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Higher Education in Cosmopolitan Europe and Cosmopolitan China

Bachelor (B.Sc.) Thesis in European Public Administration

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Abstract

With the end of the Cold War, political actors that act on the global stage have a tendency to develop a cosmopolitan identity – a collective identity for the global era. Hence, Beck and Grande (2007) observe that the European Union has developed into a Cosmopolitan Europe. Delanty (2012) argues that a cosmopolitan imagination has come to define Europe today, that is, a critical attitude to the social world in Europe. Cosmopolitan identities of global players do not develop in void or spontaneously but are made. While in the modern era, states made nations in nation-building trajectories, via state-based education systems. In the global era, world powers like the EU, make cosmopolitan identities in world-building trajectories, typically via higher education systems. In the EU, higher education, in particular the *Bologna Process* (1999), can be considered as a major engine in the making of a cosmopolitan identity for the EU. The Bologna process shows how European policy makers contribute to the establishment of a cosmopolitan identity by shaping a world paradigm within EU policies. Reflexivity is typically considered a key element in such education systems, as this type of rationality is needed to make sense of the complexity of a globalizing Europe. The European media, European newspapers in particular, it is assumed, perceive and popularize Europe's cosmopolitan identity to wider audiences. Hence the media can be understood, - like higher education systems - as popularizers of the cosmopolitan European identity. Consequently, the identity as constructed in higher education is communicated to its readership by press reports.

Not only Europe, or the EU, has redeveloped its collective identity in the global era, but also the People's Republic of China (hereafter: China) has come to play a central role on the global stage since the end of the Cold War and has reconstructed its collective identity. Some scholars have recognized that China in spite of its communist party rule is developing a cosmopolitan identity that Urry (2010) calls a Cosmopolitan China. Also China's cosmopolitan identity is constructed via education systems, in particular via the National Entrance Exam called *Gaokao*, is a producer of a Chinese cosmopolitan identity – a cosmopolitanism that may well be different from European cosmopolitanism. As in Europe, Chinese media sources perceive and popularize this identity to their audiences.

In this thesis, I seek to investigate, via a content analysis, how European and Chinese newspapers discuss the making of the cosmopolitan identities via the Bologna Process and Gaokao. The aim of the thesis is to find out to what extent European and Chinese newspaper articles present their education systems as being a cosmopolitan Europe and a cosmopolitan China as envisioned by scholars like Beck and Grande and Urry. Also, this thesis seeks to detect differences between European cosmopolitanism and Chinese cosmopolitanism, as expressed in newspaper discussions of Bologna and Gaokao.

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1.Introduction

The key idea of this chapter is on the one hand to give some background information on the topic by illustrating the relevance of the study, and on the other hand to outline the interrogation of the research. The importance shall be clarified by establishing an understanding of Europe's new cosmopolitan identity and of China's past development that also shows an identity change and the new character of the Chinese national regime. Moreover, the link between the concept of cosmopolitanism and educational policies shall be elucidated, in order to stress the relevance of my thesis. Besides the amplification of the research questions, I will explicate different nuances of the theory and the argumentation of a cosmopolitan Europe and a cosmopolitan China becomes clear. Within this chapter, introductory remarks on Bologna and Gaokao can be found. Those two educational reforms function as the foundation of analytical comparison. Additionally the meaning of the data sources used, will be described and justified.

Although cosmopolitanism has certain roots European culture (the Stoics and the Cynics were cosmopolitan, while a key spokesperson of the Enlightenment, Kant, promoted cosmopolitan ideas), cosmopolitan identity has recently been discussed in the context of the post cold war role of Europe. Cosmopolitanism is now discussed as an identity that negates and transcends nationalism and communism, in the era after the Cold war, the global era. The Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 in Europe can be seen as the starting point of a new era that is characterized by a movement towards a new world paradigm by shaping a cosmopolitan identity across Europe, mainly via the EU. Consequently, Europe can be understood and conceptualized as increasingly cosmopolitan, which is a modernized and redefined European identity that unites people of different nationalities, religions, classes and ethnic groups. Beck and Grande (2007), and Delanty (2012) define this new European identity of a globalized EU as Cosmopolitan Europe. EU policies, higher education policies in particular, are, among other things, developed to shape a cosmopolitan identity that is fitting for Europe's global citizenry. Education systems can be seen as collective identity makers. As stated by Igarashi & Saito (2014, p. 226), in a global world, "education policies and school curricula increasingly define students as members of humanity by emphasizing the importance of openness to foreign others and competencies to coexist and cooperate with them in a global world". As such, the Bologna Process, which is a reform of the higher education system in Europe since 2004, can be seen as a strategy for creating a cosmopolitan European identity as it shapes the educational path of European students and their foreign fellow students from all over the world.

Urry observes that not only a Cosmopolitan Europe but also a Cosmopolitan China is under construction. More than three decades ago in 1978, the global economy and society has also got reshaped within China due to the reforms of the economic system back at that

date. Since then, China seems to be in a spirit of reforms and opening up processes, possibly moving away from Chinese nationalism (and Maoism). Several reforms, in particular since the end of the Cold War in 1991, have transformed China into a regime with a new ideological position that enables it to play a world on the global stage. In 2013 the cosmopolitan identity has allegedly been communicated in the slogan of the “Chinese Dream”, which is the new doctrine led by Xi Jinping, the President of China. This Chinese Dream aims at uniting an increasingly diverse nation of a country that has developed a huge new and influential middle class while the Chinese economy is expanding enormously. The Chinese Dream is introduced as an answer on contemporary social matters, such as income disparity and minority unrest by creating a new-shared identity that is fitting for global requirements. Cosmopolitan China is a new China that opens up to the world, embraces its highly multi-ethnic cultural diversity, its foreign capital, foreign universities and attracts a lot of foreigners. All these mentioned aspects are signs of a new identity that is in the making, certainly in the urban and academic areas in China.

In the European and Chinese media, the making of the new collective identities, through (reformed) education systems, is subject to discussion. The aim of this thesis is to describe and make sense of this media discussion and compare the cosmopolitanisms that are represented in the European and Chinese media. The first research question is formulated as follows:

To what extent is the Bologna Process represented as being cosmopolitan in European newspapers articles?

In answering this research question I seek to detect a newspaper discussion of the making of a European cosmopolitan identity through the Bologna Process. A media discussion of the European Higher Education Area will be investigated in terms of European cosmopolitan features that will be reconstructed in the form of an ideal type in the next chapter.

Next to identifying the making of a European cosmopolitan identity, as represented in European newspapers, this thesis seeks to find out how a Chinese cosmopolitan identity, as represented in Chinese newspapers, is being discussed in the context of media discussions on Gaokao. Therefore, the second research question is formulated as follows:

To what extent is the Gaokao cosmopolitan according to Chinese newspaper reports?

China, even more than Europe, not only plays an increasingly important role in the global economy and in world politics, but also increasingly plays an important global role in the educational field, attracting foreign universities, foreign scientists and foreign students.

According to Huoxiong (2011), China has become the world's largest higher education provider. With this second research question I seek to find out how the making of a Chinese cosmopolitan identity through the Gaokao – an examination that is a condition for applying to Chinese universities – is being discussed in the Chinese newspapers. I want to gain an understanding of Chinese cosmopolitan features that are ideal-typified in the next chapter, and to what extent the Gaokao is reflected as a cosmopolitan project in Chinese newspaper discussions.

After I describe to what extent a European cosmopolitan identity in terms of the Bologna Process and to what extent a cosmopolitan Chinese identity with regard to Gaokao is perceived and popularized in media reports, I compare the two. Hence a third research question is formulated as:

What are the differences and similarities of Chinese and European cosmopolitanism as popularized by European and Chinese newspaper articles?

Hence, the approach of the thesis is to conduct a newspaper analysis and to compare on the basis of such an analysis contrasts in the making of European and Chinese cosmopolitan identities. 42 articles out of five different news sources on the topic of Bologna, and 45 reports on the Gaokao have been selected after reviewing about 350 newspaper articles on each education system. The time-span on Bologna related articles is between January 1999 and 2014, whereas Gaokao related articles between March 2013 and December 2014 will be investigated, with the dates being due to major changes, namely the creation of the European Higher Education Area and the leader change in China.

In sum, the thesis is aimed at finding out how the regimes envision their own higher education systems as collective identity makers and how this self-reporting is communicated to its audiences, as discussed in newspapers. The next chapter will provide the theoretical framework that is organized around the relationship between cosmopolitan identity and higher education in Europe and China.

2. Cosmopolitanism in Higher Education in Europe and China

In this thesis higher education systems are understood as collective identity makers. In the modern era education systems typically promoted a thick national identity in the context of nation building. In communist systems, education systems produced a communist identity that fitted with the aim of making of proletarian class or socialist economic state. In the global era the borders of states open up. Higher education systems, the argument goes, come to produce a post-national and post-socialist cosmopolitan identity that is organized around the notion of humanity rather than nation or class. In this chapter the relationship between higher education and identity building in the global era is discussed. The notion of cosmopolitan Europe or a cosmopolitan European identity and the notion of a cosmopolitan China as the products of globalized higher education systems in Europe and China are discussed. Ultimately the purpose of this chapter is to construct two ideal types on the basis of scholarly discussions: one of cosmopolitan Europe and one of cosmopolitan China.

2.1 Higher Education and Identity Building in the Global Era

The post-Cold War, globalization process influences higher education in the sense that higher education comes to shape a collective identity that is fitting for participation on the global state. This is a cosmopolitan identity that is oriented towards membership of the wider world. The Bologna Process of Europe and the Gaokao of China, which will be examined in terms of their cosmopolitan identity are collective identity makers. It is assumed that this identity is especially driven by some notion of humanity and world. For, according to Igarashi & Saito (2014), in the global era, education policies and school curricula tend to define students as members of humanity. They emphasize the importance of openness to foreign others and competencies to coexist and cooperate with them in a global world. Since in a complex world of interconnectedness, the movement across borders becomes increasingly unproblematic, and therefore studying abroad becomes also more attractive. The overseas flows indicate that students rather choose to go to the West for study purposes. As stated by Igarashi & Saito (2014, p. 228) “far more students flow from the ‘non-West’ to the ‘West’ than the other way around”. Students of non-Western countries, who regard higher education in the West as not only superior but also more cosmopolitan, can explain this fact. Nowadays cosmopolitanism is more and more institutionalized into school curricula, shown by courses in foreign language and world history and global studies, which is a feature of the new identity that is shaped. However, on a domestic level in a national education system this means that students usually do not interact with many people from multiple nationalities, whereas students attending international schools are more likely to select educational tracks that help them acquire large volumes of cosmopolitanism as cultural capital (Igarashi & Saito, 2014). Hence,

different types of school forms transmit different volumes of cosmopolitan attitudes. In sum, higher education is clearly defined as an identity maker by influencing student's educational tracks and therefore delivering cosmopolitan values to its global citizenry. As such, higher education relates to the aim of my thesis, which is to find out to what extent the Bologna Process and the Gaokao are represented as being cosmopolitan in European and Chinese media.

2.2 The making of a cosmopolitan European identity

Education is seen as booster of a cosmopolitan identity, and according to Igarashi & Saito (2014) as a result, education policies label students as members of humanity that bear on the openness towards strangers and the living and working side-by-side with them. Considering this, it is important to look at the newspaper articles and their attempts to provide readers with information on the extent to which these aspects are given by education policies. As will be discussed in chapter two, cosmopolitan Europe has three ideal types, namely, reflexivity, beyond the nation-state and supranational citizens. Most European newspaper articles in the frame of references for the first ideal typical dimension, were found as 'quality education as human right', which leads to the assumption that cosmopolitan education of a cosmopolitan Europe is associated with a cosmopolitan legal body by European newspapers. Moreover Morris (2009) also argues that human rights education is affiliated to a cosmopolitan legal frame. With this in mind when mentioning 'quality education as human right' the question remains what issues and topics related to the Bologna Process actually picked up in the newspaper articles and how meaningful are they in regard to a cosmopolitan identity. Main issues that have been covered are the quality assurance, the cooperation in quality assurance, the recognition of qualifications, and the improvement of quality and efficiency of education within the European Higher Education Area.

Contemporary Higher education policies, like the Bologna or Gaokao, aim at the establishment of students that are able to live and cooperate with multicultural others and at the preparation for a functioning in a global world. This hypothesis is supported by Nussbaum (1997), who argues that cosmopolitan education is a liberator of minds from the bondage of habit, custom and cultural upbringing. Nussbaum argues that cosmopolitan education is an educational vehicle capable of producing students, that are future citizens whose sensibilities and rationality are consistent with that required by a cosmopolitan identity. According to Nussbaum (1997), the imagination encourages the making of a European identity that is reflexive and deliberative, sympathetic and responsive, and respectful of separateness and privacy. Moreover it can promote understanding and compassion, which are essential ingredients for tolerance, respect responsibility and global citizenship. As a consequence, cosmopolitanism is dealt as a movement towards openness

to unknown cultures, and the expansion of daily activities beyond national borders, forming a dimension of a cosmopolitan Europe, namely 'beyond the nation-state'. It contributes to an effective way of the interaction with people of multiple nationalities ethnicities, classes, religions that become supranational identities and that shape a new identity characterized by a common humanity, that is human identity (Nussbaum, 1997). Therefore, education should reflect a community of dialogue and concern that unites all human beings in this shared overarching identity and it should foster a cosmopolitan sensibility and taste for strangeness.

Since cosmopolitanism in Europe can be considered as a project of transforming national sovereignty and socialism, the development and implementation of human rights can be seen as a reference point, also in education systems. Human rights are multiple trans-national forces associated with a cosmopolitan policy frame (Morris, 2009). Hence, cosmopolitan education aims at considering the consequences of moral and political decisions on all human beings, without losing local or national ties. The incorporation of international legal norms into domestic educational regimes results in the blurring of internal and external factors, which means that the concept of legitimacy denationalizes and hence, normative ideals on the quality of things like law, education and identity differs on a transnational basis. Human rights are given the ability to create new worlds by pushing and expanding the boundaries of a boarded identity (for instance national or class identity) creating cosmopolitan education as human rights education (Morris, 2009).

Cosmopolitan education as a form of human rights education has different dimensions. To begin with, Beck & Grande (2007) argue that cosmopolitan education produce a new identity characterized by "new forms of political rule beyond the nation-states that have developed in Europe hitherto (2007, p. 72)". In contrast, Delanty (2012) argues that the making of a cosmopolitan identity implies being concerned with social change and in particular with shifts in moral and political values. Cosmopolitanism thereby becomes a critical attitude. Furthermore, according to Delanty (2012, p. 336), having a cosmopolitan identity is a condition of openness to the world and it is entailing self and societal transformation in light of the encounter with the non-European other. This transformation in the way making sense of the world and of the other inhabitants necessitates a new type of rationality through which the cosmopolitan identity is expressed. This new rationality is called reflexivity. This reflexivity has its origins in the context of particular kinds of global relationships as a result of cosmopolitan attitudes or orientations and values (Delanty, 2012).

According to Delanty is reflexivity and hence the cosmopolitan identity has four different dimensions. First dimension is the relativization of one's own identity. This is a key objective in terms of cosmopolitanism. This seems to be the most important level in respect to this thesis, because this type of relationship is often found in educational programmes. It

implies a reinterpretation of identity as the result of the encounter of one culture with another. This is a typical feature of everyday cosmopolitanism. The second level of reflexivity by Delanty is the positive recognition of the other, which includes political and ethical commitments that are rooted in human rights and the recognition of a shared humanity. The example par excellence in this regard would be the internationalization of law. The third level is about the mutual evaluation of identities and identities that consequently allows for critique of cultures and that includes a self-reflexive mode of relationship. The fourth type is about a shared normative culture that can be called world culture. Here, global issues are on focus, because the self and other relations are mediated through an orientation towards world consciousness. In sum, in the making of cosmopolitan identity in Europe means first of all that collective identity becomes less important than the human identity, establishing a constitutive of a new human rights based and reflexive politics and global civil society organized around global issues.

2.3 The making of a cosmopolitan Chinese identity

Tyfield & Urry (2009) find evidence for a cosmopolitan China and they define its identity as being in a dialectical relation between cosmopolitanism and nationalism. Thus, values like local differences and the need for a politics of solidarity, as well as the reflexivity needed for democratic and human rights politics are necessary complaints for cosmopolitanism and nationalism, which both are referred to as projects of modernity and hence as the establishment of a new identity within China (Tyfield & Urry, 2009). This implies an enclosed nation-state confronting a social process of modernity as the result of an economical industrialization and development in China. As a consequence, western means need to be integrated into the new identity the pre-modern imperial state China that also has to encounter with European capitalist imperialism.

Tyfield and Urry (2009) examined that contemporary China is open to global flows, which shows the opening up of the country. Moreover, the media's role contributes to the creation of an imagined cosmopolitan identity that seeks for cultural openness and a discourse for international togetherness. Nevertheless, the opening up in terms of economical and cultural issues and hence the Chinese cosmopolitan identity, is limited to the restrictions by the one party rule and communist legacy. Hence, goal-rationality seems to be a dimension of a cosmopolitan China, because the legal means designed to achieve governmental objectives are intertwined into the decisions on matters such as education reforms and as such, the Chinese government is assumed to formulate policies to the benefit of its nation. In addition to that, Tyfield & Urry (2009) advert to a significant growth of NGOs that shows another aspect of a cosmopolitan China. However, according to the authors, the appearance of cosmopolitanism in China is rather a "relatively fragile and elite development, despite China's increasingly deep integration into global networks and flows

(Tyfield & Urry, 2009, p. 793)”.

Xiong (2009), on the other hand, recognizes a modernization process by rebuilding a social security system and therefore rebuilding the collective identity of China in the era of globalization. He identifies the development of social policy not with nation-building but with world-making, which could be called Chinese Modernity development. Shown by several policy reforms, such as the relaxation of the one-child policy, that show a more world-open attitude, China’s government moves its focus towards social protection in the global era, which leads to my assumption of a paradigm change that needs to be tested in terms of its extent towards cosmopolitan values, namely among other things the acknowledgment of the otherness and the high-minded virtue for all human beings. Notwithstanding, Xiong (2009) notes that the Chinese government yet needs to put efforts in creating equal opportunities, in order to get benefits for citizens and a boost for the national development in the global era. This transformation of the Chinese identity can be seen as a change of perception of for instance education, which also includes a social value and attitude change (Xiong, 2009). It seems like the actors involved and their roles are changing, too, in the sense that the new Chinese identity is not only a product of the Communist Party. Also other actors are involved in the making of Cosmopolitan China. Non-Governmental Organizations actively engage in civic activities and therefore the higher education sector gets more assistance outside the state, and is granted more importance. Hence, one can speak about a global elite development that presumably acts representatively for the Communist Party on the global stage.

Human rights do play a role in China’s education systems; yet, the meaning of human rights is different from how human rights are understood in Europe. According to Callahan (2003) China is creating its own, non-Western, vision of human rights. Also other authors, such as Angle (2002), indicate Chinese ideas of human rights as having distinctive characteristics. In 2005 the West EU Assembly mentioned that the human rights are still out of alignment with the norms the Western world supports. The arrest of the artist and activist Ai Weiwei is an example par excellence for a reason to allow serious concerns about the Chinese government’s commitment to the central human rights, as they are for instance indicated by the United Nations. Another key occasion that is considered to be the first major condemnation of China’s human rights situation was the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 (Haydon, 2011, p.10). Thus, one of Cosmopolitan Europe’s main goals is to create a Cosmopolitan China that eventually socialises into the kind of human rights order that the EU supports. Hence, there have been several initiatives, strategies and projects implemented, in order to promote the European (individualist) definition of human rights and to improve citizens understanding of political rights in China. China, however, defines human rights in a collectivist manner. As such, the extent to which human rights are recognized in China is a matter of dispute between its government and external

organizations, such as activist groups.

Figure 1

Features	Cosmopolitan Europe	Cosmopolitan China
	Beyond the nation-state	Chinese modernity
	Supranational Citizens	Global Elite development
	Reflexivity	Goal-Rationality

2.4 Concluding Remarks

The making of a cosmopolitan identity via cosmopolitanized education systems is characterized by the openness to the stranger and the inclusion of the other. On the one hand, the European cosmopolitan identity, as a theoretically constructed ideal type, is especially characterized by the balance and reflexivity of the self-interest with the collectivity and therefore about creating a shared European identity. Hence, the shared visions of the European society rooted in cosmopolitanism attributes, such as justice, human rights, democracy and equality, form a distinctive unity that constitutes a unity of a collective understanding. The Chinese cosmopolitan identity on the other hand is mostly referred to as a modern approach of the elite, reshaping social norms and values and eventually developing a new Chinese identity. This identity is characterized by social protection and security and it involves a conversion of roles and therefore of attitudes and interests. Since cosmopolitan views are considered to be world paradigms that therefore consist of thought patterns, it is obvious that the execution of the new model of the world bring along attitudinal changes in accordance with the cosmopolitan sphere. Both collective identity changes imply that educational reforms go hand in hand with those mentioned value changes, such as the recognition and inclusion of strangers into daily activities or the acknowledgment of one's own behaviour and its consequences on the world stage. On the basis of the theoretical discussion, I want to find out in my analysis, how the cosmopolitan identity making through education systems is being discussed in the media. That is, the constructed ideal types will be used to make sense of how media discussions that report about the higher education sector which displays that students are prepared to become world citizens, interacting worldwide with multiple nationalities.

3. Methods

This chapter provides a discussion of the research design and the methods that are used in this thesis. In this thesis I have opted for a qualitative content analysis of European and English language Chinese newspaper articles that will be used as sources to show the reforms in the educational systems that are taking place in Europe and China. The key assumption is that the content of different media press articles about Bologna and Gaokao and cosmopolitan identity making reflects the way the EU and China, the both cases at stake, express and receive the higher education systems as cosmopolitan, which is connected to their perception of European and Chinese identities. The logic of the coding scheme, as well as the way of how to use and analyse the selected newspaper articles as sources that cover the educational systems, will be explained.

3.1 Research Design

This thesis contains a qualitative content analysis, which first was used for analysing and interpreting texts, such as newspaper articles (Schreier, 2012). The method employed to deconstruct and analyse journalistic texts in order to better understand the relation of cosmopolitan identity building in Europe and China. As a further step the research design can be framed as a comparative case study for there are two cases (cosmopolitan Europe and cosmopolitan China), which will be compared due to their educational systems as represented by media sources. The main idea of the research is to establish a framework of qualitative approaches by developing aspects of interpretation, called categories. This process mainly includes formulating a criterion of definition, which has been derived from the theoretical background and research questions. As a consequence, the aspects of the textual material will be determined. In other words, the research is going to be descriptive and based on the written varieties within the chosen data sets.

This study will analyse newspapers concerning the higher education systems in Europe and China. To be more specific, it will be investigated how newspaper articles – mainly daily and weekly magazines, online newswire and newspapers - represent the Bologna Process and the Gaokao. Coding will be conducted by using the qualitative research software NVivo and according to coding rules derived from the theory of the previous chapter, which reflects the ideal typical dimension of a cosmopolitan Europe and a cosmopolitan China. For this purpose, a strategy of a manifest and latent content analysis is used. Manifest content stands for those elements that are physically present and countable, whereas latent content is extended to an interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physical data. The written press media are considered to be reflections of images present in the European or national media and society and therefore create an appropriate base to

obtain insight about the used types of representation of education policies of a cosmopolitan Europe and a cosmopolitan China. Due to the fact that four different newspapers for each ideal type are used, it is assumed that a broad range of represented opinion will be found and hence, a general conclusion on how the press articulates higher education systems as being cosmopolitan can be made.

3.2 Data Collection

For the main research question I used the keyword European Higher Education Area, in order to get newspaper article with related content. The Bologna Process has been implemented to modernize the higher education systems of the member states of the European Union and even far beyond the borders of the EU, due to the fact that more than 40 European countries are participating in achieving the agenda goals (Ravinet, 2008). According to Keeling (2006), it began in 1999 as a commitment by 29 European governments to pursue complementary higher education reforms in order to establish a “European Higher Education Area” of compatible national systems. The social dimension of the Bologna Process is defined as equitable access to and successful completion of higher education by the diversity of populations, and as such, one of the main objectives is to increase the number and diversity of the student population (Bologna Implementation Report 2012). Moreover, the reform is aimed at the improvement of European students’ mobility and employability and it shall make European higher education more attractive (Ravinet, 2008). I decided for a time-span starting in January 1999, because that was the point when “all the efforts of the Bologna Process members were targeted to creating the European Higher Education Area, that became reality with the Budapest Vienne Declaration of March 2010 (European Higher Education Area, 2014)”. The time-span of finding related newspaper reports shall end in December 2014 to keep the currency of my study and in order to get a sufficient sample size. The data will be retrieved from the ‘LexisNexis Group’ webpage that provides the electronic accessibility of legal and journalistic documents. It counts as the world’s largest electronic database for legal and public-records related information. I used the academic platform of the search engine to filter my data.

The data used for the first sub question was retrieved from LexisNexis and by searching for ‘Gaokao’ in articles written in the English language including and after March 2013. I selected all reports until 31 December 2014. This timespan covers the point of time when the new president of China approved his inauguration and it includes the first Gaokao hold under his force. Xi Jinping’s leadership is important in that regard, because he promoted the *Chinese Dream*, which is about a value change that contains a movement towards more openness. As such the National College Entrance Examination, called Gaokao, is a test that is undertaken at the completion of secondary schooling and the score that gained is needed

for admission to higher education. According to the Report on the Gaokao by the Commonwealth of Australia (2009), 10.5 million senior secondary school graduates sat for Gaokao in 2008, seeking to be accepted into one of 5.99 million places available in China's universities. During the last decade, there has been an immense increase in attendance at university in China. Since the Gaokao determines one's access to higher education, it consequently impacts individual "future career choices and attainment of wealth, income, and social status (Houxiong, 2011)". I assume, that those kinds of policies in China are less cosmopolitan than the Bologna reform.

3.3 Data Selection

In order to answer the first research question, a data set of 42 articles in total out of five different news sources and has been selected, after searching for the term 'European Higher Education Area' on LexisNexis. The amount of different newspapers is due to get a sufficient size of a data sample. The selection is based on the source of content and is only added if it is valuable to the analysis and hence if it adds value to the research issue, meaning that the focus is on higher education reforms and their consequences for the society in terms of a cosmopolitan identity that is to be shaped. A complete list of the retrieved and analysed documents is attached under appendix A. One of the sources is the *Times Higher Education*, which is the United Kingdom's leading publication on issues about higher education. It is a weekly magazine that is located since 1971 in London. Moreover, *Europolitics* was used for the data selection, too. It is the European affairs daily and it is based in Brussels. *Europolitics* is an independent medium that analyses policies, decisions and initiatives by the European Union in a critical, thorough and objective way and it outlines their impacts on business and citizens. A third newspaper that is utilized is *The Guardian*, a British national daily newspaper founded in 1821. The readership is mainly on the mainstream left of British political opinion. Furthermore, *European Union News* is published by a newswire called Plus Media Solutions. The fifth data source is a newswire named *States News Service* that is based in the US.

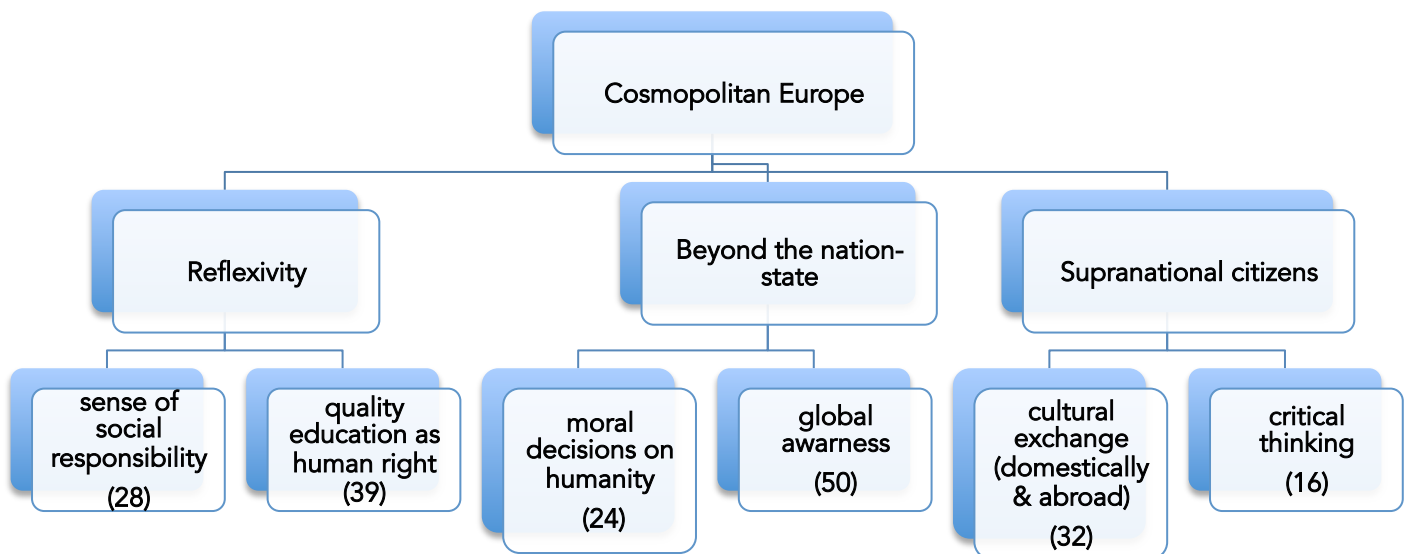
My data selection of the key term "Gaokao" included 372 newspaper articles in total. Within this sum, reports by the *China Daily European Edition*, *the US edition*, *Africa Weekly* and *the Global Times* were reviewed with all articles being English language Chinese newspapers. Hence, although those publications are written for Chinese, the fact that all the media articles are published from metropolises anywhere else around the world except from China, there might be a propensity on the position towards the educational system in China. Since the reforms are investigated far away from China, the media sources may lead to a reflection of the educational reform that might be either too impartial or too biased. *China Daily European Weekly* is published from London and is distributed in over 23 countries. The *US Edition* is based in New York City and publishes from Monday to Friday to many elite

sectors such as the United Nations Headquarters, think tanks and major financial institutions. The *Africa Edition* is published in the capital of Kenya since December 2012. *The Global Times* is a daily newspaper that focuses on international issues. Its most striking difference compared to other Chinese newspapers is its more populist approach to journalism together with a tendency to court controversy. I chose for these newspapers, because they cover a broad scale of locations worldwide and hence I assume to get a broad angle on the identity of the Chinese regime, which is reckoned to be Chinese nationalism. I selected the 45 most relevant reports, which I will use for my analysis, out of the mentioned newspapers and the predetermined time span. These are the most relevant articles due to the fact that they allow for a critical investigation of higher education systems in Europe and China and how these are expressed, constituted and legitimized as being cosmopolitan.

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

The data analysis is grounded in a coding scheme. The ideal type of Figure 1 functions as the impetus for the coding scheme that entails three dimensions of a cosmopolitan Europe and three dimensions of a cosmopolitan China. Hence, there will be two different coding schemes for my cases and their two different data sets of related newspaper reports. Having this model as a starting point, two items for each dimension of each concept have been selected. The first coding scheme belongs to the first research question about the European Higher Education Area and the second one belongs to the second question about Gaokao. The first version of the schemes that have been created after the selection of the data set can be found in the appendix (Appendix 2). After a second reading the codification was adjusted. The transcription will be outlined in the next paragraphs. The instruction is as follows. Sentences and whole paragraphs that have the underlying meaning of the items described below will be counted to that particular node. It is allowed to code the same section for two different items. For instance 'international participation' can boost cultural experiences and global awareness at the same time. Therefore it counts for the two related items each. This matter needs to be decided within the context of each passage. More on how to understand the items can be read below the coding schemes on the next pages. The amount of references being coded in the two different data sets can be found in brackets behind each item. In the analysis chapter, the focus is put on the most striking media reports.

Coding Scheme 1



One dimension of the cosmopolitan Europe coding scheme is called 'reflexivity'. Reflexivity can be understood as a cosmopolitan attitude towards relationships among social actors (Delanty, 2012). Therefore this dimension entails keywords that imply cultural forms, such as frames, socio-cognitive structures, cultural repertoires, discourses and quasi-objective cultural phenomena, because in all these mentioned aspects, a certain degree of reflexivity can be found and consequently the extent of cosmopolitanism. The 'reflexivity' dimension entails two items, namely 'sense of social responsibility' and 'quality education as human right'.

All sentences that include keywords or sentences implying the importance of the self in light of the encounter with the Other and its related duties, will be coded as belonging to the 'sense of responsibility item'. This means for instance studying in a foreign environment carries along the appreciation of the other culture and curiosity of it. Therefore one needs to be responsible with regard to behaviour and one should think of the consequences for the Other. Hence a cosmopolitan European higher education system should not invoke the law, it should involve long-term and sustainable prospects for the student's futures and it should be a legible and transparent system. Paragraphs that entail positions about avoiding conflictive social situations and about the opening up of universities to society will be referred to the node 'sense of social responsibility'. Moreover, this item presents better opportunities for students and it considers life long learning, employability and a comparable and coherent system.

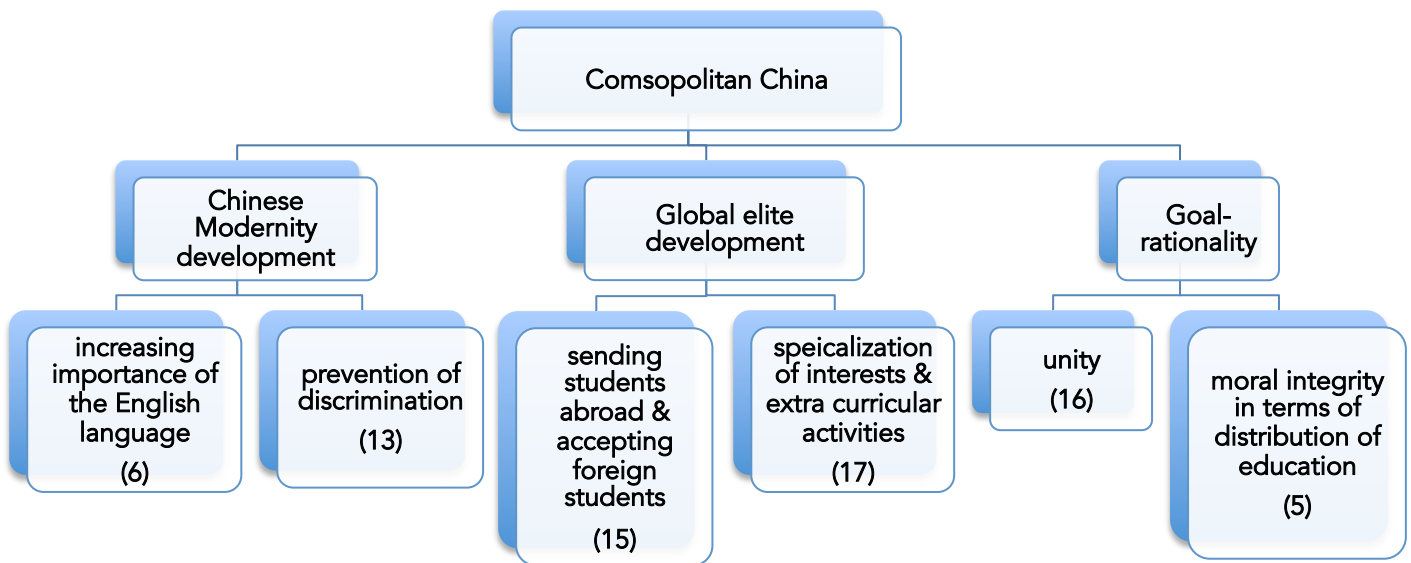
The item 'quality education as human right' is attributable to the individualization of social citizenship rights that have been taken place in modern society with the establishment of the welfare state in Europe. In a globalized society that is post-modern, citizens are legally entitled to for education. The expected content of this dimension shall imply forms of social

integration of the higher education system called Bologna in the global era, in which students are emancipated from their nationhood. Sections that refer the Bologna Process to be about quality assurance, the raise of quality in higher education, the recognition of qualifications, and the improvement of efficiency within the system are those to be coded. Institution specific quality frameworks can be seen as the opposite to quality assurance.

The dimension 'beyond the nation-state' consists of the items 'moral decisions on humanity' and 'global awareness'. The latter is aimed at coding sentences that entail a classification of Bologna into the world order and that hint to the international dimension of education. Everything that indicates globalization processes, modernity, modernization, exchanges around the world, internationality, crossing borders, transferability, international competitiveness and mobility, will be coded as 'global awareness'. 'Moral decisions on humanity' on the other hand, stands for more equity in the system, for instance with regard to access to education. To give an example, students should not be limited in their pursuit of higher education. The openness towards migrants that are welcomed to be part of an educational system would be another example of this item. Non-discrimination and measurements taken for minor groups and low income families, the reinforcement of social aspects of education such as the removal of legal and administrative obstacles and the promotion of social cohesion shall be coded.

The third dimension called 'supranational citizens' has the two main features 'cultural exchange' and 'critical thinking'. Accordingly, sentences that imply the socialization of international students and the opportunity to consciously negotiate a multiplicity of cultural identities will be coded. Moreover, paragraphs that denote student exchange programs, student and learning mobility, international collaboration, emphasizing the need for different cultures and the opportunity for studying abroad, shall be referred to this item. 'Critical thinking' is about the coding of positions in the newspaper reports about moral and political values fostered by the European Higher Education Area. This node is also about deliberating learning outcomes, about knowledge and skills and an active and employable citizenship that shall be promoted by the Bologna Process to be considered as a cosmopolitan education system in Europe.

Coding Scheme 2



The second coding scheme consists of dimensions called 'Chinese modernity development', 'Global elite development' and another one called 'Goal-rationality'. The dimensions shall explain a cosmopolitan China. The first item of the first dimension called 'increasing importance of the English language' shall code keywords and sentences indicating that the Gaokao values the English language as being important within the education system. It shall become clear that in term of the Chinese transformation into modernity, foreign languages are awarded as crucial aspects of education. The item 'prevention of discrimination' shall code any indication of the inclusion of minorities and the equal option to sit the entrance examination, for instance also for students from less developed areas in China. This would also include the abolishment of the hukou, which is a household registration system that restricts students from participating in the Gaokao in a city of their choice. Sitting the exam in Shanghai leads to better future opportunities with regard to access to universities. The item 'sending students abroad and accepting foreign students' will code every references to student exchanges, studies abroad, competition with foreign students, overseas education and on the other hand the acceptance of international students in Chinese universities.

In a cosmopolitan China with cosmopolitan education, people shall have access to all fields of study and the opportunity to specialize in particular interests to develop a global elite. All sentences that imply ways of specialization, instead of strict one-way patterns, will be coded as 'specialization of interests and extra curricular activities'. This node intimates an cosmopolitan Chinese education system; which is not blinkered but which provides a vital and flexible learning environment that strengthens the talents of students and allows for an open-minded attitude.

The 'goal-rationality' dimension is about the items 'unity' and 'moral integrity in terms of distribution of education'. 'Unity' is coded as counting values like solidarity, community and equal opportunities. Every wording within the newspaper articles selection that signifies a feeling of a unity shall be highlighted. It is from importance with regard to Chinese cosmopolitanism due to the fact that the individuality has to be sacrificed in the collectivity and totality of the nation state and thus cosmopolitanism cannot be detached from nationalism either. In China, and that is what differentiates a cosmopolitan China from a cosmopolitan Europe, unity in culture is an instrument for world peace and development and thus it can be called an item of goal-rationality, which is a dimension of cosmopolitan China. As such, this node is mainly about equality and the guarantee that every citizen gains an equal share of the benefits.

The moral integrity in terms of distribution of education, is linked to China's struggles as a pre-modern imperial state that is confronted with its long-standing self-image and therefore with the encountering of being modern and Chinese at the same time. The party control of the one-party system determines the extent of a cosmopolitan China that is open to the world and that reclaims the national pride. Hence, the party control of the CCP can be seen as a structural condition for cosmopolitan education, too. Additionally, the CCP Government institutionalizes the tension of opening up. Therefore paragraphs that imply to ensure nationwide equality in higher education and that narrows the regional gap in college enrolment.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

The methodological insights that can be derived from this chapter are in particular the destruction of formulations and language of the respective newspaper discourses that will be used to conduct a comparative analysis in order to find answers to the sub questions. The coding instructions mentioned in this chapter enable other readers to redo the research for other media sources and it is the foundation of the analysis. The classification of articulated positions in the press articles will not occur in a consistent way for every word or formulation and hence, it is necessary to take precise examples of newspaper sections into consideration. The following chapter shall analyse the coded data. The analysis chapter is aimed at an organized structure and presentation of the results. First, there will be a clear outline of the data findings as well as a clear and accurate interpretation of them. Second, a dialogue with what other scholars have found on cosmopolitan identity building will be added to the interpretation of the examined media sources. Third, similarities and differences between the European ideal type and the Chinese ideal type will be outlined and eventually, a persuasive discussion on the findings will follow.

4. Data Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the extent to which newspaper texts represent education systems in Europe and in China as being cosmopolitan. This chapter will firstly outline the main findings of the newspaper articles that have been observed and secondly it will be discussed how to interpret these findings and how they relate to cosmopolitan education in a cosmopolitan Europe and a cosmopolitan China.

4.1 Cosmopolitan Europe and the Bologna Process

In this section, the most important media press articles on the Bologna Process will be summarized and interpreted in the light of the extent to which they are represented as being cosmopolitan. The analysis is conducted on the basis on the ideal typical dimensions as outlined in the previous chapters of this thesis.

A report from 2010 by *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, suggests that with the Bologna Process an ever more diverse European identity is created. As a consequence Bologna is in this particular newspaper report typified by having a 'questionable legitimacy'. This legitimacy problem can be classified into the human rights context, too, because the sphere of influence seems to be up to national governments or European intergovernmental institutions only, which are rather looking on (inter) governmental goals than considering appropriate measures to the benefit of humanity. In addition to that, the various newspapers include contents concerning 'sense for social responsibility', assumedly due to their perception of the lack thereof and in order to claim critique, proposals for improvement or to report about progress with regard to the matter. Those contents cover a broad range of topics, from life-long learning, affordable and accessible education over sustainable and increasing investment in education. It is noteworthy that those reports are aiming to increase the promotion of the Bologna Process and they are an appeal to Ministers of the European Union for Education. As such, the screened features seem to be still unincisive and under development within the European Higher Education Area.

The second ideal typical dimension of a cosmopolitan Europe, namely 'beyond the nation-state', is the by far mostly covered one within the newspaper articles, which also shown by the 50 counted tokens only for the value 'global awareness' and by the 24 tokens counted for 'moral decisions on humanity'. As such, every newspaper article includes signs for the recognition of global awareness in relation to the Bologna Process of the European Higher Education Area. This fact, which is about the idea of an identity change towards more world openness within the European Union, supports the initial idea of this research. These findings are also in line with what the scholars Beck and Grande (2007) have found. According to the authors, cosmopolitanism shapes new patterns of political directions beyond

the nation-states in Europe, hence creating a new identity. Notwithstanding, is it really true that the values that go hand in hand with a transformation of the society to a new cosmopolitan identity only needs to include the openness to the world and the self cognition as stated by Delanty (2012)? Or can it also be supposed that in terms of academic values of this identity one needs to differentiate between stakeholders. A newspaper article from 2012 by *The Times Higher Education Supplement* concludes that the academic values in ministerial communiqués are ambiguous and that this ambiguity around academic values matters in terms of shaping a new identity. The text determines a widening gap between the values of university leadership and those of academics as higher education goes global and ever more commercial. Besides the emphasis on an international scope of education, it is remarkable that European Union's goals, such as the fostering of European awareness and higher education as the engine of Europe's identity as a competitor on the globe, are weighted alike.

On the one hand, the Bologna Process is often referred to be a modernization progress that enhances the international dimension of education and it is outlined as the initial point of the 'trend to new global regionalism (Times Higher Education Supplement, 2009)'. Furthermore, the mentioned weekly magazine *Times Higher Education* that is specialised on higher education issues, remarks in one of the August edition's that the European Higher Education Area aims at the promotion of student and staff mobility and to help attract more international students to Europe. On the other hand, many of the selected articles demonstrate a primarily national interest and are concerned with the national advantages of being competitive on the global scale. As such, higher education certainly also plays a role as being a requirement for the economy and hence it cannot be detached from its identity. Even though global awareness appear to be a great part of European newspaper articles on Bologna, the substance on hints for improvement rather than existing results on the matter prevails.

In addition to that, the coded content on 'moral decisions on humanity' addresses topics such as social progress, European values of liberty, equity, respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms, the rule of law and cohesion, the removal of legal and administrative obstacles and arrangements for financial supports. These aspects show the attempt by European newspaper to demonstrate the Bologna Process as being part of a cosmopolitan identity that is shaped within Europe. Hence, European core principles are closely intertwined with the Bologna objectives and as a result the Bologna Process itself is illustrated as an engine of boosting and constructing a European Higher Education Area that reinforces social aspects.

Apart from that the third ideal typical dimension of a cosmopolitan Europe, namely 'supranational citizenry' has been analysed and it is found that 'cultural exchange' is mostly

represented by contents dealing with the Erasmus and Erasmus Mundus programs and on the contrary with the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System. As indicated in a speech by a Member of the European Commission responsible for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth in April 2012 in Brussels, which is published in the *European Union News*, 'programs such as Erasmus underpin not only the pursuit of the underlined goals of the Bologna Process but the EU's policy objectives at the same time. Notwithstanding, both contribute to driving reform efforts'. Hence, the Bologna Process could be seen as stimulating a European identity. As defined by Nussbaum (1997), cosmopolitanism concurs to the interaction of multinational beings that eventually become supranational citizens in the context of a European identity. The content of the newspaper texts reflects the importance given to this aspect. In addition to that, the role of European Union institutions are emphasized with regard to their input and support of initiatives that simplify cultural exchange within the European Higher Education Area and on a global level, which shows their influence on shaping a cosmopolitan identity. To give some examples, the Commission is called upon underpinning more intensive exchanges between the EHEA and countries around the world, and the Council is asked to give general agreement to the recommendation on mobility within the Community for students. Hence, it can be argued that the intergovernmental organization of the EHEA indeed has established cosmopolitan tools that also have been recognized by media press articles.

'Critical thinking' as a main feature of supranational citizens, could only be coded rarely (16 tokens) compared to the other attributes of the dimensions. However, some of the articles imply to expand student's horizons by supporting them with the instruments needed. An illustrative example is the article 'Europe needs more graduates and high-level skills' of April 2012 and out of the *European Union News*, which claims that 'Europe's higher education institutions have a great tradition of helping individuals to develop critical and inquisitive mind-sets, and fostering the acquisition of new scientific knowledge'. With the insight that there are measures taken, which foster the cooperation between the exchange of knowledge, experiences and ideas, a cosmopolitan European identity could be shaped. This again underlines the focus on the modernization and internationalization process of universities that eventually frames the being of a supranational citizen with the competence to live a cosmopolitan life anywhere on the globe.

In sum, this section has delivered the key observations that the Bologna Process indeed shapes an identity in Europe, which also includes cosmopolitan aspects, but yet only to a limited extent due to national interests, educational competition on the world stage and new evolving actors, that influence decisions and direct the social change alike.

4.2 Cosmopolitan China and Gaokao

After describing how the contents of European newspapers describe the Bologna Process as cosmopolitan, this section investigates the intensity of cosmopolitan features in the Chinese National College Entrance Examination as represented by Chinese media articles. To bear in mind the second research question and the three ideal types for a cosmopolitan Europe, the first ideal typical dimension, namely Chinese Modernity development, has been transcribed into the content of newspaper reports on the gaokao, into the context of ascribing an increasing importance of the English language and the prevention of discrimination, which are the two items of the first dimension within the coding scheme of a cosmopolitan China. In comparison to other items, the identity of a cosmopolitan China and its education system has hardly been emphasized as relying on the ideal features of a Chinese Modernity that is the importance of the English language. Nevertheless, several discussions on leaving the English assessment part in the Gaokao test examination or not, shows its relevance given by media sources. Hence, there are two main conclusions that can be reflected within the press articles. First, in 2013 there have been rumours that English would be taken out of the required subjects for the exam, which have shown the attitude that English is not seen as essential any more and hence students can focus on the relevant subjects for the test only. As a consequence, the highly exam-oriented nature of the National College Entrance Examination becomes clear.

Second, on the contrary and maybe due to the fact that the mentioned rumours were confirmed to be true and apparently come into effect in 2017, it is emphasized that since English is still a component of the Gaokao, it is appraised as being important for the Chinese society. In May 2014, *China Daily-Africa Weekly* published an article called 'Plan to ditch English test draws concern', in which a mother of a primary school student in Beijing is asked to comment on the topic that English will possibly be excluded from the test. According to her, 'English as a communication tool is so important for children, and therefore she will urge her son to study it hard no matter how the gaokao is reformed'. As a result, there seems to be a conflicting view with regard to the role of English in cosmopolitan identity building in China as described in newspaper reports.

Concerning content intended to indicate a cosmopolitan Chinese identity that is aimed at the prevention of discrimination as part of the ideal type, it is noticeable that most of the media sources coded, portray an opening up towards migrants, disadvantaged students and students from the rural areas. As a consequence, according to *China Daily European Edition* in September 2014, 'enrolment at top universities by students from rural areas grew by 11.4 per cent, with roughly 50,000 students from 832 impoverished counties in 22 provinces gaining entrance to top universities'. The article also illustrates the government's efforts to rebuild and modernize the gaokao and its 'determination to enhance the equity of the

society'. In sum, students have gained better access to good universities and the gap in college enrolment in different regions has been narrowed, which is a first step to ensure nationwide equality of higher education that is seen as a requirement for a cosmopolitan identity.

The most cosmopolitan features are observed in the 'Global Elite Development' dimension, that outlines the second ideal type of a cosmopolitan China. Hence, there is a relationship to what Tyfield & Urry (2009) denotes about a Chinese elite identity that is created in a cosmopolitan China, despite its increasingly deep integration into global networks and flows. The content coded as 'sending students abroad' encompasses two aspects, namely sending Chinese students abroad and accepting international students. As such, it is outlined that China's opening-up gives Chinese students more resources and conditions to study abroad and it becomes clear that China has developed to the country with the largest number of students going abroad for study. Hence, a clear trend towards recognizing opportunities across the national border is determined and therefore an identity that considers collective interests of the modern society.

Content coded as 'specialization of interests and extracurricular activities' makes clear that the new cosmopolitan Chinese identity includes that students are allegedly prepared for becoming world citizens by reforming the Gaokao towards the training of social competences to acquire a 'solid foundation' as mentioned by Zhou Xuhong, president of Chongqing University, and published in the *China Daily-Africa Weekly* edition of September 2014. Consequently, the initially narrow-minded concept of the gaokao system turns to allegedly become an educational scheme that includes a cosmopolitan identity-making by integrating personal interests, such as political science, history, geography, physics, chemistry and biology, into the evaluation system and school requirements. In addition, the reforms of gaokao as popularized in Chinese newspaper articles, comprise the consideration of morality standards, physical health, art cultivation and social practice, which particularizes the opening up of the Chinese education system and hence the establishment of a cosmopolitan Chinese identity. This finding is accordance with what Xiong (2009) noticed, namely a transformation of perception with regard to education, which brings about a value and attitude change and hence an identity change. However, it is interesting that all these measures taken, happen on the basis of ensuring social status since the talents tested decide about which university one is allowed to go and hence which visions of identity can be broadened eventually. Therefore it could be assumed that the Gaokao is still seen as the Confucianism way of thinking, in which education is highly valued and emphasized beyond other values. Hence, those who are privileged to enjoy education at a 'good' university will be able to boost their social status in society. Since the ideal typical dimension relates to the

development of a Chinese modernity, this finding is contradicting to it. As such, the ancient Chinese thought system is still persistence, in spite of modernization.

The most frequently coded content besides the specialization of interests and extra curricular activities is the item 'unity', which belongs to the 'goal-rationality' dimension as an ideal type of a cosmopolitan China. The article 'Gaokao reform aims to embody fairness' which was published in September 2014 in the *Global Times (China)*, in particular emphasizes that 'the new reform plan has not divided society into two opposing camps that are morally challenging each other. The difficulties of advancing gaokao reform are frustrating, but at the same time the new gaokao policy brings precious hope and encouragement. It is hoped it will provide a pillar to unite the whole country'. This passage clearly popularizes the strong wish for a homogenous body, a shared cosmopolitan identity of social fairness, social morality, social equality and social equity with regard to the higher education sector. In addition to that, the article 'Hot Words' out of the *China Daily – US Edition* from June 2014, is interesting with regard to this thesis, since it says 'fortunately, there are signs that the craze of considering the gaokao as the most important step in a youth's life is on the wane, because media reports are now focusing more on such students' learning methods and the honours bestowed on them are becoming more acceptable'. Furthermore, they say 'as the education reforms deepen, it is likely that this craze will ultimately die out and people will adopt a more rational approach to evaluate the most successful candidates in the gaokao'. In sum, those words reflect a reversal of trend towards a cosmopolitan Chinese identity that is characterized by a collective identity in which every citizen gains an equal share of the benefits of the mentioned regulation. As such, this identity could be referred to Beck and Grande (2007), who mention a 'national realism', which here can be identified as a conscious vision towards cosmopolitan progress as shown by the modernization of the gaokao in terms of a strategic change of critical thinking there over.

The item 'moral integrity in terms of distribution of education' is another attribute of the 'goal-rationality' dimension of a ideal cosmopolitan China. The related content could only be coded hardly, which is probably due to the nature of the gaokao itself. Since the enhancement of the distribution of education is still under development and hence moving away from the initial partially accessibility of taking the exam, most of the reports indicate recent measures by the government to reduce regional gaps and to ensure nationwide equality in higher education. In sum, it can be said that education in China is looking at a new era, in which the cosmopolitan identity of China is fostered.

The key observations of this section can be described as being partly contradictory to the theoretical framework that has been outlined in chapter two, but also the articles themselves display inconsistent argumentations and perceptions on the Gaokao reforms as being popularized in the media. On the other hand, aspects like the national realism as

mentioned by Beck and Grande (2007) are in line with what has been found in the newspapers. In sum, the media does not seem to have found a final conclusion on how to express the Chinese identity as given by the Gaokao policies, whereas allegedly a cosmopolitan China is under development, obviously also reshaping the Chinese society and their identical being.

4.3 Education in cosmopolitan Europe and cosmopolitan China

The findings of the third research question about similarities and differences between higher education policies in a cosmopolitan Europe and a cosmopolitan China will be outlined in the following. First, it is remarkable that both, China and Europe undergo a modernization process that especially includes the reforms of their education systems, namely the Bologna Process and the Gaokao. Hence, both regimes are found to change their ideological orientation in the realm of education and as a consequence their new cosmopolitan identity is shaped, too. Second, however, the notion of cosmopolitanism remains problematic as education is still mainly attached to the nation-state, rather than it is transnationally structured. Most of the media sources emphasize the advantages of a quality-oriented higher education in terms of single member states of the European Union or China as a whole. *The China Daily European Edition* reported on September 5, 2014 that interrelationships make the gaokao reform a complicated one, which is among other things shown by the closely related reforms on hukou, the household registration system that could finally put an end to a system that has divided the nation into rural and urban populations since the 1950s. By looking at the European Higher Education Area, and as stated by the *States News Service* on September 20, 2011, Member States are first and foremost responsible for their own education and training systems, and higher education institutions are autonomous organisations in most countries. Moreover, higher education in Europe is used to achieve national or European goals. *The States News Service* claimed on September 20, 2011 that a reform strategy for the modernization of higher education is necessary and urgent, because, if properly supported, higher education can be the engine of Europe's competitiveness, innovation and social cohesion, and a key driver for growth and jobs in Europe. In another article the opposite is declared, namely that the EU and Bologna processes are separate. Anne Corbet (*The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 2012) claims that the EU priority indeed is to use universities to support and strengthen the EU's growth and innovation strategy, whereas the Bologna Process emerged to develop higher education per se.

Second, education is not only an identity maker, but it is also a business. Many media reports demonstrate that education is orientated towards the production of workers in the competitive global economy. In the newspaper article 'Education meets the market' by Fuxi Wang and published in the *China Daily European Edition* on July 5, 2014, the author claims

that education in China is looking at a new era, an era in which vocational education and training will play a greater role in the country's education system as well as the economy. In addition to that, the article 'Europe needs more graduates and high-level skills' published on April 26, 2012 in the *European News*, Androulla Vassiliou, Member of the European Commission responsible for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth, mentions that the EU must strive for continued improvement in quality, stimulate mobility, and ensure the higher education the EU offers is relevant for the labour markets. Therefore it is shown that all measures taken, always consider the boost of the economy and the stabilization of job markets, which indicates that global capitalism is a driving force of education systems as presented by newspapers. Hence, higher education in Europe and China tends to be more neoliberal than cosmopolitan. The article 'From where I sit – Filtering Bologna's muddy waters' by Anne Corbett published on April 19, 2012 in *The Times Higher Education Supplement* shows her conclusion on the review of the principles underpinning Bologna and EU higher education collaboration. The author concludes that academic values in ministerial communiqués are ambiguous since politicians love to muddy waters and as a consequence there are widening gaps between the values of university leadership and those of academic as higher education goes global and ever more commercial. Hence, the commercialization of higher education seems to provide the platform for international competition.

Third, education policies are in a process of constant reform, rather than there is a fixed structure. There is no end state, but constant readjustment to changing circumstances in Europe and China. This can be explained on the one hand by the completely voluntary participation of states in the Bologna Process and its intergovernmental nature between both EU and non-EU countries, and on the other hand by the one-party system that is leading and direction the development of higher education policies in China. Hence, there are many countries as part of the Bologna Process and therefore many possible obstacles that need to be tackled in constructing an effective cooperation among countries within the European Higher Education Area. Since there are no legal obligation due to the fact that the Bologna Process is neither a treaty or a convention, media article often refer to Bologna as being undemocratic because it does not operate under the full process of European Union law. In China, there can be many adjustments identified especially with regard to the quality of education and on the aspect to educate more people of the country that made rapid changes over the last two decades. Hence, the Communist Party of China announced a number of strategies to address social and economic challenges faced by China to frame the future direction of Chinese education and to pursue further development.

With regard to what the Bologna Process and the Gaokao do not have in common, firstly the different views on human rights can be outlined. First of all, China is governed by an authoritarian one-party state that maintains Party control over all judicial institutions, but

also on print publications, the Internet and academic research. Hence, the government may influence reform-oriented media such as the data set of this research. Nevertheless, the findings of the study allegedly outline an evermore-cosmopolitan higher education policy. To revert to the human rights, since the Xi Jinping administration starting in March 2014, the change to the household registration system called *hukou* also had immense impacts on the Gaokao and therefore better access to taking the nation-wide examination was guaranteed. This aspect again is a sign for a trend towards a more open China and a cosmopolitan identity. In addition to that, the *China Daily – US Edition* reported on July 2, 2014 that the Ministry of Education is banning universities from recruiting students based on gender and that the ministry therewith has addressed gender in its regulations for the first time. On the contrary, the European cosmopolitan identity is emphasized by liberal education from the beginning of the reform onwards.

Second, the role of the urban zone for European and Chinese cosmopolitan education differs. In June 8, 2013 the *China Daily European Edition* addresses that migrant students were allowed for the first time to take part in national college entrance exams away from their home regions, a move that officials say highlights efforts to boost equality in education. The *China Daily European Edition* (June 7, 2013) mentioned in the article 'Migrant students can now take gaokao away from home' that although there are only a few thousand eligible migrant students among 9 million exam candidates, it highlights a leap forward in educational equality in China. Moreover, *The China Daily – Africa Weekly* magazine reported on June 6, 2014 that in 2013, 12 provinces and municipalities held examinations for migrant students and in 2014 the coverage has expanded to 28 provincial-level regions, which can be ascribed to the already mentioned disintegration of the household registration system. In cosmopolitan terms this shows a new cosmopolitan Chinese identity that allegedly facilitates access to education nation-wide and without considering neither regional differences nor income gaps. The prevention of such kind of discrimination seems to supposedly being tackled. In Europe on the other hand, the urban zone does not prevail a distinction of students' origins. To draw a parallel it could be argued that the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) and the recognition of qualification could be seen as a restriction of the Bologna reform in Europe, since it is not completely effective and followed inherently safe within the European Higher Education Area. The ECTS is a standard for comparing the study attainment and performance of students of higher education across the European Union and other collaborating European countries and it also includes a standard ECTS grading scale that is intended to be shown in addition to local, for instance national, standard grades. A *European Report* from November 20, 2004 highlights that the ECTS however remains based on good will, because Bologna is an inter-governmental process in which the Commission is just one player.

Third, the role of English or other foreign languages in Europe is very different from the perception thereof in China. A *European Report* (October, 2005) called 'Education: MEPs back measure to guarantee high standards' states that measures making for linguistic diversity whereby the choice of alternatives to the official language would not be limited to the most widely spoken European languages should be taken and that integration should be promoted through multilingualism. Hence, attention is even put on minor languages within the European Union, whereas in China there haven been various media articles that indicate a reduction of the scale and emphasis of English in gaokao. However, other articles the opposite is declared, namely as mentioned by Luo Wangshu and Su Zhou in December 29, 2014 in the *China Daily Edition*, that the reform – unlike the rumours of the last year saying that the gaokao would reduce the scale of English and add weight to Chinese – reiterated the importance of English in the exam. Hence, in a cosmopolitan China the reduction of differences is part of a more homogeneous Chinese identity that is not opposite to nationalism. Nevertheless, media sources articulated increasing number of Chinese students studying abroad. Liu Zhun (*Global Times*, July 15, 2014) brings up number by a report from the Ministry of Education, stating that some 400,000 Chinese students began new courses of study in foreign countries in 2013, 14,300 more than in 2012. Furthermore, the author goes on saying that this number is expected to reach 500,000 in 2014. It is concluded that studying overseas is no longer out of reach for many ordinary young Chinese students. In addition to that it becomes clear that a lucrative market has been emerged in response to the strong demand, breeding 'study abroad agents' to help these kids apply for foreign universities. According to statistics from the *Chinese Service Center for Scholarly Exchange* (2012), 66.8 per cent of students chose to consult these agents to file application, which cultivated an enormous market worth at least 80 billion Yuan (\$12.8 billion). In July 2014, Ni Dandan claims in the *Global Times* that as announced by the National Institute of Education Sciences, around 1 million high-school graduates sidestepped gaokao in 2013, a number that has been growing by some 100,000 annually since 2010. According to the author, this is a consequence of Chinese students studying abroad. Furthermore, Chen Chenchen noted in the *Global Times* that statistics show that since 2008, the number of Chinese students studying in the US expands by 20 per cent each year. Consequently, according to the news report, Chinese, South Korean and Indian students make up roughly 50 per cent of all international students in the US. On the other hand in the article 'Educated in the East' of the *Global Times* (September 23, 2014) the author claims that China has the largest number of students going abroad for study, and now it is also among the top destination countries. Hence, not only China became attractive for foreign students, but also Chinese students increasingly decide to study abroad. In sum, the article reports that China ranks at ninth

place with 2 per cent of all mobile students worldwide studying there, with the top three being in the US, UK and France.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

Detecting the extent to which European and Chinese newspapers represent the Bologna Process and the Gaokao as being cosmopolitan, is a complex issue that is far from easy, especially when we want to find out what kind of identity is re-told by media sources for which we must take into account that the reports selective, sensational and written on the basis of a certain position. The first sub question on the cosmopolitan identity given by the education policy Bologna as portrayed by European newspapers can now be answered by the observation that the overall news coverage is often related to the internationalization of education that yet has failed to construct a well-functioning European Higher Education Area. However, the news reports contribute to a cosmopolitan Europe as its strong emphasis on quality education opportunities for all citizens. In this respect, the observation is to the most extent congruent with the theoretical arguments by the presented scholars of chapter two, including (Nussbaum, 1997, 2012; Beck and Grande, 2007; Delanty, 2012).

The second sub questions can be answered by the conclusion that the coverage among Chinese news articles is often empirically based to convince the reader of facts on the higher education system in China. Notwithstanding, most of the articles include a critical attitude towards calling the gaokao cosmopolitan. Hence, the gaokao reform as represented by Chinese newspapers rather advocates to a neo-liberal stance on education as a private good. The increasing numbers of international students and therefore the competition for international students in China is argued to enhance the quality of teaching, of a education system that is still exam-oriented in its nature, and make Chinese universities more competitive in the international marketplace. Beside that, a populist political view with regard to migrants becomes clear, since there are still restrictions although barriers such as the hukou have been removed. As a result and with regard to the third sub question it can be concluded that, yet, perhaps the most important difference between the European and the Chinese education systems is the ethos of education as a civil right and a public service (as it is seen in Europe), rather than a commodity or a matter confined to the elite (as it seems to be the case in China).

In sum, the differences between the societal goals and social dynamics of higher education in Europe and China could be observed as being divergent from each other, whereas the motives are often similar, such as national and regional economical growth and being competitive on the world market in the field of education and eventually on the global job market.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

In this thesis I elaborated to what extent the Bologna Process and the Gaokao are represented as being cosmopolitan in European and Chinese media sources. What can be derived from the newspaper analysis is that the representation of the Bologna Process and the Gaokao mainly includes wishes for enhancement in terms of cosmopolitan issues of education, such as the recognition of qualifications and more student-centred systems, and failures, such as lacking transparency of the policies and the lack of social cohesion, of the both education systems. Nevertheless, taking the images derived from the selected newspaper articles, it becomes clear that the general idea of a cosmopolitan identity in Europe and China given by the education reforms are not entirely highlighted as negative attempts to create a new identity of a modern society.

Taking into consideration the on-going commercialization of education, a new anti-cosmopolitan aspect, but instead neoliberal features of the European Higher Education Area and the Chinese higher education regulations have been discovered. Moreover, and that is also why the commerce of education cannot be dealt as cosmopolitan, education has become a business, which is not in relationship to a liberal education that other scholars have found. It is not confirming to an identity of convergence, as it should intent to do, following a cosmopolitan view and as indicated by (Nussbaum, 1997, 2012; Beck and Grande, 2007; Delanty, 2012; Tyfield & Urry, 2009; Xiong, 2009; Callahan, 2003).

According to Beck and Grande (2007) the new identity that is established by a cosmopolitan education, is defined by political orders that go beyond the nation-state. Mechanisms such as the ECTS as and programs such as the Erasmus Mundus that are part of the Bologna Process in the European Higher Education Area are certainly specified towards a perspective beyond the nation-state. Hence, to convert the cosmopolitan education and its new cosmopolitan identity that is created by higher education policies, into the definition by Beck and Grande (2007), the Bologna Process is portrayed in European newspapers as a cosmopolitan education system that allows the coexistence of different ethnic groups, religious and political forms of life across national borders based on the principle of cosmopolitan tolerance. Since studying abroad is hardly an obstacle for European students any more, the idea of a cosmopolitan identity as formulated by Beck and Grande (2007) in Europe, is supported to the extent that the standards of studying abroad, such as having the same quality of education and having a guarantee for a fully recognition of qualifications after the return, are the same as in the country of original studies. Under these conditions, also media press articles confirm the creation of a cosmopolitan identity via the Bologna Process. However, that is at the same time the point of most critique on the Bologna Process. As such, the Bologna Process is often referred to as being economy-driven and acting under the principle of national autonomy, rather than being aimed at the

benefit of the students by ensuring internal and external quality. Consequently, the contradictory aspect with regard to the theory by Beck and Grande (2007) becomes obvious.

The cosmopolitan identity as defined by Delanty (2012) can be found in European newspapers to the extent that integration through multilingualism is promoted by the Commission, which supports the idea of a societal transformation in light of the encounter with the non-European other. Besides, the findings have shown that more intensive exchanges between the European Higher Education Area and other countries around the world is supported and hence reflexivity as a result of cosmopolitan attitudes or orientations and values (Delanty, 2012) are popularized via European media. On the one hand, it becomes clear that the original intention of the Bologna process is cosmopolitan, but the motives failed to be achieved yet. Therefore, an identity change of a pan-European system can be indicated although on the other hand the progress towards the goals of Bologna is far too slow or even non-existent according to, among other reports, *The Times Higher Education Supplement* in 2010 and as indicated in the European Students' Union (ESU).

With regard to a cosmopolitan China, I need to reject the hypothesis by Tyfield & Urry (2009) that local differences and political solidarity characterize the cosmopolitan identity of China, based on what I have found in the analysed English-written Chinese press articles, namely that social differences such as low income or coming from poor regional provinces, have an influence on the access to higher education. Nevertheless, some reforms of the Gaokao, such as the abandonment of the household registration system and the permission for migrants to take the national entrance examination, show an opening up of the country. Also the mentioned cultural openness and the longing for international togetherness (Tyfield & Urry, 2009), can be supported by the numbers given on international students studying in China and Chinese students going abroad for study purposes, in English-written Chinese newspapers. Chinese students are to the widest extent still driven by the Communist Party and their policies and regulations on higher education. Many newspaper articles have shown critique on the Gaokao, but even more newspapers emphasize the allegedly social changes of the reform and hence the focus is on the identical change towards a more open and less narrow-minded China as such. This means, shown by the Chinese students streams to the West and the numbers of students who refuse to sit the Gaokao because they will go abroad for their studies, that at least the civil society at large is developing and articulating a more cosmopolitan identity in China. My assumption is that the Chinese government recognizes this identical change of the collectivity, also with regard to international pressures and the tough competition in higher education on the global stage, and hence the readjustments of the Gaokao reforms can be seen as the result of an allegedly transformation towards a cosmopolitan identity driven by the Communist Party that grudgingly became to be subjected to the strong forces of cosmopolitanism, and hence it changes the Gaokao. This assumption

is in line with Madsen (1993), who already found years ago that even though a Communist party governs China, the party is ideologically dead and therefore, to stay in power, it must economically adopt policies, also with regard to education, that contradict its basic principles. Consequently, it becomes clear that China gradually forfeited its traditional approach to education in favour of a Western one, which is an overhaul that was necessitated to allow China to function successfully in the modern era in terms of education as a public sphere of a civil society that is undergoing the forces of contemporary Chinese social processes. As today's world is largely dominated by Western ideas and its science and technology, China will continue to adjust to be a successful member of the world community. The current trend is that when China sends its students to foreign and Western countries, foreign and Western countries also send theirs to China. This reciprocity will continue and will be benefit both China and the West. According to Madsen (1993), since the early history of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party seems to have created a story of the past and a vision of the future that resonated with the multiple stories that a wide range of diverse citizens told each other about themselves and additionally, the brutality of the Stalinist and Maoist regimes led to the result of citizens' feign belief in them. Nowadays, in the post socialist world, diverse communities of citizens in an allegedly cosmopolitan China, focus in the contradictions between their memories, the incompatibility of their hopes for the future, which has also been found in the representation of the Chinese identity in English-written media sources.

In sum, it is remarkable that European as well as English language Chinese newspapers do identify education as an identity maker. This is in line with the assumption of this thesis and it means in terms of the Bologna Process that it can be seen as a tool for reshaping the European identity into the global sphere. Since also China allegedly forms an ever more cosmopolitan identity by reforming extensively its higher education system and by opening up to the extent the Communist Party tolerates it and by looking at the most vital parts of cultural China beyond the borders of the PRC, it can be argued that the relationship between the EU and China is characterized by an increased competition in the educational sector.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

The Bologna Process

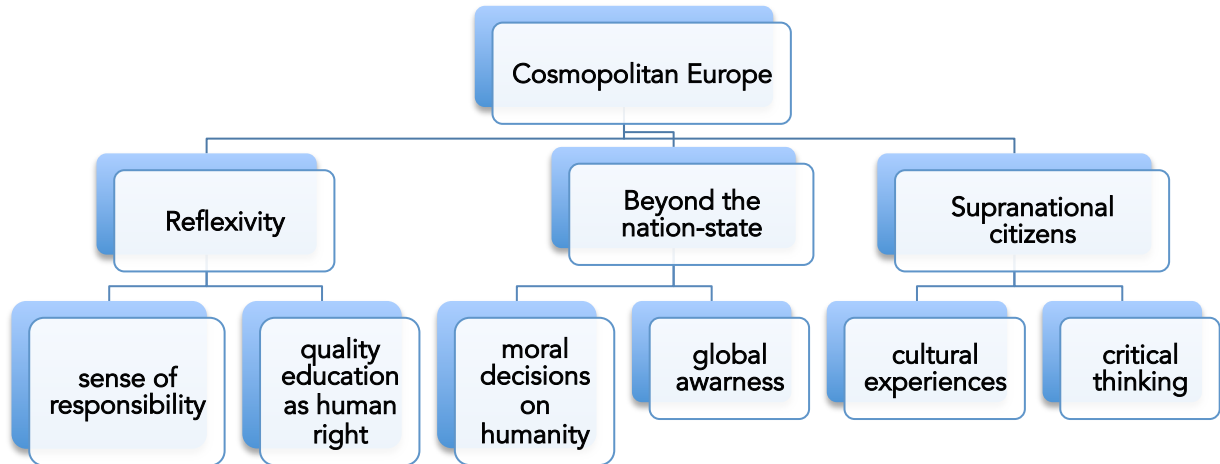
The implementation of the reform agenda, which was establishing a three-tiered progression of Bachelor's, Master's, and doctoral degrees in 2003, is done in a decentralised way at the national level. Nevertheless, it is closely monitored and advanced by European-level reports, conferences, communiqués and policy declarations, which are all structures around a series of biennial ministerial meetings (Keeling, 2006). Beside that, the European Commission plays a crucial role as the only non-state actor, too. Higher education has been giving a new role, since it can be seen as being reformed to be more effective and more open to the world (Ravinet, 2008). Citing Ravinet (2008), Bologna rhetoric can be seen as a means for the government to build a bridge between higher education institutions and national and European competitiveness projects, which eventually show the way the actors involved, define their identity. In this research it is argued that such kind of identity, is a cosmopolitan identity. In fact, I will investigate to what extent the Bologna Process is a cosmopolitan identity, shaping a (new) European identity with regard to its education sector.

The Gaokao

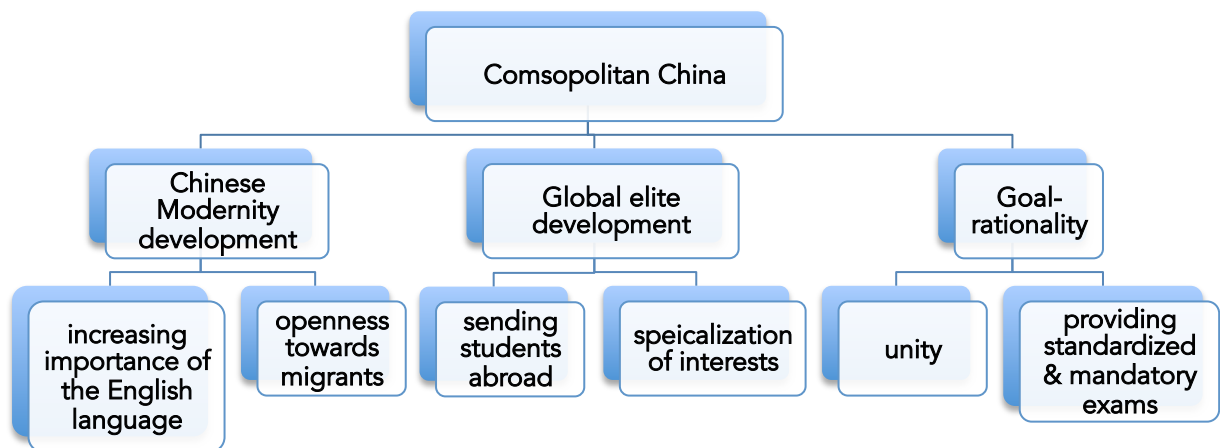
In 1998 3.4 million students attended university, which is compared to ten years later more than seven times less: In 2008 there have been 21.5 million students as a result of China's rapid economic growth and its high demand for a skilled workforce (Commonwealth of Australia, 2009). The Ministry of Education (MoE) is responsible and has overall jurisdiction for supervising and implementing plans, as well as setting the guidelines for content of the senior secondary curriculum and examination, and the Gaokao. The provincial education authorities are responsible for Gaokao student applications, conducting examinations, and developing recruitment plans according to provincial needs, and under the guidance of MoE (Commonwealth of Australia, 2009). Although it is called the National College Entrance Examination, it is not nation-wide in its context, but only with regard to the date when it is held. Beside that, the Gaokao cannot be compared province to province, due to the fact that each Gaokao is "designed to reflect the senior secondary curriculum implemented in that province (The Commonwealth of Australia, 2009, p. 25)". Having mentioned those differences, it becomes clear that "the gap in university admission between different social classes has been closing more slowly (Houxiong, 2011, p. 227)".

Appendix 2

Coding Scheme 1



Coding Scheme 2



Appendix 3

Pre-selected newspaper articles; sorted by date in ascending order (Total 91)

1.	Newspaper	Headline	Date	Source/URL
2.	European Report	EDUCATION: MEPS BACK MEASURE TO GUARANTEE HIGH STANDARDS	October 19, 2005	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4HC6-3YR0-00FG-T125&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
5.	European Report	EUROPEAN EDUCATION MINISTERS DISCUSS MOBILITY	May 19, 2001	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=433F-4FK0-00FG-T0F4&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
6.	European Report	EDUCATION/YOUTH: MINISTERS TO DISCUSS EU POLICY DIMENSION	May 24, 2001	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4354-24M0-00FG-T0JH&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
7.	The Guardian (London)	Higher Education: Strength in Europe: European universities are quietly forging new links to integrate qualifications	May 27, 2003	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=48PD-0VG0-00VR-R54K&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
8.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Some Stumbling On Common Ground	January 9, 2004	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4BF0-9V10-00X8-34M0&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
9.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Future Trends	November 12, 2004	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4DSP-HF50-00X8-34W0&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
10.	European Report	MID-TERM REVIEW OF BOLOGNA PROCESS ON MENU FOR MAY 19-20 EDUCATION SUMMIT	May 19, 2005	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4G6H-S3H0-00FG-T37J&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
11.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Bologna Threat To Degree	May 20, 2005	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4G7M-D0G0-00X8-32VX&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
12.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Quality Control Blueprint Tops Ministers' Agenda	May 20, 2005	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4G7M-D0G0-00X8-32VY&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
13.	The Guardian (London) - Final Edition	Education: Higher: Getting closer by degrees: The Bologna Process aims to standardise university courses across Europe. Is that to be welcomed?	May 1, 2007 Tuesday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4NMD-PCV0-TX37-G1S2&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true

14.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	The long and the short of it	October 2, 2008	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4TKG-91D0-TX7H-M06D&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
15.	Guardian.com	More students should study abroad, says Lamy	October 28, 2008	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=4TSW-4VF0-TX0B-N0RN&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
16.	The Guardian (London) - Final Edition	Education: Higher: Comment: Six to be reckoned with at the Bologna conference	April 21, 2009 Tuesday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=7VH6-85X0-Y9M5-S3XS&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
18.	States News Service	EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION IN EDUCATION	May 12, 2009 Tuesday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=7VNT-JYY0-Y9NS-B19D&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
19.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Western dominance of education under threat	August 27, 2009	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=7WGN-7PD0-Y9SF-X000&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
20.	States News Service	THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION INFORMS EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT OF GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITIES IN EDUCATION	January 25, 2010 Monday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=7XN2-6510-Y9NS-B1DR&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
21.	States News Service	HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS: EUROPE MUST CONTINUE TO MODERNISE AND INCREASE QUALITY, SAYS VASSILIOU	March 8, 2010 Monday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=7XYW-G6P1-2R6P-M157&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
22.	States News Service	FOCUS ON HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE 2010: NEW REPORT ON IMPACT OF BOLOGNA PROCESS	March 8, 2010 Monday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=7XYW-G6P1-2R6P-M15F&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
23.	Europolitics (daily in English)	EDUCATION : COMMISSION REPORT WARNS OF HIGHER EDUCATION CUTS	March 9, 2010 Tuesday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=7XYN-JMM1-2SD9-P009&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
24.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Process Report - Bologna lacks coherent Europe-wide focus	March 18, 2010	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=7Y1Y-HXH1-2R9D-50NG&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
25.	States News Service	EU SUPPORTS HIGHER EDUCATION COOPERATION WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS	July 19, 2010 Monday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=8001-FGM1-2R6P-M0FY&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true

26.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Bologna's slowly does it not doing it for students	September 9, 2010	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=5107-FC81-DYX7-1002&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
27.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Beware of ministers bearing gifts labelled 'made in Bologna'	October 28, 2010	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=51BP-2YC1-JCF5-919G&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
28.	The Times Higher Education Supplement	Shared vision results only in difference and indifference	November 18, 2010	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=51H5-M701-JCF5-936C&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
29.	Europolitics (daily in English)	BOLOGNA PROCESS : NEW FRAMEWORK HARMONISES COURSES LEADING TO CERTIFICATES	January 18, 2011 Tuesday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=51YT-M8G1-F114-J339&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
30.	States News Service	EUROPEAN UNION ALLOCATES NEW FUNDING TO BOOST HIGHER EDUCATION PROJECTS AND IMPROVE TEACHING ACROSS THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD AND RUSSIA	July 5, 2011 Tuesday	Retrieved from http://academic.lexisnexis.eu/?lni=537V-GC81-DYTH-G2N0&csi=8399&oc=00240&perma=true
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