised approach to international education. Students were worried about their supervisors' acceptance of their English, whereas supervisors were concerned with how the university could provide specific support for these students. To support these students in their study, staff providing services on campus saw constraints caused by limited resources, different expectations and gaps between informal and formal information channels. Outside the university, individuals and organisations had different ideas on the difficulty in building cross-cultural friendships with Chinese international students. As can be seen, the multiple problematizations formed a complex network of regimes of practice in which Chinese international students were embedded. This implies that the successful implementation of export education policies is conditioned by how different resources and actors can be assembled in such a way that Chinese students' difficulties, especially difficulties arising from different cultural beliefs and values were addressed. The next chapter will look at how different regimes of practice were assembled when these students attempted to overcome difficulties in adapting to life and study in New Zealand.

9.5 Conclusion

After Chinese students had arrived in New Zealand, they faced various difficulties. This chapter showed how these difficulties were caused by different cultural values embodied in different human technologies. Spatial technologies in New Zealand universities made it difficult for these Chinese students to make friends upon arrival. New Zealand teaching and learning methods generated unfamiliar knowledge relations for these Chinese students. In China, they were made obedient subjects expected to depend on guidance and instructions. This issue created difficulties for the students' ability to perform well in the New Zealand educational system, where rules were imposed through free and liberal subjects. The emphasis on self-development and independence led to Chinese students' perception of a lack of guidance and care while they were studying and living in New Zealand. These difficulties, in turn, were problematized by the actors and agents with whom these students were connected. These problematizations formed a complex network of regimes of practices. The experiences of this group of international students were inevitably embedded in these regimes and their interactions. The next chapter will explore how these Chinese students found their own ways through the complexities that enabled policy intentions and their experiences to converge to achieve a 'good' overseas study.

Chapter Ten The Selves as Assemblages: Chinese Students' Adaptation Strategies for Study and Living in New Zealand

Subjects, I will argue, might better be seen as 'assemblages' that metamorphose or change their properties as they expand their connections, that 'are' nothing more or less than the changing connections into which they are associated (Rose, 1996, p.172).

10.1 Introduction

Since 2001, export education policies have started to be implemented to ensure that international students obtain positive study and living experiences in New Zealand. The previous chapter has shown that after Chinese students had arrived at New Zealand universities, a set of human technologies different from those in China generated difficulties for them in accessing high-quality education and care. These difficulties were problematized, in various ways, by the actors with whom they connected. With multiple problematizations, these actors questioned the adequacy of neo-liberal policies and their instruments and called for improved services and support for students. For students, their experiences were shaped by their strategies for using and assembling the services and support systems, which formed complex power relations. How did these students come up with their own strategies to negotiate the services to adapt to life and study in New Zealand and enable the convergence between policy intentions and student experiences for a 'good' overseas study?

This chapter seeks to examine international students' strategies for adapting to life and study in New Zealand as power relations need to be analysed through the

antagonism of strategies (Foucault, 2000c, p.329). It uses Rose's idea of subject effects produced through forming assemblages (Rose, 1996, p.171) to analyse Chinese students' strategies of adapting to life and study in New Zealand. Larner and Walters' idea of globalisation as embodiment (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.506-507) and Bennett's idea of human technologies as embodied culture (Bennett, 2007, p.83) are integrated to show how these assemblages can be formed across border and hybridise cultural mechanisms.

This chapter is divided into three sections. It explains how the strategies of connection, translation and community participation enabled Chinese students to gain care and guidance, access information and enhance their learning experience. Through comparing assembled selves with political subjectification, this chapter shows how policy intentions to provide high-quality educational services to international students converge with the New Zealand living and study experiences of these students. It shows that convergence between policy intentions and student experiences is culturally conditioned, and cultural values significantly conditioned these students' experiences of a 'good' overseas study.

10.2 Connection: hybrid assemblages for accessing high-quality education and care

When Chinese students were in New Zealand, one way in which they managed to adapt to life and study was to contact people and access services. This made them connect or be connected with complex relations. The complex relationships in which these students were involved were illustrated by the diagrams, which they were requested to draw as a summary of their overseas experiences at the end of each

interview. For example, one student drew a tree to illustrate his experience in connecting with different actors and agents in New Zealand (See Appendix 10-1). He explained:

The tree would be an appropriate image, which can illustrate my experience [in New Zealand]. Like a tree, I am rooted in China. The trunk would represent the language school here. Then, it keeps growing, and some branches come up. They can be my contacts and relations. For example, branches here can represent my contacts in the university – supervisors, fellow students, libraries and labs. Similarly, branches there can be my parents and family in China as well as friends in China and here. Around these tree branches, I wrote names of several countries such as China, Australia, the US and New Zealand. This means that some contacts and relations would connect me to people and things in these countries. These contacts would determine where I would go in the future ... (Interviewee 04, a male student)

The image of a tree allowed this student to sketch a picture of the multiple lines of relations in which he was involved. His positive experience in studying and living in New Zealand as an international student was gained through connecting him with parents, supervisors, friends, universities, conferences, labs and clubs.

Similarly, interviews with other students showed how they connected or were connected with different actors and agents. Given that the human capacity for action emerges out of all regimes of practices and technologies and their interactions (Rose,

1996, pp.186-187), the connections made it possible for these students to become capable learners in New Zealand. In the above example, the image of the tree illustrated an assembled self with connections to actors and agents who represented different regimes of subjectification. In this sense, the self for this student is made up of a hybrid assemblage of multiple regimes of subjectification. The assemblage included not only actors, such as service providers on campus, mentioned in the Code, but also a familial model of social relationships embracing parents, friends and communities. This multiplicity implies that the convergence of policy instruments and international students' experiences of living and studying in New Zealand is complex, involving, as it does, both political and non-political factors and actors.

Among those multiple lines of relations, the students in this study valued family relationships and made an effort to maintain them while in New Zealand. For example, during an interview, a student said:

Since I just come here for a short period, I try to keep in touch with people in China. I contact my parents, husband and daughter almost every day through phone and QQ²⁵. We Chinese value family. No matter where we go, we keep in touch with our families. I haven't made an effort to make friends here. For me, the purpose of studying here is not to socialise with others but to gain knowledge and skills. I think that it is a precious opportunity for me to come here. I am just like a sponge absorbing what I encounter every minute of the time I am here. I need to complete my study on time. I owe lots to my parents,

²⁵ QQ is an instant messaging software service which can be used for online chat. It is widely used by the Chinese.

husband and daughter as a daughter, a wife and a mother over the past two years of study here. (Interviewee 30, a female student)

Seven other students were also indifferent to socialising with local people. They saw themselves as sojourners for the purpose of gaining knowledge and skills and prioritised communications with families in China. In the example quoted above, the female student's rationalities and practices were hybridised. Her thirst for knowledge and skills reflected the discourse or rule of the neo-liberal knowledge economy which emphasises the significance of knowledge and skills for building human capital. At the same time, she valued family relationships and made a great effort to maintain them through different communication technologies. For her, although she had her own career to pursue, the personal self could not be separated from her family. Implicitly, she evaluated herself and built relations with herself through referring to the Confucian gender ideology of familial relations. The idea of "threefold obedience and four virtues" [*sancong side* 三从四德]²⁶ expresses the Confucian expectation of women to be followers of their male relatives and develop four wifely virtues in order to fulfil the wifely role (Yao, 2003b, pp.524-525). In addition, the mothering role is highly esteemed by the community (Slote, 1998, p.48). Based on the traditional belief regarding women's role in the family, she felt obligated to her parents, husband and daughter. From this viewpoint, the self for this student was formed as a hybrid, assembled with regimes of thought based on both neo-liberal and Confucian rules. This shows that Chinese cultural values played a crucial role in her self-formation practices.

²⁶ Threefold obedience indicates that "a woman is under the authority of, or dependent upon, a male relative during all three stages of her life, The *Yi li* state, 'Before marrying she [a woman] follows her father; after marrying she follows her husband; when her husband dies, she follows her son'". "The four virtues are traits that every woman should develop. These characteristics are 'wifely virtue, 'wifely speech', 'wifely demeanour' and 'wifely work'" (Yao, 2003b, pp.524-525).

22 of students in this study clearly expressed a willingness to make friends in New Zealand while keeping in touch with families. Even so, 16 students' circle of friends tended to be predominantly Chinese, with close friends more so. For example, one student talked about her circle of friends and said:

It says that zai jia kao fu mu, chu men kao peng you [在家靠父母, 出门靠朋友, when you are at home, you can depend on your parents; when you are away from home, you need the support of friends]. I was keen on making friends when I came here. Moreover, most of my friends are Chinese. I don't think that there is anything wrong though this is criticised by some people. I think that friends from the same background are helpful. From time to time, we meet, have a meal together, and talk about some events in China. This is great for me not to feel lonely ... When I did my undergraduate study, I joined a Chinese Student Association and made some Chinese friends who were in the second or third year of their study. Their advice was constructive for me when I chose courses as we had similar concerns owing to the same cultural and language background. I also tried to consult some Kiwi students about this. However, their concerns about taking a course were quite different from those of us Chinese. (Interviewee 08, a female student)

According to this student, it was much easier to socialise with and get help from other Chinese students than socialising with New Zealand students owing to a shared narrative of cultural background and common interests. Her fellow Chinese students were also good companions and sources of information on and advice about course

choices. Like her, 15 other students also mentioned a similar intention to make close friends. In these cases, the shared experience and narrative of being Chinese shaped their ways of networking to adapt to New Zealand life. From this viewpoint, their reasoning was hybridised. At one level, it coincided with the Confucian geopolitical rationality of great harmony (*datong* 大同) and cultural Chineseness, promoted by the Chinese Government, which was informed by Confucian humanism *he* (peace, harmony, union) and *minben* (people as the basis) and encouraged Chinese people to imagine themselves as part of a transnational Confucian community (Fong, 2004, pp.631-632; Cao, 2007, pp.435,441; Bell, 2008, p.27). To some extent, this Confucian value guided the students' association with nationals. At another level, socialisation with other Chinese enabled the students in this study to obey the neo-liberal rule based on New Zealand enterprise culture by which international students were required to be self-fulfilled and self-activating in a market full of free choices regarding services and support (Rose, 1996, pp.164-165). This suggested that the effective implementation of a policy of providing high-quality care through on and off campus services and support, would be conditioned by the way these students accessed these services, based on their culturally guided practices so demonstrating an inseparable fusion of culture and governmentality in this example of a 'good' overseas study.

Although the friends of most students (16) were predominantly Chinese, a few students (six) talked about how helpful their native English-speaking friends were, especially those with subject knowledge. For example, one student explained:

As I know there are no other students doing research in a similar area to mine in the department, I have to move forward alone. Sometimes, it is important to find someone whom I can talk to about my research to clarify my ideas. I have a close Kiwi friend who has retired from that English Language Department. I got to know her through a librarian when I was a visiting scholar here. She was very interested in my research, so I asked her to help me. We met regularly, and she has read all of what I wrote. Sometimes, she gave me comments based on her experience of teaching non-native speakers and picked up some grammatical errors in my writing. She did this voluntarily so sometimes I would bring small presents from China for her as a token of my appreciation. I have been very lucky to meet such supportive people like this friend. (Interviewee21, a female student)

For this student, the opportunity to get help from her friend seemed to be attributed to luck. However, “for in recognizing the dynamic nexus of interpersonal relations that it inhabits, selves can place these under conscious control and the self can learn the skills to shape its relations with others so that it will best fulfil its own destiny” (Rose, 1996, p.159). This means that social relationships do not automatically develop for people to fulfil their project of the self but require interpersonal skills to initiate and maintain them. This student’s practice in connecting with her friend was consonant with the pre-supposition that the individual is an entrepreneur of self (Rose, 1996, p.158). She was self-aware of difficulties in doing research, so she was active in initiating and maintaining the relationship. Moreover, she strategically applied the Confucian rule of reciprocity while cultivating herself. In Confucian terms, “[r]eciprocity, then, becomes the basis of self-cultivation. One defines one’s ‘self’ in

relation to others and to the Way which unites them. Thus is constructed the web of reciprocal obligations or moral relations in which one finds oneself, defines oneself” (De Bary, 1991, p.3). From this viewpoint, the formation of the self was closely related to the reciprocal way of building a relationship with others. This student’s gratefulness to her friend and action of giving presents indicated that her way of associating with her friend for self-cultivation was guided by the rule of reciprocity.

Examples in this section showed that the strategy of forming assemblages through connecting with others was based on hybridised governmental rules. For this group of students, interpersonal relationships were built based on knowledge, combining the neo-liberal rule of self-mastery with independence and Confucian doctrines of *Xiao* (filial piety), *he* (harmony) and reciprocity. In the process of overseas study for self-cultivation, the two sets of rules hybridised and guided students’ act of associating with others, particularly family members and both Chinese and New Zealand friends, to facilitate their study. Their ability to be successful in meeting the requirements of the neo-liberal rule, imposed by New Zealand export education policies and their instruments, was conditioned by Chinese cultural values and practices. From this viewpoint, the selves of these students as assemblages based on cross-culturally hybridised governmental rules were not exactly identical with political subjectification defined by policy documents such as the Code and Academic Quality Assurance. Note should be taken of the cultural beliefs and values which underpinned the Chinese students’ socialisation when considering the terms of a ‘good’ overseas study.

10.3 Translation: Cross-cultural assemblages for enhancing the learning experience

The previous chapter showed that the expectation of respecting authority and being grateful to teachers shaped by Chinese tradition made students obedient subjects who tended to follow instructions in study and were concerned about inadequate guidance and care in New Zealand. However, Chinese traditional values did not necessarily become a restraint. Instead, these students attempted to appropriate them in a positive way to their New Zealand learning experience. For example, one student talked about how he coped with his relationship with his supervisor and said:

I have a good relationship with my supervisor. Each year, I invite him for a meal before I go back to China for a break. I also write a card to him before Christmas. Sometimes, I brought some small souvenirs from China for him as a token of my appreciation. He seemed to be embarrassed and hesitant about accepting them at the beginning, but I told him that this was a Chinese tradition. I don't know whether other students did something similar. I don't care either. I am a student from a different culture so it should be acceptable even if it would not normally be appropriate. Actually, I did not give him anything expensive but just intended to show my appreciation. We Chinese always say "yi ri wei shi, zhong shen wei fu" [一日为师, 终身为父 a teacher for one day equals a father for the whole life]. We should be grateful to what teachers have done for us.

(Interviewee 26, a male student)

This student intended to handle the relationship with his supervisor according to the Chinese traditional value of filial piety. According to Zhao, the father-son relationship

is at the centre of Confucian thinking on social relationships based on the norm of filial piety. Confucius was the first to connect filial piety, the moral doctrine of serving one's parents, with the virtue of being a son. This doctrine gradually became a guiding value of Chinese society and a model for familial, social and political relations (Zhao, 2007, pp. 1-2, 20). In particular, Zhao notes that Xunzi (荀子) viewed the ethical manifestation of the teacher-disciple relationship as identical to the natural father-son relationship. "Consequently, as respect and obedience are the two main virtues of the son they are likewise the important virtues of the student" (Zhao, 2007, p.133). In the example above, the student's intention to show his gratitude to his supervisor was, to some degree, guided by this value. For him, Christmas cards, meals and small presents were a way by which he could contact with his supervisor informally and show his appreciation. He employed the Chinese belief to justify his actions and persuade his supervisor to accept the tokens. Meanwhile, he strategically combines the Chinese tradition of gratefulness to teachers with Western etiquette like sending Christmas cards. The application of filial piety to the student-supervisor relationship suggested that cultural mechanisms were aligned with mechanisms of government through pastoral technologies. Significantly here, these pastoral technologies were mobile and could be applied cross-culturally.

The cross-cultural application of pastoral technologies seems to be effective. Supervisors valued the Chinese view on the relationship between supervisors and students. For example, when a New Zealand supervisor talked about the supervisor-student relationship, he commented:

One of the things which is really nice is the Chinese students' attitude. As a supervisor, you feel that they are grateful for what you are doing for them. I had a Chinese student several years ago. I still remember some sentences in the acknowledgement she wrote for her thesis. She wrote, "I must be the happiest person as I have got the most wonderful supervisor in the world." She wrote this because she was a particularly friendly woman, but I think there was something more than this. Chinese students generally have a sense of loyalty. New Zealand students perhaps do feel in the same way but they would have never expressed it like that. I think that there is something to do with culture. This is not just some conscious thing and something like receptionists saying something nice to the customers at counters. These students really feel this way rather than thinking that they should say something good to supervisors. I think that in some ways, it actually gives positive feedback on teachers as well. As a supervisor, you realise that the student put lots of trust in you so you feel you should do what you can to help them, as it is a real relationship. I think that this is really positive.

(Interviewee 41, a supervisor)

As this supervisor noticed, the respect and gratefulness that Chinese students showed their supervisors was not only something related to their schooling but also a cultural value ingrained in them. This made the supervisor value the supervisory relationship because it involved trust rather than just responsibilities. In the above two cases, Chinese students actually turned the Chinese tradition of respecting authority and gratefulness to teacher to positive ends. They strategically introduced the pastoral relations of subjectification formed and accepted in China into New Zealand with acts of negotiation, persuasion and justification.

For doctoral students, the hardest time was at the beginning of their study. Different teaching and learning methods made them feel that there was a lack of guidance and care. In these cases, the cross-cultural assembling with regimes of practice worked well for them. For example, during an interview, one student recalled his experience and said:

When I got a scholarship to do a PhD, I was proud of myself. However, my confidence was totally destroyed after several months, as I had no clear idea of what I was supposed to do. I was not satisfied with the process of writing a proposal either. I felt that I seemed to be mentally disabled. I even hated to come into university and started to read some religious stuff such as Buddhism and Taoism. I found that some doctrines in Taoism were helpful. For example, one doctrine says, “qing jing wei tian xia zheng” [清静为天下正 when the mind is clear and still, all things under heaven fall into place]. Sometimes, the more anxious you are, the less efficient you are. I realised that I should calm down and work at a reasonable pace to pursue my interests rather than ji gong jin li [急功近利 being eager for instant success] in the long journey of PhD study. It is said that “dan bo ming zhi, ning jing zhi yuan” [淡泊明志, 宁静致远 living a simple life facilitates pursuit of one’s goal and a soft pace goes far]. (Interviewee 05, a male student)

This student showed how he relied on Chinese cultural knowledge to step out of the pitfall of *ji gong jin li* (being eager for instant success) at the beginning of his PhD study. He was twenty-five years old and in the second year of his PhD when he was

interviewed. According to him, his academic route, up to the start of his doctoral study, seemed to have been smooth and straightforward. This made him keener on instant success than doing research. Like this interviewee, other two students in this study came to New Zealand to attend Year 12 and 13 at high school, and then went to university and finally got PhD scholarships after taking bachelor's degrees with first-class Honours. The ease of their early academic progress seemed to have made them over-confident about their academic ability and easily frustrated when faced with difficulties. The period of PhD study would be a crucial time for them to grow academically and mature mentally. From Rose's perspective of the self as assemblage (Rose, 1996, p.172), PhD study is a process in which they presupposed particular relations with themselves, understood themselves and acted upon themselves in particular ways that were subsequently challenged and transformed as their "connections" expanded after embarking on PhD study and linked them with different regimes of practice.

In the above example, the student's use of Taoism linked ideas of self-cultivation and self-fulfilment based on Chinese values with self-management embedded in neo-liberal practices of the self. For neo-Confucianism which drew ideas from Taoism, self-fulfilment meant personal realisation of the Way as "[t]he Way is the principle inherent in all things, whereas the nature is the principle inherent in the self" (De Bary, 1991, p.29). Human intellectual activity of learning the classics can be understood as "learning for one's self" and "getting it oneself" and helps people develop a moral nature to achieve the Way (De Bary, 1991, pp.11,59-60). This student attempted to attain wisdom and achieve the Way through book learning in order to become self-managed in his New Zealand studies.

In the two examples of students' adaptation strategies, the assembled selves were made with the strategy of translation, which enabled the student to apply pastoral technologies and cross-cultural knowledge to adapt to the New Zealand learning environment. For Rose, translation occurred through tactics such as persuasion, negotiation, bargaining and establishing problem-solution linkages (Miller & Rose, 2008 p.64). Based on liberal governmental rationality, the students were expected to be free subjects responsible for their own well-being, relationships and studies. However, their Chinese cultural background generated difficulties for them in connecting with pastoral technologies of subjectification based on this liberal rationality. With justification, persuasion and negotiation, one student introduced pastoral technologies based on Confucian rationality, thanks to the mobile features of these technologies, into a New Zealand context and formed a good relationship with his supervisor. In this sense, the cross-cultural application of technologies of power and technologies of the self became effective. For another student, free association with Chinese cultural knowledge on how to overcome difficulties allowed him to meet New Zealand learning requirements. This example showed that, with their transnational movement, cross-cultural connections between technologies of power and technologies of the self could be established through the students' strategy of translation as a means to achieve 'good' study abroad.

Translation mechanisms are significant in the liberal political rationalities of government. According to Rose, "[t]ranslation links the general to the particular ... Thus national programmes of government can render themselves consonant with the proliferation of procedures for the conduct of conduct at a molecular level across a

territory” (Rose, 1999, p.51). This study has referred to the *Code of Practice for Pastoral Care of International Students* and *Academic Quality Assurance of New Zealand Universities* which set out institutional arrangements and technological mediation for quality assurance and student care and guidance (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013; Universities New Zealand and The New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit, 2011). In other words, they were instruments of international education policies formed through translation processes in which programmes, authorities, agencies and actors were supposed to be assembled across New Zealand.

However, the strategies of translation of these students went beyond translation mechanisms defined in the liberal political rationalities of government. Their cross-cultural assemblages of human technologies suggested that their needs for and concerns regarding high-quality education exceeded what was defined in the Code and the Academic Quality Assurance. For them, the supervisory relationship was a crucial factor in enabling them to feel cared for and guided in the New Zealand academic community. Moreover, the relationship was conditioned by their cultural values. Cultural differences generated difficulties for them in adapting to New Zealand postgraduate study. Yet, their strategies showed that the same Chinese cultural values and beliefs could also yield positive results in their adaptation to studying in New Zealand. Given this, it can be convincingly argued that the convergence between policy intentions of ensuring high-quality education and the experiences of the Chinese students was culturally conditioned.

10.4 Community participation: Flexible assemblages for guidance and care

10.4.1 Academic communities for adaptation to study in New Zealand

Information provision is one of three major aspects emphasised in *The Code of Practice for Pastoral Care of International Students* (Butcher & McGrath, 2004, p.541). The literature review suggested that institutionalised support and technological mediation were seen as solutions for international students' cultural adaptation and social integration in their host country. In addition to accessing general information and services on campus, such as library services and support of the Learning Skills Centre, this group of students was involved in different types of communities to gain information and socialise with others.

While the interviewees were studying at New Zealand universities, seminars and conferences were a constructive experience for them. One student described her experience and said:

When I came here, what impressed me most were the seminars and conferences. When I attended a departmental seminar for the first time, I was surprised to find that most lecturers/supervisors in the department attended it. After a while, I realised that it was very nice to have such an opportunity. You know, I was not only informed about the latest developments in the field but I also felt I was a genuine member of the department. When I attended some international conferences, the sense of belonging to the academic community seemed to be even stronger. Actually, I like the conference environment where all the participants dressed formally, put their name badges on, participated eagerly in discussions and chatted with each other. This makes me feel that I am a scholar ... (Interviewee 07, a female student)

For this student, department seminars and international conferences turned out to be a good opportunity for her to be informed by the latest developments in his field, integrated into academic communities, and have a sense of belonging. Like her, almost all students valued their experiences in departmental seminars, national and even international conferences. For them, academic communities played a role in identification. To be a member, students voluntarily committed to the norms of the academic communities, enjoyed applying and sharing scientific knowledge, and demonstrated their allegiance to the communities through practices such as attending seminars and conferences. Thus, academic communities could be contact points between these postgraduate Chinese students and the New Zealand knowledge society and economy. Participation in these communities showed the commitment of these students to the neo-liberal rule about self-knowledge.

Another student talked about her experience in gaining information and knowledge when she had just come from China for postgraduate study. She said:

When I arrived here, my supervisor asked me to write a proposal. At that time, I even didn't know what a proposal was and what it looked like. The general feeling was "blindness". To make matters worse my English did not seem to be good enough to enable me to communicate with supervisors effectively. Fortunately, I was familiar with the Internet and skilful at finding information online. I think I benefited lots from this. I learnt how to write a proposal through Google search. During my study here, I relied on the Internet a lot. This technology is amazing – you can find answers for everything you don't

know as others who encountered similar problems have already posted answers online. (Interviewee 01, a female student)

Similar to this interviewee, more than 13 students tended to turn to the Internet to search for information and get guidance to meet study requirements. Two-thirds of them emphasised the role of Internet in their postgraduate study and thought that the Google Search engine functioned like their teacher. In particular, students in Humanities and Social Sciences seemed to use the tool more frequently to fill in knowledge gaps in their subjects, generated by both linguistic barriers and cultural differences. According to Ward, the Googleisation of knowledge enabled knowledge to be disaggregated, digitalised and transformed into sellable and easily transportable bits of information readily available in the market (Ward, 2012, p.127). This suggests that the digitalisation of knowledge meets neo-liberal expectations that require individuals to have self-knowledge and self-mastery (Rose, 1996, p.157). In the above example, skill in online searching enabled this student to be virtually connected to an electronic knowledge pool, constantly being constituted and reconstituted by people with relevant knowledge, so as to improve her competence and optimise her New Zealand learning performance.

Examples in this section have shown that to gain academic guidance and make academic connections, the Chinese students in this study attempted to follow the rules of the neo-liberal knowledge economy to become self-knowledgeable, self-informed and have self-mastery (Rose, 1996, p.157). From this viewpoint, these students were willing to form themselves as policy subjects who keen to engage with the New Zealand knowledge economy and become information searchers and explorers of

knowledge relating to self-mastery. Beyond the academic community, this group of students also had multiple engagements with non-academic communities, which will be examined in the next section.

10.4.2 Non-academic communities for adapting to life in New Zealand

While in New Zealand students also participated in activities organised by non-academic communities. For example, one student described her social life in Christchurch and said:

Depending on their usefulness to me, I went and participated in some activities organised by the Chinese community whose members came from the same Chinese city. In the community, I met some Chinese people from different backgrounds and could get useful information. For example, I got to know I was eligible to apply for permanent residence when I met and chatted with someone. I even met people from the Chinese Embassy during a function to celebrate the Chinese New Year. They talked about China's policies for overseas students ... (Interviewee 24, a female student)

This student's participation in activities organised by the local Chinese community was aimed at obtaining information that was useful for her. The organisation of this community was based on shared narratives, the same cultural background, and the idea of Chineseness informed by the Confucian doctrine of *he*, which was promoted by the Chinese Government to encourage overseas Chinese to imagine that they belonged to the same Confucian community (Fong, 2004, pp.631-632). Although she

was identified as a member of that community, united by the same Chinese geographic origins, her commitment was rather instrumental and autonomised.

Unlike her, 23 of the interviewees were not interested in local community activities but were fond of surfing online and establishing and maintaining their relationships with others in virtual communities. For example, one interviewee said:

I use QQ and Facebook frequently to contact friends who are living in other places. Most of my friends are those I knew in China. Now, they are in China or other countries such as the US, the UK and Australia. I surf online almost every day, so I meet a friend today and another tomorrow. Usually, we just talk with each other – like the way in which people unexpectedly meet in the corridor and chat for a while. I have just got to know that one of my friends will be moving from China to Australia with his parents next month. I am going to meet him there since we haven't seen each other for several years since I left China. (Interviewee 03, a male student)

This student's interactions with friends online were de-localised. Although he was in New Zealand, he could 'meet' and 'communicate' with friends in different parts of the world. Like the local Chinese community, this was a diasporic community. However, for the student, it was not pre-determined but was made and re-made along with his active online surfing and networking.

A few students (six) joined communities which were based on specific programmes. For example, one student explained her circle of friends and said:

I am a technically dependent person and met some people online. Maybe, I can't call them friends but 'tongren' [同仁, people interested in the same piece of online work over a short period]. During that time, I might meet and chat with them frequently online and then, I might lose contacts with them as they shifted their interest to another online novel and became others' tongren. I have been with several groups. Some were like forums. People read a novel and commented on it. Others were like a stage play. After having read a novel, each of us chose a character and made up some stories. It was kind of interactive online writing. I don't know whether it is appropriate for me to spend so much time on this since I am supposed to concentrate on my study. However, this really helps me not to feel lonely. I am not a person with an extrovert personality. Socialisation with people online is much easier for me.

(Interviewee 02, a female student)

According to this student, the ephemeral programme was suitable for her to relieve the feeling of loneliness. The way in which she associated with others was individualised and autonomised. However, to be a *tongren*, she had to commit to the rules of the community and contribute with her writing. The ephemeral social relationship based on specific programmes was also evident in other students' experience. Four male students mentioned their experience of making friends mainly through participation in spare time activities such as playing basketball in Christchurch. For example, one interviewee explained:

I made friends mainly through my participation in spare time sport activities. I participated in activities organised by an international basketball league, as I am a member of its Chinese team that has Chinese from different regions and countries such as Mainland China, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore. I joined the Chinese team when I was doing my Master's. We have regular training and several competitions each year. I think that participation in this activity is very helpful for me. It not only enables me to do physical exercises regularly but also constantly to make new friends. I never got bored as there are always some new faces appearing while some old ones disappear each year.

(Interviewee 18, a male student)

Like the previous example where the student interacted with people online over a short period, this student's social relationships through playing basketball were also ephemeral and transformative. For both students, their social relations were based on individual life experiences or lifestyle choices rather than a shared cultural background and narrative. These relationships kept changing along with the start and the end of each programme so that they constantly had to reconstitute their social relations.

In this chapter's examples the students became hybridised subjects through flexible assemblages, made up of both enterprising and obedient or loyal selves. They have regulated freedom through being cared for and informed. The existence of multiple communities meant that these students were free to make choices and could command plural allegiances. In these cases, students joined academic or non-academic, real or virtual communities, communities constituted through the literature, imaginative

writing, or common interests. They were autonomised, and their allegiances were individualised. Even if they belonged to a community, they were selective in activity participation. The multiple allegiances and active responsibilities suggested that these students accessed information and gained care through multiple channels and in flexible ways rather than merely in the ways defined by the Code. The care they received through joining different communities meant that they followed the neo-liberal rule, which expected them to make free and rational choices among communities.

Meanwhile, their personal allegiances to particular communities meant that their responsibilities and obligations were subjected to specific norms and rules. In other words, these students were not free but were formed and governed through assembling regimes of practices based on different governmental rationalities associated with these communities; that is, government through community (Miller & Rose, 2008, p.92). For example, both the academic community and the virtual community formed through Google search would impose rules based on the neo-liberal knowledge economy. Chinese society and the online community were diasporic communities which reflected the idea of Chineseness, based on the Confucian doctrine of *he* and promoted by the Chinese Government. Communities built around programmes were lifestyle ones which illustrated the enterprise culture of the neo-liberal knowledge economy. This suggested that the neo-liberal rule did not function on its own in New Zealand communities. Instead, multiple types of technologies of power coexisted and their connection with technologies of the self was flexible. This implied that convergence between policy intentions of governing

through communities and these Chinese students' choices for their project of self-actualization could occur in flexible and complex ways.

Up to this point, the discussion has shown that there were strategies of connection, translation and community participation for these students to adapt to life and study in New Zealand. With these strategies, regimes of practice and thought were assembled in different ways. The strategy of connection allowed these students to assemble with and hybridise neo-liberal and Confucian rules in order to gain care and guidance. In other words, it allowed technologies of power based on different cultural mechanisms to be combined and hybridised to connect with technologies of the self. The hybrid assemblages suggested that these students did not always connect with learning facilities and people in the ways that the Code defined. Chinese cultural rules still guided them when socialising with others and accessing resources. It implies that Chinese cultural beliefs and values condition the convergence of policy intentions and the students' experiences. The strategy of translation; that is, the cross-cultural application of pastoral technologies of subjectification and cross-cultural connections between technologies of power and technologies of the self enabled students to reap positive results from cultural knowledge and beliefs. The cross-cultural assemblages suggested that the strategies of translation they employed went beyond translation mechanisms defined in the liberal rationalities of the New Zealand Government. Accordingly, the convergence of policy instruments and their adaptation strategies was determined not only by neo-liberal rules but also by Chinese cultural rules. Their choice to join specific communities gave them regulated freedoms through their voluntary location in regimes of practice. In this sense, technologies of power based on different cultural beliefs could coexist and be flexibly connected to technologies of

the self, depending on individual choices. The flexible assemblages of the self meant that they did not locate themselves or were located in a single regime of government and thought although they eventually met the requirements of New Zealand international education policies and experienced a 'good' overseas study.

The examples illustrating the three adaptation strategies show that the convergence of these students' experiences of study and life and the instruments of the export education policy for ensuring high-quality education and care is a complex process. It is shaped by a combination of neo-liberal rules based on enterprise culture and Chinese values based mainly on Confucian doctrines. The assemblages formed through these strategies suggest that with the transnational movement of these students, the connection between technologies of power and technologies of the self, which used to be well-defined within the same cultural context and political regime, was disrupted and became complicated. Accordingly, the role of cultural mechanisms in mechanisms of government through the embodiment of human technologies, proposed by Bennett (2007), became crucial for understanding their experiences. Moreover, the process of embodiment was not always straightforward through directly connecting a certain set of technologies of power with associated technologies of the self, based on the same set of cultural mechanisms. Instead, cross-cultural configurations and reconfigurations were inevitable.

10.5 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that in their overseas study journey, Chinese international students assembled themselves with other people and things, such as programmes, agencies, friends, families and supervisors, through their adaptation strategies of

connection, translation and community participation. These strategies facilitated border-crossing assembling of regimes of practices, cross-cultural application of human technologies and hybridised formation of rationalities so as to make their experiences converge with New Zealand knowledge economy policies.

To overcome difficulties caused by a perceived lack of care, these Chinese students connected with family members and friends through a hybridised rule combining Confucian doctrines and enterprise culture values. To enhance their learning experiences, they linked with the pastoral relations of subjectification formed in China and Chinese cultural knowledge and then made them work well in New Zealand through actions of translation. Joining communities online and offline enabled them to have multiple allegiances and active responsibilities based on either neo-liberal or Confucian rules, so as to access necessary information and gain care. With these strategies, the selves were formed as hybrid, cross-cultural and flexible assemblages. The characteristics of these assemblages showed that their adaptation to life and study in New Zealand was realised not only through institutionalised service and support provision, urged by the policy intentions, but also through culturally conditioned ways of caring, communication and socialisation. The cultural mechanisms were embodied in mechanisms of government through a complex configuration and re-configuration of technologies of power and technologies of the self. The role of cultural mechanisms affecting the students' decisions about further movement on graduation was also evident. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Eleven Assembled Selves upon Graduation: Chinese International Students' Plans

[H]umans are capacitated through coming to relate to themselves in particular ways: understand themselves, speak themselves, enact themselves, judge themselves in virtue of the ways in which their forces, energies, properties, and ontologies are constituted and shaped by being linked into, utilized, inscribed, incised by various assemblages (Rose, 1996, p.172).

11.1 Introduction

Chapter Six showed that after 2007, New Zealand skilled immigrant schemes started to grant points to international students holding tertiary qualifications, especially New Zealand postgraduate degrees (Immigration New Zealand, n.d., -b; -a). Upon graduation, these students were expected to contribute to the New Zealand knowledge economy as skilled immigrants. In reality, these students would have their own career plans and life goals which would influence their decision to move on or stay. In the previous chapter, the diagram drawn by the student exemplified the motivations that Chinese students would go to countries like Australia and the US after graduating. If so, how could their choices regarding future movement converge with the New Zealand Government's policy intentions of retaining them as skilled immigrants? Answering to this question helps understand how multiple factors and actors assembled to enable a 'good' overseas study upon graduation.

To answer this question, this chapter examines assemblages illustrated in these students' plans. The examination draws on Rose's ideas of assemblage as subject

effects (Rose, 1996, p.171) and “practical rationalities” in which individuals accord significance to aspects of themselves (Rose, 1996, p.173) to analyse how Chinese students assembled with different actors to meet their goals of life and career upon graduation. The integration of Larner and Walters’ idea of globalisation as embodiment (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.506-507) and Bennett’s idea of culture and governmentality (Bennett 2007) allows the examination of these assemblages across national territories and embodying different cultural values.

Guided by these ideas, this chapter is organised into three sections. The first two sections represent students’ choices in respect of travelling, settling down or building academic connections after graduation. The third section discusses how these students’ plans illustrate the way in which they were governed through connecting with different regimes of the self and forming different types of assemblages when they accorded significance to different aspects of themselves. Examples in this chapter will help demonstrate the different ways in which students’ plans and the New Zealand knowledge economy policy of recruiting qualified international graduates as skilled immigrants converge.

11.2 Government funded students as assembled selves

11.2.1 Patriotic-like assemblages for return: Divergence from the New Zealand knowledge economy

The interview findings show that these students had different ideas when talking about plans. There was a significant difference between publicly funded and privately funded students. Out of 36 students, the five who were publicly funded planned to

return to China immediately after graduation. For example, one student explained his plan and said:

After graduation, I am going back to China. When I arrived here, some friends persuaded me to apply for permanent residence. I thought about this and finally decided to give up the opportunity. I have to admit that New Zealand has a pleasant physical environment and good working and study conditions. However, New Zealand is not my motherland. It is impossible for me to integrate into mainstream society here. This is nothing to do with my English level. I want to live in a place where I can have a sense of belonging and feel respected. I think that China is such a place for me. I would have fewer opportunities here than in China. (Interviewee 26, a male student)

The motive for this student's return sounded patriotic. For him, China was the homeland that would give him a sense of belonging and an acceptable social status while overseas study was just an experience on the way to achieving that.

Similarly, another scholarship student explained her plan and said:

I am going back as I have my family, friends and work in China. We should not blame those people who fail to return. I don't think that it is humane to restrict the mobility of people. However, living overseas permanently does not appeal to me. Instead, teaching in a Chinese university is an ideal career. Although I may not belong to the richest group, I think I definitely belong to mainstream society in China. In contrast, after having stayed here for a while I realise that

I will always belong to a minority group, and it would be impossible for me to be a member of the mainstream society. (Interviewee 30, a female student)

For this student, her decision to return after graduation was tied with social relationships, career prospects and social status in China.

Similar to these two students, three other students on government scholarships, who held teaching positions in Chinese universities, made the same choice justified in similar terms. The choices of these students converged with the intention of the Chinese repatriation policy but diverged from that of the New Zealand skilled immigration policy. The selves were shaped by technologies such as scholarships for overseas study and career development after their return. In the above two examples, the students were assembled through national identity, career prospects, social status and family relationships. Both accorded significance to their Chinese national identity.

Although their remarks sounded patriotic, they were based on a hybridised rule combining Chinese cultural nationalism with liberal rule. The Chinese identity they value was based on cultural nationalism. According to Makeham (2008), new Chinese Confucian scholars' studies suggest that *ruxue* (Confucianism 儒学) is integral to Chinese cultural and national identity. For example, nationalism, identified by Qing Jiang in the *Spring Autumn Annals*, one of the major collections of Confucian thoughts, is based on culture rather than on ethnicity or polity. Zehou Li's analysis of the Chinese nation's cultural-psychological structure suggests that modernisation and the establishment of a socialist psychological spiritual civilisation in contemporary China is a result of a collective search for national identity fused with the individual's

search for self-identity (Makeham, 2008, pp.118,121,266). In the two examples above, the interviewees linked the national identity with their own and believed that their self-realisation could not be separated from national development and prosperity.

However, these students were not merely guided by the rationality of cultural nationalism. Their ideas on job opportunities and career development in China reflected the liberal rule based on an enterprise culture emphasising that “it [work] could become an element in a personal project of self-fulfilment and self-actualization” (Rose, 1990, p.103). China’s repatriation policy, presented in Chapter Six, ensured that career development and work opportunities became a way of meeting not only the material but also the psychological needs of returnees. Accordingly, the choice of these students to return was shaped by a combination of authoritarian and liberal rules through a patriotic assemblage.

11.2.2 Academic assemblages for facilitating connections: Partial convergence with New Zealand knowledge economy policies

The overseas study experiences of scholarship students not only facilitated the process of self-cultivation and self-development but also provided opportunities for them to connect to institutions in both New Zealand and China. Since they were located in both education systems, they intended to identify opportunities for building a connection between them. For example, one interviewee taught in a Chinese university and came to study at a New Zealand university through a government scholarship programme. She said:

Regarding doing research, there are some complementary advantages in the Chinese university where I was working and the New Zealand university at

which I am studying. In my field, China has diverse insect specimens but lacks relevant analytical techniques ... I know some institutions in my hometown are very interested in what my supervisors are doing. I am trying to arrange a meeting between them as my supervisors are going to China for a conference. My supervisors are very happy about this as they need specimens to carry on their research and build a database. After graduating and going home, I think that I could consider applying for funding to do some collaborative research projects with my supervisors. (Interviewee16, a female student)

For this interviewee, her dual teacher-student positions enabled her to see the complementary advantages in her field and motivated her to facilitate academic communications and collaborations. In this example, the self was assembled with insect specimens, techniques, institutions, projects and supervisors in China and New Zealand. The assemblages that formed based on academic knowledge enabled this student to expand her connection across national borders and collaborate with her supervisors in New Zealand.

The intention of using complementary strengths was also evident in interviews with supervisors from the natural sciences and engineering. In particular, these supervisors highly valued person-to-person connections built through supervising students from educational systems outside New Zealand. For example, one supervisor commented:

Actually, research students can become important for supervisors to establish networks. We do know other people in this area in other countries, but the relationships are not as strong as those built through actually working side by

side in the lab, getting to know the people and making sure where the confidence comes from. I have worked with people in China to organise conferences and symposiums. However, they may get overwhelmed by what they have to do in China and overseas links take second place. I am thinking that if students come and study in our country from China, the links will be strong and easy to maintain. As a supervisor, I am always willing to maintain connections with students I have supervised as long as they wish. They are my links. (Interviewee 41, a supervisor)

According to this supervisor, the supervision of international students was a crucial way for her to establish, extend and maintain her global academic links.

The student's and the supervisor's comments showed that for the research student, the self was formed as assemblages of objects and relations such as insect specimens, labs and projects in the academic field. With these assemblages, the student could collaborate with her supervisors on research projects and the supervisors could expand their academic connections through supervising students like her. The willingness to develop academic collaboration seemed consistent with the policy's intention of developing international education through building teaching and research connections between New Zealand and overseas universities (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a, p.26).

However, "they [these assemblages] are not simply realizations of any simple will" (Rose, 1999, p.52). They also enabled students to realise their project of the self. For example, one former postgraduate student was working in a Chinese university while

regularly doing collaborative projects with his former supervisors in New Zealand. He explained:

After I had graduated from a university here, I was hesitant about whether I should return to China or stay here. I did not seem to fit either system. There is a huge population in China, so the Chinese Government emphasised nian qing hua [年轻化 rejuvenation] and asked older workers to leave positions for the younger ones. However, it was misinterpreted in some cases. For example, young people seemed to be encouraged “ji gong jin li” [急功近利 seeking instant success]. In academic circles, some scholars pay more attention to instant success than the process of doing research for the purpose of contributing to knowledge. Another issue is academic freedom. I don't intend to refer to anything political. Actually, China has become much more open politically than ever before. For scholars, constraints would sometimes come from their peers and xueba [学霸 prominent figures in the academic world who abuse their rights and treat other scholars unfairly]. In their fields, which were usually influenced by “lun zi pai bei” [论资排辈 seniority], it is hard for a junior scholar to put forward different ideas. This might not be a problem just in China ... Well, I am very satisfied with my situation at the moment. Each year, I stay in China for six months and come here for another six months. My position does not threaten anyone in either the New Zealand or the Chinese university. I am sort of semi-attached and do not compete for resources with any of them so I can avoid these negative effects. (Interviewee 54, a former postgraduate student)

According to this interviewee, the Chinese policy intention of *nian qing hua* (rejuvenation) has sometimes been distorted in the process of policy implementation. Valuing instant success has influenced scholars' attitudes to research. *lun zi pai bei* (seniority) in academic circles would discourage innovative scholarship. Both the Chinese Government's policy of rejuvenation and the norm of seniority affected people's attitudes to established hierarchical relationships based on Confucian doctrines of filial piety, including respecting and referring to elders, and the belief that the capacity for moral judgement improves with age (Zhao, 2007, p.29; Bell, 2008, pp.151-154). This interviewee's strategy was to position himself in-between and become half attached to both systems in order to enjoy academic freedom and avoid unnecessary competition. From this viewpoint, the interviewee had shown great autonomy through refusing some regimes of subjectification in the two university systems. However, his freedom was not unlimited. In this case, the self as assemblages constituted through collaborative projects meant that he was still subject to certain rules he might not have mentioned. Academic assemblages across borders not only realised the goal of New Zealand's international education policy but also met his own needs. In this sense, the convergence between his choice and the New Zealand policy intentions was not accomplished neatly but conditioned by his attitudes to Chinese traditional values.

11.3 Privately funded students as gendered assemblages

11.3.1 Male students' egocentric assemblages for mobility: Divergence from the New Zealand Knowledge Economy

Unlike the five publicly funded students, on entering New Zealand, the 31 privately funded students seemed to have relatively greater autonomy. 18 of them had applied

for and gained permanent residence from Immigration New Zealand before they graduated. The interview findings showed that 12 students with permanent residence did not plan to stay in New Zealand indefinitely after graduation. Instead, they planned to return to China or go to other Western countries like Australia and the US. They were pragmatic about the living conditions and career prospects which could be offered in different places. Male privately funded students, in particular, tended to be more flexible regarding their future movement than females. For example, one male student said:

Frankly speaking, I have no concrete plans for my future. This might be attributed to the influence I got from Buddhist doctrines. I tend to be 'sui yuan' [随缘 to accept the fate and let come what comes and go what goes]. As ordinary people, we cannot control our fate. There are lots of factors beyond our control, so I tend to be practical - living a good life every day as today is tangible and real. In the future, I want to stay in New Zealand or move to Australia as I like to live in that kind of environment. Also, I don't mind returning to China as my social relationships and family are over there. However, I would have to make sure that I could find a suitable job. No matter where I go, I want to have a happy and healthy life with financial security. A sensible way of planning for the future might be to design multiple routes so I can finally make a choice according to the situation. (Interviewee 11, a male student)

This student was flexible in terms of future movement. His explanation seemed to be contradictory. On the one hand, he believed that he could not control his own fate but

had to respond to different opportunities. He justified this with multiple factors, including job opportunities, lifestyle choices, personal happiness and health, friends and families. On the other hand, his plan was egocentric and emphasised a sensible choice for his own well-being. No matter how he accorded significance to different aspects of himself based on different situations, his goal was to “have a happy and healthy life with financial security”. This implied that domination and freedom were interwoven in his plan. At one level, he seemed to have freedom to choose where to live and pursue a career. At another level, he was controlled and had to consider various financial, health and social factors no matter where he went. In this sense, he was granted, as what Rose understands, regulated freedom (Rose, 1999, pp.95,237), that is, he was controlled by job opportunities, social relationships and his lifestyle preference while being given freedom to choose the country where he settled. The dynamic relationship between regimes of practice and his choice meant that his plans were most likely to drift away from New Zealand’s policy intention of recruiting international graduates as skilled immigrants.

In contrast to the above-mentioned student, four male students eagerly talked about their plans for travelling after graduation. For example, one male said:

After graduation, I am going to stay here for a while. Then, I am going to other countries to enrich my experience. Looking around, I find that young people here, either natives or non-natives, prefer to go to other countries for experience. Kiwis have OE [overseas experience]. We Chinese say, “du wan juan shu, xing wan li lu” [读万卷书行万里, reading ten thousands of books, travelling ten thousands of miles]. I can understand why Chinese people call “liuxue”[留学

overseas study] “youxue”[游学 study tour]. For me, “liuxue” is travelling and seeing. During the process of “youxue”, I can gain knowledge and skills, get to know different people and experience different things. These will enable me to have a global view. (Interviewee 06, a male student)

This student used both the Chinese belief in and New Zealanders’ practice of travelling to justify his action of *youxue*. For him, *youxue* would allow him to meet people and things, which represented different practices, forces and relations. With his mobility, self-knowledge and self-actualisation became a process of assembling these practices, forces and relations in different places. As a result, his travel aspirations were inconsistent with the New Zealand policy intention of retaining skilled postgraduates.

Similarly, another male student’s plan was also inconsistent with the policy intention. He said:

I want to travel around the world. I don’t want to go somewhere just as a visitor. I would like to gain daily life experience through living there for a while. When I told my dad about my plan, he laughed at me and said, “2000 years ago, Confucius “zhou you lie guo” (travelled around China 周游列国)²⁷. Now, you want to travel to different countries.” However, he thought that this would be a valuable experience for me and encouraged me with the Chinese

²⁷ At his fifties, Confucius resigned his position as a high ranked official for the Chinese State of Lu, and left for a journey around China, which is known as “zhou you lie guo” (周游列国). In this journey, he lectured rulers of several states about how to make their own states stronger. During the journey, his students protected him and recorded his teachings as a book called the *Analects* (论语). (Source: <http://www.zum.de/whkmla/sp/0910/kyk/kyk2.html>)

saying “hao nan re, zhi zai si fang” [好男儿志在四方 a great man aims at the world rather than staying in his native land]. Indeed, through travelling, I can become familiar with different cultures and customs, become an independent man and enrich myself with knowledge and skills which cannot be obtained merely from books. Afterwards, I may find a place which is most suitable for me to settle down in. (Interviewee 09, a male student)

This excerpt showed that the student's father acquiesced in his plan as he compared his son's ambition of travelling with Confucius's journey in exile. Despite different causes and purposes, his father used that analogy to indicate the significance of his son's travel plan. For this student himself, the experience of travelling was a crucial part of growing up and necessary for him to become a 'great man' and gain knowledge and skills not contained in books. In this sense, travelling was a crucial technology for self-formation and self-knowledge.

In the above two examples, the selves were made through connecting with people, culture, knowledge and places through the students' global adventures. Their travelling was justified by the Chinese cultural belief regarding the quality of a great man and New Zealanders' practice of travelling overseas to gain experience and skills. From this viewpoint, their reasoning combines Chinese and New Zealand cultural values. The assemblages formed through travelling were egocentric and self-interested. Accordingly, their choice to travel diverged from New Zealand's skilled immigration policy.

Together with the first example in this section, the three excerpts were drawn from interviews with male students. The interview findings showed that the intention of travelling around after graduation was mentioned predominantly in the interviews with males. It suggested that students' decisions regarding movement and place to settle in might be gender related. The subsequent sections will further explore this issue.

11.3.2 Male students' career-oriented assemblages for settlement: Divergence from or convergence with the New Zealand knowledge economy

In contrast to the four male students who intended to travel after graduation, nine other privately funded male students preferred to settle down. Five of them expressed their interest in living in New Zealand. For example, one student talked about his plan and said:

I left China when I was eighteen years old and have spent eight years here. This has been an important period of my life. I have got used to the lifestyle here. As long as I can get a job here, life can be very enjoyable. If I returned to China, I would have plenty of opportunities in terms of career development. However, I would need a period of time to adjust. There have been dramatic changes in China in the recent decade. I need to learn to adapt to the social environment over there. For example, I have got used to doing physical exercises regularly. When I visited my hometown last year, I noticed that most of my friends were preoccupied with business meals and entertainment but had not their own time for families and physical exercise. (Interviewee 25, a male student)

This student explained how his living and study experiences in New Zealand had shaped and reshaped his interests and values. For him, the lifestyle preference determined his choice of abode though job opportunities were still important for him. Given that under liberal government, “the individual is to become, as it were, an entrepreneur of itself, seeking to maximize its own powers, its own happiness, its own quality of life, though [sic][through] enhancing its autonomy and then instrumentalizing its autonomous choices in the service of its life-style” (Rose, 1996, p.158). This suggests that enterprise culture based on liberal governmental rule seeks to govern individuals through their lifestyle choices. In this example, this student’s choice of enjoying a certain lifestyle in New Zealand seemed to be autonomous. However, it was shaped by the enterprise culture of maximising the individual’s quality of life (Rose, 1996, p.162) and converged with the neo-liberal policy intention of attracting international graduates as skilled immigrants.

Unlike this student, two other males chose to return to China whereas two male students planned to go to English-speaking countries in the West like Australia and the US. For example, a student who chose to return to China explained:

I don't want to stay overseas permanently. After I have finished my study here, I am going back to China. The question for me is which city I should go to as China is very big, and Chinese cities have different strengths and weaknesses in terms of living conditions and job opportunities. I would go to some cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen, which usually provide plenty of opportunities for returnees. However, I don't think that these cities are suitable

for living. They are like a battlefield full of competition and suitable only for young people prepared to pursue a successful career without a real life. If I went to the second and even third tier cities I would have a comfortable life with less pressure but there would be fewer opportunities and I would become unproductive due to over-relaxation. (Interviewee 18, a male student)

For this student, the dilemma on his return is how to draw a balance between enjoying a high quality of life and pursuing a successful career owing to the different strengths and weaknesses of Chinese cities. Over the past three decades, China has experienced rapid economic growth. However, economic development and living conditions in different regions and cities are uneven because of historical, economic and policy factors. In particular, economic-reform policies were introduced and applied exclusively to some coastal cities, such as Shenzhen, making them more attractive for investment and the labour force (Holm, 1989, p.377). The growing prosperity of these cities made them attractive but competitive markets for returnees. As the student mentioned, some cities were like a battlefield where a career could only be pursued at the expense of having a real life. In this example, the student's plan to return seemed to converge with China's repatriation policy while diverging from the New Zealand knowledge economy policy. However, compared with those patriotic recipients of scholarships he had practical reasons for striking a career-life balance, which might not exactly fit in with the Chinese repatriation policy intention as he accorded significance to personal well-being and career development rather than national identity and prosperity. His choice was guided by the liberal rule based on the enterprise culture which emphasises the individual's capacity for self-steering and self-fulfilment (Rose, 1996, pp.154-155).

As the above two examples showed, both New Zealand and China could be a place where these male students could settle down. Moreover, male students' decisions were tempered by a specific concern about the relationship between family responsibilities and career development. For example, one of male students explained his choice and said:

Unlike some students who are hesitant about whether to stay or leave, I feel very comfortable about staying in New Zealand. I can enjoy the freedom and decide what I would like to do. I do not think that it is a good idea to wander around. I am going to complete my Master's study soon and then find a job. I don't plan to do a PhD. I think that, at the moment, I have spent enough time at university and need to do something practical. Recently, I have had several job interview opportunities in New Zealand ... (Interviewee 14, a male student)

For this male student, his decision about living in New Zealand seemed to grant him freedom. However, that freedom was determined by job opportunities. While being asked about how he considered the responsibility of taking care of his parents. He replied:

Of course, I will take care of them in their old age. At the moment, they are happy with what I am doing. They think that a man should put his career first. They are right. Although "starting a family and establishing a career" [chengjia liye, 成家立业] is regarded as a symbol of becoming a man, I think that the sequence of the phrase should be changed. A man should establish his

career first and then he can consider starting a family and being in a position to take care of his parents. (Interviewee14, a male student)

This comment showed that the male student accorded significance to his career when making a decision about where he was going to live. Like him, all the 16 male students were concerned in different degrees with career development and job opportunities when talking about their plans. For them, family responsibilities, including fulfilling filial piety, were conditioned by success in their career. From this viewpoint, their choices were still guided by a hybridised rule combining Chinese cultural beliefs and enterprise culture. This implied that, for these male students, job opportunities and career development were primary determinants for their choice. In turn, their choice could, but might not necessarily be, consistent with the intentions of the New Zealand knowledge economy policy.

11.3.3 Female students' familial assemblages for choice of residence: Divergence from or convergence with the New Zealand knowledge economy

For 17 privately funded female students, the primary determinants of choice of residence were generally different from those for male students. For example, one female student explained:

I would go back to China. New Zealand is an ideal place for a holiday and family life, but it is too quiet for me. I am young and prefer to work and live in a different environment. Moreover, I need to consider taking care of my parents although they are not very old. My mum wants me to live with them, at least live in the same city. For them, the physical environment in New Zealand

is good but the social environment is not pleasant because of the different cultures. They feel comfortable about living in China in their old age. However, I would not go back immediately after graduation. I plan to find a job here and stay a couple of years to get some work experience, which is important for me to be competitive in the Chinese job market. Now Chinese companies and institutions prefer people with overseas study and work experience. (Interviewee 29, a female student)

For this female student, her parents' residential preference would determine her decision to return to China. New Zealand served as a transitional zone. New Zealand work experience would enable her to compete in the job market in China. However, responsibility for taking care of her parents was a major determinant in her choice of movement and residence, suggesting that her plans were influenced by a hybridised rule, combining a liberal rule based on enterprise culture which valued competition and free choice (Rose, 1996, p.157), and the Confucian doctrine of filial piety and serving one's parents (Zhao, 2007, p.19). This implied that with regard to transnational movement, the convergence between this student's choice and the New Zealand knowledge economy policy was not permanent. Her intention to work in New Zealand was instrumental in her career development in China and conditioned by the Chinese traditional value of filial piety.

Even so, honouring filial duties and serving their parents did not mean that these students had to go back to China. Another female student explained her plan and said:

I will stay here for three years to help my parents to gain PR [permanent residence] as I am an only child and need to consider taking care of my parents in the future. My parents did a lot for me. I should reciprocate although they did not ask me to do so. Moreover, I want to let members of my extended family know that a girl can still be reliable and fulfil filial piety. Then, I might go to Australia as my cousin is there. Australia has a larger job market than that in New Zealand but has less work pressure than in America. New Zealand has a good physical environment but lacks job opportunities and necessary competition. I would like to live with a bit of pressure but not too much. This could make me productive. I could make money in Australia to support myself and my parents. In the beginning, survival is most important for me. When I become older, I would consider living with my parents in New Zealand. (Interviewee 08, Female)

For this student, New Zealand played a dual role in her life course. On the one hand, her intention to find a job in Australia after graduation indicated that New Zealand served as a springboard for her to access a bigger Western job market. On the other hand, her plan to support her parents' move to New Zealand suggested her intention was to make a home in New Zealand. At this point, New Zealand seemed to be both a transitional zone for her career and a future residential destination. In her plans, she strategically combined her career development with her family responsibility for fulfilling filial piety. This student planned her future around the family responsibility for taking care of her parents. The way she converged with the policy intention was not straightforward but was determined by job opportunities and conditioned by the Chinese traditional value of filial piety.

For six adult female students, family members like parents, husbands and children, turned out to be essential to their residence plans. For example, one female student said:

Before I got married, I was flexible in terms of where to live. However, I planned to go back to China after I finished my studies as my dad insisted that I should live with them. After I had got married, I needed to consider the opinions of my other half when making any decisions. My husband is a Singaporean, so New Zealand is an ideal place for both of us. The only concern is my parents as I need to take care of them in their old age. Now, my parents have changed their mind and are willing to come to New Zealand to live with us, so everybody is happy. When my parents came to New Zealand for our wedding ceremony, my dad stayed in hospital for a week owing to sickness. During his stay in hospital, he was impressed by the services provided by doctors and nurses. He said that it was the right choice to live here.

(Interviewee 17, a female student)

For this female student, her flexibility regarding residence was determined by her family role as both a daughter and a wife. She had to consider making everybody happy when deciding where to live. New Zealand turned out to be a suitable place for all parties. In this example, convergence between the policy intention and her choice was conditioned by her gender role based on Chinese cultural values and her father's impression of New Zealand's healthcare system. The healthcare factor was not contained in the Code defining responsibilities of student service providers. However,

it played a crucial role in this student's decision to stay in New Zealand as it could facilitate her need to fulfil filial piety. This suggested that the implementation of policies could go beyond the intention of policy instruments themselves and be facilitated by the broader social environment and therefore, the convergence between policy intentions and student experiences requires a policy environment that can address these students' culturally specific concerns such as accessing services to serve their parents.

For these female students, the family had great significance in determining their movement and residence. Together with those male students' comments in the previous two sections, they showed that female and male students tended to accord significance to different aspects of their lives and accordingly "agentize" themselves differently based on Confucian gender ideology. Confucian cosmology well defined the gender relationship and equates men with Heaven (*tian*, 天) and *yang* (阳), and women with *ying* (阴). The power or authority of social norms is enforced by the 'Way of Heaven' (*tiandao*, 天道). Society is viewed as an extended family. Accordingly, the male is both the leader of the family and the ruler of society (Yao, 2003a, p.162; Zhao, 2007, pp.18-19,33-38). This means that men have a greater power and social status than women in both the family and society so that women are subordinate; the role of the female is confined to the domestic sphere.

Examples in this section show that these privately funded female students would choose to assemble themselves with different people and relations. However, no matter where they went, they accorded significance to their gender roles as daughters and wives. Their choice of New Zealand as a permanent destination was determined

by various factors such as job opportunities, social environment and family responsibilities. Moreover, their intention to fulfil filial piety greatly conditioned the ways in which they were connected with New Zealand society. From this viewpoint, their choices could but did not always converge with New Zealand policy intentions.

11.4 Power, freedom and culture

The interview findings presented in this chapter showed that diverse choices were revealed in these Chinese students' plans. Upon graduation, their selves would be made through different ways of making border-crossing assemblages of regimes of practice based on practical rationalities.

For publicly funded students, the selves were formed based on nationalist rationality and assembled with career opportunities, social status, social relationships and national identity. The choice to return home diverged from the New Zealand skilled immigration policy. However, after having returned China, these students intended to keep connections with their supervisors and initiate collaborative projects. In this way, their plans were still partially or indirectly convergent with New Zealand's international education agenda of promoting university collaboration (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a, p.26). This group of students then seemed to be well defined within the policy domain and subject to regimes of political subjectification in China and New Zealand. However, the interview results also showed that they were not always willing to accept all regimes of subjectification. Instead, they had their own reasoning, or in Rose's terms "practical rationalities" (Rose, 1996, p.173) about assembling and being assembled with various actors and institutions such as

universities, supervisors, laboratories and colleagues. Moreover, the reasoning was hybridised and combined their responses to both neo-liberal and Chinese cultural rule.

Privately funded students demonstrated a comparatively greater degree of autonomy. The selves were formed as assemblages either across national borders or within a national territory. However, they did not follow a universal rule. Instead, the distinctive tendencies of male and female students in terms of their plans meant that they accorded significance to different aspects of themselves in response to associated gender values. Accordingly, the selves were formed as different types of assemblages. For four male students, *youxue* (study tour) was a crucial part of their self-fulfilment. This facilitated their movement and determined the dynamics of the multiple lines of connections with people and things along with their global adventures. These students' reasoning combined ideas based on Chinese cultural beliefs and enterprise culture. For the male students, self-knowledge, self-fulfilment and self-cultivation were the main priority. The assembled selves were rather egocentric. 16 male students who planned to settle in New Zealand, China or other countries, accorded significance to job opportunities and career development. For them, career success was the first step to being a man and assuming family responsibilities. In this situation, the assembled selves were career-oriented in ways that would eventually fulfil their roles as sons and husbands.

In contrast, the female students tended to be family-oriented. No matter where they settled, the assemblages were formed to fulfil their roles as primarily dutiful daughters and virtuous wives. For them, while the self was made with rationalities based on the traditional belief in filial piety; nevertheless, their actions of border-crossing and

association with different regimes also challenged the traditional cultural practice of giving preference to sons. Although they accorded significance to their family responsibilities, they still considered how to fulfil filial piety through forming enterprising selves in job markets. In this sense, they were also governed by enterprise culture values such as competitiveness and the urge to succeed (Rose, 1996, p.157).

The examples presented in this chapter suggest that upon graduation, the selves were made as subjects with regulated freedom through border-crossing assembling with different people, forces and relations. The different types of assemblages constituted in their plans seemed to suggest that they were self-actualised through choice. In other words, they were free to make a choice regarding future movement or residence. However, the selves were not the antithesis of government. Their freedom was regulated by border-crossing regimes of government. In particular, they had to respond to nationalist rationality, China's repatriation policy, the international education agenda, New Zealand's skilled immigration scheme, neo-liberal market forces and family responsibilities. Moreover, they were not passive subjects in the face of these governmental rules. They accorded significance to specific aspects of themselves in order to form themselves as patriotic, academic, egocentric, career-oriented or familial assemblages. They were active and calculated showing either willingness to accept or resist to certain regimes of subjectification. In the process of self-actualisation, power and freedom were interwoven in their choices.

The different types of assemblages suggested that they tended to put a priority on a certain aspect of themselves. However, these assemblages did not represent a single will. This implied that the New Zealand Government was not the only actor shaping

Chinese students' pathways. There was no single way of aligning Chinese students' future pathways with New Zealand policy intentions. The convergence between New Zealand policy intentions and their plans happened haphazardly resulting from their being detached, half-attached and attached to the New Zealand knowledge economy. Moreover, the different ways of convergence were conditioned by the hybridisation of Chinese and Western gendered cultural values. The role of cultural values in governmental mechanisms will be discussed in the next chapter.

11.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, Chinese students' plans illustrated how different lines of connection were assembled establishing different ways of convergence between policy intentions and students' choices. The interview findings show that publicly funded and privately funded students had different plans. Repatriation was required of publicly funded students, so they justified their plans through patriotic remarks. They assembled themselves with regimes of practice such as national identity, career development opportunities, social status and social relationships while according significance to national identity. The patriotic assemblages were accordingly guided by a hybridised rule based on both Chinese cultural nationalism and enterprise culture. In this way, their plans diverged from New Zealand skilled immigration policies. After returning to China, their intention to work with their supervisors through collaborative projects suggested that they had potential to converge with the intention of New Zealand's international education agenda. However, academic assemblages were formed not only to realise the policy intention but also to address their own concerns when responding to academic norms based on the Confucian doctrine of filial piety. This implied that although these publicly funded students seemed to be well regulated by

either the Chinese repatriation policy or New Zealand international education policy, they were not perfect policy subjects. The convergence between these policy intentions and their plans was conditioned by their attitude to Chinese traditional values.

For privately funded students, the gender values guided them to form selves as different types of assemblages. Although both male and female students considered job opportunities and lifestyles when making decisions, they had different tendencies. Male students tended to give greater consideration to their role in society than in the family when deciding on movement and residence. Their success in social roles determined their ability to take on family responsibilities. Accordingly, they tended to choose to travel around for self-knowledge and self-cultivation. Even if they considered settling down, their choices were career-oriented. In contrast, for female students, parents' expectations and their own intentions both seemed to suggest that they were family-oriented. In the case of female only children, they intended to prove that they were as reliable as a son was. The selves were the family-oriented assemblages. From this point of view, these students' residence choices were based on a different rule from that of the New Zealand knowledge economy policies. For them, traditional Chinese cultural values regarding gender roles determined how they accorded significance to either their career or families in order to assemble relevant values, people, relations, practices and opportunities. As a result, their home-making practices could be, but were not necessarily, consistent with the New Zealand knowledge policy intention of recruiting qualified international graduates as skilled immigrants. Moreover, the realisation of the policy intention was conditioned by the Chinese cultural value of filial piety.

The ways of convergence between policy intentions and the experiences of individual Chinese students are not universal but haphazard with detachment from, semi-attachment and conditional attachment to the New Zealand knowledge economy. In the process, the self was formed between government and freedom. These students' strategies allowed them to address cultural concerns, fulfil family responsibilities, ensure political acceptance, maintain social status and respond to market forces. Meanwhile, they did not passively accept all regimes of subjectification but demonstrated great agency while being built into the assemblages. Thus, these strategies produced different types of assemblages, which established contacts between technologies of power and those of the self. Moreover, the way of reasoning of these students regarding the formation of assemblages was hybridised with a combination of Chinese cultural and neo-liberal rationalities. This means that the convergence between their plans and New Zealand policies are culturally conditioned. Conceptually, their plans reflect existing understandings of governmentality but generate a need for considering cultural mechanisms in governmentality studies. This finding will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Twelve Governmentality, Globalisation and Culture: Making and Governing Chinese International Students

Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (Dean, 2010, p.18).

12.1 Introduction

Using a governmentality perspective, the previous seven chapters have elaborated on the establishment and development of international education and the experiences of a group of Chinese international students in pursuing overseas study in order to realise their project of the self. Although the field of international education does not have a long history, both the New Zealand and the Chinese Government's policies and the pattern of individual students' participation have changed dramatically. The discursive shift from "education for aid" to "education for trade" highlights a move towards neo-liberal rationality as the new prevailing mode of governance. With the shift in discourse, the world order of international education is established through market forces by which international students are treated as free and rational consumers and international graduates as knowledge creators and transferors. Within this discursive terrain, authorities and agencies attempt to employ a variety of techniques, like scholarships and university rankings, to regulate student movement. In the New Zealand-Chinese context, Chinese students are expected to fit into the

agenda of export education and the New Zealand skilled immigration scheme. However, empirical studies show that there are gaps between policy intentions and individual students' experiences. In particular, this study has revealed that the process of making and governing Chinese postgraduate international students in and through their overseas study journey is complex involving, as it does, multiple rationalities, different political and non-political authorities and agencies, and a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge.

As these findings elaborate on the complexity of overseas study, they draw attention to issues, such as the role of culture in government, which can contribute to a re-examination of theoretical understandings of governmentality. To be specific, the process of making and governing Chinese international students illustrates “how thought operates within our organized ways of doing things, our regimes of practices, and with its ambitions and effects” (Foucault, 1991b, cited in Dean, 2010, p.27). It shows how neo-liberal ideology operates to govern these students in the field of international education. In addition, the border-crossing mobility of Chinese students disrupts the taken-for-granted connection between thought and government within a well-defined territory. With the transnational movement of Chinese students, different political regimes and cultural mechanisms, which function in New Zealand and China, are brought together and re-configured.

This chapter analyses and discusses these findings in relation to relevant theoretical understandings of governmentality from three aspects, namely the rationality of government, the regime of government and the technology of government. It draws ideas from Foucault on governmentality (Foucault 1991a), archaeology (Foucault

1972) and genealogy (e.g. Foucault 1979; 1988; 2000c; 2000d), Bennett on culture and governmentality (Bennett 2007), Larner and Walters on globalisation and governmentality (Larner & Walters, 2004a), Dean on regimes of government (Dean 1994; 2010), and Rose on human technologies (Rose 1990; 1996; 1999), to analyse and discuss the process of making and governing Chinese international students. This chapter argues for the necessity of integrating cultural mechanisms with the mechanisms of government through showing the ways by which the former conditions the latter so as to enable convergence between policy interventions and individual Chinese students' experiences for a 'good' overseas study. Based on this argument, an adapted articulation of governmentality that incorporates cultural mechanisms will be offered. The inclusion of cultural mechanisms in governmentality not only advances the theoretical conceptualisation of this analytics of government but can also, in practical terms, answers the thesis question about a 'good' overseas study.

12.2 Multiple rationalities and the culturally conditioned field for international education

12.2.1 Alignment between cultural and governmental mechanisms through discourse

This study has examined New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies to understand how policy intentions for and Chinese students' experiences of a 'good' overseas study converge. The findings show that the convergence is culturally conditioned. In particular, the role of cultural mechanisms in shaping these students' experiences is realised through discourse. This finding proves Bennett's understanding of culture as discourse playing a role through human technologies. Bennett notes that there is an

alignment between cultural and governmental mechanisms. Moreover, culture is linked to technologies through the role it plays as technologies of sign systems (Bennett, 2007, p.83). Chapters Five and Six have shown that the discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade” promote different cultural mechanisms through associated technologies at different historical times. With the spread of the discourse of “education for aid”, Western culture and scientific knowledge became dominant. They were transferred through aid programmes, a human technology in Rose’s terms (Rose, 1996, pp.26-27). Similarly, under the discourse of “education for trade”, the rise of market forces promoted an enterprise culture. According to Rose, “the forms of political reason that, at the end of the 1980s, aspired to create an enterprise culture accorded a vital *political* value to a certain image of the human being” (Rose, 1996, pp.150-151). He holds that the vocabulary of enterprise can be given a technological form by experts of organisational life and engineering human relations to achieve efficiency, competitiveness and excellence. With the enterprise cultural mechanism, the self aspires to autonomy, personal fulfilment, individual responsibility and free choice (Rose, 1996, pp.150-160).

In this study, the discourse of “education for trade” encourages policy practices in governing and self-governing characterised by enterprise culture. For example, university ranking and marketing serve as technologies to encourage universities to compete with each other and achieve excellence based on certain criteria. With the assumption that international students are rational consumers, the provision of pastoral care involves organisations and agencies with different kinds of expertise on international student issues to facilitate students’ choices and decisions. From this

viewpoint, the relationship between cultural mechanisms and the mechanisms of government is connected through discourses embodied in human technologies.

12.2.2 Multiple rationalities and the culturally conditioned field

The findings also show that cultural mechanisms play a role not only through the emergence of a discourse but also through the coexistence of multiple rationalities at different historical times. Under the discourse of “education for aid”, the world order in international education is built through making Western culture and its knowledge system supreme. Accordingly, a Euro-centric geopolitical rationality is imposed. However, national variations in discursive practices presented in Chapter Five suggest that individual countries have their own strategies for developing international education in response to both local concerns and global discourses. Chapter Six shows that in China, the Euro-centric geopolitical rationality is not readily accepted as the only truth owing to the long-standing influence of Confucian philosophy and nationalist ideology on the perception of world order and China’s relationship with other countries. The Euro-centric geopolitical rationality functions through competing with a Confucian geopolitical one. In other words, Western powers are exercised through interacting with resistance based on the Chinese understanding of and struggle for world order. Before the twentieth century, the Chinese imaginary of the world order was based on a culturalist view of Sino-centric universalism. Confucianism, which dominated the thinking of Chinese people, separated the Chinese from other people. After the Opium Wars, China was unexpectedly marginalised as a semi-colonised land in a Euro-centric world. The Chinese world order based on this cultural construction collapsed with the invasion of the West and was replaced by nationalism. Confucian scholars, with different degrees of

willingness, sought Western ideas on modernisation to guarantee China equal status in the world – a non-Chinese remedy for the problem of Chinese survival (Chen, 2005, pp.36-38; Miller, 2010, p.1). From this viewpoint, both the culturalist and nationalist views of world order are inspired by Confucianism and competed with the view of Euro-centric world order.

Resistance based on both culturalist and nationalist reasoning can be seen in the way China connects with and positions itself in the international education system at its pre-discursive stage. For example, conservative officials of the Qing Court terminated the “Westernisation Movement” (*yangwu yundong* 洋务运动) because of concerns about the influence of the Western culture on Chinese youth. In 1905, Chinese officials abolished the civic service examination and turned to the Western education system for solutions. However, they still emphasised that Chinese learning should serve as the essence or the cultural core (*ti* 体) while the principles of Western learning could only be treated as the means to practical affairs (*yong* 用). During the period of the May Fourth Movement, different Chinese intellectual factions emerged with opposing views on traditional Chinese values and Western knowledge that led to domestic power struggles. After having come to power, the Nationalist Party (*Guomindan* 国民党), representing liberal intellectuals, accessed Western knowledge and academic models selectively to ensure that it could rule without being threatened. Between 1949 and 1976, Chinese Communist Party rule provided positive conditions for the emergence of the discourse of “education for aid”. However, the struggle between superpowers led to China’s valuing the Soviet-centric geopolitical rationality as truth in order to obtain educational and economic aid.

This process of positioning in and connecting with the international education system illustrates the coexistence of multiple types of geopolitical rationalities, including the Euro-centric rationality based on Western culture, nationalist and cultural ones based on Confucianism and the Soviet-centric rationality presenting a combination of educational practices based on both Western and Eastern cultural values. Moreover, the imposition of Western values was greatly affected and conditioned by the Eastern ones. In this sense, the making and re-making of international education and international students illustrate Larner and Walters' idea of globalisation as de-territorialization and re-territorialization and embedded power relations (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.497-498,500). Moreover, this is realised through the coexistence of multiple culturally informed rationalities that condition the way by which the discourse is spread.

Multiple political rationalities exist not only in the period of “education for aid” but also in that of “education for trade”. Chapter Five shows that among sending countries such as India and South Korea, repatriation and diaspora policies on living conditions and the provision of work for returnees show governments' intention to model government on the needs and concerns of individual students. Chapter Six highlights, in particular the Chinese twelve-character direction of policy enacted in 1993 which states “support study overseas, promote return home, maintain freedom of movement” (*zhichi liuxue, guli huiguo, lai qu ziyou* 支持留学，鼓励回国，来去自由) (Barabantseva, 2005, p.16), illustrating an enterprise culture based on the liberal rationality of governing through granting freedom. With this approach, the emphasis on the role of market forces seems to suggest that a geo-economic rationality has

replaced the geopolitical rationality. A free market shapes the order of international education and the significance of nation state has diminished.

Yet, with the rise of the international education market, its geopolitical features are not discarded. In the free market, nation states deploy cultural mechanisms to govern international students. For example, the practice of university ranking is based on the idea of the supremacy of Western knowledge systems and their academic practices. As a result, top universities are mainly those in the West. This suggests that the idea of university ranking, borrowed from business benchmarking, is not only geo-economic but also geopolitical which reflects Larner and Walters' ideas on the particular styles and arts of governing through exercising both geopolitical and geo-economic power within the process of globalisation (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.508).

Additionally, cultural politics condition the exercise of geopolitical and geo-economic power. For example, Chapter Five shows that both repatriation and diaspora policies in South Korea and India and talent policies in Singapore are justified through nationalism. Chapter Six shows that Chinese nationalism based on culturalist rationality was observable in its foreign policy including its dealings with overseas Chinese, which combines “the *he*-based Party-state Confucian rhetoric” with “a cultural Chineseness-centred academic discourse” informed by the concepts of Confucian humanism *he* (peace, harmony, union) and *minben* (people as the basis) (Cao, 2007, pp.435, 441). From this viewpoint, international education and the identity of Chinese international students are shaped and formed not only by geopolitical and geo-economic rationalities but also by a cultural-political rationality based on neo-Confucianism, which emphasises a harmonious relationship between

individuals, society and the nation. Accordingly, this suggests that under the universal discourse of “education for trade”, there are multiple political rationalities. In particular, the Chinese cultural belief in Confucianism is applied strategically by the Chinese Government to juxtapose its cultural-political rationality with geopolitical and geo-economic ones.

The existence of multiple rationalities and the formation of culturally conditioned spaces for international education imply that Bennett’s understanding of the relationship between culture and governmentality is applicable to this study. Moreover, it can be developed and complemented with evidence generated by it. The examination of the coexistence of governmental rationalities makes it possible to account for the relationship between discourse and rationalities, and the connection between culture and government through not only discourse but also rationalities in the global context. Foucault notes that in the process of discursive formation, not all alternatives are equally realised. The determination of theoretical choices depends on non-discursive practices (Foucault, 1972, pp.67-68). Moreover, “in the world we have known since the nineteenth century, a series of governmental rationalities overlap, lean on each other, challenge each other, and struggle with each other ...” (Foucault, 2008, p.313). This suggests that the emergence of a discourse is a result of a certain rationality manifesting itself as truth while excluding other voices and alternatives. It implies that focusing on a discourse itself would only allow people to link *a culture* rather than *cultures* to practices of government. In this case, nation states, associated with different cultural traditions and values, become involved in the field of international education, constituted by discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade”. They may have different rationalities on positioning themselves

in and connecting with the field based on their cultural beliefs and knowledge systems although these rationalities would not be able to enter a discourse owing to particular power relations. These rationalities, which represent different voices, can condition the formation of a certain discourse. In turn, different sets of cultural mechanisms play a role in the practice of global governmentality.

12.3 Different cultural values, hybridised government and assembled selves

12.3.1 Cultural beliefs and the visibility of government

This study shows that cultural mechanisms play a role through not only the rationality of but also the practice of government. Moreover, the regimes of practice, which subjectify Chinese students differently, are assembled based on hybridised government combining Western and Chinese cultural values. The hybridisation of governmental practices can be perceived in three aspects: the visibility of government or ways of seeing, governmental rule and the assemblage of regimes of subjectification.

In this study, distinctive ways of visualisation with diagrams, charts and graphs illustrate different regimes of government based on different cultural values. For example, the graphs and charts, generated from official data, show the general trends in respect of different groups of international students who studied in New Zealand in the period between 2001 and 2009 (See Figure 7-1, 7-2 and 7-3). The official data and associated graphs are a way of visualising the field to allow the effectiveness of export education to be monitored and to indicate what objectives should be set and what practical measures should be employed each year. To justify how the field should be governed, this method of visualisation treats international students as

rational and free individuals in the international education market. To do so, the official data and the associated graph representing the total number of international students studying in New Zealand (See Figure 7-1) have to show the general trend regarding the inflow of international students aligned with the discourse of “education for trade” informed by enterprise culture. Then, in Figure 7-2, this group of international students is broken down into groups of international postgraduate students, Chinese international students and Chinese doctoral students. In Figure 7-3, it is broken down into groups of postgraduate, Honours, Master’s students and doctoral students from the top four student-sending countries, namely China, the US, Malaysia and India. Compared with Figure 7-1, the two figures reveal obscured or hidden differences and contradictions in the inflow numbers of international students between 2001 and 2009 (See Figure 7-2 and 7-3).

The graphs and charts, which are generated based on data collected through an online survey visualise a sub-group of New Zealand international students to probe contradictions and inconsistencies. They reveal a complex picture in terms of students’ choices and decisions regarding overseas study. In particular, these students’ choices are facilitated not only by the export education policy and its instruments, such as a university’s reputation based on its ranking, but also by other factors such as the presence of relatives and friends in New Zealand and physical environment (See Appendix 7-1 Survey-Section C-Question 4). This method of visualisation indicates that the regimes of government involved in these students’ experiences are not singular but are more complex than expected.

At the individual level, the diagram drawn by the student (See Appendix 10-1) illustrates the complexity characterising a hybridised government. Along with the student's self-narrative, the diagram visualises international education from the perspective of the student, a policy subject. According to Rose, it is a mistake to view self-narrative as the product of a single self. Instead, "certain ways of talking about the self receive in ongoing interchanges between persons of various types in which individuals negotiate together particular accounts of themselves and others, negotiations that themselves take certain culturally available storied forms" (Rose, 1996, p.177). This suggests that the self is multi-faceted, and the way of talking about the self is influenced by cultural values. In this example, the diagram visualising this student's self-narrative illustrates both the enterprising self, based on Western culture, and the obedient and reciprocal self, based on Chinese cultural beliefs.

On the one hand, the diagram presents an assemblage of organisations, individuals and facilities with which the student connects and is connected. They represent the programmes, relations and services, which, in different ways, problematize the difficulties international students face, based on the neo-liberal market logic. Rose notes, "The [the] vocabulary of enterprise thus enables a political rationality to be 'translated' into attempts to govern aspects of social, economic, and personal existence that have come to appear problematic" (Rose, 1996, p.154). In this case, the different branches of the tree illustrate how New Zealand's export education policy was translated into attempts of on- or off-campus institutions and individuals to serve and govern international students. Under enterprise culture, the student is expected to be autonomous and self-responsible for organising his study and life in New Zealand. Personal fulfilment is achieved through his experience of connecting with different

individuals, organisations and facilities that are represented by the branches of the tree. His future is shaped through his choice to connect with and move to a certain country.

On the other hand, the visualisation also illustrates the Chinese cultural value of the self. In this case, this student's narrative and the way of visualisation reflect the idea that his fulfilment is facilitated by his connection and assembling with others. "To associate oneself with others' is a fundamental premise of Confucius' thought. There can be no fulfilment for the individual in isolation from his fellows" (De Bary, 1991, p.2). This means that the self, based on Chinese culture, is relational. This diagram shows how the student sees himself as a social being connected with others and the relationships that constitute the self. In this sense, the assemblage in the diagram is consonant not only with the enterprising self based on Western culture but also the Chinese cultural belief in the self. From this viewpoint, this diagram shows a hybridised government at work in the field to govern Chinese international students. This also implies that there is consistency between Western and Chinese culture in terms of the way of seeing the self as an assemblage.

12.3.2 Hybridised government and assembled selves

The previous section has shown that the self can be viewed as an assemblage in both Western and Chinese culture. This raises a few questions: why did a similar way of seeing not lead to the same kind of action regarding the relationship between the self and others in different cultural contexts? Why did the students have difficulty in adapting to life and study in New Zealand? How did they overcome those difficulties to enable convergence between policy intentions and their experiences for a 'good'

overseas study? These questions can be answered through examining the rule of government and regimes of subjectification.

This study shows that there are different rules governing Chinese students in different contexts. In China, these students are governed based on Chinese cultural values on the relationship between the self and others. For example, the political regime of the self, imposed through family, community and individual students, makes Chinese children's study a family issue. The family regime of the self aims to build these children's social relationships on the basis that society is an extended family. The students' regime of the self emphasises the role of study in enabling them to fulfil filial piety and assume family responsibilities in the future. For the different regimes of the self, family and family-type relationships are crucial for the subjectification of these students. This is evident in a parent's comments on the role of the family embodied in the Chinese cultural belief that *xiu shen, qi jia, zhi guo, ping tian xia* [修身、齐家、治国、平天下 If there is light in the soul, there will be beauty in person; if there is beauty in the person, there will be harmony in the family, if there is harmony in the family, there will be order in the nation; if there is order in the nation, there will be peace in the world]. This suggests that the Chinese family plays an important role in making a connection between self-cultivation and the world order.

This familial style of governing is based on Confucianism, according to which filial piety is the source of all other virtues. The Confucian 'Five Relationships' model, embracing father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger brother, ruler-ruled and friend-friend, is family based. In particular, political loyalty is modelled on filial piety (Zhao, 2007, pp.2, 29). Although the degree of acceptance of this cultural belief has

fluctuated in the course of Chinese history thanks to various factors, it is currently being revitalised by the Chinese Government with the intention of building a harmonious society and pursuing *he*-based foreign policies (Cao, 2007, p.435, 441). This suggests that the Chinese rule regards filial piety as its guiding principle and the family as its model of governing. In this study, Chinese students are guided by that principle and governed by the familial model while pursuing their project of the self in China. In other words, these students have been subjectified with the familial rule before coming to New Zealand.

The decision of these Chinese students to study overseas and their choice of New Zealand as their study destination appear as a solution to problems generated by the familial model of governing. For example, the postgraduate students who came to New Zealand to study were motivated by their intention to switch from their parents' choice of major for their university study in China in order to follow their own academic interests or to change their lifestyle. The Chinese university teachers on government scholarships compared study abroad with *dao xi tian qu jing* [到西天取经 a journey to the West to obtain sacred texts], enabling them to compete in the academic world back home. To some degree, these examples suggest that these students were starting to challenge the familial model of governing or to follow the neo-liberal rule in their career development. However, the choice of studying in New Zealand did not mean that they completely abandoned the Confucian in favour of the neo-liberal rule. For example, the student who came to New Zealand from the UK to do his PhD attributed the move to the failure of the university ranking system, inspired by the neo-liberal rule, to provide him with the Western educational environment he had expected. Three female PhD students came to New Zealand to

join boyfriends or husbands in accordance with Confucian gender ideology. One female student came to New Zealand on a visiting scholar programme to escape from her unhappy marriage. At this point, she followed the neo-liberal rule as a means of escaping from the Confucian gender rule.

Overseas study does not seem to have provided a ready-made solution to problems originated in China. After having arrived in New Zealand, the students face various difficulties in their life and study. For example, in China, their relationships with supervisors and fellow students were pseudo-family-like with reciprocal obligations. This contributed to their perception of a lack of guidance and care while studying in New Zealand universities. Some students commented on how the difference in sibling relationships between China and New Zealand led to difficulties for them in coping with relationships within home-stays. Accordingly, the difficulties they encountered suggest that there is a different rule functioning in New Zealand.

According to Dean, both the liberal and the non-liberal forms of rule must find ways of articulating elements of sovereignty and bio-politics. However, the ways of articulation and the elements they accentuate are different (Dean, 2010, p.173). In contemporary Western societies, the notion of freedom and free conduct of individuals becomes a principle for government. Freedom is guaranteed by rules learnt from the “spontaneous social order” of the market (Dean, 2010, pp.183-184). From this viewpoint, in Western countries like New Zealand, the values and rules of the market direct the conduct of government and govern individual’s conduct. The neo-liberal rule views freedom as its governing principle and market mechanisms as a governmental rule. Individuals rather than families are policy subjects. This study

shows that when transnational movement was involved, the rules and values based on market mechanisms generated difficulties for these students, subjectified by the Chinese familial model of government, to adapt to study and life in New Zealand.

Then, how is the rule based on market mechanisms imposed to enable these students to adapt to the new environment so as to enable a 'good' overseas study? This is achieved through forming assemblages guided by hybridised governmental rules. Theoretically, the neo-liberal rule is supposed to operate through a type of subject and shape a relationship between the self and others different from the authoritarian rule. According to Dean, for neo-liberalism, interests are important in terms of facilitating individuals to adopt the enterprise ethos and become entrepreneurs of themselves to acquire skills, knowledge and capacities (Dean, 2010, p.185). This suggests that the neo-liberal rule seeks to make intelligent and free individuals through manipulating their interests. From this viewpoint, individuals governed by the neo-liberal rule are encouraged to be self-interested and autonomous.

In contrast, the Confucian rule is assumed to operate through obedient subjects although the quality of obedience does not conflict with being self-interested. According to De Bary, Confucian thought emphasises self-cultivation that is based on reciprocity. "One defines one's 'self' in relation to others and to the Way which unites them. Thus is constructed the web of reciprocal obligations or moral relations in which one finds oneself, defines oneself" (De Bary, 1991, p.3). From this viewpoint, the self for the Chinese involves obligations. One's interest is bound up with others'. Along with the rule of filial piety, individuals are made obedient and reciprocal subjects. Theoretically, the neo-liberal and the Confucian rules seem to be too

different to be compatible. Chapter Nine shows that when students studied in New Zealand, their difficulty in adapting to ways of learning and concerns about a lack of care and guidance were attributed to their unfamiliarity with behaviour modes and social relationships based on neo-liberal rules such as self-interest, self-management and individualisation.

However, the assemblages formed by these students' choice of New Zealand as a study destination and adaptation strategies formed in the process of overseas study suggest that the self for them is made with the guidance of hybridised government combining both sets of rules. In particular, Chapter Eight shows that studying in New Zealand is a result of assembling different actors guided by either the neo-liberal market or the Confucian familial relationships and sometimes by both. Chapter Ten shows that the students strategically combined the two sets of rules based on different cultural values to overcome study and living difficulties in New Zealand. For them, the self is made through assembling multiple forms of subjectification across national borders. The strategy of connection enables them to assemble with families in China and both Chinese and New Zealand friends while following hybridised governmental rules to adapt to study and life in New Zealand. For example, the female student cherished the opportunity of overseas study to gain knowledge and skills while making family contacts her priority and evaluating herself according to the traditional Chinese understanding of gender roles as a daughter, a wife and a mother. In the process of pursuing overseas study, the students were guided by both the neo-liberal rules of self-support and self-fulfilment and the Confucian rules of filial piety, gender ideology and reciprocity.

While talking about their post-graduation plans, the students intended to assemble with different institutions and individuals to form themselves as different types of assemblages. Chapter Eleven shows that male students were keen on self-fulfilment through travel or career-pursuits after graduation. Meanwhile, to justify their choices they turned to the Chinese traditional value of the role of travelling in self-cultivation. Both female and male students were concerned with job opportunities and job-market competition whereas they accorded significance to different aspects of themselves. Female students considered their gender roles as dutiful daughters, virtuous wives and good mothers, whereas male students portrayed themselves as great men bearing both family and social responsibilities while making a decision on their future movements. For scholarship students, self-realisation was linked to their justification based on cultural nationalism. With different concerns, the selves had been formed as patriotic, academic, egocentric, career-oriented or familial assemblages.

The different types of assemblages of the self illustrate Larner and Walters' idea of globalisation as embodiment (Larner & Walters, 2004a, pp.506-507). The Chinese students' decision on and choice for overseas study and future development after graduation embodies hybridised rules combining consideration of employment opportunities, job market competitiveness, investment in education, gender ideologies and family responsibilities. In this sense, the assembled selves are governed by a hybridisation of the neo-liberal and the Confucian rules although the different assemblages represented different types of the self when they accorded significance to different aspects of themselves. This border-crossing complexity challenges theoretical explanations based simply on the push-pull theory and the external-internal

factor division model of explaining the mobility of students identified in the literature review.

The discussion up to this point implies that the understanding of the role of nation state in the international education market can be broadened. Chinese international students are governed by a hybridised government with a combination of neo-liberal and Confucian rules. The existence of the different rules of government based on different cultural values implies that nation states govern both economically and culturally. In this study, the practices of government suggest that Chinese international students are treated by national policies as both rational consumers equipped with a capacity for economic calculation and loyal Chinese guided by Confucian thought. This implies that the global neo-liberal market would not be the only regulating principle for nation states. Instead, nation states would mobilise non-economic resources for governing. In this case, Confucian thought on loyalty to the rulers appears to aid the Chinese Government to govern Chinese international students beyond its national territory.

The discussion in this section also suggests that an understanding of individual choice based on neo-liberalism is incomplete. For neo-liberalism, “[c]hoice thus becomes a calculable element within the economically rationalizing and optimizing behaviours ...” (Dean, 2010, p.186) However, the study shows that choice can be a calculable element within, but not merely within, economically rationalizing behaviour. Instead, the choices of these students involve both economic rationalisation and cultural concerns. For individual students, the hybrid of the enterprising self and the reciprocal self means that there is a cultural complex

operating along a 'psy-complex' as Bennett suggests (Bennett, 2007, pp.81-82). Moreover, their transnational movement enables these students to embody rules based on different cultural values so the cultural complex can be hybridised.

12.4 Cross-cultural application of human technologies

The previous two sections have elaborated on the role of cultural mechanisms in the mechanisms of government through the rationality of government and the regime of government. Then, how are they connected? This study shows that cultural mechanisms are aligned with the mechanisms of government through human technologies utilised by institutions and individual students. For example, in the field of international education, aid programmes are employed to provide educational aid to developing countries under the discourse of "education for aid". With the rise of the discourse of "education for trade", enterprise culture is embodied in technologies such as university ranking and marketing, support programmes, and technical solutions. The overseas study experiences of individual students illustrate the ways of governing through both disciplinary and pastoral technologies. These technologies and their relationships reflect and exemplify, in different ways, the theoretical understanding of the mediating role of human technologies between culture and government.

Theoretically, human technology is an important concept in Foucauldian analyses. Foucault holds that governmentality is concerned with the contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self (Foucault, 1988, p.19). For Bennett, culture plays its role in government "as technologies of sign systems connected to technologies of power and working through the mechanisms of technologies of the self" (Bennett, 2007, p.83). These theoretical understandings

suggest that cultural mechanisms are aligned with the mechanisms of government through the linear relationship between discourse, power and the self, whereas technologies play a mediating role along with the process of governing. In other words, a certain discourse will be associated with a certain type of power and then be connected with a certain type of the self or subject.

This study shows that the linear relationship is disrupted with relation to these students' transnational movement. Cultural mechanisms play a role in government through technologies of power and those of the self in specific ways. The Chinese students in this study are embedded in two sets of cultural mechanisms, and are embodied in two sets of rules. This enables their subjectification as two types of policy subjects. This implies that there may be different ways of configuring and connecting between technologies of power and technologies of the self. In certain circumstances, the connection could become problematic. The study shows that cultural differences become a barrier for Chinese students seeking to adapt to a new environment. Moreover, their explanations suggest that this is attributed to the mismatch between technologies of power and technologies of the self. For example, the different disciplinary technologies, such as enclosure of a university, organisation of student dormitories, class organisation and course arrangements, operate through structuring spaces and times and cause difficulties for Chinese students when adapting to study and life in New Zealand. They notice differences between gated and non-gated university spaces, between shared dormitory rooms and private living spaces, between closely structured classes and flexible course-based classes. This suggests that these students' transnational movement disrupted the automatic connection between technologies of power and technologies of the self within the same cultural

context. Consequently, the technologies of the self, coloured by Chinese cultural values, do not match the technologies of power defined by New Zealand cultural mechanisms. This implies that this type of immobile technology of power has to work with associated technologies of the self. In these examples, the connection between technologies of power and technologies of the self is disrupted so that the students find it difficult to adapt to the new learning and living environment.

Cultural mechanisms function differently through mobile technologies that operate through knowledge, ideas and persons. This study shows that the overseas travel of Chinese students enables mobile technologies to be used across cultures. There are two ways of applying the technologies cross-culturally. One way is through the action of translation. For example, a student strategically introduced the pastoral relation applied in the Chinese context to handle his relationship with the New Zealand supervisor. With the strategy of translation, the Chinese cultural belief in showing respect to teachers was integrated into Western cultural practices, such as sending Christmas cards, to generate positive results. In another case, reading classics, a Chinese technology of the self, was used to meet the study requirements of New Zealand universities, where the technology of the self was based on neo-liberal rationality. These cases show that the connection between cultural mechanisms and technologies is not pre-given. A set of cultural mechanisms is not automatically connected to presupposed technologies of power and those of the self. Instead, technologies derived from one culture can be used in another cultural context. In this study, the Chinese students' transnational movement has made it possible to use technologies derived from Chinese culture in the New Zealand context.

Another way of cross-cultural application of the technologies is through what Bennett calls “the culture” developing alongside the emergence of “the social” (Bennett, 2007, p.81). Miller and Rose regard the concept of “the social” as a hybrid zone representing: “the way in which human intellectual, political and moral authorities, in certain places and contexts, thought about and acted upon their collective experience” (Miller & Rose, 2008, p.86). This concept suggests that “the social” as a way of territorialization can exist within or across national borders. Moreover, the terms “the way”, “thought about” and “acted upon” used in the conceptualisation suggest that the emergence of “the social” is related to the two concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘government’. In light of this, Bennett notes that “the cultural” develops alongside the emergence of “the social” and acts upon the latter through technologies (Bennett, 2007, p.81). He holds that “the logic of an analytics of government would require the identification of a ‘culture complex’ operating alongside the psy-complex ...” (Bennett, 2007, p.82) This suggests that “the social”, “the cultural” and the self are constituted along with each other through technologies.

In this study, the establishment and development of international education across national borders forms and transforms the social through different technologies embodying different cultural mechanisms. Under the discourse of “education for aid”, the spread of Western culture and civilization, mainly through aid programmes, has constituted the social with a hierarchical relationship. With the emergence of the discourse of “education for trade”, the social is reconfigured through re-assembling countries and their practices with technologies such as university ranking and marketing inspired by enterprise culture. In this sense, the cultural is historically

aligned with the social through human technologies that embody both cultural and governmental mechanisms.

For individual students, both actions of community participation and their plans enable technologies of power and technologies of the self to be re-configured so as to constitute “the social”, “the cultural” and “the self” simultaneously. For example, Chinese students adapt to study and life in New Zealand through participating in community activities. For them, communities have become a contact between technologies of power and technologies of the self. Government programmes operate through communities, such as diasporic communities, ephemeral lifestyle programmes and academic communities, to exercise power. The Chinese students are governed through their allegiance to particular communities of identity and responsibility. Through these technologies, the selves are made as assemblages of these relations and programmes. With these assemblages, “the social” is constituted either within or across national territories. Accordingly, these students are located in various relationships connecting with families and friends in China, and supervisors, friends, facilities and services as well as programmes in New Zealand.

Similarly, the plans of these students illustrate how “the social” is formed along with the self upon graduation. Their plans to travel around or find a suitable place in which to settle down suggest that they have been granted a regulated freedom with which technologies of power and technologies of the self based on different cultural mechanisms are interwoven. In their planning, they need to consider job opportunities, immigration policies, family responsibilities and gender roles while at the same time seeing it as a way to pursue their own dreams, lifestyle and interests. This enables

them to assemble and to be assembled with different forces, relations and actors. These assemblages in turn form not only the self as a particular type of person but also “the social” consisting of these border-crossing relations. Aligning with “the social”, the hybridised cultural mechanisms combining Chinese and Western cultural beliefs are developed and operated along with the formation of the hybrid of the enterprising and the obedient and reciprocal self. For individual students, the hybrid means that there is a cultural complex operating along a ‘psy-complex’ as Bennett suggests (Bennett, 2007, pp.81-82). Moreover, their transnational movement enables these students to embody rules based on different cultural values so the cultural complex can be hybridised.

This section suggests that cultural mechanisms are connected with governmental mechanisms through human technologies. Moreover, in the transnational context, the former plays a role through different types of technologies in different ways. Immobile technologies need to function in the same cultural context to make technologies of power match technologies of the self. This generates difficulties for Chinese students in adapting to study and life in New Zealand. Mobile technologies can be used in different cultural contexts through translation and community participation in the adaptation process and the formation of assemblages on graduation. Through translation, technologies derived from one culture can work in another cultural context. Community participation enables technologies of power and those of the self to work across cultures through developing the cultural complex alongside the emergence of the social. On graduation, the selves as border-crossing assemblages enable the social to be constituted based on hybridised cultural rules.

Along with the described specific ways in which technologies play a role, the findings in this study add to our understanding of the relationship between culture and government. They suggest that cultural mechanisms enter government through the re-configuration of human technologies in specific ways; that is, through cross-cultural application of technologies and interweaving technologies derived from different cultures based on hybrid rules. This implies that current New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies in the field of international education that are based mainly on Western cultural values and beliefs are inadequate for addressing the concerns of this group of international students and regulate them effectively.

From the three aspects of multiple rationalities, hybridised government and cross-cultural application of technologies, this study argues that the Chinese international students sampled here are not made and governed by a single political power like the New Zealand Government but by multiple regimes of government through which these students are assembled. In the process of governmentality, cultural mechanisms, such as filial piety, reciprocity and loyalty, play a crucial role in shaping international education and assembling regimes of subjectification. Moreover, these cultural mechanisms are not only embodied in governmental technologies themselves as technical means for governing but are also activated through the coexistence of multiple rationalities, hybridised regimes of subjectification and cross-cultural application of these technologies. Accordingly, the convergence between New Zealand's knowledge policies and Chinese students' experiences for a 'good' overseas study can not only be built by market forces and institutionalised means but can also be facilitated by social relations and cultural values. A 'good' overseas study is not only realised by New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies but also achieved

through assembling multiple, political, non-political institutions and individuals in ways that these Chinese students' concerns based on cultural values and beliefs are appropriately addressed.

With the findings and argument of the thesis, this study provides evidence for sociological understandings of international education and global governance of border-crossing population movement/migration. The thesis has evaluated theoretical perspectives that are frequently used in international education such as Bourdieu's idea on the role of cultural capital in educational attainment and Foucault's idea on the role of the power-knowledge nexus in educational practices. It then generates useful information on the role of culture in pedagogic practices and international education in social transformation and adds a practical case to comparative studies in education. The thesis also encourages us to re-think some issues in the topic of global governance of migration. They include the role of global cultural politics in governing people on the move, national policies engaging with diasporas and neo-liberal governmentality of migration.

12.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the relationship between culture and governmentality through reviewing the making and remaking of the field of international education and Chinese international students' experiences of overseas study. It shows that the New Zealand Government is not the only actor shaping the students' pathways. In fact, the students' decisions and choices in respect of the overseas study journey are influenced by multiple regimes, forces, relations and actors based on different cultural mechanisms. Moreover, these cultural mechanisms play a role through multiple

rationalities, hybridised government and the cross-cultural application of technologies rather than merely through the technical embodiment of culture.

In particular, the study shows that Chinese cultural beliefs based mainly on Confucianism condition the way of positioning China in and connecting it with the field of international education. The coexistence of multiple rationalities in the process of the emergence of discourses of “education for aid” and “education for trade” enables the Chinese Government to employ Chinese beliefs to promote an alternative world order in the field and connect with Chinese international students to resist Western power.

Cultural mechanisms are related to governmentality not only through rationalities of government but also through practices of government. The visibility of government through official statistics, the online survey study and individual narratives show that the pathways of Chinese students’ are not pre-determined by nation states but are determined by multiple actors and institutions. Moreover, these actors and institutions are culturally constituted. The interview findings show that Chinese students are governed by a combination of the neo-liberal rule based on market logic and the Confucian rule based on the familial mode. They are made a hybrid composed of the enterprising and the obedient and reciprocal self in the transnational context.

Cultural mechanisms also play a role through the complicated cross-cultural application of technologies. Rather than merely functioning through the technical embodiment of culture, they work through mobile and immobile technologies in different ways. Immobile technologies work through matching technologies of power

and associated technologies of the self in the same cultural context. Chinese international students' transnational movement has made it possible to use mobile technologies across cultures through actions of translation, connection and community participation.

From the three aspects of multiple rationalities, hybridised government and cross-cultural application of technologies, the thesis argues for the role of cultural values and social relations in the convergence between policy intentions and student experiences for a 'good' overseas study. The findings and argument of the thesis have generated useful evidence for evaluating relevant theories and concepts, and have contributed to sociological understandings of the global governance of border-crossing population movement and comparative studies in the sociology of education. With these findings and argument in mind, the next chapter will conclude the thesis by attending to the research question of convergence between policy intentions and student experiences in the topic area of global governance of international students.

Chapter Thirteen Conclusion: Culturally Conditioned Convergence for a ‘Good’ Overseas Study

Power relations are rooted in the whole network of the social (Foucault, 2000c, p.345).

13.1 Introduction

Up to this point, this study has shown that, with the discursive shift from “education for aid” to “education for trade”, market forces replace aid programmes and reshape the relationship between countries in respect of international education and consequently, change national policy interventions in a neo-liberal direction. In New Zealand, neo-liberal knowledge economy policies aim to achieve a ‘good’ overseas study through regulating the flow of international students and shaping their study and living experiences. In reality, the increasing recruitment of Chinese students proves beneficial to New Zealand’s export education industry and knowledge economy on the one hand. On the other hand, difficulties in hosting these students from a different linguistic and cultural background are evident from their study and living experiences.

From the perspective of governmentality, this study examines the convergence between New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge economy policy intentions and Chinese international students’ experiences for a ‘good’ overseas study. The findings suggest that the convergence is culturally conditioned, and a ‘good’ overseas study can only be achieved through assembling institutions and individuals involved in overseas study in ways that these students’ concerns based on their cultural values and beliefs are appropriately addressed.

This chapter concludes the thesis with five sections. The first section reviews and interprets the key findings of the study. Then, it explains six features of the study. This is followed by reflections on the study's limitations. Next, policy recommendations are offered. Finally, recommendations for future research are made. This chapter concludes the thesis through placing these findings in the topic area of the global governance of international student mobility and experience.

13.2 Empirical findings: Culturally conditioned convergence for a 'good' overseas study

13.2.1 Global cultural politics and national policies for a 'good' overseas study

Existing research suggests that in the field of international education, policy limitations illustrated in the gap between policy intentions and policy implementation outcomes handicapped countries to benefit from overseas study. Policy intentions of recruiting international students and retaining qualified international graduates draw an ideal picture of international student mobility by which student-sending and receiving countries are in an economic win-win situation. However, the negative effects suggest that policy implementation does not always generate outcomes as expected due to the involvement of multiple national authorities. In particular, national governments of student-sending and receiving countries struggle with each other to present competing ways for students to imagine themselves as loyal repatriates versus free knowledge consumers.

This study shows that the policy limitations, in the New Zealand-Chinese context, are attributed to global cultural politics which is constituted by the interaction between

global discourses and national rationalities at different historical times. Chapters Five and Six show that after World War II, New Zealand joined the Western anti-Communist alliance led by the US and connected to the field of international education. Under the global discourse of “education for aid”, the New Zealand Government committed to the Colombo Plan, which coordinated the effort of the Commonwealth countries to provide educational aid through hosting international students from Asian countries such as Malaysia. Through hosting Asian students by its educational institutions and home-stays, the New Zealand Government helped spread Euro-centric rationality which justified the superiority of the Western knowledge, technologies and cultural values in terms of their role in realising modernisation.

During this period, despite active engagement with Asian countries, New Zealand had rare chances to host students from Mainland China owing to global power struggles and cultural politics. While New Zealand belonged to the Western anti-Communist alliance and served as an aid provider, China was affiliated to the Socialist bloc led by the Soviet Union after its struggle to maintain China’s central position in the world throughout the Chinese modern history. China struggled for modernisation through introducing the Western knowledge system and educational practices forced by military power after the Opium Wars. The struggling for modernisation represented a pre-discursive stage at which coexisting Euro-centric and Sino-centric rationalities based on different cultural values competed for possessing a truth position. After the Chinese Communist Party had come to power, the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union determined that China formed an alliance with the latter to access Western knowledge and technologies while remaining on the socialist track. The

Soviet-centric rationality which the Chinese Government followed, therefore, served as a way of exercising political power while introducing associated cultural values which combined Western advanced technologies and the Eastern ideology in terms of the East-West political conflict. In this period, cultural politics determined that the policy intentions of the New Zealand Government to provide educational aid to China could not be realised, as there was little chance for the Government to host students from Mainland China.

With the discursive shift from “education for aid” to “education for trade”, global cultural politics also affected the implementation of New Zealand national policies. Current New Zealand policies set out in the documents *Export Education in New Zealand: A Strategic Approach to Developing the Sector* (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2001) and *The International Education Agenda: A Strategy for 2007-2012* (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a), were responsive to the discursive shift at the global level. In the international education field, the discursive shift from “education for aid” to “education for trade” reshaped the relationship between countries with both geopolitical and geo-economic rationalities conditioned by cultural politics. The connection between countries in respect of the flow of international students became flexible and substitutable rather than static. New Zealand had a pattern of policy changes similar to other Western student-receiving countries such as the UK and Australia. Subsequently, the New Zealand Government had to compete with these countries in building connections with China to facilitate the inflow of Chinese international students. Additionally, the effectiveness of the New Zealand policies was influenced by the Chinese Government’s overseas study

and repatriation policies, which integrated cultural values based on Confucianism such as loyalty and harmony (*he*).

The complex policy environment suggests that for the New Zealand Government, its policy intentions to achieve a “good” overseas study are inevitably affected by those of other Western countries and conditioned by the Chinese Government’s intention to repatriate their overseas talents with the devices of Chinese cultural values and beliefs. The struggles between the New Zealand Government’s intentions and these competitors’ narratives constitute global cultural politics, which determined the effectiveness of implementing New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies. The role of cultural politics explained the gap between policy intentions and policy implementation outcomes at the global and transnational level as identified in the literature review. It also indicated the significance of cultural mechanisms in the global governance of international students enabling the convergence between policy intentions and student experiences for a ‘good’ overseas study.

The role of cultural politics in shaping educational relationship between countries suggests that policy is shaping in a broad context. The review of the development of Confucianism in Chapter Four shows that Confucianism, as Chinese cultural heritage, is open for multiple interpretations. The emergence of both Neo-Confucianism and New Confucianism and the discussion of the different ways of Post-Confucianism are related to Chinese people’s self-reflection on their culture and its position on the global stage. In recent years, the economic success of Mainland China means that the Chinese Government’s action in politicising Confucianism in national policies including those related to Chinese international students would have a great influence

on other parts of the world. Moreover, with the replacement of leadership in central government, the political regime is under transformation. These changes would bring uncertainty for the future policy direction.

Meanwhile, Chapter Six shows that New Zealand neoliberal knowledge policies are also in process. The Government's strategy of assembling political subjects in the period of "After Neoliberalism" brings more complexity to the international education domain. The dynamics of both Chinese and New Zealand national policies have been forming a policy environment in which educational connections between countries are shaped and reshaped with increasing complexity and uncertainty. This thesis merely shows the complex global environment at a specific moment and it is recognised that the current configurations are not an endpoint, and national policies and their interaction with cultures have always and will always be in process.

The role of cultural politics in shaping relationships between student-sending and receiving countries suggests that a study based on a Bourdieusian approach is not sufficient to explain the gaps between New Zealand policy intentions and implementation outcomes. While a Bourdieusian approach emphasises the role of cultural capital in building student-receiving countries' status in the university hierarchy, it lacks attention to the complexity and interconnectedness of student-receiving countries' policy intentions, which focus on international student fees while skimming off top students as resources of skilled migrants, and the significance of student-sending countries' active role in shaping student mobility. From this viewpoint, studies based on a Bourdieusian approach could be criticised for their

assumption of a smooth transition between cultural and social reproduction and their understanding of power without noticing resistances.

13.2.2 Culture crossing assemblages for a ‘good’ overseas study

Existing research shows that there are gaps between policy intentions and student experiences that generate difficulties in achieving the goal of providing a ‘good’ overseas study. This study suggests that a ‘good’ overseas study is not only defined by policy intentions, but is also achieved through students’ assembling and being assembled with political and non-political actors in ways that their concerns and needs based on cultural beliefs are appropriately addressed. The culturally conditioned convergence between policy intentions and Chinese international students’ experiences of a ‘good’ overseas study is realised through forming culture-crossing assemblages in three policy areas: those related to policies for recruiting international students to New Zealand as free and rational knowledge consumers, hosting them with high-quality education and care, and retaining those qualified as skilled migrants upon graduation.

For student recruitment, the convergence between policy intentions for developing education export industry and students’ choices of New Zealand as a study destination is conditioned by Chinese cultural values on receiving formal education. Chapter Six shows that the New Zealand neo-liberal education export policies comprise *Export Education in New Zealand: A Strategic Approach to Developing the Sector* (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2001) and *The International Education Agenda: A Strategy for 2007-2012* (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a). It defines a ‘good’ overseas study as the prospect that the New Zealand knowledge economy can

financially benefit from international students, who are expected to make a rational choice of New Zealand as a study destination. Chapter Eight suggests that although these Chinese students came to New Zealand as the policy-makers expected; their definition of a ‘good’ overseas study is not determined merely by New Zealand policies, but is achieved through forming assemblages of multiple actors and factors affecting the ways that their concerns on receiving formal education for self-cultivation can be addressed. The affecting factors include students’ own interests, parents’ expectations, other Western and Chinese government policies, friends in and outside China, and overseas study service agencies. For these students, overseas study was a translated goal of receiving formal education in China achieved through enlisting various factors and assembling both political and non-political actors and both the neo-liberal market and the Confucian familial model. The involvement of multiple actors and the translation of study destinations suggest that for these Chinese students, coming to New Zealand is a contingent decision to solve ‘problems’ at hand while responding to various expectations including policy ones. The contingency indicates that the convergence between New Zealand policies and Chinese students’ choices would never have happened seamlessly and perfectly. The border-crossing interaction of political subjectifications and the involvement of multiple actors demonstrate the relevance of policy environments in student-sending countries to those in receiving ones and personal factors in terms of shaping the international student flow. This finding suggests that the understandings of international student mobility based on the push-pull model and the internal-external factor division model are quite inadequate.

In order to host international students, the New Zealand Government issued *The Code of Practice for Pastoral Care of International Students* (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013) and *Academic Quality Assurance of New Zealand Universities* as guidance for on- and off-campus service providers (Universities New Zealand and the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit, 2011, p.5). With these policy instruments, the Government intends to achieve a goal of providing a ‘good’ overseas study experience with high-quality education and care. International students are subjectified as rational consumers, who are able to be self-managed and self-interested, use services, and link to local life based on their own needs and choices. It is expected that high-quality education and care will be ensured by institutional arrangements and technological mediation for support and information provision.

This study shows that the convergence between the policy intention for providing high-quality education and care and the students’ study and living experiences is also culturally conditioned, and a ‘good’ overseas is also achieved through forming assemblages. Chapter Eight suggests that the group of Chinese students studied here faced various adaptation difficulties, such as cultural distance, language barriers, lack of social contacts and support in local communities, due to their embodiment of a different way of subjectification. The survey results in Chapter Seven suggest that to overcome these difficulties, the Chinese students studied here used various on- and off-campus services including those provided by librarians, the Learning Skills Centre, home-stays, supervisors and local communities. They were connected with people not only in New Zealand and China but also from other countries. Chapter Nine shows that actors in New Zealand universities and local communities problematized students’ difficulties based on their own understanding of international student issues

and introduced their services accordingly. From the perspective of governmentality, these service providers sought to promote their regimes of the self. Chapter Ten shows that Chinese international students were not subject to any single regime of the self but demonstrated significant agency. They took different strategies to assemble, or be assembled with different regimes of the self to address issues at hand. The assembled selves allow policy intentions and other factors and actors to come together and interact with each other to generate an opportunity for convergence. In turn, the ways of convergence, if they could happen, would not be universal but would happen in unpredictable ways. In these cases, although the assembled selves did not coincide with the political formation of self merely based on neo-liberal rules, they eventually met academic requirements and adapted to the life in New Zealand as presupposed by the policies. In this sense, the convergence between policy instruments and Chinese students' experiences was conditioned by cultural mechanisms and values.

These difficulties and strategies suggest that Chinese students' living and study experiences in New Zealand are related to their experience of formal education in China. This reinforces the necessity for understanding and examining international students' overseas study experiences with reference to their pre-arrival experiences. The findings also imply that it is not enough to rely merely on institutional programmes and technological mediation to facilitate these international students' adaptation. The roles of multiple factors and actors in this process should be considered. Moreover, for international students from a different cultural background, cultural mechanisms and values determine the ways in which they access services and connect with people to meet the requirements of studying and living in New Zealand.

The New Zealand Government intends to facilitate qualified Chinese graduates to stay in New Zealand and make contributions to its technological development upon their graduation. Skilled immigration schemes are constantly being modified to meet changing needs of the local labour market and currently favour applicants with a Master's or doctoral degree (Immigration New Zealand, n.d.-b; -a). New Zealand neo-liberal knowledge policies, like those in *International Education Agenda 2007-2012*, portray international students as “ongoing advocates for New Zealand, facilitating future academic/economic connections” (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a, p.18).

In reality, Chinese students' plans are not always consistent with the policy intentions. The survey results presented in Chapter Seven show that the group of Chinese students participating in the study had various plans for travel and domicile after graduation. Chapter Eleven shows that although a great number of Chinese students in this study voluntarily applied for permanent residence, their decisions on movement and domicile after graduation did not always fit with the policy intentions in a universal way. They could be detached from, semi-attached or attached to the New Zealand knowledge economy. Publicly funded students planned to return to China. Their repatriation plans drew them away from the New Zealand knowledge economy. After their return to China, some of them intended to work with their supervisors through collaborative projects. Their plans not only had the potential to converge with the intention of the New Zealand international education agenda to build academic collaboration, but also addressed their own concerns relating to the norms in the Chinese academic field, based on the Confucian doctrine of filial piety. Comparatively, privately funded students demonstrated greater autonomy than

publicly funded ones. They chose to either travel around, return to China or stay in New Zealand according to job opportunities and their lifestyle preference. When making a choice, male and female students were distinctively informed by Confucian gender ideology. Their diverse pathways suggest that the convergence between policy intentions to recruit international postgraduates, and these students' plans were incomplete. Multiple layers of convergence and diverse student pathways show the complexity embedded in the moment when these graduates plan to move forward. To understand the complexity, various pathways were used to categorise and present these possibilities. However, it should be noted that in real life, they would not have happened neatly. There would not have been a fixed and stereotyped pathway for each group of students.

The incomplete convergence was culturally conditioned through forming culture-crossing assemblages. These students' choices were influenced by factors such as Chinese repatriation policies, market forces, family responsibilities and gender ideologies. Moreover, they accorded significance to different aspects of themselves and were formed as patriotic, academic, egocentric, career-oriented or familial assemblages. No matter how different the assemblages, they were formed by cultural concerns. Publicly funded students' plans to return home were justified on the grounds of Chinese cultural nationalism. For the students who planned to collaborate with their supervisors on their return, either their plans were determined by the neo-liberal rules or their attitude to Chinese academic norms informed by the Confucian doctrine of filial piety. Privately funded students' plans were informed by Confucian gender ideologies. Through these assemblages, the culturally conditioned incomplete convergence was formed.

The culturally conditioned incomplete convergence between policy intentions and Chinese students' plans suggest that both the idea of viewing international graduates as global human resources and the 'brain drain' debate presented in Chapter Two have limitations. The idea of global human resources overemphasises the influence of neo-liberal markets in shaping students' movement while neglecting the role of their cultural concerns in determining their choices. The 'brain drain' debate focuses on policy intentions and economic growth significantly neglecting the active role of individual students as agencies in the process of movement and choice of abode.

The findings in the above two sections indicate that although Chinese students come to New Zealand, meet academic requirements and have the potential to contribute to the New Zealand knowledge economy as anticipated by policy makers, the convergence is conditioned by cultural concerns and social relations. These cultural and social conditions shape the connections between China and Western countries, including New Zealand, and impact on the mobility of Chinese students and individual choices in respect of overseas study. Global cultural politics significantly shaped the implementation of New Zealand's neo-liberal policy intentions. Moreover, both policy and cultural dynamics continue to shape a complex and uncertain policy environment at present and in the future. The convergence required for a 'good' overseas study is realised through forming culture-crossing assemblages of different regimes of practices. The convergence facilitated by these assemblages suggests that policy intentions and student experiences would not happen in a seamless way.

The roles of multiple actors in the process of deciding to study in New Zealand and associated experiences challenge the explanations of overseas study choices based simply on the human capital theory or the cultural logic of capital accumulation informed by Bourdieu's idea of different forms of capital. Since these explanations assume that international students are rational individuals who can base decisions on overseas study merely on economic calculation and hierarchical knowledge relations between countries, they legitimate Western cultural dominance in the international education market. They presume a transnational route for international students in that they are expected to go overseas to accumulate cultural capital and return to their home country to convert it into economic capital. However, this study's findings suggest that non-Western cultural mechanisms and values still play a significant part in shaping the flow of international students and their experiences. Their diverse pathways mean that explanations based on the cultural logic of capital accumulation would be simplistic in terms of understanding students' reasoning for pursuing overseas study and for taking up the associated transnational movements.

The findings of this study show the great complexity and uncertainty in terms of ways of convergence between New Zealand policy intentions and Chinese students' experiences. This thesis selectively presents some specific moments when the two aspects could come together and interact with each other with the involvement of factors and actors. However, these moments should not be seen as endpoints. Instead, the interaction between policies and individual students is always an ongoing process. Both global policy and cultural dynamics and individual students' self as assemblages, open opportunities for communication between policies and individuals in the future. Therefore, this chapter does not intend to provide a story with a satisfactory ending

but to provoke further thoughts on what is a ‘good’ overseas study and how we can achieve it.

13.3 The features of the study

The findings show that in three policy areas the convergence between neo-liberal knowledge policies in New Zealand and Chinese international students’ experiences is culturally conditioned, and a ‘good’ overseas study is not determined solely by the New Zealand Government but by assembling multiple factors and actors. Accordingly, cultural mechanisms should be integrated into the mechanisms of government, and the roles of these involved actors and their interactions should gain attention. Since Chinese international students’ experiences are related to different cultural values, regimes of government and a number of policies, this study has six specific features that need to be clarified.

The first is about the way of treating regimes of government in the conceptual framework. A conceptual framework that develops the concept of governmentality and examines multiple regimes of government, governmental rationalities and governmental technologies was used. Since one of the aims of the research was to conceptualise culture in relation to governmentality, the research examined how cultural values entered governmental rationalities through governmental technologies and shaped governmental practices in regulating Chinese students. It did not focus on identifying and tracing regimes of government historically, but looked at some specific moments (such as making decision on overseas study, meeting difficulties in New Zealand and planning for future movement) when visible regimes based on certain governmental rationalities assembled to form particular kinds of self.

The second feature of the study is its understanding of the relationship between culture and governmentality. This study showed that cultural values align with governmental rationalities through governmental technologies so cultural values, including both the Western and the Chinese ones, are diffused into all regimes of government rather than aligning with any single regime of government like the regime of the family.

Third, the research examined Chinese international students and focused on their mobility and study and life experiences in New Zealand. These aspects are related to different specific policies including the export education policy, international education agenda, domestic fees to international PhD students, the code of practice for pastoral care of international students, the academic quality assurance, and the skilled immigration policy. Since most of these policies are not exclusively made for international students, in the thesis, the policies are called New Zealand neoliberal knowledge economy policies regarding international students. This feature means that this study did not examine New Zealand international education policy or skilled immigration policy as whole, but just elements within these policies which were related to international student mobility and experiences. While I was interested in a good overseas study from Chinese students' perspective, the findings did enable me to generate some policy recommendations in relation to international education policies and skilled immigration policies.

Fourth, the research had a specific way of treating history that was informed by Foucault's archaeology and genealogy. The thesis used Foucauldian discursive

analysis to understand the establishment and development of the field of international education and the formation of a connection between China and New Zealand for the flow of Chinese students. This means that it did not treat them as pre-given contexts.

The fifth feature is the treatment of quantitative data. In this thesis, Chapter Seven brings official statistics and survey data together to question the knowledge of the state and show students' reasoning rather than searching for generalization or setting up a context.

Finally, this study used Wendy Larner and Walters' conception of global governmentality to understand governing across border. They view globalisation as complex effects that have shifted our social and spatial imaginaries through which we think consolidation and dispersion (Larner & Walters, 2004a, p.510). They understand that global governmentality is about how the global has been inscribed in thought (Larner & Walters, 2004b, p.16). In the thesis, the concepts of de-territorialization and re-territorialization were used to examine how the field of international education was formed and transformed through discursive formations. The concept of geopolitical rationalities was used to shape and reshape the world order in the field and form connections between China and New Zealand. This study looked at the national policies but did not only focus on how they emerged and developed as a regime of government but also paid attention to national governmental rationalities and interactions between global discourses and local conditions. Rather than tracing regimes transnationally, the author used the idea of globalisation as embodied and viewed international students as embodied Chinese regimes of government when they came to New Zealand from China.

13.4 Limitations of the study

This study was conducted in a context of the rise of China as an economic power. Ongoing communication between Western and Chinese cultures has brought together global politics with Chinese culture based on Confucianism. Culturally, this thesis is immersed in the debate on Confucianism between *daotong* (interconnecting thread of the way) and a Post-Confucianism call. My identity and position as an overseas Chinese shapes my way of engaging with this set of debates. In the broad political and academic context, this study provides useful evidence, which can enrich the theoretical understanding of governmentality and the empirical understanding of cultural politics in the field of international education. However, it was conducted with a small group of Chinese international students from diverse backgrounds, and explores the governance of students at the local level while being linked with complex national, transnational and global policy environments. Its multi-faceted features mean that this study has its limitations.

Three limitations should be recognised. First, the validity of secondary resources should be considered. Original policy documents from some researched countries, such as India, South Korea and Singapore, are not accessible online although they are important for showing how the field of international education has been established and developed through forming and transforming discourses and how individual countries are linked and re-linked with the field. Chapter Five has, therefore, used secondary sources in the shape of journal articles to understand relevant policy practices concerning the repatriation of international graduates. The research strategy

of using such sources raises concerns about whether the information drawn from them can be free from bias.

Second, the study has to recognise issues regarding the comparability of data while seeking to explain the relationship between this group of Chinese international students and the New Zealand international student population. Chinese international students in this study are defined based on their educational background to distinguish them from native English speakers. This definition differs from those based on their passport status in official statistics such as those collected by UNESCO (UNESCO, 2006, cited in Gürüz, 2008, p.161) or for fees purposes (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a, pp.18-19). This inconsistency raises questions about the comparability of survey data collected in this study and official statistics. Although this does not affect the conclusion in Chapter Seven as the survey data are used to reveal hidden variables, the difference between two sets of quantitative data should be recognised.

Finally, the fieldwork could be improved. The interviews with Significant Others, such as supervisors and parents, provide valuable information to complement or cross-reference with the information gained through interviewing the 36 Chinese international students. However, some interviews with Significant Others, such as local voluntary communities in New Zealand, could have been conducted in a more structured manner. This can make interviewees' comments focus on the topic. Despite these limitations, the thesis not only has applicability beyond the conceptual extension of governmentality but also affords policy recommendations. The next section offers these policy insights in detail.

13.5 Policy recommendations: Integrating cultural mechanisms into mechanisms of government

The thesis has shown that cultural and governmental mechanisms are aligned in the whole process of students' entering, staying in and leaving New Zealand. This finding implies that it is necessary to integrate the former into the latter when initiating policy interventions. Moreover, a 'good' overseas study has to be achieved through assembling relevant actors and factors in the global and transnational context so a combination of a global view of, and local commitments to, international student issues should be encouraged. For this group of Chinese students, the familial model of governing is embedded in their cultural beliefs. Accordingly, policy makers in New Zealand should consider this when recruiting, serving and retaining these students. For student recruitment, the current policy instruments, based mainly on economic incentives such as "applying domestic fees to international doctoral students", have to be complemented by other culturally-based concerns on overseas study to make New Zealand more attractive to them than other Western countries such as Australia, the UK and the US. For example, students and their parents treat overseas study as a solution to difficulties they confront in China while trying to pursue their project of the self. In particular, different sub-groups have different concerns. For students who begin as undergraduates in New Zealand, studying in this country is a collective decision. Their parents, especially, play a crucial role in initiating and organising overseas study. The presence of friends and relatives in New Zealand is a major facilitator in their choice of New Zealand as a study destination and overseas study service agencies are one of the main information sources. These highlight points raised by some empirical studies and imply that recruitment policy instruments should

be informed by these students' pre-arrival educational experiences and address parental concerns such as finding a safe, caring and alternative educational environment for their children.

For postgraduate students who come to New Zealand, information sources and overseas study motivation differ depending on whether they are on scholarships or privately funded students. The behaviour of the former is generally guided by cultural nationalism so for them, self-realisation is tied with national prosperity. This group of students seems to be the most suitable for facilitating university collaboration between China and New Zealand. However, this is conditioned by a constructive and culturally informed student-supervisor relationship cultivated during their time in New Zealand. Privately funded students seem to perfectly match the neo-liberal policies informed by enterprise culture. Once back in China, they start to question and challenge the familial model of governing and search for alternatives. They are active Internet users who have self-mastery and are self-informed. However, the presence of relatives, friends and personal contacts with New Zealand supervisors are important factors influencing their eventual choice of New Zealand as a study destination. All this implies that, to recruit both scholarship and private postgraduate students, policy makers should not only consider promoting New Zealand universities in university hierarchies but also take note of other non-mainstream rationalities on relationships between countries and acknowledge their cultural concerns regarding contact with the Western world. Personal contacts between supervisors in both countries should be encouraged. It would be especially constructive if New Zealand university supervisors had more autonomy and better resources for teaching and research collaboration with their Chinese counterparts.

During the time these students are living and studying in New Zealand, their needs and concerns based on their cultural beliefs have to be properly addressed to provide high-quality care and a high-quality educational experience. The difficulties they confront and the adaptation strategies they use suggest that on arrival in New Zealand, these students do not readily become ideal policy subjects but are still partially guided by Chinese cultural values regarding learning methods, ways of accessing information and services and interpersonal relationships. Successful implementation of export education policies is conditioned by how different resources and actors can be assembled in such a way that Chinese students' difficulties, especially those arising from different cultural beliefs and values, will be appropriately addressed. For example, the implementation of export education policies at the institutional level not only involves provision of general services but also meeting specific needs of postgraduate students from non-English speaking backgrounds. The Code which focuses on the administration of general international student issues, such as marketing, recruitment and support services, should also give consideration to the means of facilitating positive and culturally-sensitive supervisory relationships for this group of students. Culturally-mediated ways of accessing high-quality learning and teaching should be integrated into the institutional arrangements for academic quality assurance, led by New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit. Supervisors play a crucial role in connecting with this group of students, but collaboration between departments and campus service providers, such as librarians and staff at learning skills centres, should be encouraged to support supervisors in their work with these students.

The effectiveness of policy implementation in providing high-quality care through on- and off- campus services and support provision are conditioned by the ways the students access these services, based on their culturally guided practices. In particular, service providers in New Zealand universities could consider how to build a connection between informal ways of accessing information and formal ways of service provision to meet the needs of this group of students. Chinese cultural values on socialisation with others should be integrated into the programme and technological mediation approaches used in the current international education policy instruments for facilitating interpersonal relationships between students and local people.

These students' choices regarding future movement after graduation are diverse although most PhD students are eligible for and have already obtained permanent residence while studying. In this sense, the policy instrument would not necessarily ensure their contribution to New Zealand society. Their plans illustrate the diverse ways in which they assemble with others and make choices about future movement. The different types of assemblages, presented in Chapter Eleven, suggest that their pathways could be, but are not necessarily consistent with the policy intention of recruiting qualified international students as skilled immigrants. This implies that the skilled immigration scheme alone is not sufficient to deal with the complex situation. After graduation, these students are not merely qualified candidates for New Zealand's immigration scheme. Other Western countries, such as Australia and the US, were also attractive to them in terms of career development and lifestyle. The different types of assemblages suggest that they have accorded significance to different aspects of themselves as daughters/sons, wives/husbands, mothers/great men,

scholars, patriotic returnees and free sojourners. In particular, their concerns and choices are greatly informed by Chinese cultural values such as loyalty, filial piety and Confucian gender ideology. In this sense, it is crucial to recognise that New Zealand immigration policies are supposed to function in a global context where immigration policies and job opportunities in other Western countries and China's repatriation policies would condition their successful implementation. What is more important is that to retain these Chinese graduates, policy instruments have to be designed to address their cultural concerns about taking on family responsibilities, fulfilling filial piety and playing a gender role informed by the Chinese cultural beliefs, while ensuring that New Zealand could genuinely benefit from their contributions.

In general, cultural mechanisms condition how New Zealand policy intentions and these students' overseas study experiences converge to achieve a 'good' overseas study. It would be beneficial to both New Zealand as a host country and these Chinese international students if policy interventions at the international, national and local levels could acknowledge and appropriately address student concerns derived from their cultural beliefs.

13.6 Recommendations for further research

This study indicates a number of interesting areas for further research. First, case studies with sub-groups of Chinese international students could be considered. This study shows that this group of Chinese students had diverse educational backgrounds and living circumstances before they came to study in New Zealand. This led to different pathways in their overseas study journey; and will have an influence on their

future trajectories. Chinese students with these differences can be categorised into a number of sub-groups: Chinese international students coming to New Zealand for postgraduate study, receiving government scholarships and studying in New Zealand from high school. This study has identified the general patterns of their decisions and choices. Case studies should be conducted with each of these sub-groups to deepen understandings of their experiences and provide specific recommendations for education service providers and local communities.

Second, the effect of neo-liberal knowledge policies in the academic field could be further explored. The interviews conducted with former postgraduate students who returned to China show that returnees are a group which deserves academic attention in order to explore the interaction between neo-liberal knowledge policies, knowledge networks and the mobility of highly skilled academics. In particular, this study shows that the Chinese graduates, who planned to return to China and collaborate with their former supervisors and institutions in New Zealand, have been building significant interpersonal and institutional connections between academic communities in the two countries. Their experiences can be further explored to deepen the understanding of university collaboration, which is a major goal of the international education agenda (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007a, p.26).

Third, this study raises some points showing the need for further exploration of research methods. It experimented with the use of software tools, such as NVivo 8, to support an archaeological analysis of discourses immersed in policy documents. A further study could be considered to explore the feasibility of combining Foucauldian ideas on discourse analysis and technical possibilities in this way. Chapter Seven

suggests a way of analysing and interpreting statistics from a Foucauldian perspective. This can also be further explored.

Finally, the study shows that comparative studies should be conducted to deepen an understanding of the relationship between culture and governmentality. The overall argument of this study is the necessity of integrating cultural and governmental mechanisms to enrich an understanding of governmentality. Although there is limited guidance on how to examine the culture-government alignment, this study provides initial evidence on how cultural mechanisms work in government in the experience of Chinese international students. Some comparative studies could be conducted to deepen an understanding of the issue. For example, research could be designed to compare policy practices and Chinese international students' experiences in New Zealand with those in other student-receiving countries, such as Australia, to examine how cultural and governmental mechanisms are configured differently under similar enterprise cultures. Similarly, another comparative study could be designed to explore the overseas study experience of Chinese students in different countries and regions with different political regimes or international students from other Asian countries, such as South Korea and Singapore, which are affected significantly by the Confucian tradition. Such comparative studies could provide detailed specific evidence on the relationship between culture and governmentality, which would in turn advance understanding of 'good' study abroad.

13.7 Conclusion

Contemporary international student mobility has a significant influence on individuals, families, societies and international relations. Understanding this issue will not only

contribute to a theoretical understanding of governmentality but will also improve policy interventions and add to the discipline of Sociology. This study has provided useful evidence for both theoretical development and policy considerations. In particular, it suggests that cultural mechanisms are an intrinsic part of the mechanisms of government in establishing and developing the field of international education, and governing as well as self-governing of international students. Accordingly, the convergence between New Zealand's neo-liberal knowledge policies and Chinese students' experiences for a 'good' overseas study in three policy areas of student recruitment, hosting and retaining can not only be achieved with market forces and institutionalised means, but also be facilitated by social relations and cultural values. Despite its limitations, it is hoped that this study added value to and will inspire further research projects in this field of inquiry.

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Appendices

Appendix 4-1 Information of 36 interview participants

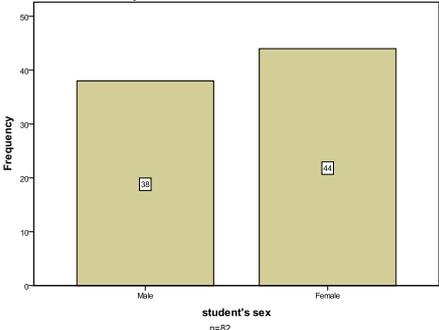
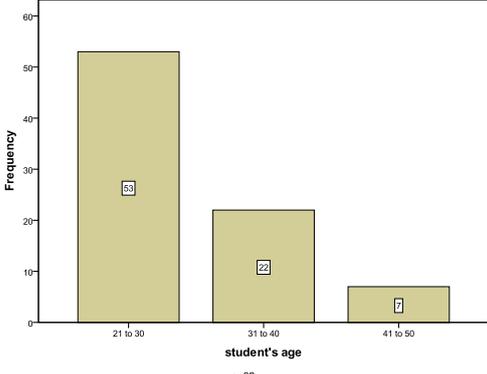
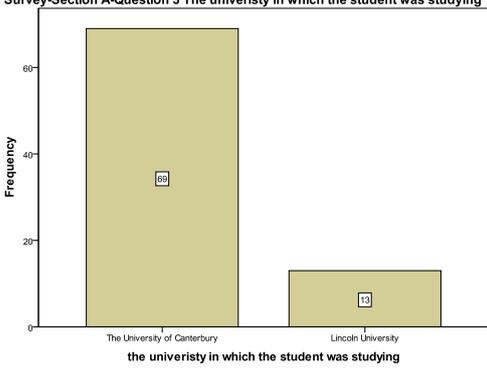
| Interview Participant | Gender | Major/Department/School | University |
|-----------------------|--------|------------------------------|------------|
| Interviewee01 | Female | PhD in social science | UC |
| Interviewee02 | Female | PhD in social science | UC |
| Interviewee03 | Male | PhD in natural science | UC |
| Interviewee04 | Male | PhD in natural science | UC |
| Interviewee05 | Male | PhD in engineering | UC |
| Interviewee06 | Male | PhD in humanities | UC |
| Interviewee07 | Female | PhD in humanities | UC |
| Interviewee08 | Female | PhD in engineering | UC |
| Interviewee09 | Male | PhD in engineering | UC |
| Interviewee10 | Female | PhD in humanities | UC |
| Interviewee11 | Male | PhD in social science | UC |
| Interviewee12 | Female | PhD in humanities | UC |
| Interviewee13 | Male | PhD in engineering | UC |
| Interviewee14 | Male | Master's in engineering | UC |
| Interviewee15 | Female | Master's in humanities | UC |
| Interviewee16 | Female | Master's in natural science | Lincoln |
| Interviewee17 | Female | PhD in social science | UC |
| Interviewee18 | Male | PhD in engineering | Lincoln |
| Interviewee19 | Male | PhD in engineering | UC |
| Interviewee20 | Male | PhD in natural science | UC |
| Interviewee21 | Female | PhD in education | UC |
| Interviewee22 | Female | Master's in computer science | UC |
| Interviewee23 | Female | PhD in commerce | Lincoln |
| Interviewee24 | Female | PhD in social science | UC |
| Interviewee25 | Male | Master's in computer science | UC |
| Interviewee26 | Male | PhD in commerce | Lincoln |
| Interviewee27 | Male | Master's in natural science | UC |
| Interviewee28 | Female | PhD in natural science | Lincoln |
| Interviewee29 | Female | PhD in natural science | Lincoln |
| Interviewee30 | Female | PhD in commerce | UC |
| Interviewee31 | Male | PhD in natural science | UC |
| Interviewee32 | Female | PhD in commerce | UC |
| Interviewee33 | Female | Master's in social science | UC |
| Interviewee34 | Male | Master's in social science | UC |
| Interviewee35 | Female | Master's in commerce | UC |
| Interviewee36 | Female | PhD in natural science | UC |

Note: The majors of these interview participants on this list are deliberately obscured for anonymity protection.

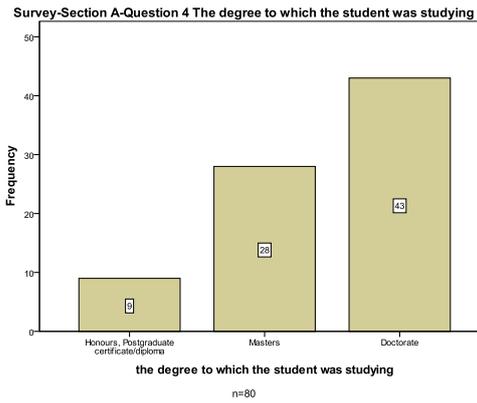
Appendix 4-2 Significant Others identified through 36 interviews with current Chinese international students

| Interview Participant | Type of institution | Individual |
|--|---|--|
| Significant Others Group 1: Services, organisations and individuals | | |
| Interviewee37 | Within university | An information librarian at UC |
| Interviewee38 | | Staff from a university learning skills centre |
| Interviewee39 | | A supervisor at Lincoln University (NZ) |
| Interviewee40 | | A supervisor at UC (Chinese) |
| Interviewee41 | | A supervisor at UC (NZ) |
| Interviewee42 | | A professor from Wuhan University who collaborated with teachers at UC through a project (conducted through telephone) |
| Interviewee43 | Outside university/communities | A member of a local Chinese voluntary organisation |
| Interviewee44 | | A member of a local New Zealand voluntary organisation |
| Interviewee45 | | Staff of a local government agency |
| Significant Others Group 2: Parents and friends | | |
| Interviewee46 | Parents | A parent in Christchurch |
| Interviewee47 | | A parent in China (conducted through telephone) |
| Interviewee48 | | A parent in China (conducted in China) |
| Interviewee49 | Friends | A Master's student's American friend who helped her with her study |
| Interviewee50 | | A PhD student's New Zealand friend who helped her with her study |
| Interviewee51 | | A visiting scholar from a Chinese university and was connected with a current postgraduate students |
| Interviewee52 | | A visiting scholar from a Chinese university and was connected with a current postgraduate students |
| Significant Others Group 3: former postgraduate Chinese students (have graduated) | | |
| Interviewee53 | A person graduated from UC with a doctoral degree and was working in a New Zealand university | |
| Interviewee54 | A person graduated from UC with a doctoral degree and was teaching in a Chinese university (conducted in China) | |
| Interviewee55 | A person graduated from UC and was running a business in China (Conducted in China) | |
| Interviewee56 | A person graduated from UC and has worked in different places (NZ, Hong Kong, China) (Conducted in China) | |

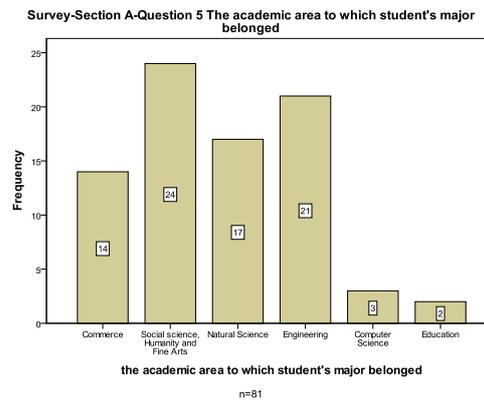
Appendix 7-1 Questionnaire and frequency distribution of survey participants' responses

| Questionnaire | Result (Frequency distribution) | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|-----------|------------------------------|----|--------------------|----|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| Section A: About you | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>1. Are you?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male • Female | <p style="text-align: center;">Survey-Section A-Question 1 student's sex</p>  <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <thead> <tr> <th>student's sex</th> <th>Frequency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Male</td> <td>38</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Female</td> <td>44</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td>82</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | student's sex | Frequency | Male | 38 | Female | 44 | Total | 82 | | |
| student's sex | Frequency | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 38 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 44 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 82 | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>2. How old are you?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under 20 • 21 to 30 • 31 to 40 • 41 to 50 • Above 50 | <p style="text-align: center;">Survey-Section A-Question 2 Student's age</p>  <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <thead> <tr> <th>student's age</th> <th>Frequency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>21 to 30</td> <td>53</td> </tr> <tr> <td>31 to 40</td> <td>22</td> </tr> <tr> <td>41 to 50</td> <td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td>82</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | student's age | Frequency | 21 to 30 | 53 | 31 to 40 | 22 | 41 to 50 | 7 | Total | 82 |
| student's age | Frequency | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 to 30 | 53 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 31 to 40 | 22 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 41 to 50 | 7 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 82 | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>3. In which tertiary institution are you studying?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • University of Canterbury; • Lincoln University; • Others(please specify) | <p style="text-align: center;">Survey-Section A-Question 3 The univeristy in which the student was studying</p>  <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <thead> <tr> <th>the univeristy in which the student was studying</th> <th>Frequency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>The University of Canterbury</td> <td>69</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lincoln University</td> <td>13</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total</td> <td>82</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | the univeristy in which the student was studying | Frequency | The University of Canterbury | 69 | Lincoln University | 13 | Total | 82 | | |
| the univeristy in which the student was studying | Frequency | | | | | | | | | | |
| The University of Canterbury | 69 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lincoln University | 13 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 82 | | | | | | | | | | |

4. What degree/s are you working towards?
Degree/s (Please specify_____)

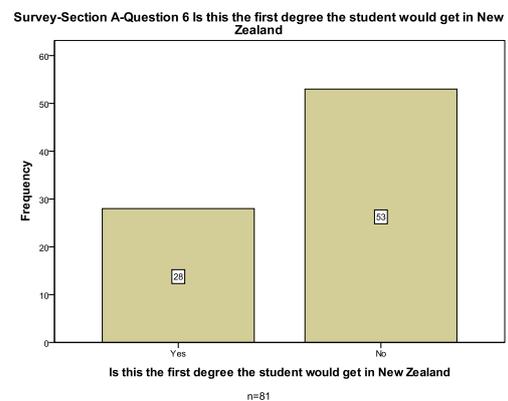


5. What is your major?
Major (Please specify_____)



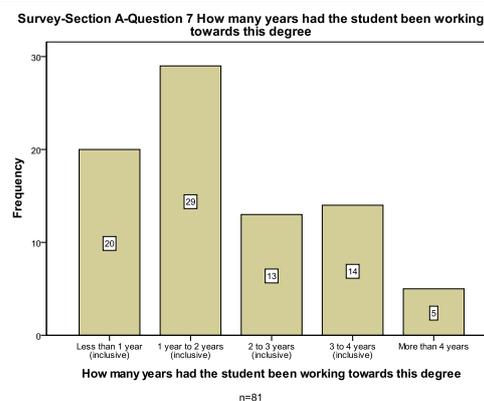
6. Is this the first degree you will get in New Zealand?

- Yes
- No



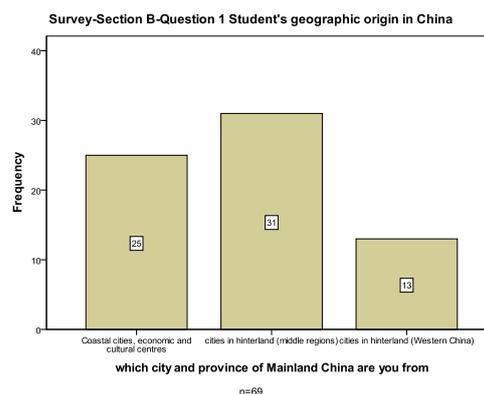
7. How many years have you been working towards this degree?

- Less than 1 year (inclusive)
- 1 year to 2 years (inclusive)
- 2 to 3 years (inclusive)
- 3 to 4 years (inclusive)
- More than 4 years



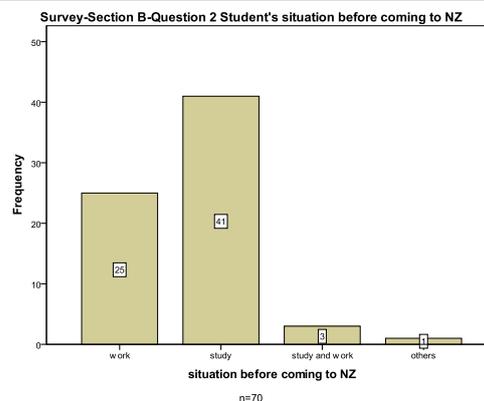
Section B: Your position in China

1. Which city and province of Mainland China are you from?
 City _____
 Province _____



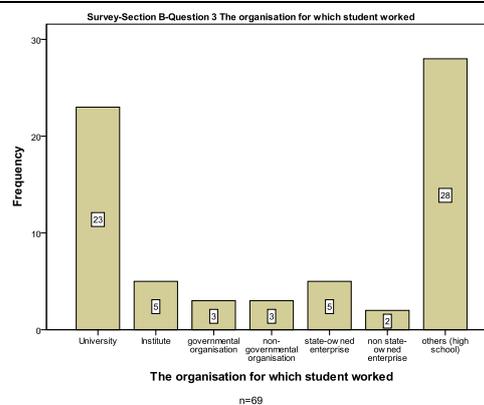
2. What did you do in China in the last 12 months before you came to New Zealand?

- Work
- Study
- Work and study
- Others (Please specify _____)

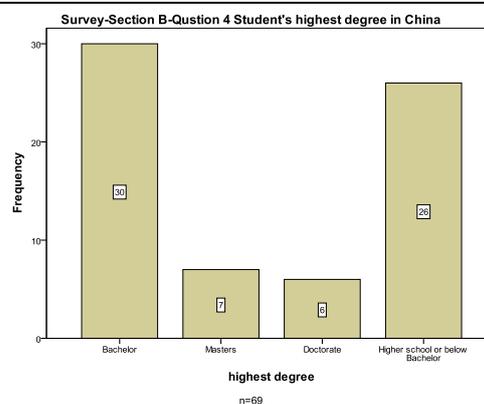


3. What type of organisation in China did you work for before you came to New Zealand?

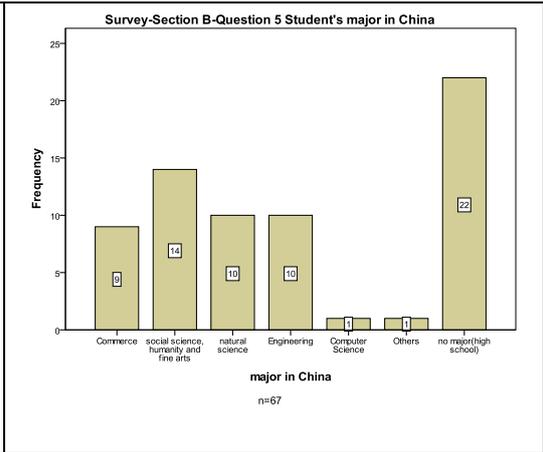
- University
- Institute
- Government organisation
- Non-government organisation
- State-owned enterprise
- Non state-owned enterprise
- Others (e.g. high school, please specify _____)



4. What was the highest degree, which you were studying towards, or you had received in China before you came to New Zealand?
 Degree (Please specify _____)

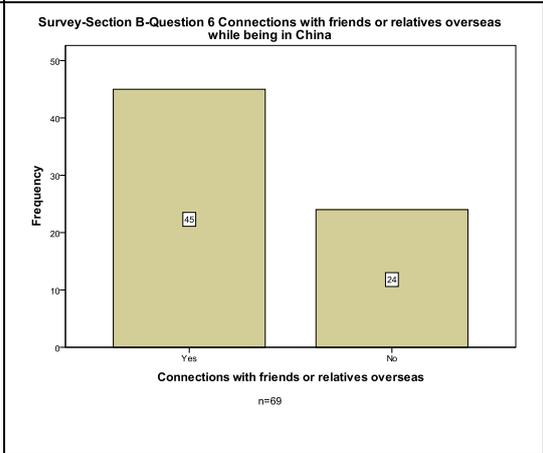


5. What was your major?
Major (Please specify_____)



6. Did you know and keep in touch with any of your friends or relatives who had gone overseas when you were in China?

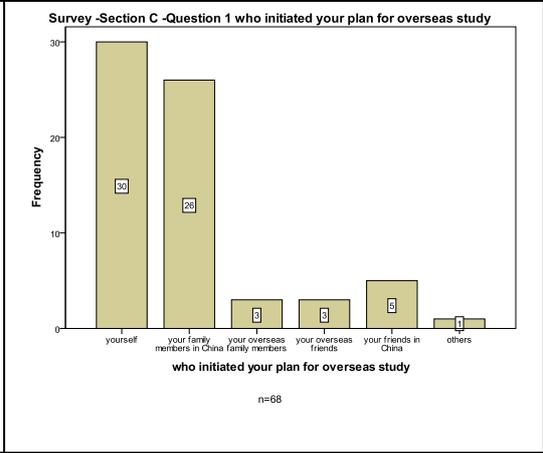
- Yes
- No



Section C: Information, Connections and Transnational Movement

1. Who initiated your plan for overseas study?

- Yourself
- Your family members in China
- Your overseas family members
- Your overseas friends
- Your friends in China
- Others (Please specify_____)



| <p>2. Which of the following country/countries did you submit your application for your overseas study or immigration before you came to New Zealand? (An answer can have more than one choice.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Zealand • Australia • Canada • UK • USA • Others (Please specify_____) | <p>Survey-section C- Question 2 countries you submitted your application</p> <table border="1"> <caption>Data for Survey-section C- Question 2</caption> <thead> <tr> <th>countries you submitted your application</th> <th>Frequency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>New Zealand</td> <td>39</td> </tr> <tr> <td>New Zealand and other countries</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>other countries but not New Zealand</td> <td>15</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>n=63</p> | countries you submitted your application | Frequency | New Zealand | 39 | New Zealand and other countries | 9 | other countries but not New Zealand | 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|-----------------|-------------|----|---------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|---|-------|----|---|------|
| countries you submitted your application | Frequency | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| New Zealand | 39 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| New Zealand and other countries | 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| other countries but not New Zealand | 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>3. How did you learn about the New Zealand tertiary institution in which you intended to study? (An answer can have more than one choice.)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) From friends in New Zealand 2) From relatives in New Zealand 3) From an agency for overseas study or immigration in China 4) From the Internet 5) From local newspaper advertisements or magazine articles in China 6) From radio or television 7) From an international conference 8) From other ways (Please specify_____) | <p>Survey-Section C-Question 3- Ways of learning NZ institutions (n=67)</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Way of learning</th> <th>No. of response</th> <th>% of cases</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>1)</td><td>19</td><td>28.36</td></tr> <tr><td>2)</td><td>10</td><td>14.93</td></tr> <tr><td>3)</td><td>26</td><td>38.81</td></tr> <tr><td>4)</td><td>29</td><td>43.28</td></tr> <tr><td>5)</td><td>1</td><td>1.49</td></tr> <tr><td>6)</td><td>1</td><td>1.49</td></tr> <tr><td>7)</td><td>5</td><td>7.46</td></tr> <tr><td>8)</td><td>2</td><td>2.99</td></tr> </tbody> </table> | Way of learning | No. of response | % of cases | 1) | 19 | 28.36 | 2) | 10 | 14.93 | 3) | 26 | 38.81 | 4) | 29 | 43.28 | 5) | 1 | 1.49 | 6) | 1 | 1.49 | 7) | 5 | 7.46 | 8) | 2 | 2.99 | | | |
| Way of learning | No. of response | % of cases | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1) | 19 | 28.36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2) | 10 | 14.93 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3) | 26 | 38.81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4) | 29 | 43.28 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5) | 1 | 1.49 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6) | 1 | 1.49 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7) | 5 | 7.46 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8) | 2 | 2.99 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>4. Please choose the most relevant THREE reasons for your choice of New Zealand as your destination for overseas study.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The reputation of New Zealand's tertiary institutions 2) The knowledge of your supervisors 3) The physical environment in New Zealand 4) The advancement of the New Zealand institution in your field 5) The time for getting a visa from the New Zealand Embassy 6) The cost of studying in New Zealand 7) The friends and/or relatives you have in New Zealand 8) The requirement of scholarship | <p>Survey-Section C-Question 4- Reasons for choosing New Zealand (n=64)</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Reason</th> <th>No. of response</th> <th>% of case</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>1)</td><td>15</td><td>23.44</td></tr> <tr><td>2)</td><td>16</td><td>25.00</td></tr> <tr><td>3)</td><td>43</td><td>67.19</td></tr> <tr><td>4)</td><td>8</td><td>12.50</td></tr> <tr><td>5)</td><td>23</td><td>35.94</td></tr> <tr><td>6)</td><td>40</td><td>62.50</td></tr> <tr><td>7)</td><td>21</td><td>32.81</td></tr> <tr><td>8)</td><td>9</td><td>14.06</td></tr> <tr><td>9)</td><td>5</td><td>7.81</td></tr> </tbody> </table> | Reason | No. of response | % of case | 1) | 15 | 23.44 | 2) | 16 | 25.00 | 3) | 43 | 67.19 | 4) | 8 | 12.50 | 5) | 23 | 35.94 | 6) | 40 | 62.50 | 7) | 21 | 32.81 | 8) | 9 | 14.06 | 9) | 5 | 7.81 |
| Reason | No. of response | % of case | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1) | 15 | 23.44 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2) | 16 | 25.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3) | 43 | 67.19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4) | 8 | 12.50 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5) | 23 | 35.94 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6) | 40 | 62.50 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7) | 21 | 32.81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8) | 9 | 14.06 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9) | 5 | 7.81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| <p>received</p> <p>9) Other reasons (e.g. safety, please specify_____)</p> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------|-----------|---------------------|----|---------------------|---|--|---|-------------------------|---|-----------|---|
| <p>5. What was your visa status when you first entered New Zealand?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As an international student with a student visa • As a visiting scholar with a visitor's visa • As a non-principal applicant in a family's immigration application form, granted with a residential visa • As an immigrant with a residential visa • As others (please specify_____) | <table border="1"> <caption>Survey-Section C- Question 5 your visa status on arrival</caption> <thead> <tr> <th>your visa status on arrival</th> <th>Frequency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>with a student visa</td> <td>53</td> </tr> <tr> <td>as visiting scholar</td> <td>5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>as a non-principal applicant for immigration</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>with a residential visa</td> <td>6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>as others</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>n=68</p> | your visa status on arrival | Frequency | with a student visa | 53 | as visiting scholar | 5 | as a non-principal applicant for immigration | 2 | with a residential visa | 6 | as others | 2 |
| your visa status on arrival | Frequency | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| with a student visa | 53 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| as visiting scholar | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| as a non-principal applicant for immigration | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| with a residential visa | 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| as others | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Section D: Your Study and Networks in New Zealand

| <p>1. With whom are you living in New Zealand?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With a Chinese family as a flatmate or home stay • With a Kiwi family as a flatmate or home stay • Sharing a house with other students • Living by yourself • Living with your families • Living by other ways (Please specify_____) | <table border="1"> <caption>Survey -Section D- Question 1 student's accomodation</caption> <thead> <tr> <th>student's accomodation</th> <th>Frequency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>with a Chinese family as a flatmate or homestay</td> <td>11</td> </tr> <tr> <td>with a Kiwi family as a flatmate or homestay</td> <td>9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>sharing a house with other students</td> <td>23</td> </tr> <tr> <td>living by yourself</td> <td>7</td> </tr> <tr> <td>living with your families</td> <td>16</td> </tr> <tr> <td>living by other ways</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>n=68</p> | student's accomodation | Frequency | with a Chinese family as a flatmate or homestay | 11 | with a Kiwi family as a flatmate or homestay | 9 | sharing a house with other students | 23 | living by yourself | 7 | living with your families | 16 | living by other ways | 2 |
|--|---|------------------------|-----------|---|----|--|---|-------------------------------------|----|--------------------|---|---------------------------|----|----------------------|---|
| student's accomodation | Frequency | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| with a Chinese family as a flatmate or homestay | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| with a Kiwi family as a flatmate or homestay | 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| sharing a house with other students | 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| living by yourself | 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| living with your families | 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| living by other ways | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| <p>2. Please tick the following associations or societies of which you are a member, or you ever participated in their activities. (An answer can have more than one choice)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Christchurch Chinese Students & Scholars Association 基督城中国学生学者联合会 2) University of Canterbury Chinese Students & Scholars Society 坎特伯雷大学中国学生学者联谊会 3) Lincoln University Chinese Association 林肯大学华人联合会 4) Christchurch Zhonghua Chinese Society 基督城中华协会 | <p>Survey-Section D-Question 2- Participation of community activities (n=64)</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>community</th> <th>No. of response</th> <th>% of cases</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1)</td> <td>16</td> <td>25.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2)</td> <td>17</td> <td>26.56</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3)</td> <td>6</td> <td>9.38</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4)</td> <td>8</td> <td>12.5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5)</td> <td>3</td> <td>4.69</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6)</td> <td>5</td> <td>7.81</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7)</td> <td>5</td> <td>7.81</td> </tr> <tr> <td>8)</td> <td>2</td> <td>3.13</td> </tr> <tr> <td>9)</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>10)</td> <td>2</td> <td>3.13</td> </tr> <tr> <td>11)</td> <td>29</td> <td>45.31</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | community | No. of response | % of cases | 1) | 16 | 25.00 | 2) | 17 | 26.56 | 3) | 6 | 9.38 | 4) | 8 | 12.5 | 5) | 3 | 4.69 | 6) | 5 | 7.81 | 7) | 5 | 7.81 | 8) | 2 | 3.13 | 9) | 0 | 0 | 10) | 2 | 3.13 | 11) | 29 | 45.31 |
|---|---|------------|-----------------|------------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|---|------|----|---|------|----|---|------|----|---|------|----|---|------|----|---|------|----|---|---|-----|---|------|-----|----|-------|
| community | No. of response | % of cases | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1) | 16 | 25.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2) | 17 | 26.56 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3) | 6 | 9.38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4) | 8 | 12.5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5) | 3 | 4.69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6) | 5 | 7.81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7) | 5 | 7.81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8) | 2 | 3.13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9) | 0 | 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10) | 2 | 3.13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11) | 29 | 45.31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

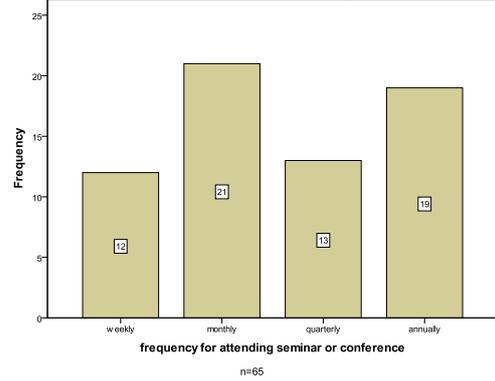
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5) The Friendship Operation 6) New Zealand China Friendship Society 新中友好协会 7) Christchurch Wuhan Fellowship Society 武汉同乡会 8) Christchurch Guangdong Association Inc. 广东同乡会 9) Christchurch Fujian Fellowship Society 福建同乡会 10) The Christchurch Christian Chinese Church 基督城华人基督教 11) Don't know and didn't participate in activities organised by the above associations or societies 12) Other associations (Please specify_____) | <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 30%;">12)</td> <td style="width: 30%;">3</td> <td style="width: 40%;">4.69</td> </tr> </table> | 12) | 3 | 4.69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|----|-----------------|------|-------------------|----|---------------|----|---|------|----|---|------|----|---|------|----|----|-------|----|---|---|
| 12) | 3 | 4.69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>3. How did you get the information on these organisations and their activities? (An answer can have more than one choice.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Local newspapers and magazines 2) Friends 3) Christchurch Chinese Online (www.rc8.co.nz, not valid after 2009) 4) NZ Chinese website: Skykiwi (www.skykiwi.com) 5) Emails 6) Not apply 7) Other ways (e.g. QQ, Please specify_____) | <p>Survey-Section D-Question 3- Information channels on community activities (n=64)</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th>Information channel</th> <th>No. of response</th> <th>% of cases</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1)</td> <td>5</td> <td>7.81</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2)</td> <td>32</td> <td>50.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3)</td> <td>1</td> <td>1.56</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4)</td> <td>3</td> <td>4.69</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5)</td> <td>5</td> <td>7.81</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6)</td> <td>25</td> <td>39.06</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7)</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | Information channel | No. of response | % of cases | 1) | 5 | 7.81 | 2) | 32 | 50.00 | 3) | 1 | 1.56 | 4) | 3 | 4.69 | 5) | 5 | 7.81 | 6) | 25 | 39.06 | 7) | 0 | 0 |
| Information channel | No. of response | % of cases | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1) | 5 | 7.81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2) | 32 | 50.00 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3) | 1 | 1.56 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4) | 3 | 4.69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5) | 5 | 7.81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6) | 25 | 39.06 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7) | 0 | 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>4. Please list all of your past and current formal academic membership at the local, national and international levels (e.g. professional associations)</p> <p>_____</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">Survey -Section D- Question 4 Formal academic group</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin-top: 10px;"> <caption>Data for Survey -Section D- Question 4 Formal academic group</caption> <thead> <tr> <th>formal academic group</th> <th>Frequency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>one membership</td> <td>16</td> </tr> <tr> <td>two memberships</td> <td>5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>three memberships</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>No membership</td> <td>7</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">n=31</p> | formal academic group | Frequency | one membership | 16 | two memberships | 5 | three memberships | 3 | No membership | 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| formal academic group | Frequency | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| one membership | 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| two memberships | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| three memberships | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No membership | 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| <p>5. How many informal social groups (more than two persons), from which you receive support for your postgraduate study or through which you provide support to other students or colleagues, do you belong to?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None • 1 • 2 • 3 • 4 • More than 4 | <p>Survey-Section D - Question 5 Informal groups from which students received help</p> <table border="1"> <caption>Data for Survey-Section D - Question 5</caption> <thead> <tr> <th>informal group</th> <th>Frequency</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>None</td> <td>41</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>13</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2</td> <td>6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>more than 4</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | informal group | Frequency | None | 41 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | more than 4 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------|-----------------|------------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|-------------|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|-------|
| informal group | Frequency | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| None | 41 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| more than 4 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>6. Please tick the services you know and have used at the university where you are now studying. (An answer can have more than one choice.)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Your information librarian 2) Learning Skill Centre 3) Career Centre 4) Postgraduate Students Association 5) Scholarship Office 6) International Office 7) International Student Support 8) Student Hub | <p>Survey-Section D-Question 6-Services on campus (n=66)</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>service</th> <th>No. of response</th> <th>% of cases</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1)</td> <td>44</td> <td>66.67</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2)</td> <td>36</td> <td>54.55</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3)</td> <td>27</td> <td>40.91</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4)</td> <td>11</td> <td>16.67</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5)</td> <td>26</td> <td>39.39</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6)</td> <td>21</td> <td>31.82</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7)</td> <td>27</td> <td>40.91</td> </tr> <tr> <td>8)</td> <td>15</td> <td>22.73</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | service | No. of response | % of cases | 1) | 44 | 66.67 | 2) | 36 | 54.55 | 3) | 27 | 40.91 | 4) | 11 | 16.67 | 5) | 26 | 39.39 | 6) | 21 | 31.82 | 7) | 27 | 40.91 | 8) | 15 | 22.73 |
| service | No. of response | % of cases | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1) | 44 | 66.67 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2) | 36 | 54.55 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3) | 27 | 40.91 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4) | 11 | 16.67 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5) | 26 | 39.39 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6) | 21 | 31.82 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7) | 27 | 40.91 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8) | 15 | 22.73 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>7. How did you know about these services? (Please tick the top <u>three</u> methods you usually use.)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) From friends or fellow students 2) From supervisors 3) From advertisements on campus 4) Through the university website 5) From library help desks 6) Through emails 7) Through the International Orientation Programme 8) Through other ways (Please specify_____) | <p>Survey-Section D-Question 7- Information channel on services (n=67)</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Information channel</th> <th>No. of response</th> <th>% of cases</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1)</td> <td>30</td> <td>44.78</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2)</td> <td>22</td> <td>32.84</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3)</td> <td>17</td> <td>25.37</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4)</td> <td>41</td> <td>61.19</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5)</td> <td>20</td> <td>29.85</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6)</td> <td>25</td> <td>37.31</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7)</td> <td>8</td> <td>11.94</td> </tr> <tr> <td>8)</td> <td>1</td> <td>1.49</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | Information channel | No. of response | % of cases | 1) | 30 | 44.78 | 2) | 22 | 32.84 | 3) | 17 | 25.37 | 4) | 41 | 61.19 | 5) | 20 | 29.85 | 6) | 25 | 37.31 | 7) | 8 | 11.94 | 8) | 1 | 1.49 |
| Information channel | No. of response | % of cases | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1) | 30 | 44.78 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2) | 22 | 32.84 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3) | 17 | 25.37 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4) | 41 | 61.19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5) | 20 | 29.85 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6) | 25 | 37.31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7) | 8 | 11.94 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8) | 1 | 1.49 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

8. How often approximately do you attend an academic seminar and conference?

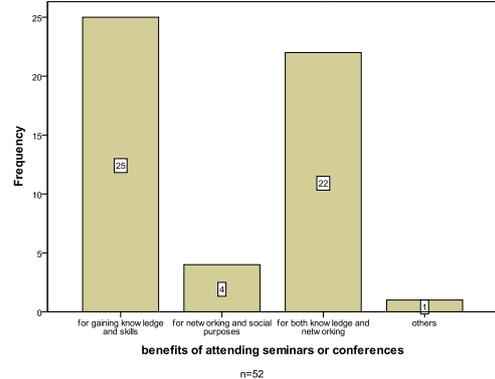
- Weekly
- Monthly
- Quarterly
- Annually

Survey -Section D- Question 8 Frequency for attending seminar or conference



9. What do you think about benefits of attending seminars or conferences are? (Please list)

Survey -Section D- Question 9 Benefits of attending seminars or conferences



10. During your study in New Zealand, what form/s of cooperation or collaboration have you had with your fellow students, supervisors or colleagues in your academic field? (An answer can have more than one choice)

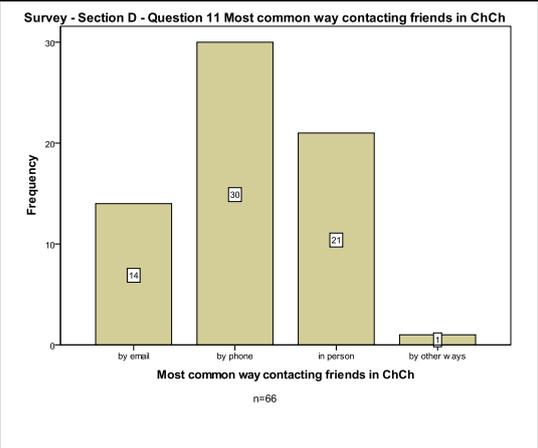
- 1) Having no a cooperation
- 2) Writing journal paper/s as a co-author
- 3) Working with others and serving as a tutor or lecture in a course
- 4) Working with other as a team for a project
- 5) Other ways of cooperation (Please specify _____)

Survey-Section D-Question 10-Form of collaboration (n=67)

| service | No. of response | % of cases |
|---------|-----------------|------------|
| 1) | 18 | 26.87 |
| 2) | 26 | 38.81 |
| 3) | 16 | 23.88 |
| 4) | 29 | 43.28 |
| 5) | 1 | 1.49 |

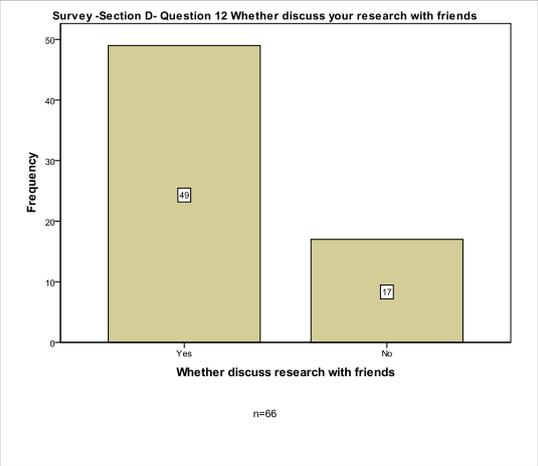
11. Which is the MOST common way by which you contact your friends in Christchurch?

- By email
- By phone
- In person
- By other ways (e.g. QQ, Please specify_____)



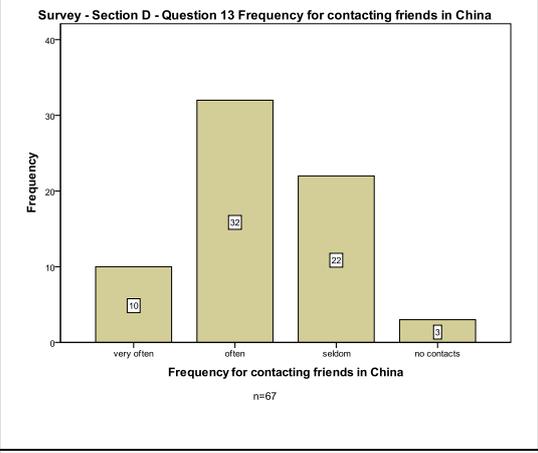
12. Do you discuss your research with your friends?

- Yes
- No



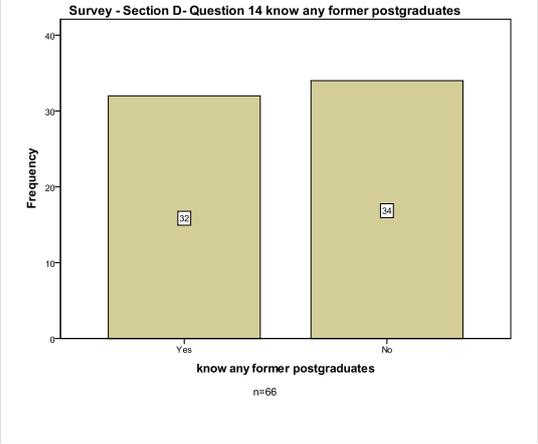
13. How often do you contact your friends in China?

- Very often
- Often
- Seldom
- No contacts



14. Do you know any former postgraduate Chinese students in your field who are from Mainland China and have graduated from a New Zealand university?

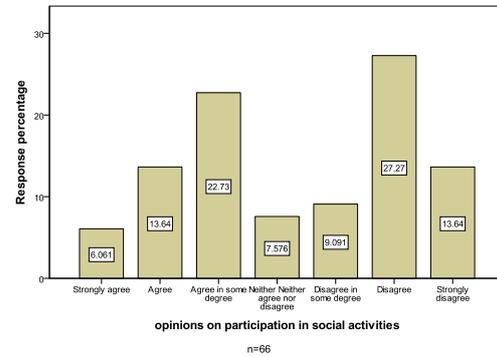
- Yes
- No



15. Please indicate your degree of agreement/disagreement on each of the following statements.

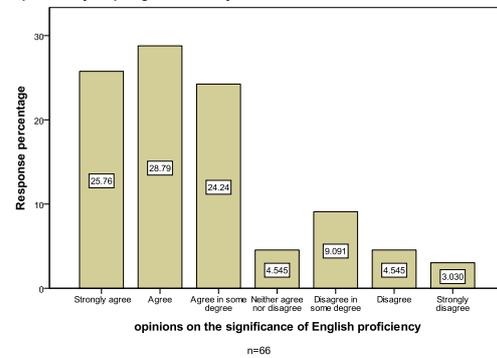
15.1 Postgraduate study is intensive, so I avoid most social activities and gatherings.

Survey-Section D-Question 15.1 Opinions on participation in social activities during study



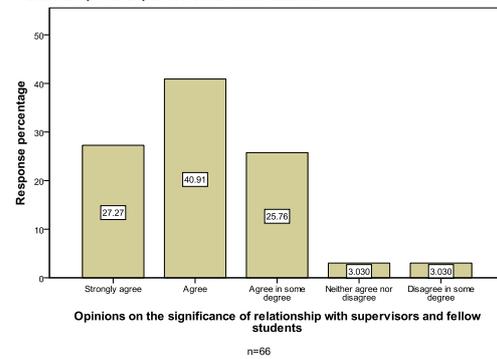
15.2 English proficiency is the most important thing for a successful postgraduate study.

Survey-Section D-Question 15.2 Opinions on the significance of English proficiency for postgraduate study



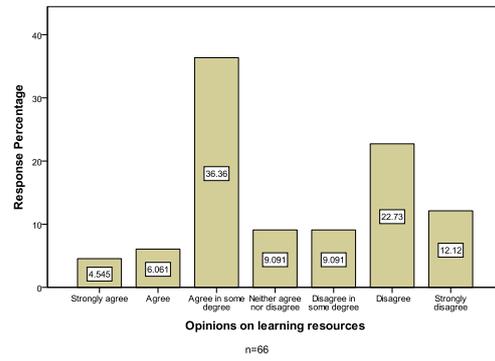
15.3 A good relationship with supervisors and other students is crucial for a successful postgraduate study.

Survey-Section D-Question 15.3 Opinions on the significance of a good relationship with supervisors and fellow students



15.4 Postgraduate study is to learn mainly from books and supervisors.

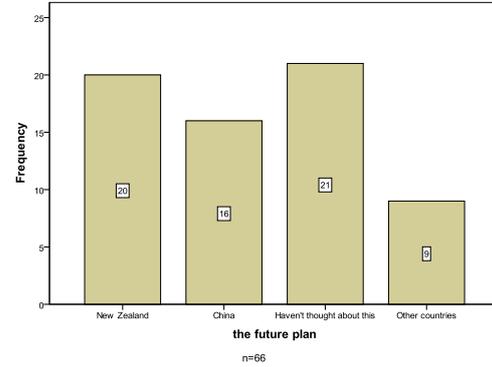
Survey-Section D-Question 15.4 Opinions on learning resources



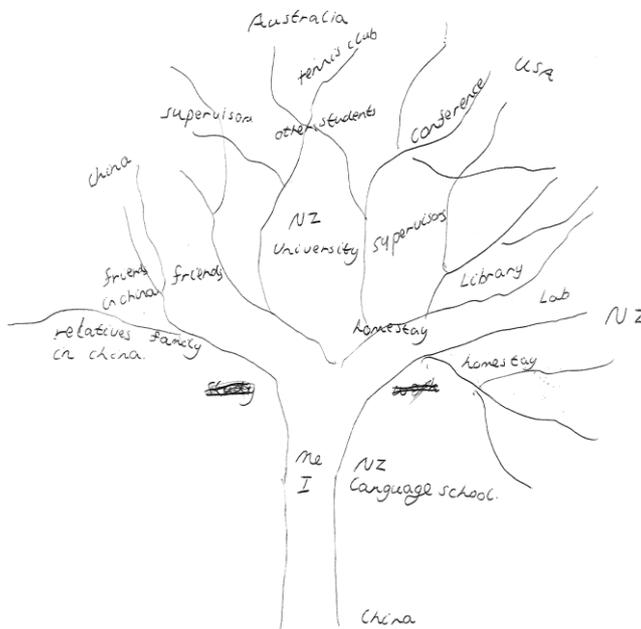
16. Where do you plan to find a job and live after graduation?

- New Zealand
- China
- Haven't thought about this
- Other countries (Please specify_____)

Survey- Section D- Question 16 the future plan: Where to find a job and live after graduation



Appendix 10-1 A diagram drawn by a student to visualise his overseas experience



The excerpt of transcript below is the student's description of his overseas study experiences associated with the diagram:

The tree would be an appropriate image, which can illustrate my experience [in New Zealand]. Like a tree, I am rooted in China. The trunk would represent the language school here. Then, it keeps growing, and some branches come up. They can be my contacts and relations. For example, branches here can represent my contacts in the university – supervisors, fellow students, libraries and labs. Similarly, branches there can be my parents and family in China as well as friends in China and here. Around these tree branches, I wrote names of several countries such as China, Australia, the US and New Zealand. This means that some contacts and relations would connect me to people and things in these countries. These

contacts would determine where I would go in the future ... (Interviewee 04, a male student)