# 371 The Hegemonic and Disciplinary Power of International University Ranking Programmes: Chinese Prestigious Universities under Embroilment

Jinxi Xu1, Yue YIN2

<sup>1</sup>University of Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom. <sup>2</sup>School of Marxism, Sun Yat-Sen University, China

#### **Research Domains**

Higher Education policy (HEP)

### **Abstract**

This study explains the power technique of international university ranking programmes (e.g. QS Rankings, US News Rankings) that are issued by companies in countries other than China but have realised their influence on Chinese prestigious universities. Combining Foucault's theory of discipline (1975) with Gramsci's theory of hegemony (1947), this study proposes a political concept 'to embroil / embroilment' to refer to a post-modernist form of power technique that influences the affairs of modern institutions, that is, in this case, the higher education affairs of modern universities with academic autonomy as one of their principles of modernity. Based on a critical dialogue analysis on policy documents from universities selected as cases, this study shows these universities' administrative reactions to these international rankings and further reflects the power relationship between universities and their external economic subjects in the context of China mainland.

## Full paper

This study applies the theories of 'hegemony' and 'discipline' to explain the power technique of international university ranking programmes that have realised their influence on the higher education of Chinese prestigious universities through their administrative and policy-making affairs. This research consists of one theoretical study and one empirical study.

A propose of the concept of 'embroil' based on Foucault's theory of discipline (1975) with Gramsci's theory of hegemony (1947) is the highlight of the theoretical part of this research. A Gramscian view is employed to elaborate the power relation between the initiators of rankings and Chinese HEIs; a Foucauldian view is adopted to analyse the power technique from the power subject to HEI interior. A combination of them two is proposed to explain different types of foundation on which the power of ratings/rankings in China is based: obedience (punishment), consent (hegemony), and enthusiastic desire (discipline). On one hand, the mechanism of "hegemony" together with "passive revolution" is applied to explain the power relation of "embroil". The embroiling power includes three subjects: (1) the HEIs as the embroiled recipient, (2) the society of higher education where the hegemonic power occurs, and (3) the external social power subject as the embroiling initiator. Thus, the embroiling process is that the political or economic subjects launch higher education activities (i.e. university rankings), forming a hegemony over the universities. The concept of "passive revolution" is applied not only to explain the existence of hegemony, but also to show the advantage of its mechanism over an "active" revolution. On the other hand, the mechanism of "discipline" is applied to explain the "embroiling" power technique that indirectly influences HEIs' administrative affairs. In the process of embroiling power occurring, the surveillance link of discipline refers to the process that ranking/rating indicators are created by the initiators to highlight certain norms in the society of higher education; the normalisation happens when the HEIs are pursuing those norms as accepted behaviours; and the internalisation takes place when administrators form their inner desire to conform to those norms. In summary, 'to embroil' is the mechanism that enables or even empowers an economic subject to surveil, standardise, and commensurate (different) modern universities, as well as to hierarchise the universities according to the companies' evaluation criteria (international ranking metrics); in this case, 'embroilment' is the process that ranking companies realise their hegemonic power over Chinese prestigious universities to gradually make them accept, normalise and even internalise their educational values (essentially its educational standards which should have been external to the universities according to the principle of academic autonomy) of their own free will.

Critical Dialogue Analysis (CDA) is central to the empirical approach of this study, as it provides the methodological framework through which to interrogate the documents that constitute the data for this project. Rooted in Foucault's theory of dialogue order, the main purpose of CDA is to expose the relationship between discourse (in documents) and ideology (in documents). The document analysis of this study addresses what can be empirically observed (documents data) and attempts to see through them to the worlds of the actual and the real (Fairclough 2005; Fairclough et al. 2002), taking a "dialectical relational" approach to discourse analysis (Fairclough 2010) and seeking to locate semiotic phenomena "within their necessary dialectical relations with persons (hence minds, intentions, desires, bodies), social relations, and the material world—locating them within the practical engagement of embodied and socially organised persons with the material world" (Fairclough et al. 2002: 3). As CDA involves a belief that "texts are both socially-structuring and socially-structured" (Fairclough et al. 2002: 3), the primary sources of data for this study are policy and administrative documents together with media files from both the implementer (ranking companies) and participators (Chinese prestigious universities) of international rankings. This study explores what institutional adaptation in terms of discipline construction and research development have been conducted by Chinese prestigious universities to face the change of international higher education standards. This study outlines a thorough policy and documentary assessment of the international ranking system that is evolving in the university sector in the Chinese context. The theoretical framework engages Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and Foucault's concepts of discipline to energise the idea of a consensus building ranking system in China. This study also addresses the ways in which the rating system can be viewed as a power formation that may or could be seen as a kind of revolution of sorts, taking place in and through higher education.

#### References

Arnold, D., & Hess, M. (2017). Governmentalizing Gramsci: Topologies of power and passive revolution in Cambodia's garment production network. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 49(10), 2183-2202.

Altbach, P. G. (2015). The dilemmas of ranking. International Higher Education, 42.

Adhikary, R. W., Lingard, B., & Hardy, I. (2018). A critical examination of teach for Bangladesh's Facebook page: 'social-mediatisation' of global education reforms in the 'post-truth' era. Journal of Education Policy, 33(5), 632-661.

Amsler, S. S., & Bolsmann, C. (2012). University ranking as social exclusion. British Journal of Sociology of Education, 33:2, 283-301.

Brown, C. A. (1984). The central Arizona water control study: a case for multiobjective planning and public involvement. Water Resour. Bull. 20:331-37.

Bentham, J. (1791). Panopticon: Or, the inspection-house. Thomas Byrne.

Buttigieg, J. A. (1995). Gramsci on civil society. Boundary 2, 22(3): 1-32.

Brubaker, R. (1984). The limits of rationality: an essay on the social and moral thought of Max Weber. London: Allen & Unwin.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as qualitative research method. Qualitative Research Journal, 9(2), 27-40.

Borges, R., & Afonso, A. J. (2018). Why subaltern language? Yes, we speak Portuguese! Para uma crítica da colonialidade da língua na mobilidade estudantil internacional. Comunicação e sociedade, (34), 59-72.

Caterina, D. (2021). Gramsci in China: past, present, and future of a still open encounter. Antipode, 53(5): 1357-1376.

Cohen, E., Cohen, S. A., & King, V. T. (2018). The global permutations of the Western publication regime. Current Issues in Tourism, 21(17), 2035-2051.

Covaleski, M. A., Dirsmith, M. W., Heian, J. B., & Samuel, S. (1998). The calculated and the avowed: Techniques of discipline and struggles over identity in big six public accounting firms. Administrative Science Quarterly, 43:293-327.

Davidson, A. (2008). The uses and abuses of Gramsci. Thesis Eleven, 95(1):68-94.

Estera, A., & Shahjahan, R. A. (2019). Globalizing whiteness? Visually re/presenting students in global university rankings websites. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 40(6), 930-945.

Elsbach, K. D., & Kramer, R. M. (1996). Members' responses to organizational identity threats: Encountering and countering the Business Week Rankings. Administrative Science Quarterly, 41:442-476.

Erkkilä, T., & Piironen, O. (2020). Trapped in university rankings: Bridging global competitiveness and local innovation. International Studies in Sociology of Education, 29:1-2, 38-60.

Espeland, W. N. (1998). The struggle for water: politics, rationality and identity in the American southwest. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press

Espeland, W. N., & Sauder, M. (2007). The reactivity of rankings: How public measures recreate social worlds. American Journal of Sociology, 113:1-40.

Espeland, W. N., & Stevens, M. L. (1998). Commensuration as a Social Process. Annual Review of Sociology, 24, 313-343.

Frosini, F. (2012). Reformation, renaissance and the state: the hegemonic fabric of modern sovereignty. Journal of Romance Studies, 12(3).

Frosini, F. (2008). Beyond the crisis of Marxism: thirty years contesting Gramsci's legacy. In J. Bidet, & S. Kouvelakis (Eds.), Critical Companion to Contemporary Marxism, (pp. 663-678). Leiden: Brill.

Fairclough, N. (2010). Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language. Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2005). Discourse analysis in organization studies: The case for critical realism. Organization Studies, 26(6), 915-939.

Fairclough, N., Jessop, B., & Sayer, A. (2002). Critical realism and semiosis. Alethia, 5(1), 2-10.

Foucault, M. (1991). The Foucault effect. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1980). Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977. In C. Gordon (Ed.), & C. Gordon, L. Marshall, J. Mepham, & K. Soper (Trans.), New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1977). Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison. Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1975). Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison. Éditions Gallimard.

Gramsci, A. (1975 [1945]). Quaderni del carcere. In V. Gerratana (Ed.), Turin: Einaudi.

Gramsci, A. (1971 [1945]). Selections from the Prison Notebooks. In Q. Hoare, & G. Nowell-Smith (Eds.), Lawrence & Wishart.

Gramsci, A. (2012 [1971]). Selections from the Prison Notebooks. In Q. Hoare, & G. Nowell Smith (Trans. & Eds.), New York: International Publishers.

Gow, M. (2017). The core socialist values of the Chinese dream: Towards a Chinese integral state. Critical Asian Studies, 49(1), 92-116.

Goglio, V. (2016). One size fits all? A different perspective on university rankings. Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 38:2, 212-226.

Hartmann, E. (2015). The educational dimension of global hegemony. Millennium - Journal of International Studies, 44(1), 89-108.

Hui, E. S. I. (2017). Putting the Chinese state in its place: a march from passive revolution to hegemony. Journal of Contemporary Asia, 47(1): 66-92.

Habermas, J. (1973). Theory and Practice. In J. Viertel (trans.), Boston: Beacon

Hoffman, M. (2011). Disciplinary power. In D. Taylor (Ed.), Michel Foucault: Key Concepts, (pp. 27-39). Acumen Publishing Ltd.

Hallett, T., & Ventresca, M. J. (2006). How institutions form: loose coupling as mechanism in Gouldner's patterns of industrial bureaucracy. American Behavioral Scientist, 49:908-927.

Ishikawa, M. (2009). University rankings, global models, and emerging hegemony: Critical analysis from Japan. Journal of Studies in International Education, 13(2), 159-173.

Kaba, A. J. (2012). Analyzing the Anglo-American hegemony in the Times Higher Education Rankings. Education Policy Analysis Archives, 20 (21).

Kipfer, S., & Hart, G. (2013). Translating Gramsci in the current conjuncture. In M. Ekers, G. Hart, S. Kipfer, & A. Loftus (Eds.), Gramsci: Space, Nature, Politics, (pp. 321-343). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Loftus, A. (2019). Gramsci as a historical geographical materialist. In F. Antonini, A. Bernstein, L. Fusaro, & R. Jackson (Eds.), Revisiting Gramsci's Notebooks, (pp. 9-22). Leiden: Brill.

Li, J. (2021). The global ranking regime and the reconfiguration of higher education: Comparative case studies on research assessment exercises in China, Hong Kong, and Japan. In A. Welch, & J. Li (Eds.), Measuring Up in Higher Education, (pp. 177-202). Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore.

Li, J., & Xue, E. (2021). Criticality in world-class universities research: a critical discourse analysis of international education publications. Educational Philosophy and Theory, 53(12): 1257-1271.

Lo, W. Y. W. (2011). Soft power, university rankings and knowledge production: Distinctions between hegemony and self-determination in higher education. Comparative Education, 47:2, 209-222.

Lynch, R. A. (2011). Foucault's theory of power. In D. Taylor (Ed.), Michel Foucault: Key Concepts, (pp. 13-26). Acumen Publishing Ltd.

Mulvad, A. (2015). Competing hegemonic projects within China's variegated capitalism: 'Liberal' Guangdong vs. 'statist' Chongqing. New Political Economy, 20(2), 199-227.

Morton, A. D. (2018). The great Trasformismo. Globalizations, 15(7): 956-976.

Morton, A. D. (2013). Traveling with Gramsci: the spatiality of passive revolution. In M. Ekers, G. Hart, S. Kipfer, & A. Loftus (Eds.), Gramsci: Space, Nature, Politics, (pp. 45-64). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Morton, A. D. (2010). The continuum of passive revolution. Capital & Class, 34(3): 315-342.

Morton, A. D. (2007a). Unravelling Gramsci: hegemony and passive revolution in the global political economy. London: Pluto Press.

Morton, A. D. (2007b). Waiting for Gramsci: state formation, passive revolution and the international. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 35(3): 597-621.

Morriss, A. P., & Henderson, W. D. (2007). Measuring outcomes: Post-graduation measures of success in the U.S. News & World Report Law School Rankings. Working Paper. Indiana University School of Law.

Mills, C. W. (1956). The power elite. New York: Oxford University Press.

Marconi, G., & Ritzen, J. (2015). Determinants of international university rankings scores. Applied Economics, 47:57, 6211-6227.

March, J. C., & Simon, H. A. (1958). Organizations. New York: Wiley.

McDonough, P. M., Antonio, A. L., Walpole, M.-B., & Perez, L. X. (1998). College rankings: Democratized college knowledge for whom? Research in Higher Education, 39:513-537.

Marginson, S. (2022). What drives global science? The four competing narratives. Studies in higher education, 47(8), 1566-1584.

Marginson, S. (2008). Global field and global imagining: Bourdieu and relations of power in worldwide higher education. British Journal of Sociology of Education, 29, 303-316.

Marginson, S., & van der Wende, M. (2007). To rank or to be ranked: The impact of global rankings in higher education. Journal of Studies in International Education, 11(3-4), 306-329.

May, T. (2011). Foucault's conception of freedom. In D. Taylor (Ed.), Michel Foucault: Key Concepts, (pp. 71-83). Acumen Publishing Ltd.

Oliver, C. (1991). Strategic responses to institutional processes. The Academy of Management Review, 16:145-179.

Ordorika, I., & Lloyd, M. (2015). International rankings and the contest for university hegemony, Journal of Education Policy, 30:3, 385-405.

Oksala, J. (2011). Freedom and bodies. In D. Taylor (Ed.), Michel Foucault: Key Concepts, (pp. 85-97). Acumen Publishing Ltd.

Orton, J. D., & Weick, K. (1990). Loosely coupled systems: A reconceptualization. Academy of Management Review, 15:203-223.

Pusser, B. (2011). Power and authority in the creation of a public sphere through higher education. In B. Pusser, K. Kempner, S. Marginson, & I. Ordorika (Eds.), Universities and the Public Sphere: Knowledge Creation and State Building in the Era of Globalization, (pp. 27-46). Routledge.

Pusser, B., & Marginson, S. (2013) University rankings in critical perspective. The Journal of Higher Education, 84:4, 544-568.

Pusser, B., & Marginson, S. (2012). The elephant in the room: Power, politics and global rankings in higher education. In M. N. Bastedo (Ed.), The Organization of Higher Education: Managing Colleges for a New Era, (pp. 86-117). The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Peters, M. A., & Besley, T. (2018). China's double first-class university strategy: 双一流. Educational Philosophy and Theory, 50(12): 1075-1079.

Parsons, T. (1967). Sociological theory and modern society. New York: Free Press.

Porter, T. M. (1995). Trust in Numbers. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). Globalizing education policy. Routledge.

Reddy, W. M. (1984). The rise of market culture: The textile trade and French society, 1750-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stokey, E., & Zeckhauser, R. (1978). A primer for policy analysis. New York: Norton

Savage, G. C., & Lewis, S. (2018). The phantom national? Assembling national teaching standards in Australia's federal system. Journal of Education Policy, 33(1), 118–142.

Simon, J. (1988). The Ideological Effects of Actuarial Practices. Law and Society Review, 22:771-800.

Stake, J. E. (2006). The interplay between law school rankings, reputations, and resource allocations: Ways rankings mislead. Indiana Law Journal, 82:229-270.

Soh, K. (2017). The seven deadly sins of world university ranking: A summary from several papers. Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 39, 104–115.

Soh, K. (2015). What the Overall doesn't tell about world university rankings: Examples from ARWU, QSWUR, and THEWUR in 2013. Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 37:3, 295-307.

Soh, K. (2014). Nominal versus attained weights in Universitas 21 Ranking. Studies in Higher Education, 39:6, 944-951.

Soh, K. (2013a). Misleading university rankings: Cause and cure for discrepancies between nominal and attained weights. Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 35:2, 206-214.

Soh, K. (2013b). Rectifying an honest error in world university rankings: A solution to the problem of indicator weight discrepancies. Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 35:6, 574-585.

Soh, K. (2013c). Times Higher Education 100 under 50 ranking: Old wine in a new bottle? Quality in Higher Education, 19:1, 111-121.

Soh, K. (2011a). Don't read university rankings like reading football league tables: Taking a close look at the indicators. Higher Education Review, 44(1), 15-29.

Soh, K. (2011b). Mirror, mirror on the wall: A closer look at the top ten in university rankings. European Journal of Higher Education, 1:1, 77-83.

Soh, K. (2011c). World university rankings: Take with a large pinch of salt. European Journal of Higher Education, 1:4, 369-381.

Stevens, M. (2007). Creating a class. Harvard University Press.

Sauder, M., & Espeland, W. N. (2009). The discipline of rankings: Tight coupling and organizational change. American Sociological Review, 74(1), 63-82.

Sauder, M., & Espeland, W. N. (2007). Fear of falling: The effects of U.S. News & World Report Rankings on U.S. Law Schools. Grant Report for Law School Admissions Council.

Sauder, M., & Espeland, W. N. (2006). Strength in numbers? The advantages of multiple rankings. Indiana Law Journal, 81:205-227.

Sauder, M., & Lancaster, R. (2006). Do rankings matter? The effects of U.S. News and World Report Rankings on the admission process of law schools. Law and Society Review, 40:105-134.

Tasiran, A. C. (2012). University rankings: Theoretical basis, methodology and impacts on global higher education. Studies in Continuing Education, 34:3, 384-386.

Török, Á., & Nagy, A. M. (2020). China: a candidate for winner in the international game of higher education? Acta Oeconomica, 70(S): 127-152.

Taylor, D. (2011). Introduction: Power, freedom and subjectivity. In D. Taylor (Ed.), Michel Foucault: Key Concepts, (pp. 1-9). Acumen Publishing Ltd.

Thomas, P. D. (2013). Hegemony, passive revolution and the modern Prince. Thesis Eleven, 117(1), 20-39.

Thomas, P. D. (2009). The Gramscian moment: philosophy, hegemony and Marxism. Leiden: Brill.

Thomas, P. D. (2006a). Gramsci and the intellectuals: modern prince versus passive revolution. In D. Bates (Ed.), Marxism, Intellectuals and Politics, (pp. 68-85). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Usher, A., & Savino, M. (2007). A global survey of university ranking and league tables. Higher Education in Europe, 32:1, 5-15.

Vintges, K. (2011). Freedom and spirituality. In D. Taylor (Ed.), Michel Foucault: Key Concepts, (pp. 99-110). Acumen Publishing Ltd.

Weber, M. (1981 [1927]). General Economic History. In F. Y. Knight (Trans.), New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

Weber, M. (1978 [1913]). Economy and Society. In G. Roth, & C. Wittich (Eds.), Berkeley: University of California Press.

Westphal, J. D., & Zajac, E. J. (2001). Decoupling policy from practice: The case of stock repurchase programs. Administrative Science Quarterly, 46:202-228.

Westphal, J. D., & Zajac, E. J. (1998). Symbolic management of stockholders: Corporate governance reforms and shareholder reactions. Administrative Science Quarterly, 43:127-153.

Wu, Y. (2013). Coping with crisis in the wake of the cultural revolution: rehistoricising Chinese postsocialism. Historical Materialism, 21(4):145-176.

Xing, L. (2018). The endgame or resilience of the Chinese communist party's rule in China: a Gramscian approach. Journal of Chinese Political Science, 23(1): 83-104.