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Rethinking 'Scholarship' of International Scholarship as Development Aid:

A Postcolonial Approach

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Eva Marie WANG

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Dissertation Adviser Sung-Sang YOO

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Eva Marie WANG

Confirming the Ph.D. Dissertation written by
Eva Marie WANG
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Chair	Hyung Ryeol KIM
Vice Chair	Kevin KESTER
Examiner	Bong Gun CHUNG
Examiner	Ji-Hyang LEE
Examiner	Sung-Sang YOO

To God - my Higher Power

who taught me to just be, enjoy each step and busk on grace

To my family

who patiently gave me the space to become

Ang hindi marunong lumingon sa pinangalingan

ay hindi makakarating sa paroroonan

ABSTRACT

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Eva Marie WANG

Global Education Cooperation Major

The Graduate School of Education

Seoul National University

Despite being a long-standing, prominent and controversial aid, international scholarship remains as an understudied subject of inquiry within the international development field. Research on the topic is still in a state of academic infancy and merely gaining increasing attention as it rose to become a global target SDG4b in 2015. With this background, the study aims to problematize the research field: uncover the overlooked politics of knowledge concerning its research scholarship and seek to rethink it. Using Postcolonial Theory as critical lens, this study explores how colonial legacies limit the way researchers conceptualize and research international scholarships over the years. To uncover forms of domination, marginalization and resistance within the research field, 167 grey literature, 72 peer-reviewed academic journals and 7 books on the topic of international scholarships from 2000-2020 were examined using Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis as methodology. Concepts of Connell's Northern/Southern Theory, Alatas' Academic Dependency and Captive Mind, De Sousa Santos' epistemologies of the North/South were used for analysis. Findings suggest that there is colonial gaze within the research field: dominated by Northern experts as researchers with limited research agendas, theories and approaches under

Northern epistemologies. And while there are emerging researches that serve as forms of resistance, these initiatives still remain under Northern epistemologies and missing alternative ways of knowing. These findings imply that without addressing the monological research paradigm, international scholarship research remains parochial, marginalizing Southern epistemologies, perspectives and voices. As a response, the study calls not only to resist status quo by diversifying research agendas or voices, but disrupting colonial research paradigm that is largely unchallenged in the field and to welcome ecologies of knowledges. Aligned with this insight, this dissertation also includes my critical reflexivity as an international scholarship researcher. This reflexivity serves as a meta-critique and contemplation concerning the research process: confronting the colonial nature of my research and re-imagining international scholarship research under alternative paradigm. As recommendation, four international scholarship researches under epistemologies of the South are enumerated at the end of the study for researchers to consider in order to rethink international scholarship research using alternative ways of knowing/being. This dissertation proposes that the entire international scholarship community must sincerely take steps in rethinking the research field beyond colonial paradigm and start re-imagining international scholarship for future possibilities, together.

Keywords: International scholarship research, Postcolonial Theory, Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis, rethinking, re-imagining

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ATS	Alumni Tracer Study
AUSAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSCUK	Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the UK
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (The German Academic Exchange Service)
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
EFA	Education for All
HLF	High Level Forum
IFP	International Fellowships Program
IS	International Scholarships
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Development Assistance Committee
PCDA	Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SDG4b	SDG Target 4b (Int'l Scholarship as Means of Implementation)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNESCO GEM	UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report
UNESCO GMR	UNESCO Global Monitoring Report
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In September 2015, the United Nations adopted a new set of global goals called Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). For the first time in history, international scholarships in higher education became an explicit part of the global development agenda as SDG4b (Campbell & Mawer, 2019). International scholarship as Target SDG4b was envisioned to become a means of providing quality education to students from developing countries. It states:

> By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular the least developed countries, small island States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programmes, in developed and other developing countries (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 2015, p. 21)

This rise of SDG4b opened a path in making the topic of international scholarship be more visible within the development discourse as well as gain legitimacy as a serious academic research field. During post-2015, an evident growth on research engagement about international scholarships could be observed: from increasing academic journals and books to convening academic conferences on topics such as rethinking international scholarships.[1] As a researcher and a scholarship recipient, this new trajectory of international scholarship as a trending subject of research inquiry caught my utmost curiosity. When I first entered the research field almost a decade ago, the research landscape was far from dynamic. For years, I have being wondering why international scholarship – a longstanding, prominent and controversial aid was under-researched all these years. And now with its new trajectory, a lingering question remained on my mind: *in what ways does postcolonial politics of knowledge influence the normativity as well as the new direction of the research field?* This thought is the point of departure of this dissertation.

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[1] An example of an academic conference is 2019 Korea Association of International Development and Cooperation (KAIDEC) special session on "Rethinking Higher Education Scholarship and Training: Implications for International Development"

1.1. Background

Prior to becoming a global target in 2015, international scholarship in higher education is already a high profile aid within the field of international development. It is considered a prominent aid in the following ways: first, international scholarship has a longstanding and extensive history (Perna et al., 2014). According to Boeren (2018), it is "probably the oldest form of development cooperation in higher education" (p. 44). The genealogy of international scholarships can be traced from the early 20th century where elites in the colonies were educated and trained overseas (Perna et al, 2014). Second, international scholarship is a popular aid patronized by a wide range of aid donors from governments to private foundations over the years.[2] Traditional and emerging donor countries have been providing international scholarships to students from developing countries commonly for the purpose of human capital development (Perna et al., 2014). Third, international scholarship consistently receives the largest funding allocation within the total education aid from donors (Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom [CSCUK], 2014; UNESCO, 2005-2015). For instance, donors provided 25,000 international scholarships amounting to US$4.6B in 2015 alone (UNESCO, 2016) while the aid budget allotted for international scholarships in 2018 amounted to US$3.1B out of US$6.1B total aid in post-secondary education (UNESCO, 2020, p. 294).

However, this prominent development aid is not without any controversy. First, it is regarded as a disputed aid within the international development community. It has been a subject of a long running debate whether it should even be reported as an Official Development Assistance (ODA). Donors of international scholarships are criticized for emphasizing developmental intention more rather than aid effectiveness of international scholarships (Campbell & Mawer, 2019; Cuthbert et al., 2008; Hynes & Scott, 2013; Negin, 2010; Strombom, 1989; Wilson, 2015). Existing evaluation studies examining effectiveness

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[2] Over the years, there is a growing range of scholarship providers from the traditional donor governments among OECD countries such as USA, UK and Australia to more diverse scholarship providers such as private organizations (ie. Ford Foundation and Mastercard Foundation) as well as emerging countries (ie. China, India) (Dassin, 2017; King, 2013a; also see Appendix A for list of international scholarship as development aid)

are said to mainly rely on anecdotal short-term studies rather than strong, comprehensive empirical studies that measure long-term development impact (Cassity, 2011; Mawer, 2014a; Negin, 2010). Thus, what is generally known about international scholarship impacts and outcomes remain "insufficient and unsatisfactory" (Dassin et al., 2018a, p. 16).

Another major critique is that international scholarship as development aid is regarded as a "paradox" - focusing on donors' interests more than it benefits its intended recipients (Yamada, 2014). It is facilitating brain drain, functioning as donors' soft power (Abimbola et al., 2016; Cannon, 2000; Lowe, 2015; Kent, 2018; King, 2013a; Marsh et al., 2016; Metzgar, 2016) and serving as donors' internationalization strategy in higher education (Medica, 2016a; Negin, 2011; Negin, 2014a). Yet amidst all these complexities, it did not stop international scholarships to enter a historical turn as development aid in 2015. Launching international scholarship as a part of the SDG was considered surprising and unusual within the development community (Antoninis, 2018; Bengtsson & Barakat, 2016; Campbell & Mawer, 2019; UNESCO, 2015). Not only because international scholarship became a global priority but its target deadline is a decade earlier than the rest of SDGs in 2030. This decade-early deadline implies the underlying sense of urgency of international scholarship as a global development target (Campbell & Mawer, 2019). This favorable trajectory of international scholarship illustrates how deeply institutionalized it is within the international development field. It remains a resilient aid within the development landscape amidst its controversial stance over the years (Balfour, 2016).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Despite international scholarship's high profile and controversy as a development aid, knowledge production about international scholarships remains largely normative. It is surprisingly an understudied research topic within the development field. According to Tournès and Scott-Smith (2018), international scholarship in general was not taken as a topic worthy of serious investigation for many years (p.2). There is a dearth of research publicly available concerning this topic and merely growing until recently due to the

launching of post-2015 SDG4b. Kent (2018) proposed that international scholarship is understudied because its field of study is deemed to be an "undefined academic space, somewhere between development, education and public diplomacy" (p. 38-39). This fragmented nature of literature was likewise echoed in a recent systematic literature review done by Campbell and Neff (2020) as they examined 105 peer-reviewed articles and book chapters from 2010 to 2019. International scholarship literature was described as "varied and interdisciplinary…[that] the bulk of research resides within a broad range of education literature, yet much of it also exists in various other fields in the humanities and social sciences" (p. 25).

Dassin et al. (2018a) suggests that this complex nature of international scholarship may have contributed to its normative research state. Consequently, the way researchers conceptualize and research international scholarship has been limited in approach and lacking in diversity over the years. For instance, even the popular type of international scholarship research, evaluation research is still described as "barren" (Mawer, 2017, p. 233) and "in state of infancy as academic field" (Dassin, 2017, para 6). Scholars critique that evaluation researches were mainly focusing on pragmatic and operational topics (such as recipient satisfaction), post-scholarship realities (such as employment trajectories, outcomes and impacts) and thus questioning the lack of rigor in the existing approaches (Creed et al., 2012; Dassin, 2017; Mawer, 2014a, 2017). With this state of academic infancy and largely pragmatic research paradigm, I deem that there is a dire need to problematize the normative research field. Because when a particular matter becomes status quo, this is an indication of power imbalance:

> Dominant ideologies appear 'neutral', holding on to assumptions that stay largely unchallenged…When most people in a society think alike about certain matters, or even forget that there are alternatives to the status quo, we arrive at the Gramscian concept of hegemony (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 9).

Inspired by this view, I deem it is crucial to investigate the research field of international scholarship as a site of politics. As Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) reiterates, research is not neutral: "research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has

something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions" (p.5). Since epistemological critique is not common approach in international scholarship research, I am interested in exploring different questions that could bring forth new insights about the normative research field: *What and whose knowledge matters about international scholarships – and for whom? What are the dominant ideas about international scholarships reproduced within the research field? How did they become dominant? Are there other alternative ideas apart from what is known?* (Roy, 2010; Weiler, 2009). These kinds of critical questions offer researchers to step back, challenge the normative assumptions and conventions within the research field and begin to re-imagine beyond the status quo.

1.3. Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to problematize and rethink international scholarship research (or what I term as "scholarship of international scholarship"). Using postcolonial lens, I seek to uncover politics of knowledge by problematizing the normalized state of international scholarship research field and rethinking the research field beyond the norm. Problematizing here involves a systematic questioning of the subject matter as a focus of research investigation. It involves researching its historical background on how it emerged, how it shaped its current understanding and what it excludes. The main premise of this dissertation is that colonial legacies limit the way researchers conceptualize and research international scholarships as development aid. With this context, the purpose of rethinking scholarship in this dissertation is to challenge the existing dominant research paradigm - its research approaches, perspectives and theories, and aims to pursue new questions, perspectives and approaches (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011).

Research Objectives and Questions

This dissertation seeks to offer a critical and alternative perspective on international scholarship research through: (1) Uncovering postcolonial power relations within the research field; (2) Exposing not only forms of domination and marginalization but resistances within the research field; (3) Providing concrete ways on how to rethink international scholarship research and re-imagine the research field. The central question of this dissertation is **"How does postcolonial politics of knowledge occur within the research field of international scholarships? How can rethinking of its scholarship be pursued beyond colonial terms?"** To fulfill the purpose of this research, the following are the three analytical questions in exploring the research field:

- First, "What are the postcolonial forms of domination and marginalization within the research field? What are the dominant research agendas and approaches? What are marginalized?"

- Second, "In what ways does postcolonial politics of knowledge influence researchers and academics in conceptualizing and researching international scholarship? How does this limit the rethinking of research field?"

- Third, "In what ways can rethinking of the research field of international scholarships be pursued beyond colonial terms?"

To explore these questions, various postcolonial concepts are used to uncover the politics of knowledge and rethink international scholarship research: Connell's (2007) Northern/Southern Theory, Alatas' (2004) Academic Dependency and Captive Mind, Santos' (2015) Epistemologies of the North/South. And to concretely examine the politics of knowledge within international scholarship research, I chose Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis (PCDA) as methodology. I chose CDA as a research tool because it investigates taken-for-granted texts (such as reports and researches) as evidences of underlying power relations (Halperin & Heath, 2012). Specifically, using Postcolonial CDA (PCDA) allows me as a researcher to uniquely examine the relationship of international scholarship research and postcolonial politics by connecting textual data with its broader historical/socio-political

context as a rethinking strategy. To conduct PCDA, the primary data of this dissertation are grey and academic literature on international scholarships in higher education from January 2000 to October 2020. These texts used in this study are from various types of data sources:

- Academic Literature: Academic journal articles and books about international scholarships that are accessible through online databases

- Grey Literature: Grey literature is composed of policy-related documents, evaluation reports, and other types of research reports from aid agencies, international organizations such as OECD, UNESCO and think tanks

Overall, I examined 167 grey literature, 72 peer-reviewed academic journals and 7 books on the topic of international scholarship as development aid. It is to note that I included both grey and academic literature in examining international scholarship research as I deem that both types of literature provide crucial insights concerning the postcolonial politics of knowledge, especially that grey literature emerged earlier and in greater volume than academic literature over the years.

Post-Defense Research Addendum (Storytelling as Indigenous Methodology)

Initially, PCDA was the only methodology used within this dissertation. However, during my dissertation defense, I received my panel's compelling comment about my chosen research approach: *"the framework and methods for the work are themselves Western-centric. Why has Eva chosen such Western/Northern-centric approaches when the work itself is attempting to disrupt this way of thinking?"*

This critique invited me as a researcher to engage in contemplation about my research process. As a response to this important critique, I decided to introduce an additional layer to this dissertation: a dialogic approach between Western and Indigenous methodologies within this dissertation.[3] This additional layer was inspired by the spirit of

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[3] This dialogic approach is inspired by Two-Eyed Seeing principle which is proposed by Mi'kmaq Elders, Albert and Murdena Marshall from Unama'ki Nova Scotia, Canada in 2004 (Bartlett, Marshall, & Marshall, 2012)

indigenous Two-Eyed Seeing principle that views: " To see from one eye with the strengths of Indigenous way of knowing, and to see from the other eye with the strengths of Western ways of knowing, and to use both of these eyes together" (Bartlett, Marshall, & Marshall, 2012, p. 335).

This co-presence of different knowledge systems in one dissertation aligns to what De Sousa Santos (2015) calls as ecologies of knowledges: a conversation of dominant rationalist epistemologies and alternative epistemologies. This dialogic approach serves as recognition that there are various ways of knowing/being that could guide researchers like me in expanding their "rethinking" repertoire beyond the Western critical approach. I acknowledge that when I juxtapose different ways of knowing together, it may be interpreted as dichotomous research paradigms. However, this is not my intention. Juxtaposing them is rather a response to acknowledge multiplicity of knowledge systems, recognizing the partiality of Western ways of knowing and celebrating how seeing through different lenses welcomes new insights.

As part of alternative rethinking to international scholarship research, I included *Storytelling as Indigenous Methodology*. Storytelling is central to many indigenous communities. The value of story is that it connects "the past from the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people, and the people with the story" (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012, p. 146). Specifically, I added a Filipino storytelling style called Sarilaysay (loosely translated as Personal Narrative)[4] to further my initial critique concerning international scholarship research.

This additional storytelling aimed to become a space to "research the researcher" (Blakely, 2007; Campbell, 2002). This Sarilaysay serves not only as a meta-critique and contemplation about my initial research approach using Postcolonial CDA, but it provided a

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[4] Sarilaysay comes from the contraction of words "Sarili" (self) and "Salaysay" (narrative). Sarilaysay was first introduced by Dr. Rosario Torres-Yu (2000) in her book "Sarilaysay: Tinig ng 20 Babae sa Sariling Danas Bilang Manunulat" (loose translation: Voices and Experiences of 20 Women Writers). This book features 20 Filipina writers who shared vignettes on their personal experiences about their writing process and mused about the socio-historical conditions that shaped their consciousness. The featured vignettes were based on pakikipagkwentuhan (storytelling/conversation) between the Dr. Torres-Yu and writers.

space for me to become more intimate, personal and situated within my research inquiry. Through writing a Sarilaysay, I explored my personal experience as an international scholarship researcher who intended to disrupt the normative "scholarship" within the research field.

Writing this Sarilaysay helped me enter into a "contemplative scholarship": listening, questioning, pondering, wondering and feeling my research learning journey through an alternative way of knowing. This contemplation decenters my initial rational approach using critical approach, which only focused on texts and analysis. It opened a space beyond intellectual inquiry: welcoming process-oriented, embodied and evocative approach towards international scholarship research. By writing this Sarilaysay, I was able to intentionally pause, contemplate my stance as an international scholarship researcher and become curious of what my understanding on what "scholarship" is. I pondered on the various dissertation journey points as a glimpse of my lived experience as an international scholarship researcher: the frustrating struggles, the joyful epiphanies and mundane encounters within the research process. But more particularly, I confronted how entangled I am in colonial knowledge production which influenced my research process and my scholarship as a researcher, embodying what Alatas' (2004) calls the Captive Mind. Writing a Sarilaysay dawned on me the value of exploring researcher's positionality and situatedness beyond the mind when conducting international scholarship research.

In this storytelling space, I vulnerably confess a range of limitations that I encountered in my attempted rethinking of international scholarship research, but at the same time became a space to celebrate the emergence of new possibilities that was birthed from this complex, painful dissertation journey. Towards the end of the Sarilaysay, I shared how I engaged in a re-imagination of international scholarship research through a different worldview: my ancestral way of knowing/being.[5] I briefly introduced how our indigenous

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[5] I am aware that knowledge systems are fluid/not static. For instance, our "Filipino" indigenous knowledge system has already interplayed and intersected with series of colonial encounters and their knowledge systems. However, in my Sarilaysay, I attempted to engage with our pre-colonial ancestral knowledge system to provide a sense of how other onto-epistemic possibilities could disrupt international scholarship research beyond colonial terms.

concepts such as *Kapwa, Bayanihan and Pakikipagkwentuhan* could disrupt the normative international scholarship research field. This way, my Sarilaysay serves not only as a space of personal musings or critique, but an envisioning of how international scholarship researches could be under an alternative way of knowing/being. It is my hope that this addition to my original dissertation approach not only further uncover the underlying postcolonial politics of knowledge but to also creatively welcome alternative ways of rethinking international scholarship research – that is re-imagining beyond the colonial terms.

Significance of the Study

The following are three concrete ways that this dissertation could contribute towards rethinking international scholarship research. First, this dissertation took steps to uncover overlooked postcolonial power imbalance within the research field. Commonly, researches on international scholarship revolve around policy and practice - where its predominant research paradigm is pragmatic. However, this dissertation sought to offer an alternative by examining international scholarships research using critical lens. By closely examining the research literature using Postcolonial Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis, one can uncover underlying paradigmatic and ideological assumptions concerning international scholarships that have become normative (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011, p. 247).[6] With this, I challenged widely accepted research norms by critiquing normative research agendas and approaches. By doing so, this dissertation provided a snapshot of what is commonly valued within the research field that have been taken-for-granted as sites of postcolonial politics. With this, I was also able to explore how other international scholarship researchers attempt to resist the existing status quo and point out its limitations in challenging the colonial legacies.

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[6] I acknowledge that there are limitations of this problematizing approach: Some scholars deem that 'problematization' of the body of literature is sometimes regarded as 'overproblematization' (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). That instead of building the existing knowledge, it emphasizes what is wrong and this is 'inappropriate' and 'unhelpful' (Deetz, 1996; Parker, 1991, Rotty, 1992 as cited in Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011).

Second contribution is the inclusion of a meta-critique ('critique of critique') and contemplation concerning my own dissertation work. This part of this dissertation encourages international scholarship researchers to conduct critical reflexivity, be aware of positionalities and be open to become vulnerable and being uncertain. Through the form of Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative), I was able to contemplate on how this dissertation journey taught me epistemic humility: that I did not have to look far in order to examine the colonial legacies within international scholarship research. I could already problematize my own dissertation research and immediately see the influence of colonial legacies in my very own work. In addition, I shared how international scholarship researchers could expand their frame of references and uncover many ways of rethinking the research field beyond colonial terms. To illustrate this, I briefly introduced our indigenous concepts such as *kapwa, bayanihan and pakikipagkwentuhan* and how these can concretely disrupt the normative international scholarship research.

And lastly, third contribution is that I proposed four alternative research approaches under epistemologies of the South as recommendations for international scholarship researchers to consider. With this, I encouraged researchers to not only diversify voices and perspectives as form of resistance but to consciously disrupt international scholarship research using various ways of knowing/being. With these three contributions, it is my great hope that this dissertation could contribute in encouraging onto-epistemic diversity within the international scholarship research community and re-imagine the field in new ways, together.

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. The following are the main focus of the individual chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction. This chapter gives an overview of international scholarship within the development landscape. International scholarship is a prominent and controversial aid, but despite its status, its research engagement is in infancy and pragmatic

in nature. With the rise of international scholarships as SDG4b in 2015, there is a growing interest and visibility as a subject of inquiry and it is in need of a critical and alternative turn. This chapter elaborates its need for alternative critique that would contribute towards rethinking international scholarships research.

Chapter 2: Review of Related Literature. The chapter reviews the existing research literature on international scholarships. I present three waves of research production, elaborating on the common critical perspectives about international scholarship as development aid. Common debates on the topic are synthesized through the presentation of thematic approach: major research findings, issues and alternatives. The chapter concludes by problematizing the existing common critical perspectives and justifying why postcolonial approach in examining international scholarship research is necessary.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Background. The chapter enumerates relevant concepts examining postcolonial politics of knowledge as an approach to rethinking scholarship. This chapter is divided into three parts: First, I discuss the onto-epistemic context within international scholarship as development aid, focusing on the Western vision of development and perceived knowledge hierarchy between Global North and South. Second, I introduce relevant postcolonial concepts to examine the epistemology within the research field. This includes concepts of Connell's (2007) Northern/Southern Theory, Alatas' (2003, 2004) Academic Dependency and Captive Mind, and Santos' (2015) Epistemologies of North/South. Lastly, the chapter concludes with the presentation of conceptual framework, illustrating how colonial and alternative research paradigms within international scholarship research field would look like.

Chapter 4: Methodology. This chapter first expounds on Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis (PCDA) as methodology. I provide the steps on how I examined the international scholarship literature - elaborating on the details of data collection process, data analysis and ends by discussing the role of transparency, trustworthiness and reflexivity in this research. This chapter ends with a post-defense reflexivity and introducing

storytelling as indigenous methodology and Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative) as the chosen approach.

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis. This chapter presents the forms of domination, marginalization and resistance found in the research field. The chapter is divided into three parts. First, I presented the findings on how Northern epistemologies dominate the three common genres of international scholarship research (UNESCO Global Reports, Alumni Tracer Studies and Academic Literature). Second, I offered four common themes of epistemological domination and marginalization across the three genres or what I call as "Scholarship of Other". Lastly, this chapter ends with a meta-critique and contemplation of my own dissertation. Using Sarilaysay, I pointed out how despite my critical and transformative intentions to disrupt the research field, colonial legacies influenced my own work.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Implications: This chapter discusses the ways of how international scholarship research and researchers are influenced by colonial legacies and the nuances and complexities that are overlooked when discussing politics of knowledge. This chapter implies that rethinking international scholarship research goes beyond mere diversifying theoretical approaches or adding diverse voices or researchers in the research field, but to expand the frame of reference beyond colonial imaginary: moving from "Scholarship of Other" to "Scholarship of Otherwise" by welcoming onto-epistemic diversity into the research field.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations. This chapter starts with a summary of how colonial legacies limited the way researchers conceptualize and research about international scholarships. It concludes by providing concrete research recommendations as a way to contribute in rethinking international scholarship research and thus, creating new possibilities for the future.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents an overview of the current international scholarship research landscape. The discussion is divided into three parts: First, I give an overview of the state of international scholarship research from pre-2015 to post-2015 by presenting three waves of research production. This illustrates how development agendas shape the nature and volume of international scholarship research. For the second part of this chapter, I elaborate on the common debates and key issues tackled by existing researches on international scholarship as development aid. Four main debates on international scholarship as development aid will be highlighted. Lastly, this chapter ends by pointing out a crucial blind spot in the way international scholarship is currently critiqued and researched. I will briefly explain how postcolonial approach could open new possibilities into international scholarship research.

2.1. International Scholarship Research Landscape

Although international scholarships have been a longstanding aid in international development field since the 1970s, it was not until the new millennium that discussions on international scholarship as development aid gradually became more visible and researches on the topic were gradually increasing. Dassin et al. (2018b) described how research on international scholarships emerged and expanded over the years: "from roughly the year 2000 onward, a burst of research on international scholarships has developed in response to major trends in higher education and in development funding" (p. 372). In this section, I review researches from 2000-2020 and elaborate on the three waves of research production from pre-2015 to post-2015. But before doing that, I will first distinguish the three meanings of international scholarships that I found helpful in navigating the complexity and nuances within international scholarship research.

2.1.1. Multiple Meanings of "International Scholarship"

While searching, reviewing and delving into the research literature, I observed that the term "international scholarship" elicits different notions, meanings and framings. For instance, the most common meaning when discussing about 'international scholarship as development aid' concerns about the donors' monetary support (financial investment). However, the term international scholarship is more layered and nuanced. The following are the three meanings I have encountered.

- *First meaning: International Scholarship as study grant*

- *Second meaning: International Scholarship as intercultural learning*

- Lastly, *Third meaning: International Scholarship as research/scholarly inquiry*.

This first meaning is the common understanding of international scholarship, however, for the next second and third meaning, both relate to matters concerning knowledge. My dissertation is deeply interested in exploring this third meaning, particularly investigating the nature of normative and critical scholarly research about international scholarships. The first two meanings of international scholarships here are crucial in understanding of the third meaning - scholarship as research inquiry. Overall, I found it helpful to distinguish these three terminologies of international scholarship from each other because these distinctions could help pave new paths in further examining the landscape of international scholarship research. I will elaborate on each one:

First Meaning: International Scholarship as Study Grant (Focus on Scholarship Aid). This meaning pertains to donors' monetary support or financial grants awarded to students from the Global South. This donors' financial investment is a popular and mainstream higher education aid (Dassin et al., 2018a). It is usually called as "scholarship aid" within the development field and officially reported to OECD as Official Development Assistance (ODA) under technical assistance. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2018) officially defines international scholarship as: "...financial aid awards for individual students and contributions to trainees. The beneficiary students and trainees are nationals of developing countries. Financial aid awards include

bilateral grants to students registered for systematic instruction in private or public institutions of higher education to follow full-time studies or training courses in the donor country" (p. 55). Scholarship aids are competitive financial grants awarded to selected promising individuals from the global South to pursue higher education studies in the global North (Bhandari & Mirza, 2016, p. 4). Northern donors typically cover the full recipients' tuition costs and allowances, among other costs in order to study abroad (Campbell, 2017).

As technical assistance, the common underlying theoretical background concerning scholarship aid is Human Capital Theory (HCT). HCT is an influential economic theory that assumes that individuals are human capital and education is an investment to increase their productivity (Becker, 2009; Perna & Orosz, 2016). The donors' assumption for most development scholarships subscribes to the rationale of spillover effects where "significant financial investment in higher education will lead to post-education economic activity" (Campbell & Mawer, 2019, p. 171). As students develop their knowledge and skills, they are expected to spill over the greater society and foster economic gain (McMahon, 1999 as cited in Campbell, 2018). Within this framing, common discussions and research revolve around matters of scholarship aid policy (such as aid financing/investment) and critiquing its aid effectiveness (development impacts). For instance, some questions relevant to this meaning are: *Which donors are offering scholarship aid and where is the investment going? What are the development impacts of this financial assistance? What should aid agencies do to further improve the effectiveness of scholarship aid?*

Second Meaning: International Scholarship as Intercultural Learning (Focus on Learning Program). This framing focuses on international scholarship as spaces of intercultural learning. When a scholarship student recipient goes study abroad and participates in the scholarship program, they are expected to gain knowledge, skills and academic abilities related to their chosen subject matter and learn about development knowledge from the Global North. This meaning then concerns with the nature of knowledge acquired or exchanged within the context of the intercultural learning program. King (2011) highlights the relationship of expertise and learning which is central in international

scholarship: it is "intimately connected to the notion of development is learning from others' experience or from others' expertise…[and] offer access to their experience and to their experts" (King, 2011, p. 11). Moreover, King (2011) emphasized the notion of comparative advantage:

> Historically, it was precisely the access to the specificity or the particularity of the donor's experience that led to scholarships and training awards. They were built on the notion that individual donors had some comparative advantage, some niche, which others can appreciate and learn from. Where better to appreciate the Chinese experience of development or of poverty alleviation than China? Where better to appreciate the finer elements of French, English or German language teaching than in France, England or Germany? (p. 11)

Because this concerns the nature of acquired or exchanged knowledge within the learning program, Educational issues on pedagogy, program curriculum and learning outcomes/impacts are relevant with this meaning. Questions such as "*How does the scholarship program serve as intercultural learning between people from Global North and Global South? How does politics of knowledge occur within the learning program? How does this shape the knowledge and skill of the learner? How does intercultural knowledge create impact in communities?*" are relevant in this second meaning. Over the years, there is wide variety of international scholarship programs in terms of their structure, design and objectives (Dassin et al., 2018; Perna et al., 2014, Tournès & Scott-Smith, 2018), but due to the diversity and complexity of scholarship program objectives across time and space, this contributes to the difficulty of understanding learning outcomes and impacts of international scholarship programs. Intriguingly, while learning process is a crucial part of international scholarship, studies using education perspectives (ie. examining pedagogy) within international scholarship programs are rare and just recently emerging.

Third Meaning: International Scholarship as Research Inquiry (Focus on the Diverse Researches about International Scholarship). This concerns knowledge production *about* international scholarship or the cumulative body of research on the topic of international scholarships conducted by researchers from different parts of the world across time and space. "Scholarship" here means the nature of the critical and scholarly approach when researching on the topic of international scholarship. This

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dissertation is mainly interested in this third meaning – investigating the cumulative body of research, closely examining the breadth and depth as well as the manner of the research inquiry about international scholarship or what I coin as "scholarship of international scholarship" in this dissertation. The relevant topics about this third meaning include the following topics: critique of scholarship evaluation methodology, systematic literature reviews and meta-studies on international scholarships, meta-theories, among others. To further understand international scholarship as a research inquiry ("scholarship of international scholarship"), three waves of research production will be discussed in the next section.

2.1.2. Three Waves of Research Production: From Pre-2015 to Post-2015

To paint a picture of the research dynamics over the years, three waves of research production would be elaborated here. By reviewing the literature, it can be observed that development agendas such as MDG and SDG greatly shaped the research agendas and the research landscape. The three waves have different research trends that have become dominant within the research field at a particular time. In each wave, I will expound on how pertinent global development agendas as well as the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness greatly impacted the volume and nature of international scholarship research. The following are the three waves I observed:

- *Wave 1: Research Emergence (2005-2010).* This wave shows how MDG's focus on primary education as well as HLF in Paris (2005) and Accra's (2008) Aid Effectiveness Agenda had sparked researches on international scholarships as development aid. Discussions during this wave were predominantly focused on issues of scholarship aid financing and aid policy evaluation

- *Wave 2: Research Expansion (2011-2015).* This wave was shaped by HLF in Busan and its campaign for Evidence-Based Aid Agenda. Because of this intensified emphasis on evidence-based aid, researches such as scholarship policy review and program evaluations (ie. Alumni Tracer Studies) were very common during this wave

- *Wave 3: Research Legitimization (2016 onwards).* The launching of post-2015 SDG4 shaped this wave. For the first time in history, international scholarship became an official part of the global development agenda and this legitimized international scholarship as a research field. Propelled by the SDG's Accountability and Transparency Agenda, there is an evident diversification of research themes, new research approaches as well as expansion of various types of researchers during this period.

But before I further elaborate on each of these waves and present key researches and discussions, I want to point out that the term "wave" was chosen only to emphasize the corresponding dominant agenda associated with each period. But this does not mean that it is the sole research agenda during that time. Instead, each of the waves is highlighted as it provides glimpse of how the pertinent global development agendas and international meetings have shaped the dominant research agenda and impacted the research field.

Wave 1: Research Emergence - MDG and Focus on Aid Effectiveness Agenda (2005-2010). Prior to MDG, international scholarship as a subject of inquiry was uncommon and unconsolidated in the research field. However, international scholarship emerged as a subject of debate and research during this period because of the global agenda MDG2 (primary education as education agenda) and Aid Effectiveness Agenda. This pre-2015 MDG was monumental for international development policy and practice because for the first time in history, there was a global consolidation of aid efforts to fight poverty. This first global agenda became an official global commitment to increase the quantity and quality of aid to developing countries in order to address poverty reduction (Herfkens & Bains, 2008, p. 3). Within MDG, primary education was pronounced as the explicit education target to be achieved by 2015, while higher education was "conspicuously absent" within the global agenda (Dassin, 2007).

However, this primary education as global target did not deter donors to consistently provide scholarship aid in higher education to developing countries at the expense of primary education allocation. Although international scholarship in higher education was

not a priority within the agreed Paris Declaration (2005) and Accra Agenda (2008), international scholarships became an emerging subject of debate due to the aid effectiveness agenda. It ignited debates primarily revolving around the issue of aid allocation between primary education and higher education, and questioning the effectiveness of scholarship aid. During this period, there was an emergence of grey literature such as UNESCO Global Monitoring Reports and evaluation reports from aid agencies as a response to the global/international agendas. The following were some key examples of grey literature produced by aid agencies and international organizations:

First, UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) started to mention international scholarship in higher education for the first time in 2005. UNESCO EFA GMR illustrated how donor countries were providing more scholarship aid to higher education rather than MDG's priority on primary education. Since 2005, UNESCO consistently critiqued the top education donors in each annual global report by highlighting the strong aid preference concerning scholarship aid to higher education, which is contrary to the international norm of prioritizing primary education. On the other hand, aid agencies responded to HLF in Paris (2005) and Accra (2008) by producing various evaluation reports on scholarship policy and programs (CIDA, 2005; NORAD, 2005; Austria Scholarship Programme, 2007; NOMA, 2007; The World Bank, 2007; Australian Development Awards, 2008. See Appendix B for full list of evaluation reports during this period).

Particularly after HLF in Accra (2008), one focus area concerning aid was the shift from individual "capacity building" to institutional "capacity development". Thus, redesigning of scholarship programs from capacity building to capacity development framework was an evident response for few selected donors such as Australia and Norway (Gosling, 2008; NORAD, 2009). With the series of evaluation reviews conducted, Australia decided to consolidate all of its development scholarships and rebranded itself to a singular "Australia Awards" since 2011 (Kent, 2018). As for Norway, it merged its various scholarship programs to become Norwegian Programme for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development in 2012 (NORHED). However, other major aid donors did

not follow suit. Overall, the dominant research themes during this wave were focused on scholarship aid policy (ie. aid allocation) and scholarship program (ie. from capacity building to capacity development as program design).

  Wave 2: Research Expansion – Busan's Evidence-Based Aid Agenda and Focus on Scholarship Program Evaluation (2011-2015). The debate on international scholarships and its aid effectiveness intensified during this wave. Research production became more dynamic due to High Level Forum in Aid Effectiveness in Busan (2011) and its evidence-based aid agenda. This quest for evidence-based results triggered intense debates concerning empirical international scholarships outcomes. This wave engaged a growing number of development consultants and academic scholars in researching about international scholarship and produced an increasing volume of grey literature. In particular, evaluation studies were central in this wave, as HLF in Busan critiqued how aid is being delivered and challenged donors to be more "purpose-driven than provider-focused" (Aidinfo, 2011). Although some scholarship programs have conducted evaluation on outcomes and impacts even in the 1980s and 1990s, most of those reports were confidential and intended more for internal organizational reporting rather than for public consumption (Strombom, 1989, cf Mawer, 2014). Thus, HLF in Busan (2011) became a catalyst for the growing emphasis on international scholarship evaluation, making "monitoring and evaluation" as key aspect of the aid process. HLF in Busan's call for more evidence-based aid created a surge of evaluation reports such as Alumni Tracer Studies and Policy Reviews. For instance, aid agencies in Australia and the UK produced a number of evaluation reports concerning their scholarship programs during this period (see Appendix B for the list of reports). Aid agencies were pushed to put greater emphasis on measuring scholarship program outcome and prove its value for money (Dassin et al., 2018).

  As 'monitoring and evaluation' becomes the primary focus during this period, meta-studies on development evaluation also emerged during this time. Meta-studies about scholarship evaluation studies such as Creed et al. (2012) and Mawer (2014) were made possible through a conference called "Measuring the Impact of Higher Education

Interventions for Development" in May 2012 (Creed et al., 2012, p.3). [7] This conference paved a way for an internal dialogue among the "global community of scholarship providers" to discuss how to improve interventions (Mawer, 2014, p.1; Creed et al., 2012, p.3). These two preliminary studies were the first literature to explore the general trends and various methodological issues within the evaluation field.[8] These meta-studies (albeit preliminary) are significantly important in the research field, because prior to this, there is "little analysis has been conducted of evaluation practices currently employed across the scholarship sector" (Mawer, 2014, p. VI). These studies were the first ones to examine the existing evaluation practices on international scholarships.

Aside from reports from aid agencies and meta-studies, other researchers also produced other types of grey literature during this period. Northern think tank NORRAG (2011) released a special issue on International Scholarships entitled "The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships and Awards: Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South." In this special issue, short articles on international scholarships written by Northern and Southern practitioners and academics were featured. It includes topics on international scholarship history, soft power, internationalization of higher education, among other themes. In addition, development practitioners and academics also actively wrote policy briefs as well as blog entries critiquing international scholarships during this period (Legault, 2011; Negin, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c).

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[7] This conference was organized by the London International Development Center (LIDC) and the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU)

[8] The first meta-study on international scholarship evaluation is by *Creed, C., Parrato, H. & Waage, J. (2012). Examining development evaluation in higher education interventions: a preliminary study. London International Development Centre*. Creed et al. (2012) examined development evaluation in higher education. Most of the 67 reports used as data in the study were focused on the impact of scholarship programmes (p. 4). The scholarship reports examined were from Australia, Canada, Japan, UK and US. The second study is by *Mawer (2014, June). A study of research methodology used in evaluations of international scholarship schemes for higher education. Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom*. Mawer (2014) conducted a 'scoping study' on research methodology of international scholarship evaluations. His data constitutes 65 evaluation reports by scholarship providers and evaluators from the government, NGO and academia, where he examined their methodology, methods, variable and data analysis.

As for academic literature, there was a slow growth of academic literature compared to grey literature during this wave. Among academic literature on international scholarships, Perna et al.'s (2014) study on typology of international scholarship programs based on human capital is one of the earliest and widely cited articles on international scholarships. Human Capital Theory (HCT) is said to be the most common theoretical framework underpinning aid policy and practice across donors (Campbell, 2018; Perna et al., 2014). As HCT is the dominant theoretical framework within the development field, discussions on international scholarships commonly focus on the relationship of aid investment and impacts ("spillovers"). Thus, critical perspectives prominent during this phase also commonly revolved around topics of brain drain and soft power, criticizing how donors are gaining more in this "spillover" rather than the recipient countries (A more in-depth discussion about brain drain and soft power will be discussed in the next section on critical perspectives, particularly in the context of Yamada's (2014) paradox of scholarship).

Overall, it can be observed that this wave (particularly 2011 and 2012) was eventful, reactive times for international scholarship practice and research. However, discussions and researches were published more as grey literature and disseminated through public forums such as online blog articles and websites of aid agencies rather than published as peer-reviewed academic literature. During this wave, the common research themes expanded from aid financing, program evaluation to critiques on scholarship impacts (brain drain, soft power) and evaluation methodology/practice (meta-analysis).

Wave 3: Research Legitimization – SDG4b and Focus on Research Diversification (2016-2020). After SDG4b was launched as official development agenda, a major shift in research volume and nature of discussion occurred in post-2015. SDG's pronounced visibility as global target raised more research interest about international scholarships as development aid than ever before, building its legitimacy as a serious field of research. Due to the launching of SDG4b, there is an emphasis on transparency, accountability and measurement agenda. There is an explicit call for more accountability concerning international scholarship data to be more "transparent, clearly written and

publicly available for debate and follow-up" (UNESCO, 2017/18, p. 239). With this, the
following are some key changes both from grey and academic literature:

   For Grey Literature: UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Reports (GEM) has

dedicated and specialized chapter on international scholarship as SDG4b from 2016 to

2020.[9] This is a stark difference from the pre-2015 UNESCO GMR, which only discussed

international scholarship briefly. In addition, UNESCO commissioned a series of

background papers specifically on the topic of international scholarships that have not been

done before. These series of UNESCO commissioned background papers were instrumental

in challenging the status quo of its previous coverage during pre-2015, incorporating more

diversified discussion points on international scholarships.[10] Aside from UNESCO's evident

changes, donors such as Australia Awards and Ford Foundation's International Fellowships

Program committed to conduct an annual Alumni Tracer Study during post-2015. Australia

Awards publishes their "Global Tracer Facility Activities" starting 2016 that includes annual

Alumni Tracer Studies and Country-Focused and Field of Study-Focus Case Studies. On the

other hand, Ford Foundation's IFP has a 10-year alumni tracking study (Martel & Bhandari,

2016 as cited in Martel, 2018, p. 295).

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[9] The chapters on UNESCO GEM can be found in the following: GEM 2016: Chapter 18 (pp. 318-325),
GEM 2017/18: Chapter 17 (pp. 235-242), GEM 2019: Chapter 16 (pp. 207- 214), GEM 2020: Chapter
18 (pp. 293-300).
[10] The following are UNESCO's commissioned background papers on international scholarships as
SDG4b:
1. **Balfour, S. (2016). SDG Target 4b: A global measure of scholarships**. Commissioned
Paper for UNESCO GEM 2016 *Education for people and planet: Creating sustainable futures for all.*
2. **Institute of International Education (2016). Scholarships for students from
developing countries: Establishing a global baseline.** Commissioned Paper for UNESCO GEM
2016 - *Education for people and planet: Creating sustainable futures for all.* Institute of
International Education (Bhandari, R. & Mirza, Z.).
3. **Balfour, S. (2017). Accountability mechanisms in scholarship awards**. Commissioned
paper for UNESCO GEM 2017/18 *Accountability in education: Meeting our commitment*
4. **Institute of International Education (2017). Achieving target 4.b of the sustainable
development goals: A study of best practices for monitoring data on scholarship
recipients from developing countries.** Institute of International Education. Commissioned
Paper for UNESCO GEM 2017/18, *Accountability in education: Meeting our commitments.
(*Bhandari, R. & Yaya, A.).
5. **Bhandari, R., Robles, C. & Farrugia, C. (2018). International Higher Education:
Shifting Mobilities, Policy Challenges and New Initiatives**. Commissioned Paper for
UNESCO GEM 2019, Migration, displacement and education: Building bridges, not walls.

As for Academic Literature: This period encouraged diversification of research topics and approaches within academic literature. Some examples of post-2015 academic books that have become instrumental in diversifying international scholarship research during post-2015 are as follows: Dassin, J. R., Marsh, R. R., & Mawer, M. (Eds) (2018)'s *International scholarships in higher education: Pathways for social change* ⸀and Tournès, L., & Scott-Smith, G. (Eds.). (2018). *Exchange programs, scholarships and transnational circulations in the contemporary world (19th-21st centuries).* ⸀These books carry various book chapters written by scholarship practitioners and academic scholars across the world and provided emerging perspectives in the field, which covers history, evaluation, policy reviews, among others.

As for academic journals, new insights were also emerging. A growing number of studies started to problematize conceptualization of international scholarships and its theoretical underpinnings as well as also researching about international scholarship as learning program (ie. focusing on pedagogy). Let me provide some examples of new insights found within post-2015 literature. For instance, conceptual and operational definition of international scholarship became problematic within the context of SDG (Antoninis, 2018; Balfour, 2016; Bengtsson & Barakat, 2016). Campbell and Mawer (2019) deemed that "scholarships have been typically identified by example rather than definition" (p. 169). As a response to this gap, Campbell and Neff (2020) conducted a systematic literature review on international scholarships, where one of its goals is to propose a definition of what "international scholarship" is. They proposed "a new definition of these programs" based on four criteria points presented in Table 2.1. These four points were based on "several other scholars' proposed definition or conceptualizations of international scholarship programs" (Campbell & Neff, 2020, p.4).

Table. 2.1.

Criteria for International Scholarships in Higher Education (Campbell & Neff, 2020, p. 4)

CRITERIA	DETAIL
MOBILITY COMPONENT	"Recipients must be studying at the higher education level outside their home countries…There must be a mobility component."
DEGREE-GIVING	"Recipients must be working toward a degree at an accredited institution of higher education. Moreover, recipients must be enrolled in classes or working with an academic advisor, as opposed to a scheme where students are enrolled only in seminars or can access only the library or campus facilities, as in the case in some visiting scholar programs"
COMPETITIVE PROGRAM	"The scholarship awards must be part of a program; thus there is more than one scholarship offered with the same purpose, recipients are selected by uniform criteria, and the program is managed by a centralized administration. Moreover, the scholarship must have been openly advertised with a competitive process to select the recipients"
MAJOR SUPPORT	"The award must cover the majority (over 50%) of the study and other expenses associated with international study. This reflects the assumption that the scholarship is a major support for the individual to pursue education abroad."

Aside from problematizing definitions, scholars also started to explore the typologies of rationales and impacts of scholarship program, with the intention to understand why do donors operate international scholarship programs. Table. 2.2. also summarizes some attempts to understand the various rationales behind international scholarship programs in higher education. Table 2.2. compares the pre-2015 typology work of Perna to the post-2015 typology works of other scholars.

Table. 2.2.

Rationales Behind International Scholarship Programs

Various Rationales Behind International Scholarship Programs	
Perna et al. (2014) created a typology of international scholarship programs in Higher Education from 183 international scholarship programs in 196 nations (p. 70) • Type 1: Development of Basic Skills (n=19) • Type 2: Development of Advanced Knowledge in Development Nations (n=33) • Type 3: Development of Advanced Knowledge in Developed Nations (n=94) • Type 4: Promotion of Short-Term Study Abroad (n=13)	**Boeren (2018)** proposed three common objectives of scholarship programs (p. 44) • To strengthen human resources needed for the development of the countries of the scholarship recipients • To foster diplomatic and economic bonds between countries • To promote and improve the quality and attractiveness of the education (institutions) in the country of bilateral donors

Kirkland (2018, p. 153) proposed five categories on scholarship program objectives and how individuals are prioritized for a particular scholarship:
- *National interest (Narrowly defined):* Scholarships are provided for donor's interest such as high skilled migration, where recipients are desired to stay after graduation.
- *National interest (Broadly defined):* Scholarships are provided with a broad purpose and in less measurable way such as diplomatic purposes
- *Merit-based:* Scholarship are provided to highly promising individuals, regardless of background, even without development intent
- *Development Based (Individually focused):* Scholarships are provided to individuals with marginalized background, and by doing so could also create social change such as being a role model, etc.
- *Development Based (Society focused):* Scholarships are provided to individuals who are likely to contribute to the broader societal development. These individuals are expected to return home after completion

Campbell and Neff (2020, p. 12) recently conducted a systematic literature review of international scholarships in higher education. A thematic analysis of international higher education scholarship literature (2010-2020) was presented and summarized the literature through various scholarship objectives. The six rationales were as follows:

- "Skills and knowledge acquisition for human capital"
- "Diplomatic aims, relations with former colonies or solidarity"
- "Social change or social justice in the home country"
- "International or sustainable development and as humanitarian aid"
- "Internationalization of universities"
- "Providing access to higher education"

Based on these studies on rationales and objectives, donors provide international scholarships for a gamut of reasons (Boeren, 2018; Campbell & Mawer; 2019; Kirkland, 2018; Perna et al., 2014). These rationales are not mutually exclusive to one another: rationales could be a mix of "altruistic, diplomatic, academic and/or economic" (Boeren, 2018, p. 44). Most scholarship programmes, even the development-oriented ones combine multiple objectives together (Boeren, 2018).

Prior to SDG4b, the common and dominant underlying theoretical framework to understanding international scholarship is mainly Human Capital Theory. But due to post-2015 SDG4b, new theoretical perspectives on international scholarship beyond human capital theory emerged. Campbell and Mawer (2019, p. 167) introduced three frameworks in approaching international scholarships:

- *Human Capital Theory (HCT):* This emphasizes that education is an economic investment. The assumption is that education would lead to economic returns, where financial investment spent concerning the scholar and their knowledge and skills development is expected to spill over to their communities (spill-over effect)

- *Human rights-based approach:* Based from UN declaration on education as a right, this approach emphasizes that quality education is a human right and that international scholarships are means to provide equal access to quality education through study abroad.

- *Capability approach:* Based on Amartya Sen's (1999) capability as freedom, studying abroad broadens the capabilities of scholars. This capability includes their wellbeing and their power to have better choices in their lives and deliver social change. Capability approach to international scholarships is actively introduced and used by researchers from private scholarships such as Ford Foundation's International Fellowships Program.

It is said that each theory entails "significant different outcomes projected for the ways that scholarship programs are linked to sustainable development" (Campbell and Mawer, 2018, p. 167). This means that exploring theoretical frameworks beyond Human Capability Theory

could challenge how donors design scholarship programmes. International scholarship

programmes under Capability Approach goes beyond 'one-size-fits-all-approach' where

scholarship recipients have the freedom and flexibility to set personal goals and also

acknowledging the "changing contours of students' home countries' (Campbell, 2018). Using

Sen's Capability Approach widens the meaning on what international scholarships could be

and what scholarship recipients could do. Generally, international scholarships operate

within human capital framework, approaching education is a means to an end (Dassin, 2017;

Pernia, et al, 2014), but with Sen's capability approach, international scholarships is

approached as equipping personal development and letting it be an end in itself (Campbell &

Mawer, 2019).

Lastly, another new concept emerging within post-2015 international scholarship

research is about pedagogy. The second meaning of international scholarship as learning is

slowly emerging during post-2015. Scholars such as Baxter (2018) and Dassin and Navarrete

(2018) proposed to examine more of the role of pedagogy in international scholarship

programs and refer to learning as the "black box" of international scholarships. Dassin, et al.

(2018) pointed that in our current evaluation practice neglects the learning part within

international scholarship programs:

> Details and nuances of university experience are rarely captured, undermining our
> understanding of the relative impacts of different host institutions on post-graduate
> outcomes. Details are vital to unpacking the 'black box" of educational experience
> and to understanding how the knowledge and skills acquired in their academic
> programs affect scholarship recipients' post- study activities and social impacts (p.
> 378)

Although it remains rare to discuss learning such as issues of pedagogy and other education-

related perspectives within the context of international scholarships, there are already post-

2015 emerging studies that cover education experiences such as Baxter (2018). In her

research, she pointed out that scholarship students preferred "applied rather than purely

theoretical learning" (p. 113-114). With this, Baxter proposed certain pedagogic approaches

that could be employed within international scholarship programs - highlighting the

importance of reflective learning and civic engagement to be incorporated within

international scholarship programs such as non-violent protests, volunteerism, service learning.

Overall, I presented how grey and academic researches on international scholarships were increasing during the third wave. There was an evident upturn of academic journal article production observed during post-2015, but it is apparent that the dynamic production of academic literature emerged late relatively compared to grey literature. Moreover, researchers coming from the private sector are more visible and active in introducing new concepts into the field of international scholarships. For instance, scholar-practitioners affiliated with private scholarships introduced new concepts such as 'social justice' (Dassin et al., 2018) and 'human capability approach' (Campbell & Mawer, 2019) into the discourse - gearing away from the mainstream theoretical framework (Human Capital Theory) as well as beyond the common critical concepts of "brain drain" and "soft power".

However, it is to note that majority of the academic journal articles and books on international scholarships are still focused and skewed towards private scholarships such as Ford Foundation's International Fellowships Program (IFP) with limited coverage of other types of international scholarship programs. But in spite of limitations, both grey literature and academic literature increased as international scholarships took a global spotlight as SDG4b and the discussions became more diverse in nature – covering history, evaluation, policy critiques, pedagogy, among other themes compared to pre-2015.

Summary: Three Waves of Research Production

These three waves of research production showed how the state of research was greatly influenced by global development agenda. The volume and nature of literature over the years is indicative of the global development policy direction at that point of production. There were also various international events that shaped international scholarship policy, practice and research. Significant observation with these waves are the following: grey literature such as evaluation reports (policy reviews and Alumni Tracer Studies) spiked during and every after High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Paris (2005), Accra (2008) and Busan (2011), while academic literature evidently increased and diversified after the launching of international scholarship as SDG4b in 2015.

There is a gradual move from international scholarship's emergence as a subject of debate and research to the intensification of the debates and increase of evaluation reports (due to HLF in Busan). During the first wave, MDG and Aid Effectiveness Agenda (Paris and Accra) jumpstarted the first wave by igniting the debate between primary and higher education aid, and this is followed by HLF in Busan's Evidence-Based Aid Agenda. HLF in Busan rippled various developments – not only mandatory scholarship data reporting but increased evaluation measurement initiatives. Finally, SDG4b becomes a historic turn where international scholarship was given more serious attention and legitimizing it as a research field. Table 2.3. summarizes how each development agenda shaped the research agenda-setting in each wave.

Table 2.3.

State of Research Production from Pre-2015 to Post-2015

Dev't Agenda	Pre-2015 MDG		Post-2015 SDG
Research Wave	**WAVE 1** **EMERGENCE (2005-2010)**	**WAVE 2** **EXPANSION (2011-2015)**	**WAVE 3** **LEGITIMIZATION AND GROWTH (2016-present)**
Volume and Type of Research Literature	***Emergence of Grey Literature*** Majority grey literature such as scholarship policy reviews and UNESCO Global Monitoring Report	***Increasing Grey Literature*** Majority grey literature particularly Monitoring and Evaluation Reports Such as Alumni Tracer Studies, Policy and Program Reviews	***Growth of Grey and Academic Literature*** Increase in both grey and academic literature: Grey Literature such as UNESCO commissioned Background Papers & UNESCO GEM, and Academic Literature such as Peer-Reviewed Academic Journals and books
Focus of Discussion on International Scholarship	***Aid Financing*** As influenced by HLF in Paris (2005) & Accra (2008)'s Aid Effectiveness Agenda (Results-Based Aid Agenda)	***Aid Financing and Evaluation*** As influenced by HLF in Busan (2011)'s Evidence-Based Aid Agenda	***Diversification of Discussion and Research Themes*** Due to launching of SDG4b global target, a growing emphasis is on accountability & measurement agenda as well as diversification of concepts and theories on international scholarship

Within these waves, there are various critical perspectives about international scholarship that emerged. In the next section, I present these common critical perspectives within the existing literature, highlighting the pertinent issues and key studies/literature that carried them.

2.2. Common Critical Perspectives on International Scholarship

After I have enumerated the three waves of research production, I will now focus on how international scholarship became a subject of discussion and debate within the different waves. I will delve more in-depth on the prominent issues during pre-2015 MDG and post-2015 SDG in this section. The following are the three common critical perspectives on international scholarship as development aid that will be discussed further:

- First, *scholarship aid as disputed aid*, where the debate revolved around aid allocation and aid effectiveness particularly during pre-2015 global agenda MDG

- Second, I borrow Yamada's (2014) term *paradox of scholarship*. The paradox discussed here includes issues such as brain drain/talent war, soft power and cash cow/internationalization strategy of donor's higher education institutions. This paradox illustrates that donors benefit more from international scholarships than its intended recipients.

- Third, *SDG4b as an unexpected and controversial aid*. This critiques how international scholarship is deemed as incompatible with the overall SDG and its issues concerning aid accountability and monitoring

2.2.1. Scholarship Aid as Disputed Aid

During pre-2015, Aid Effectiveness Agenda took center stage and made scholarship aid a hotspot for debates. A common critique on international scholarship as development aid concerns the aid allocation and aid effectiveness of scholarship aid. The major debates revolving around scholarship aid that time were the following issues: *Issue 1: Aid Allocation* (Should education aid be directed to primary education than providing aid to higher education?); *Issue 2: Tied Aid* (Should scholarship aid even be considered 'real aid' due to its tied nature?) and *Issue 3: Aid Effectiveness* (Is it an effective aid or a waste of money?). This section will elaborate on each issue faced by scholarship aid, which shows that despite the hot waters it is in, scholarship aid remained resilient over the years.

Issue 1: Aid Allocation Aid to Primary Education or Higher Education?

Although primary education was the pre-2015 global education agenda, donor behavior skewed towards providing aid for higher education. A significant level of education aid was in the form of scholarships and imputed student costs to higher education (Yamada, 2014). In 2014, about 70% of total aid to higher education was allocated for scholarships and imputed student costs (UNESCO, 2013/14, p. 325). This donor behavior was ironically inconsistent with the international norm of prioritizing primary education (MDG2), but this donor trend remained consistent over the years (UNESCO, 2005-2015; Yamada, 2014). According to UNESCO (2015), seven out of 15 largest donors increased and re-allocated their aid to higher education "at the expense of Basic Education" (p. 262; see Figure 2.1.). While there are donors, that allocated more than 70% of their education aid to primary education (such as Netherlands, the UK and the US), the top education aid donors such as Germany, Japan and France were consistently allocating majority of their aid to international scholarships in higher education (Kim, 2014; UNESCO 2005, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013/14, 2015). In fact, UNESCO Global Monitoring Reports critiqued the top education aid donors without fail. In 2014, it also reported an irony:

> A quarter of direct aid to education is spent on students studying in universities in rich countries. Even though scholarships and imputed student costs may be vital to strengthen human resource capacity in low income countries, ***most of this funding actually goes to upper middle income countries, with China the largest recipient***...The total funding in the form of imputed student costs and scholarships received annually by Algeria, China, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey was equivalent to the total amount of direct aid to basic education for all 36 low income countries in 2010–2011, on average (UNESCO, 2013/14, p. 12, italics mine)[11]

The irony is: there was more scholarship aid provided to China and other upper-middle income countries than to other developing countries combined. This donor preference towards scholarship provision in higher education expanded to other types of donors too. Emerging donors such as Brazil, China and India were also using scholarships as an important component of their aid (UNESCO, 2009, 2012, 2015).

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[11] This is still the same trend until 2015. The combined 'scholarships and imputed student costs' for Algeria, China, India, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey is close to equivalent of direct aid to basic education in low income countries (UNESCO, 2016, p.324)

This debate and tension on the issue of aid allocation between primary education and higher education persisted all throughout pre-2015 MDG Agenda (UNESCO, 2005-2015). But why did aid in higher education prevail despite primary education being the main education target of the MDG? Aid to higher education became mainstream due to dominant perspectives of influential organizations such as The World Bank and UNESCO (Mundy & Madden, 2009; The World Bank, 2002). First, *World Bank's Knowledge for Development Discourse* became influential within international development. The World Bank launched a series of influential reports such as World Development Report "Knowledge for Development" (1998), "Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise" (2000) and "Constructing Knowledge Societies" (2002)[12] where these series of reports highlighted the role of higher education as a social and economic facilitator that could lead national development, especially in the global knowledge economy context (Altbach, 2004; Olssen & Peters, 2005; The World Bank, 2000, p. 14). Higher education was then viewed to have a comparative advantage in the context of knowledge economy because higher educational institutions have the knowledge advantage (intellectual capital). These institutions already have existing knowledge production process and exchange mechanism such as research, teaching and learning infrastructure) in place.

Prior to World Bank's Knowledge for Development agenda, higher education was considered a low priority within the international development agenda, such that there was even no mention of it within the MDG (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). But as the role of knowledge emerged in the development discourse in the 2000s, higher education came back in the development and policy sphere (Dassin et al., 2018a; Kirkland, 2018). Higher education was envisioned to play a vital role in the 21st century development under the new knowledge economy (Altbach, 2004; Bengtsson & Barakat, 2016). As this "knowledge for development" agenda diffused to various aid agencies and development institutions, new activities and initiatives emerged. Countries like the UK hosted a "development-focused G8 summit" in

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[12] The World Bank is regarded as the largest development research institutions in the world (Edwards, 2018). Thus, publications and agendas are taken seriously within the development field

2005, reiterating the vital role of higher education in the development agenda (Kirkland, 2018). 'Knowledge for development' agenda influenced the growth of knowledge-based aid among aid agencies (McGrath & King, 2004). As the role of knowledge to economic growth was highlighted, education aid flowed towards higher education (particularly scholarship aid) despite primary education being the MDG education target.

Second factor in the donor preference for higher education is the emergence of UNESCO's 'Internationalization of Higher Education' agenda. UNESCO convened the World Conference on Higher Education in 1998 and 2009 in Paris, where the key role of international students in internationalization was highlighted (King 2011b, p. 2; Foskett, & Maringe, 2010). As mentioned above, higher education is regarded as the "engine of development" within the global knowledge economy (Power, 2015, p. 163). However, many developing countries were wary and struggling to catch up with the global knowledge society (Power, 2015 p. 180). As a response, internationalization agenda was envisioned to help developing countries to develop "systems, institutions and persons" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 28). With this, academic mobility (ie. sending students abroad through international scholarships) and institutional partnerships became a common and major part of the global higher education agenda (Altbach et al., 2009, iv; Altbach & Knight, 2007; Knight, 2004). These show how the two major agendas brought by The World Bank and UNESCO impacted donor behavior to skew towards aid provision higher education (in particular scholarship aid) at the expense of primary education, stirring the hot debates on aid allocation.

Issue 2: Scholarship Aid as Tied Aid? Scholarship Aid comprise a large part of donors' educational aid in higher education (UNESCO, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013/14, 2015) and co-reporting scholarship aid with imputed student costs (ISC) has been a long practice for donors. However, it is argued that co-reporting ISC inflates the total education ODA given to recipient countries and reported officially. Since donor's universities directly benefit from this aid allocation and not an aid provided to students directly, reporting this ODA is considered as problematic. Scholarship aid, along with imputed student costs has been critically dubbed as "domestic expenditures" (Hynes & Scott, 2013, p.

14), "no cross border flow" and critically dubbed as "boomerang aid" (Negin, 2010), "aid that never even leaves donor countries" (UNESCO, 2012; World Education Blog, 2013) and "phantom aid" (Negin, 2010). UNESCO (2012) echoed this critical stance, considering this tied aid for a number of reasons: "funds are spent entirely in donor countries", "little or no input from recipient governments and fail to build institutional capacity locally", "line between aid and donors' economic self-interest is blurred", "does not reach developing countries' education budgets" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 145, 220, 2013).[13]

Interestingly, this heated debate whether imputed student cost is aid or not is nothing new: it has a long history. In early 1970s, Belgium, Austria and Germany proposed to OECD DAC for imputed student cost (ISC) to be accounted as aid. However, it was initially rejected due to its difficulty "to claim that development impact was certain" as well that "intake of students from developing countries was a response to general political considerations or policies related to the educational system, rather than a specific concern to foster development" (Stein, 1991 as cited in Hynes & Scott, 2013, p.9). But this decision was changed after OECD received significant pressure from countries concerned (Stein, 1991 as cited in Hynes & Scott, 2013, p.9). In 1984, Australia proposed to let ISC to be part of aid and it was accepted "by principle" in spite of the hesitation concerning its nature as aid in 1988 (Hynes & Scott, 2013, p.9). And here we are, fast forward decades after, the debate on scholarship aid and imputed student costs continued to linger on. This echoes Stein's sentiment as he wrote: "this topic will be with us for some time and will not go away" and his prediction was correct even decades after (Stein, 1982 as cited in Hynes & Scott, 2013, p. 9). This debate whether scholarship aid and ISC are real aid or "masque-aid" ebbs and flows over the years.

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[13] The EFA Global Monitoring Report 2009 critically examined accounting practices associated with the reporting of post-secondary aid levels. It states: "In the case of France and Germany, more than four in every five dollars of the aid reported to the OECD-DAC takes the form of 'imputed student costs'. This essentially means that the estimated costs of teaching students from developing countries in French and German tertiary institutions are counted as aid to the students' countries." (UNESCO, 2010, p. 230). Similarly, Sogge (2015 as cited in Boeren, 2018) observed that "majority of the aid remains in the donor country such that "80-90% of the scholarship' financial value remains in the funding country" (p. 46)

During pre-2015 (particularly the earlier High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness), scholarship aid was intriguingly not included within the official development discussions. International scholarship was left out in the official agenda of Paris Declaration (2005). King (2011a) observed:

> Interestingly, technical cooperation and technical assistance are not terms that appear in the Paris Declaration (2005) on aid effectiveness at all. Equally, though there is a lot of reference in the Paris Declaration to strengthening the development capacity of countries with support from donors, **there is no mention of scholarships and awards as items that might achieve this** [emphasis mine] (p. 11).

Yet even though scholarship aid was not part of Paris Declaration (2005), it emerged as a debate point within the international development community, particularly after HLF in Busan (2011) and its call for evidence-based aid. One of the concrete action points of HLF in Busan was to "untie aid to the maximum extent possible and in 2012 – review plans to achieve this" (OECD, 2012, July). With this, OECD DAC launched an initiative for aid reform to update the official system for the first time in 2012: they "decided that the ODA concept and its statistical system needed updating and modernizing to better reflect the development finance landscape" (Development Initiative, 2017, p. 4). With this new action plan, scholarship aid was placed on hot seat due to its controversial nature of being a tied aid and unconsolidated data reporting. Consequently, when OECD DAC was going through its ODA modernization (aid reform) initiatives in 2012, 'Scholarship Aid and Imputed Student Cost' was included on the list of debatable ODA along with administrative costs and in-donor refugee costs because of issues on effectiveness and unclear motivation (Hynes & Scott, 2013; Negin, 2014; Vanheukelom et al., 2012). As a result of the aid reform, a new policy and practice emerged concerning scholarship aid and mandatory donor data reporting of scholarship aid emerged for the first time (UNESCO, 2012, p. 20). Moreover, imputed student costs were finally no longer considered as country programmable aid (King, 2013, p.5).[14]

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[14] In reporting ODA to OECD DAC, international scholarships and imputed student costs are categorized as Type E aid (OECD, 2018). There has been elaborate rethinking of other debatable aid such as administrative and except for international scholarships and imputed student costs.

Over the years, this push-and-pull relationship of scholarship aid and ISC within the community has been evident. King (2011a) aptly described the resilience and embeddedness of international scholarship within the field as he quipped "scholarships and awards are very much alive and well, and appear to be key components of bilateral aid architecture, whether for new donors or old… Perhaps scholarships and awards are so common, despite the Paris Declaration, because they are at the very heart of the aid process" (p. 11). To reiterate King's words, "they [scholarship aid] are at the very heart of the aid process" and this influences how the international development community responds to it.

Issue 3: Aid Effectiveness: Effective or Waste of Money? Another central debate on scholarship aid was whether it is an effective aid or only a waste of money (Negin, 2014a). A persistent issue about scholarship aid is its weak linkage with poverty reduction and its failure to show explicit development outcomes (Negin, 2010; Negin, 2014a). Scholarship aid received heavy criticisms within the aid community, particularly due to the pre-2015 agenda on aid effectiveness. First, scholarship aid to higher education is deemed as 'elitist' because it only assists a small number of privileged beneficiaries (elites) than those who are in need and, this all the more widens the class inequality (Amazan et al., 2016; Bengtsson & Barakat, 2016; Yamada, 2014, p. 6). Second, donors providing scholarship aid were critiqued to be emphasizing 'donor intention' rather than pursue aid effectiveness (Morris, 2011; Morazan & Behrens, 2014). Scholars critique that there remains a lack of evidence or empirical studies to support human capital development or other development impacts (Amazan et al., 2016; Cuthbert et al., 2008; UNESCO 2015, p. 291).

Impact studies mainly rely on anecdotes as evidence such as 'promotions, positions of power and influence' rather than empirical studies that measure long-term impact (Creed et al, 2012; Mawer, 2014a; Negin, 2014). Moreover, Amazan et al. (2016) critiqued that scholarship aid has "little evidence of its impact beyond anecdotal evidence of individual success stories and self-serving indicators (such as completion of a degree as an indicator of success) (p. 48). Thus, scholarship impacts remain at the impressionistic level (Creed et al., 2012; Mawer, 2014a).

Though there remains a lack of comprehensive and long-term studies on international scholarship (Cassity, 2011; CSCUK, 2014; Negin, 2010; Mawer, 2014a; Martel, 2018), there were recent attempts to conduct comprehensive and long-term studies: private sector such as Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program launched a 10-year alumni tracking study (Martel & Bhandari, 2016 as cited in Martel, 2018, p. 295) as well as Australia Award's "Global Tracer Facility Activities" committed an annual Alumni Tracer Studies and Case Studies since 2016.[15] However, Creed et al (2012), Martel (2018) and Mawer (2014a) also acknowledged that attempts of long-term impact study such as longitudinal/cohort comparison is difficult because of the changing nature of scholarship programmes over time. For instance, The Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the UK (CSCUK) previously used academic merit as their sole criteria for selecting scholar recipients as compared to the recent criteria for selection of scholarship recipients where "potential for development" is now an added criteria (p. 5). These kinds of changes make it hard to compare scholarship results over time. There have been various attempts from aid agencies and academia on capturing outcomes/impacts of international scholarships. In the ardent quest for scholarship aid effectiveness, there were various studies that have indicated that aid to higher education:

Oketch et al. (2014) conducted a comprehensive and rigorous study entitled "The Impact of Tertiary Education on Development". They reviewed 99 studies on higher education where 15 studies concerned international scholarships. The study focused on five indicators related to impact: individual earnings; economic growth; productivity; technological transfer; capabilities; and institutions. The findings show that the indicator for micro-impact (individual earnings) exhibited consistency. However, the macro-economic impacts were deemed to be inconclusive since few studies tackled the macro-level. Moreover, impact indicator on productivity and technology transfer were also deemed inconclusive and limited

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[15] The full list of studies is found at their official website: Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility.https://www.dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/australia-awards/Pages/australia-awards-global-tracer-facility

(p. 6). Overall, the study concluded that the "extent and nature of the impact of tertiary education on development remains unclear" (p. 6-7).

These inconclusive findings concerning development impact were also consistent even among aid agencies and their commissioned external evaluations. Evaluations from Aid Agencies or from external evaluators also found inconclusive trend. For instance, Mawer (2017) observed that studies from Canada, Czech and Norway found struggling results.[16] In the case of Australia, both internal and external evaluations during pre-2015 also found lacking evidences (Australian National Audit Office [ANAO], 1999; Gosling, 2008c; Negin & Denning, 2011).

As for studies that came out during post-2015, Dassin et al.'s (2018) book *International scholarships in higher education: Pathways for social change* attempted to compile latest insights on scholarship impact and outcomes based from various scholarship programs, but they also concluded in the book that evidence concerning scholarship outcomes is still deemed as "insufficient and unsatisfactory" (p. 16). Overall, whether evaluations from aid agencies or external evaluators' perspectives, scholarship outcomes and impacts have been difficult to conclude due to 'the quality of evidence and the methods used to assess scholarship programmes vary enormously" across the field (Enfield, 2019, p. 2). Mawer (2018, p. 272) and Scott-Smith (2008) also put to attention the complexity of examining scholarship program outcomes as they claim that it is difficult to isolate what particular part of scholarships have contributed in the outcome because there could be too many conflating factors that could have influenced it.

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[16] Mawer (2017) observed internal and external evaluation studies and the results are also inconclusive and questionable. He compared various studies as follows: "Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA, 2005), for instance, commissioned an analysis of the Canadian Francophone Scholarship Program that reported urgent need for "reorientation" in the face of limited evidence of long-term impact, poor cost-efficiency, and little indication that lessons had been learned from the experiences of other scholarship administrations. Nemekova and Krylova (2014) found the outcomes of the long-running Czech government scholarship program to be somewhat unsatisfactory and scholarship provision to be fragmented, although the authors noted that their evaluation was severely limited by budget and data access problems. Even when individual outcomes have been positive, the capacity of some scholarship programs to deliver on their aims has been questioned (e.g., Damvad)." (p. 234)

2.2.2. Paradox of Scholarships

Another common critical perspective on international scholarship as development aid is its paradoxical impact. Yamada (2014) dubbed the term "paradox of scholarship" to critique of how scholarships are structured to serve donors' interest rather than benefit its intended recipients. Here, I will expound what kinds of paradoxes are found within the research literature, where I divided the discussion into three perspectives wherein these paradoxes can be framed. The first paradox concerns the *human capital perspective*, where international scholarship is tied with the global talent war and brain drain/brain gain. The second paradox concerns *foreign policy perspective* where I link this with regards to donor's public diplomacy strategy and soft power. And lastly, international scholarships under *internationalization of higher education perspective,* highlighting the role of international scholarship aid as donor's higher education institutions' cash cow and as internationalization strategy.

Paradox 1: International Scholarships Facilitating Southern Brain Drain but Northern Brain Gain. Brain drain became the heated topic of debate concerning international scholarships particularly during pre-2015. Brain drain occurs when "a proportion of tertiary educated population has emigrated from a country" (Capuano and Marfouk 2013; Docquier et al., 2009 as cited in Marsh & Oyelere, 2018, p. 210). According to Altbach et al. (2009), many students and scholars from developing countries emigrate to access what is lacking in the home country, and this could mean human capital loss for the home country: a loss of highly trained individuals who could potentially be innovators and contributors for economic development and social change. As mentioned earlier, the most common rationale for international scholarship is based on Human Capital Theory (HCT), where a "spillover" effect is expected after completion of studies of scholarship recipients. This illustrates that studying abroad becomes a form of human capital import, where returning graduates "are assumed to contribute to faster creation of new knowledge and help other people acquire skills without direct costs" (Perna et al. 2014, p. 68). Marsh and Oyelere (2018) echoed this expected "spillover effect": They claimed that "tertiary educated

emigrants and international students and alumni are the primary conduits of human capital transfer" (p. 209). There is a wide and accepted expectation that scholarship students would be contributing particularly to their home country's national development using their knowledge and skills (Dassin & Navarrete, 2018, p. 316).

However, many students from developing countries choose to stay in donor countries after their study completion (Altbach et al, 2009; Herfkens & Bains, 2008; Lindberg et al., 2014; UNESCO, 2015). For instance, one-third of international students who come to study in France remain to stay and work there (p. 262, cf UNESCO, 2016, p. 320). This irony could be dubbed as South's Brain Drain, North's Brain Gain. When results-based aid became the focus of the pre-2015 aid effectiveness agenda, there was a shift of emphasis on identifying outputs/outcomes that can be measured and quantified. Repatriation rate (or rate of return) became common evaluation criteria on measuring scholarship impact, where both donor and recipient countries link aid effectiveness within the return migration framework (Creed, et al., 2012; Dassin, 2017; Henseler & Plesch, 2009). As a response, there were attempts for donors to reduce brain drain by "compelling scholarship students to return home and work in their home country" (Campbell & Mawer, 2019). But these efforts were deemed ineffective and inconclusive.

An example of a research to understand brain drain is the quantitative study of Henseler and Plesch's (2009) *How Can Scholarship Institutions Foster the Return of Foreign Students*. They analyzed 2,436 students from 76 countries who studied in Germany from 1990 to 2005. Using duration analysis, they found some personal factors that determine whether students will stay in the host country or return to their home countries. For them, the time spent in the host country and age are found to be a determinant whether students will return or not. Older recipients and having shorter duration of stay in the host country have higher propensity to return home. With these findings, they recommended scholarship institutions to consider these particular factors within their scholarship programs.

Apart from individual students' characteristics, brain drain can also be contextualized within a wider political context. Donor countries have more comprehensive policies linking graduates to their own country's labor market than fostering ways for students to return. There is a stronger pull factor to stay in the donor country due to the donor country's lenient immigration laws and incentives for students to stay after degree completion compared to developing countries' return policy for scholarship recipients (Altbach et al., 2009; Hawthorne, 2008; She & Wotherspoon, 2013). For instance, countries such as UK, Canada and Australia adjusted their immigration policies favoring international students in the context of Global Talent War (Altbach et al., 2009; Brown & Tannock, 2009; Mondino, 2011; OECD, 2008). Teferra (1997) illustrated this as he asserts that brain drain of African scholars was due to lenient US immigration laws. To date, while there are no strong evidences that directly links scholarship aid to development of developing countries, there are more produced evidences about its contribution to brain drain. With this background, the compelling question is: who really benefits from this aid?

In addition, the rise of knowledge economy further facilitates the North's global talent war particularly in the STEM field (Marsh & Oyelere, 2018, p. 218). Recruitment of Southern STEM talent has skyrocketed, ranging from recruitment of graduate students to professionals. For students and professionals from the Global South, emigrating to the Global North is viewed as a "promising avenue for education, income and professional advancement" (Marsh & Oyelere, 2018, p. 209). These talents eventually become a valuable workforce of the Global North's triple helix – of its industries, research institutes and universities (Marsh & Oyelere, 2018, p. 209). However, Altbach et al. (2009) warns that this talent war influences the brain drain such that "the concentration of talent in the developed world contributes to international academic inequality" (p. 8).

Though brain drain lingers within international scholarship discourse, certain studies also show that many alumni have been returning home (Aguirre International 2004; Martel & Bhandari 2016; Marsh et al., 2016 as cited in Baxter, 2018). Selected researches have expanded the discourse towards impact of return home and brain circulation. Evaluation

studies (whether grey or academic literature) are seen having the preoccupation on repatriation, exploring scholars' contribution is a common research inquiry concerning international scholarship. The discourse of 'return' is very central to discussion of scholarship impact. However, Marsh and Oyelere (2018) pointed that physical return of scholarship recipients do not necessarily translate to impact. Studies such as Baxter (2014), Cannon (2000) and Lerh (2008) enumerated various issues and dilemmas of return migration. These studies showed that students who return home also gain disadvantages concerning their international education such as encountering professional or career disadvantages. Underemployment is considered as one of the evidences of this 'brain waste' (Cannon, 2000).

On the other hand, academic studies such as Campbell (2019) explored the nuance of 'returning home'. In her study, she interviewed scholarship alumni from Georgia and Moldova and found how their home government policies influenced recipients' decision to return and shape their post-scholarship pathways. In her research, Campbell (2019) used Schutz's theory of social phenomenology to construct how recipients make sense of their decision and explore how "critical moments" influence recipients' pathway. While aid agencies are fixated in the discourse of 'repatriation', scholars such as Campbell were able to elaborate how national contexts and critical political moments are vital in understanding post-scholarship decisions of recipients. With this, scholars are proposing more nuances in approaching the dominant discourse of "return" when discussing about international scholarships. Similarly, Marsh et al. (2016) explained that some scholarship recipients even choose "strategic delayed return" particularly in countries that have political instability (p. 63).

But although the brain drain/brain waste perspective has been a common argument against international scholarships, there are new proposals of looking at this phenomenon in a different light such as brain circulation. According to Marsh and Oyelere (2018), brain circulation even becomes a source of innovation and productivity for developing countries as

the alumni bring their new knowledge, skills and network.[17] Those who remain deeply connected with their countries of origin could still contribute to economic development or social change beyond providing remittances. Marsh and Oyelere (2018) suggested two concrete ways of how brain circulation among scholarship recipients could occur: *diaspora engagement and transnational entrepreneur*. Diaspora engagement includes building collaborations between host and home countries - an example of which are transnational scientific collaborations. On the other hand, brain circulation could also be done through people who are able to live and work in various countries as "transnational entrepreneurs" and connect with one's own. These new possibilities of brain circulation present a challenge for host and home countries to respond strategically. In summary, while there are many studies linking international scholarships with brain drain and global talent war, there are also emerging studies particularly during post-2015 that attempt to go beyond the usual brain drain discourse and instead explore the possibilities of brain circulation and further understanding nuances of returning home.

> ***Paradox 2: International Scholarship as Donors' Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Strategy.*** As discussed earlier in this chapter, various scholarship programmes have different objectives. Interestingly, Gosling (2008a) and Boeren (2012) proposed another way of classifying international scholarships into two agendas: development agenda and diplomatic agenda. According to Boeren (2018), one way to distinguish which agenda the international scholarship program operates is to trace the "prime source of funding" (p. 45). The funding source determines the selection of recipients and the theme of the particular scholarship programme. For instance, development scholarships are funded through development cooperation budgets and are being offered to a limited scope of developing countries. On the other hand, diplomatic scholarships are

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[17] An example of brain circulation is the case of "Asian Tigers" which includes Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore. It is said that after many years of brain drain, their talents have returned home (Marsh & Oyelere, 2018). It is said that the real brain gain from return is when the home country is able to "absorb and utilize talent, including social mobility that opens up opportunities for management and leadership…[because if they are] "faced with difficult home environments, talented individuals will continue to seek opportunities to emigrate and respond positively to recruitment from other countries" (p. 227).

funded by Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Comparing these two programmes, there is a donor preference for diplomatic scholarships because success is easier to capture than with development scholarships (Boeren, 2018, p.55). Scholarship programs under diplomatic agenda are considered powerful forms of 'soft diplomacy' (Dassin, 2017).

To further understand the diplomatic agenda, Nye (2008) introduced the concepts of public diplomacy and soft power. According to Nye (2008, p. 95), public diplomacy is a non-traditional way of indirectly influencing governments. Instead of communicating with the government directly, public diplomacy approaches communicate directly with the people. On the other hand, the concept of soft power is said to influence through attraction rather than force (Nye, 2008, p. 94). With this, international scholarships in higher education are deemed as apt channels of public diplomacy and exercise donors' soft power due to a number of reasons. First, higher education has an advantage in exercising soft power because it already has an existing program strategy. There is no need to create new programs or reinvent its mission because existing educational or research-related activities already suffice. Second, higher education can influence critical phases of students' intellectual and social development (Kirkland, 2014; Yamada, 2014, p.34). Third, donors can create long-term relationships with key individuals through these scholarship programs. With this, it has been a long practice among aid agencies to maintain ties with their scholarship alumni, particularly through alumni networks. Boeren (2018) reiterated how keeping ties with scholarship alumni is done by agencies such as DAAD:

> Alumni form a rich network of opportunities for establishing contacts in the country where they reside and some countries have a long and strong history of maintaining ties with alumni. Germany is a case in point: for many years, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) has implemented a focused strategy to keep in touch with the alumni who studied in Germany (p. 46)

Similar to DAAD, various aid agencies actively connect with their alumni and one common activity is facilitating evaluation studies in order to maintain contacts. Enfield (2019, cf Mawer, 2018) found that most evaluation studies report that scholarship alumni as having general positive attitudes towards their host countries. Some examples Enfield compiled (2019) illustrate the positive approval: Chinese Government Scholarship Programme (90%),

German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) scholarships (96%), UK Chevening

Scholarships Programme (88%) (p. 2).

These positive relationships between alumni and host country are approached as a

form of soft power to potentially influence government policies (Nye, 2008, p. 101-102).

When alumni were asked for ways of fostering relationships, Chinese government

scholarship alumni are said to 'likely promote long-term friendship between China and home

country' (Dong & Chapman, 2008, p. 165) while some German scholarship alumni reported

to more likely work for a German organization back in their home country (DAAD, 2013 as

cited in Mawer, 2018).

Interestingly, donors are upfront about their exercise of soft power when referring to

international scholarships in their official documents. Balfour (2016) observed that UK was

vocal about the relationship of scholarships and soft power: "there is no doubt that the

British government sees the projection of 'soft power' as one of the objectives of any

scholarship programme" (p.6). Other researches and policy documents concerning

international scholarships are also overtly referring to 'soft power' as a driver for the aid.

This soft power diplomacy in foreign policy can be observed with regards to Australia

(Abimbola et al., 2016; Lowe, 2015), Canada (Trilokerkar, 2010), China (King, 2013a;

Metzgar, 2016), UK (The Association of Commonwealth Universities, 2013; House of Lords,

2014), EU (Sheng-Kai, 2015) and Sweden (Åkerlund, 2014). In a research by Kent (2018),

she particularly provided a concrete example of how Australia used scholarships for its

national interest as public diplomacy. She highlighted the case of its diplomatic bargaining

for a temporary seat at the UN Security Council:

> The scholarships themselves form the basis of diplomatic 'bargaining'; Australia's
> temporary seat at the United Nations Security Council was in part secured by a rapid
> and short-lived expansion of the Australia Awards into Latin America and Africa. A
> significantly smaller Australia Awards Africa program still exists, but the Latin
> American Awards program was cut almost as soon as Australia took its seat at the
> Security Council. Previous research has concluded that because scholarships have
> been used by the Australian government in this manner, the Australia Awards fit
> more neatly into the realms of diplomacy rather than development (p. 27-28).

This example highlighted by Kent (2018) shows soft power in action and illustrates the

complexity of international scholarships, that even the seemingly "altruistic, interest-free" scholarships such as development scholarships could be self-interested in building networks and exercising soft power (Boeren, 2018, p. 45-46).

This paradox shows that seemingly altruistic foreign aid such as international scholarships could also be used as a tool for diplomacy and soft power (Watson, 2014, p. 76). However, when discussing about foreign aid and soft power, the general approach in discussing it remains a one-way power. Although it is critiqued that donor's motivations in investing in scholarship is self-interested (such as building a network that will help donor countries attain their goals serving a policy influence), another missed angle to investigate soft power is to look at the complexity and nuance of "soft power". For instance, investigating soft power from the Southern recipient perspective, one can ask: "how do scholarship recipients respond to this soft power? Are there any resistances to this soft power? How do they utilize or negotiate soft power on their own terms?" These questions give space to the recipient agency to deal and negotiate with regards to donor's soft power and find more nuance and complexity in the discourse. Thus, the recipient agency on soft power is a promising field to explore.

Paradox 3: International Scholarship as Donor's Cash Cow and Internationalization of Higher Education Strategy. Yamada (2014) claimed that one of the motivations of scholarship aid is economic-driven. A concrete example is how international scholarships become a source of income generation or revenue for higher education institutions within the donor country. To explore this more in-depth, the case of Australian scholarships and its relationship with domestic higher education institutions is a good example as many scholars have debated about this topic. Scholarship in Australia is critiqued that it is more about "budgetary strategy" rather than "cultural and learning strategy" (Welch, 2011, p. 33) as Australian higher education is regarded as one of the major export industries. According to Kent (2018), the Australia Awards take a large proportion of Australia's ODA budget with AUD360 million for the 2015–16 financial year.

Negin (2014a) points out that Australian Universities acquire substantial income from scholarship aid: "The biggest beneficiaries of scholarship programs are Australian universities who capture substantial portions of the aid funding in the form of fees. Universities welcome a good number of aid scholarship recipients each year, paying full international student fees. An additional component of their scholarships go to property renters" (p. 18). Negin (2014a) estimates that a scholarship program costs "more than 100,000 USD for two years of Masters level study plus living allowances" (Negin, 2014a; para 10). Thus, this shows that operating Australian scholarships incur high costs.[18] It requires a large manpower to handle scholarship programmes within donor countries' universities.

With this, Negin (2014c) proposed some strategies to curb this costing concern, one of which is to negotiate with universities concerning the fees and second to make cost lesser, aid agencies could consider alternative modes of program such as "innovation delivery models – in-country delivery with Australian content (MOOC) and get degree from Australia...spend few weeks in Australia to enhance the experience." Negin (2010) further argued that direct support to educational institutions in developing countries is even more impactful than scholarships since scholarships are paid to donor country's higher education institutions for private education of individual students.

But as a paradox, not only international scholarships are said to have become cash cows, but it has become a ready strategy to increase international student population in the donor country and internationalize universities. Donors have acknowledged the important role of international students to "enrich the academic life of all students" within the host country (UNESCO, 2005, p. 192-193), where scholarship recipients directly impact the academic environment of host universities (Medica, 2011; Yamada, 2014). With the evident advantages of having international students in donor countries, donors have consistently

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[18] Negin (2014a) provided some insight on the amount of work behind managing scholarship programmes as he wrote: "DFAT staff and managing contractors have had to engage with government departments in more than 40 countries, sift through more than 7,000 applications, organise applicant interviews, and then arrange travel, visas and logistics for about 700 successful applicants. An early iteration of the managing contractor human resources plan for African scholarships had 59 team members."

aligned scholarship aid with their own internationalization policies. Examples of aligning international scholarships with internationalization strategies are Asian donors Japan and Korea (Yamada, 2014). In the case of Japan, there have already been efforts to increase the number of international students since the 1980s. According to Tsuruta (2003 as cited in UNESCO, 2005), the number of international students "jumped from 10,000 to 100,000 in the beginning of the 21st century" (p.192-193). In 2010, a new agenda called "New Growth Strategy – Blueprint for Revitalizing Japan" further reiterated the importance of international students by setting a new target of having 300,000 international students by 2020. This internationalization strategy was believed to "help in enriching Japanese academic environment" (Setoguchi, 2011 as cited in Yamada, 2014), and providing government scholarships are instrumental in achieving this set goal. Interestingly, despite Japan decreasing its ODA budget by 33% from 2001-2010, Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) still allocated 65% of the budget to scholarship programs (Yamada, 2014).

On the other hand, as in the case of Korea, the Study Korea Project (SKP) was launched as a national initiative for internationalization in 2005. Korea was still not regarded as a popular study abroad destination in the early 2000s. The South Korean government utilized scholarships and active publicity as main strategies to attract more international students (KEDI, 2006, p. 140). Korea initiated its "Vision 2020" with the goal of attracting 200,000 international students by year 2020. Global Korea Scholarship (GKS), reported as part of Korea's educational aid, effortlessly aligns with Study Korea Project's Vision 2020 to attract international students. To date, GKS has expanded its scholarship recipients not only to undergraduate and graduate students but also include exchange students to study in Korea. With Study Korea Project's Vision 2020, Korea successfully increased the number of international students from 12,314 in 2003 to 89,537 in 2011 and 160,165 in 2019 (MEST, 2010; MEST, 2011 as cited by Wang, 2012; So, 2020). Overall, Korea has offered a total of 6,556 scholarships to 148 countries since 1967 (Study in Korea, n.d.). In summary, this paradox concerning cash cow and internationalization illustrates how donor

countries directly and immediately benefit from international scholarships particularly for their international education industry, particularly those universities that host scholarship recipients.

2.2.3. Post-2015 SDG4b as Incongruent Global Target

During the previous global agenda, MDG excluded higher education and had a narrow target on primary education (Dassin, 2017; Roberts & Ajai-Ajagbe, 2013). However, SDG4 as the new global education goal is deemed to have a more inclusive approach. The decision of including higher education in the final SDG agenda was significantly different compared to MDG, where it retained the previous EFA focus on primary education and expanded to secondary education, TVET and higher education (Dassin, 2017). The document *Incheon Declaration* first explained the inclusion of international scholarships as global target SDG4b. The inspiration behind SDG4b is said to be based from the 'Istanbul Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the Decade 2011-2020 (Balfour, 2016). UNESCO GEM (2016) explained the background to the SDG inclusion as follows:

> Scholarship programmes are a means of providing higher education opportunities for suitably prepared youth and adults from developing countries who would otherwise not be able to afford them. Target 4b reflects one of the commitments of the Istanbul Programme of Action for the Least Developed countries for the Decade 2011-2020, which pledged to continue providing, and encourage as appropriate, higher education institutions to allocate, places scholarships for students and trainees from least developed countries, in particular in the fields of science, technology, business management and economics (United Nations, 2011 as cited by UNESCO 2016, p. 320)

As international scholarship became officially part of SDG, the lingering question is that should it really be part of the new global development goal? Prior to becoming SDG4b, scholarship aid was already on hot waters during pre-2015's aid effectiveness agenda. That is why when scholarship aid became part of SDG in 2015, it came as a surprise to many (Antoninis, 2018; Bengtsson & Barakat, 2016; Campbell and Mawer, 2019; UNESCO GEM, 2015). Scholars have problematized SDG4b, and in this section, I will elaborate on two issues.

Issue 1: SDG4b is deemed as inconsistent with the overall SDG. SDG4b
came as a surprise to many in the international development field (Antoninis, 2018;
Bengtsson & Barakat, 2016; Campbell & Mawer, 2019; UNESCO GEM, 2015). SDG4b was
deemed as "unusual" (Antoninis, 2018), "incongruent" (Campbell & Mawer, 2019) and even
a "threat for the SDG agenda as a whole" (Bengtsson & Barakat, 2016). Including
scholarship as Target SDG4b was regarded as seemingly "sending mixed messages"
(Campbell & Mawer, 2019). Since scholarship aid is usually accessible to "elites", it is viewed
as inconsistent with the envisioned universality of SDG as a whole. Campbell and Mawer
(2018) contended that since there is no unified definition of scholarship yet, pulling all
international scholarship programs into one category as "SDG4b" misses the point of it
being part of development agenda. Similarly, Kirkland (2018) echoed this sentiment: SDG4b
is viewed problematic because it does not sift scholarships based on their objectives: "Not all
international scholarships have international development as their main purpose. A
controversial aspect of the new Sustainable Development Goal target is that it does not
discriminate according to why an award is being offered. Some countries offer scholarships
with the intention of attracting skilled labor from developing countries, rather than building
capacity there" (p. 152). Thus, rolling all into SDG4b "aggregates a series of public policy
programmes with very different strategies and methods" (Kirkland, 2018, p. 170).

Another issue raised concerning SDG4 is the way SDG4b statement was worded. The
statement excludes various scholarship initiatives from non-traditional donors such as
donors involved in South-South cooperation (developing countries providing scholarships to
other developing countries) as well as private foundations that largely and actively provide a
significant portion of scholarships (Balfour, 2016). With this, Dassin (2017) sees SDG4b as a
"missed opportunity to link scholarships to the broad goals of addressing poverty" because it
fails to reach the hard to reach especially those who are "the poorest, most isolated and
marginalized population" (para 1). For instance, USD 2.8 billion was allotted to scholarships
and imputed student costs in 2014 but only USD 386 million were provided to least
developed countries and small-island developing states (UNESCO, 2016, p. 318).

Intriguingly, despite having the target deadline of 2020 for SDG4b, Campbell and Mawer (2018) noticed that there has not been any "substantial expansion" and only having "little critical analysis of Target 4b since its adoption in September 2015" (p. 168). With these various problematic aspects of SDG4b, Rose and Zubairi (2016) proposed that international scholarships as SDG4b must be scrapped. UNESCO (2015) also suggests that the traditional way of conducting scholarship may already be "out of date" as there exists new options such as online platforms (ie. MOOCs, e-learning) (p. 291) and start re-inventing the way international scholarship is done.

Issue 2: SDG4b has lack of baseline data for monitoring. One huge change in post-2015 is the data management on international scholarships as development aid. Previously, it became mandatory for donors to report aid volume in 2012, but as it moved to become SDG4b, this official data began to expand more. Aside from measuring aid volume as official data and officially reporting the aid allocation to OECD DAC, monitoring the number of scholarship recipients was also proposed for monitoring. However, another biggest obstacle of SDG4b is its lack of baseline data, consequently making it difficult for monitoring and evaluation (UNESCO, 2015, 2016). Currently, there is a significant data gap concerning national origin and socio-demographic data of recipients. According to UNESCO (2016), "There is no single source of information on scholarship number, let alone on recipients' nationality or fields of study." (p. 318). Many scholarship providers interestingly do not have scholarship data in general (or if yes, they are not collecting data regularly) because it has not been a standard practice to collect and monitor this particular type of data before. But despite the SDG's accountability agenda emphasizing monitoring, there is still "no comprehensive database of scholarships for reporting" in 2020, five years after SDG4b was launched (UNESCO GEM, 2020, p. 294).

With this particular struggle in monitoring, Bhandari and Yaya (2017) offered some solutions as they explored the best institutional practices of five government programs concerning data collection and management systems. Scholarship programme administrators were surveyed and interviewed regarding their institutional practices on

scholarship measurement and monitoring, and they found that one of the challenges hindering data monitoring is the lack of human resource managing the data.[19] As a solution to these data issues, some programmes offered proposal concerning data management – that is to utilize technology as part of their monitoring system. Moreover, UNESCO (2017/18) recommends building a community of practice among scholarship providers to address the lack of data and human resource. As a response to this call, US-based Scholarship Program Research Network (SPRN) was created and one of its running projects is collating a bibliography of international and national scholarship research (Campbell & Neff, 2020).

2.3. The Need for Alternative Critique: Dismantling Politics of Knowledge within International Scholarship Research

This chapter presented an overview of the research landscape and elaborated on the existing studies and common critical perspectives on international scholarship as development aid. In this review of literature, it can be observed that the critique on international scholarship as development aid remains focused on scholarship aid policy and scholarship program/practice. Despite all the heated and lingering debates and critiques over the years, it kept me wondering why does international scholarship still remain a resilient aid?

2.3.1. Challenging the Normativity of the Research Field

Upon reviewing the literature produced across pre-2015 and post-2015, there remains normativity within the research literature. The scope of research topic is evidently limited. For instance, traditional donors still do not have wide research coverage within the literature. Among traditional donors, literature on Australia is the most prolific, but top donors such as France, Germany and Japan have very limited coverage within the academic

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[19] There are other factors that pose challenges to data collection and monitoring too. For instance, countries such as UK have data privacy law that limits data sharing, posing a barrier for monitoring.

literature. Despite being constantly highlighted and critiqued within pre-2015 UNESCO EFA GMR, there are only few academic studies featuring top donors within the research field: studies such as Kim (2014) who examined Germany and France, Yamada (2014) examined Japan and Korea, and some brief articles on Germany (Jung, 2011; Wagenfeld, 2011), France (Sanyal, 2011; Kingombe, 2011) and Japan (Okitsu, 2011). However, I admit that this scarcity of researches about top donors of international scholarships could also be due to my linguistic limitations as a researcher because studies on these specific donors may not be published in English, and not accessible to English-based databases.

On the other hand, China – an emerging donor has relatively more academic literature coverage than other traditional donors of scholarship aid. This shift of focus towards China is because of its rapidly growing South-South cooperation with Africa (Sino-Africa cooperation) since 2008.[20] Studies focusing on Sino-Africa were increasing over the years: Tanzania in Makundi et al. (2017), Uganda and Mozambique in Amazan et al. (2016), Kenya, Uganda and Mozambique in Abimbola et al. (2016), Cameroon in Nordtveit (2011) and a book on elaborating scholarships as China's soft power to Africa (King, 2013a). Moreover, normativity is also observed within the critical perspectives. It revolves around effectiveness such as critiques of brain drain, soft power and cash cow. Although these current critical perspectives on international scholarships are already challenging and insightful, there remains a big space to explore more alternative approaches in examining international scholarships. Thus, my motivation for this dissertation is to examine beyond the policy and program - by focusing my critique on international scholarship research itself.

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[20] One of the thematic developments in Accra was its commitment to foster inclusive partnerships such as South-South cooperation (OECD, 2008). From 2008 onwards, emerging donors such as China pursued a growing practice of international scholarship initiatives particularly in Africa (UNESCO, 2012), and similarly, researches focused on China-Africa scholarship programs were also evidently increasing.

2.3.2. Putting International Scholarship Research under Postcolonial Lens

As Tuhiwai Smith (1999) boldly points out, research is never neutral. This dissertation then seeks to approach the research field of international scholarship as a site of asymmetrical power relations – in particular under postcolonial lens. Problematizing international scholarship research field using postcolonial perspectives could offer additional layers and depth to the current critique because it can become an avenue to create epistemic spaces for new kinds of international scholarship researches to emerge. I wish to focus my attention to international scholarship research itself and uncover the politics of knowledge and disrupt the status quo. I wish to introduce new questions to the research field such as *how do we know what we know about international scholarships? Who says what about international scholarships? What is not said about international scholarships? What are the alternative ways of discussing international scholarships?* Answering these questions could uncover new ways of understanding and contribute to initiatives on rethinking international scholarship research as well as re-imagining its practice. The next chapter on theoretical background will expound more on the postcolonial perspectives and detail how the forms of dominance, marginalization and resistance are approached and examined under postcolonial lens.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter, I introduce some key postcolonial concepts that are relevant in investigating how colonial legacies limited the research field of international scholarship as development aid. This assemblage of concepts will provide guidance in uncovering the colonial knowledge production by examining the dominant research paradigm (ontology, epistemology and axiology) underlying within the research field. In this chapter, I first contextualize the postcolonial politics within international development field. Here, I cover the onto-epistemological dimensions of the power relations within international development. Second, I will discuss how dominant Northern epistemologis shapes knowledge production and how alternative epistemologies may disrupt the research field. Third, I will describe how voice and representation within literature offers a glimpse of what is valued within the research field and illustrate unequal research subjectivities. Lastly, these key concepts are weaved together in a conceptual framework on how to uncover the colonial research paradigm within international scholarship research and how to gear towards rethinking and disrupting international scholarship research through alternative research paradigm.

3.1. International Scholarship as Development Aid under Postcolonial Lens

Postcolonial Theory is an interdisciplinary theoretical approach that uncovers the hidden power relations brought about by colonialism (Burney, 2012; Loomba, 2005; McEwan, 2009; Young, 2003). The theory links the colonial past to the postcolonial present by putting attention to its colonial legacies, and seeks to dismantle the appearance of equality, benevolence, hidden practices and reproduction of domination (Hickling-Hudson et al., 2004; McEwan, 2009). A critical legacy of colonialism in our society today is how the Eurocentric view of the world becomes the global norm (Burney, 2012; McEwan, 2009;

Young, 2003). The impacts of colonialism are not only relevant to those formerly colonized, but it is pervasive to the whole world. However, the aim of postcolonial critique goes beyond revealing the politics of knowledge. It actively seeks to resist inequalities and work towards a more equitable society through various ways (Burney, 2012). It advocates justice by reorienting perspectives, decentering the powerful and opening epistemological spaces for those marginalized. Prakash (1994) described that the task of postcolonial criticism is to conduct "a radical rethinking of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism and Western domination" (p.1475).

3.1.1. Western Vision of Development and Hierarchical Ontologies

One of the continuing colonial projects is the field of 'international development'. Esteva (1992) described the common view of development as: "Always implies a favorable change, a step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better...indicates that one is doing well because one is advancing in the sense of a necessary, ineluctable, universal law and toward a desirable goal" (p. 10). The concept of development is naturally linked to notions of growth, progress and modernization (Bhambra, 2014; Ziai, 2013, 2017).

However, postcolonial theory introduced skepticism to these normative assumptions of development and enables us to view development as a colonial discourse (Zein-Elabdin, 2011). It challenges to view development in a different light: development as a legacy of colonialism where Eurocentric knowledge dominates and exercising authority over the world (Omar, 2012, p. 49). Viewing international development under postcolonial lens uncovers how colonial ontology (ways of being) is reified. Over the years, various hierarchies have become naturalized within these colonial spaces. Constructed binary classifications such as developed/developing (underdeveloped), North/South, rational/irrational, traditional/modern, "rich/poor countries" have become part of our modern everyday lives. These perceived differences have become justification for the mission to assist certain countries to transition into becoming modern and developed (Higgott, 1980 as cited by

Saffari, 2016). Ziai (2009) problematized this developed/underdeveloped dichotomy because "it implicitly clings to the assumptions of the superiority of Western societies and reproduces power relations between 'developed' and 'less developed' regions or individuals, even in well-meaning development projects aiming at poverty reduction" (p. 1).

The idea of "underdevelopment" was critiqued to be the US way to have power over Africa, Asia and Latin America, especially in the context of the Cold War (Ziai, 2017). With this, development became this powerful strategy to encourage countries to follow the US political model and resist the spread of communism. With the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union, the US emerged as the sole global power and pushed its modernizing agenda to diffuse globally. Under the mission of development, the Western regime of power/knowledge was reinforced and shaped the way people think, see and live in the world. Thus, today, the common schema of "progress" is linked with Western modernity: to become an industrialized society with capitalist economy, democratic system and the power of scientific knowledge to achieve progress. And since this kind of development is viewed as a common good, it has become a universal aspiration embraced worldwide and a prescriptive view of what the world should be (Ziai, 2015).

3.1.2. Knowledge Hierarchy within International Scholarships

Today, international scholarship is regarded as a mainstream, staple development aid under the banner of technical cooperation. Since it is perceived that those in the Global North had a head start with development, the Global North has taken the responsibility to educate the South to 'catch up'. International scholarship becomes this channel of aid catch up as technical expertise is passed down through education. With this, Yamada (2014) and Baxter (2018) critiqued that international scholarships reinforce the imbalance of power/knowledge between the Global North and South. This deep dependence on the tutelage of Northern expert knowledge further naturalizes the unequal North-South relationship and maintains the knowledge hierarchy. This relationship is aptly described as a "prescribed emulation of industrial North as sole remedy to the backwardness of the South"

(Abdenur, 2002, p. 59) and "infantization of the Third World" (Escobar, 1995, p. 30). The Global South is further internalized as incompetent and in constant need of external Northern expertise through development aid (Carmen, 1996). Baxter (2018) compared the contemporary international scholarship to the colonial efforts of developing local elites during the colonial times:

> The outward mobility of students from the Global South continues to privilege institutions in the Global North and reinforces their position as centers of knowledge production and innovation in ways that are problematic. The student mobility patterns between countries in the Global South and higher education institutions in the Global North continue to resemble those forged through colonial efforts to develop a local elite and cultivate support for their interests by sending students to study at leading institutions in Europe and the USA (Baxter, 2018, p. 121).

The colonial legacy is not only about extraction or exploitation of lands and resources but of the conquest of minds. International scholarship creates long-term intellectual dependency and dominance and as Yamada (2014) ponders "may weaken an intellectual autonomy of recipient countries in periphery that reinforces the effect of dependency between donors and recipients" (p. 43). The next section then offers a brief overview of historical genealogy of international scholarships and its long history of conquering minds. This genealogy provides an overview of the intergenerational intellectual dependency across time: from 19th century colonial scholarships to development scholarships in the 21st century.

Colonial Scholarships as Imperial Strategy (Late 19th- early 20th Century): Institutionalized scholarship programs were created by imperial powers as part their 'civilizing mission' in the late 19th century and early 20th century (Dassin & Navarrete, 2018a; Perna et al., 2014; Tournes & Scott-Smith, 2018). The colonial scholarship programs were instrumental in training the elites of the colonies (Dassin & Navarrete, 2018a). Students were offered to study diverse fields ranging from natural sciences to military training (Tournes & Scott-Smith, 2018). Some examples of established and large-scale colonial scholarships were US-funded Pensionado Program (Orosa, 2007) and British-funded Rhodes scholarships (Pietsch, 2011).[21] For instance, colonial scholarship programs

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[21] As for Britain, a wide-range of scholarships was also established from 1860s to the beginning of the 20th century (Tournes & Scott-Smith, 2018). One of the West's oldest and most influential colonial

like Rhodes mobilized an "empire of scholars" as these scholarships attracted the best colonial students. In fact, this period was described as the "movement of the intellectual talent from imperial periphery to the center" which highly contributed to the modernization of British university system (Tournes & Scott-Smith, 2018, p.11; cf Creed, et.al, 2012, p.3). These scholars became local agents who help foster "invisible ties of the empire" (Pietsch, 2011).

On the other hand, Pensionado Program (1903-1943) was the largest US colonial scholarship program in the 20th century. Students from colonized Philippines were sent for a four-year higher education in the US with the expectation for them to work in the government after they return (Orosa, 2007). One of the "lofty rationales" of this scholarship program was for the students to study in America "to acquire a thorough knowledge of Western civilization" (Orosa, 2007, p. 4). These colonial scholarships such as Pensionado Program and Rhodes Scholarships became a favorable imperialist strategy among the colonies as an instrument for "colonization of the mind" (Altbach, 1971). Colonial powers provided scholarships to educate local elites to become Western-oriented. Studying overseas meant, "stressed humanistic studies, fluency in the language of the metropolitan country, and the skills necessary for secondary positions in the bureaucracy" (Altbach, 1971, p. 453). This illustrates how international scholarships were instrumental in building the "intellectual energy" within the colonies, where the Westernized elites become complicit in strengthening the colonial powers' influence by diffusing Western ideologies back to the colonies (Altbach, 1971, p. 455).

Post-War Scholarships as Western Rebuilding (Mid 20th Century).

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scholarships still existing today is the Rhodes Scholarships (Dassin & Navarrete, 2018; Pietsch & Chou, 2017). Rhodes Scholarships is a British colonial scholarship program established in 1901 by its founder British businessman Cecil Rhodes. This scholarship was initially only offered to high achieving male students from principal/settler colonies like Australia, New Zealand, Jamaica, Bermuda, Canada, among others to study at University of Oxford (Pietsch, 2011, p. 278; Pietsch & Chou, 2017, p. 34; Rathgeber, 2011). Rhodes was "to instill into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the Unity of the Empire and effect the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world" (Pietsch, 2011, p. 273). Aside from Rhodes in Britain, a number of American international scholarship programs were also formed during the colonial era. Some of these programs were founded by US foundation such as Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, etc. during the 1920s (Tournes & Scott-Smith, 2018).

Although international scholarship program dates back to colonial times, most of the long-standing scholarship programs today were created during the post-war 1940's to 1950's (Kent, 2018; Mondino, 2011; Purdey, 2014; Tournès & Scott-Smith, 2018). At the end of World War II in 1945, the world was left in a devastating state, making poverty a global issue. During this post-war era, development assistance became the new strategy towards global power through the form of investments, technical assistance and aid (McKay, 2004).[22] The previous success of the US Marshall Plan to rebuild post-war Europe influenced an augmented collective sense of responsibility among former colonial powers to assist the world out of "underdevelopment".

Two years after the Marshall Plan, President Truman launched The Point Four Program to rebuild and assist underdeveloped countries towards modernization through aid and technical assistance (Saffari, 2016; Truman, 1949). In the inaugural speech of US President Truman (1949), he campaigned that "underdeveloped" countries were in need of the Western assistance and emphasized the central role of Western technical knowledge (with the US as the model) to realize a better life. A common initiative launched to rebuild and address the widespread poverty was through international scholarship programs (Selvaratnam, 1985). Interestingly, although colonized countries in Asia and Africa gained independence from their colonizers, the new governments greatly relied on the external expertise of the former colonizers (Auletta, 2000; Führer, 1996). Scholarship programs maintained colonial entanglements through providing technical assistance in nation-building fields such as public administration, health and agriculture (Auletta, 2000; Dassin, Marsh & Mawer, 2018a). Two examples of post-WWII scholarship programmes are The Colombo Plan (1950-1980s)[23] and Fulbright Program (1946- present).[24]

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[22] The assumed origin of "international development" is attributed to the post-WWII Marshall Plan launched by the US in 1949. Marshall Plan served as a post-war European rebuilding project and its success increased the sense of responsibility to assist to other 'poorer countries' (Führer, 1996, p.1).
[23] In 1950, seven Commonwealth countries met at Colombo, Ceylon and agreed to cooperate to provide foreign aid and technical assistance for the development of Asia and the Pacific (Blackton, 1951, p. 27; Collins, 2012). One of the main components of The Colombo Plan was the Technical Cooperation Scheme, which include providing thousands of scholarships to "smart young minds from the under-developed and developing countries...[which] played a huge role in nurturing the human resources and capabilities of the recipient nations" (Blackton, 1951; Sundram, Harben & Gill, 2014,

These international scholarship programs were also crucial in soliciting support among the governments during the Cold War (Kingsbury, 2012). Both camps during the Cold War extensively used scholarship programs to promote and persuade their political models (Tsvetkova, 2008 as cited in Dassin, Marsh & Mawer, 2018a, p. 11) or what they call "Cold War Diplomacy" (Lancaster, 2007). Perna et al. (2014) pointed out that "highly developed democratic countries used international scholarship programs to counteract the ideological influence of the Communist Block in the Third World countries" (p. 63) such as the US. Because there was a looming fear that communism would spread due to widespread poverty, scholarship initiatives allowed to promote non-communist solutions to poverty alleviation. Scholarship programs like The Fulbright Program served as a public diplomacy tool (Kramer, 2009). With this context, overseas Western education had become instrumental in teaching how to modernize and propagate capitalist ideology to different parts of the world. Modernization became a seemingly 'apolitical' strategy to diffuse Western influence, where large-scale, post-war scholarship programs had served as a channel of ideological diffusion (Atkinson, 2010).

Development Scholarships as Official Development Assistance (Mid 20th – present 21st Century). The 1960s was an active decade in establishing various 'development norms'. The development era became more solidified as OECD DAC officially adopted the 'gold standard' of foreign aid through the Official Development Assistance (ODA) in 1969 (OECD, 2019). International scholarship became one of the common types of ODA in education (OECD, 2018; Tilak, 1998, p. 320-321). King (2011) aptly summarized as to why scholarship became central to the aid process:

> Scholarships seem to be at the heart of the bilateral aid process. This, at its most basic, assumes a capacity deficit, which can be made good by transfer of technology from richer to poorer nations. This is the treasure-house of technical knowledge, which President Truman in his Inaugural of January 1949 asserted the USA could

p.36). Although most Asian countries did not face much devastation compared to Europe after the war, these countries were deemed as "underdeveloped". The Colombo Plan then became an ambitious large-scale assistance in human capital development after WWII.
[24] Fulbright Program was established in 1946 and scholarships were provided to students from Asia and Western Europe to develop a greater understanding of the USA (Kent, 2018). The pioneering year had 84 participants from China, Philippines, Burma and New Zealand (Bettie, 2014). Fulbright Program remains one of the longest-running international scholarships globally until this day.

provide to help relieve the suffering of more than half of the world's population living in conditions approaching misery (p. 11).

Today, international scholarship as development aid is widely embraced as key element of technical assistance and this practice has diffused across time and space. Over the years, scholarship providers have expanded from merely traditional donor governments such as the US, UK to more diverse scholarship providers which includes private organizations (such as Ford Foundation) as well as emerging countries like China and India (Dassin, 2017; Dassin, Marsh & Mawer, 2018a, p. 11; King, 2013; Varghese, 2008). It gained a "prominent role in economic development and poverty reduction efforts" within the international development landscape (Dassin, Marsh & Mawer, 2018a, p. 11) and has now become part of the global agenda to achieve sustainable development.

As a summary of genealogy of international scholarships, Figure 3.1. illustrates how international scholarship is a channel of an intergenerational intellectual dependency: how colonial ontology (ie. hierarchical dichotomy) has been reified over the course of history and how the Eurocentric knowledge system maintained hegemony to this very day. Viewing Figure 3.1, it seems impossible to un-think beyond the dichotomized categorization of colonizer/colonized, developed and developing, or North and South when pondering about international scholarships. This normalization of intergenerational intellectual dependency must be challenged and resisted as this perpetuates internalized inequalities.

Figure 3.1.

International Scholarship and Intergenerational Intellectual Dependency
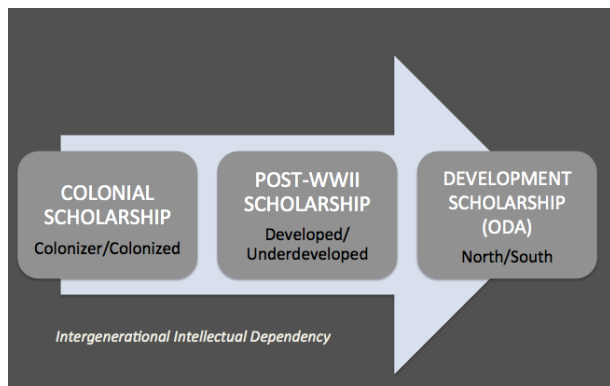
2.1.3. Rethinking Development towards "Otherwise"

With the postcolonial movement's aim to challenge the status quo, post-development scholar-activists share the critique on the universal Western vision of development and to radically re-imagine the future (Escobar, 1995; 2001). Today, the notion of development is based on Western economic theory, where countries are expected to progress linearly through stages: transitioning from "traditional" and developing into modern and industrialized societies (Rostow, 1971a; Rostow, 1971b). However, to radically rethink social transformation, the post-development movement seeks for alternatives from this linear progress by welcoming "Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise" (Escobar, 2007). For post-development scholars, it is not seeking for an alternative development but it is finding alternatives to development. Thus, to rethink is to imagine and aspire beyond the Western vision of development, beyond the colonial ontology and hierarchy of knowledge. Escobar (2012) proposed that to think beyond hierarchy and dualism is to welcome pluralistic relationality (relational ontology) where it is believed that "life is inter-relation and inter-dependency through and through, always and from the beginning" (p. 32).

3.2. Epistemologies in Knowledge Production

After setting the ontological context of international scholarship as development aid, I will further elaborate on the postcolonial concepts relevant in examining epistemic forms of domination, marginalization and resistance within international scholarship research. These concepts show how scholars and researchers are influenced by certain epistemologies (way of knowing) shaping their practices of knowledge production. Concepts such as Northern and Southern Theory, epistemologies of North and South, Academic dependency and Captive mind would offer perspectives on the politics of knowledge and how to resist epistemic domination.

3.2.1. Connell's Northern and Southern Theory

Connell (2007) proposed that the social theories commonly used to understand the world are mainly produced in the Global North. Scholars/theorists are mainly "from the rich

capital-exporting countries of Europe and North America or the global metropole" (Connell, 2007, vii). In particular, these theories were created "by men, by capitalists, by educated and affluent" (Connell, 2007, vii). Since theories are based on specific, myopic experience of metropole countries, the "theoretical strategies, conceptions of time and history, models of agency, ideas of modernity and other central features of their theorizing" (which are commonly deemed universal) are actually Northern-centric (p. 237). In examining the dominant theorizing from the North, Connell (2006, p. 237) described four characteristics of what she calls Northernness of General Social Theory:

- *Claim of Universality:* Theories have a strong universal assumption that "all societies are knowable, and that they are knowable in the same way and from the same point of view" (p. 258). This assumed universality is done through objectivism.

- *Reading from the Center:* Northern researchers mainly reference "metropolitan theoretical literature" and this is regarded as universal language in understanding the world (p. 259). With this, the world is seen through the eyes of the metropole. For instance, the starting point of understanding the world is the individual who "pursues their own interests, they make calculations about costs and benefits, they bargain with others, give up rights or receive rights, engage in purposive action towards a goal. In short, they behave like entrepreneurs in a market – all the time" (p. 240) Under Northern Theory, individuals are viewed as transactional and approached as rational who has control over resources they need. Consequently, the view of the world remains largely having individualist assumptions and with "a universal, abstracted account of human development" (p. 245)

- *Gesture of Exclusion:* For Connell, "the theorist's reading list is always an interesting document. Who is not on the reading list is as interesting as who is" (p. 260). As theorizing is focused on the experiences of metropole, and one can observe that the quotes, discussions and debates within the field are mainly based on metropole texts. Theorists from the colonized world are rarely cited or even excluded from being referenced (such as with the works of Fanon, Islamic thought, among others)

because these theories beyond the metropole are deemed irrelevant to the mainstream theoretical dialogue.

- *Grand Erasure:* As theorizing is based from the experiences of the metropole, there is grand erasure of wide range of experiences beyond the metropole. For instance, "erasure of the colonial experience and social process" often goes largely unnoticed (p. 261). Colonial war and imperialism are some missing experiences in theorizing.

These four points show how Northern scholars have the privilege to theorize and mainstream their thoughts and experiences, while neglecting to account experiences and knowledge from the colonies in the South. Commonly, the South is approached as a data mine (that is for data gathering and application), but the North is where theory building resides (Connell, 2007, ix). However, relying on alone Northern Theory offers an incomplete interpretation of data and limits our understanding of the social world only from the perspective of the colonial metropoles. Thus, consciousness concerning politics of knowledge is needed. While some parts of the world viewed colonization as a "civilizing mission, evolution or transformation", some parts of the world experienced it as a "catastrophe" (Connell, 2006, p. 260). With this, there is a need for scholars to understand the oppressions that colonization has brought into existence such as racism, capitalist, patriarchy.

As the hegemony of the Northern theory limits the way of understanding the world, Connell (2007) then proposed to look South. The concept of South here is not about geography, economic positioning or states (Connell, 2007; Klor, 2017). But rather, it concerns relations of "authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony, partnership, sponsorship, appropriation – between intellectuals and institutions in the metropole and those in the world periphery" (Connell, 2007, ix). In Connell's (2007) book, *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science,* she democratized the social science field by creating a space for diverse Southern theorists from indigenous people, Latin America, Africa, Island and other postcolonial societies. She illustrated how the South is not a single, unified knowledge system but it consists of a wide range of social thoughts from colonized and postcolonial societies. Southern Theory is breaking away from the norm

that "the South is known but never knower" (Connell, 2007; Khoo, 2013, para 4), and urges "to learn from, not just about" the South. Southern Theory then can be used "to develop new knowledge projects and new ways of learning with globally expanded resources" (p. Connell, 2013, p. 210).

3.2.2. Alatas' Academic Dependency and Captive Mind

Similar to Connell's (2007) assertion of the dominance of Northern theorizing, Syed Farid Alatas (2003) observed that the nature and flow of social scientific knowledge is under monopolistic influence of US and UK. There is a normative acceptance of the intellectual superiority among Northern/Western scholars within the global academic knowledge production (Alatas, 2003; Altbach, 1986). Alatas (2003) calls this as academic dependency, where dependence of ideas from the West is regarded as the most important dimension of dependency. This intellectual dependency even deepens as those from the Global South continue to become consumers of knowledge, instead of becoming producers and disseminators of knowledge (Altbach, 1986).

When the scholars from the South conduct research, they are largely dependent on the standards of Northern institutions and ideas. This intellectual dependency is encompassing throughout the research process: from setting research agendas, problem-setting, conceptualization, research methodology, analysis, interpretation and explanation (Alatas, 2003, p. 603). Scholars all over the world are conditioned to follow the hegemonic research norms because they are regarded as the perceived excellent standards within the academe. Research curriculum around the world have Euro-centric orientation and perspectives (ie. theories, concepts, models, methods). This Euro-centric research norm has had "totalizing influence" within the global knowledge production where there is only one way of seeing and understanding the world.

This academic dependency is also common within the development research field (Alatas, 1972; Weiler, 2009). While institutions and scholars from the Global North set the theoretical agenda and methodological standards (Weiler, 2009), scholars in the Global South

mostly conduct empirical research work which follows the Northern agenda, theoretical perspectives and methods. Thus, Southern theoretical and conceptual contribution is deemed as minimal (Saffari, 2016). Since a number of Southern scholars have been educated overseas, there is a parochial attitude in knowledge production. It has become natural for scholars around the world to use certain general concepts such as "modern, achievement, goals, planning and so forth" (Alatas, 2004, p. 695). These concepts are largely unchallenged and have become mainstream in the body of scholarly literature. However, this illustrates also the lack in theoretical and conceptual creativity within the research field and the difficulty in inventing original theories and new conceptual vocabularies.

Alatas (1972, 2004) calls this psychological dimension of academic dependency as the captive mind. Captive mind is domination of one people by another in their world of thinking (Alatas, 2000). It creates "an inability to be creative and raise original problems, the inability to devise original analytical methods" (Alatas, 1993, p. 308). With this, the role of Westernized universities in becoming a breeding ground for "dysfunctional generation of graduates" is critiqued (Alatas, 2004, p. 694). For instance, many Southern scholars were educated overseas have become complicit in academic dependency, unchallenging the perceived superiority of Western knowledge as well as sustaining the ideology of development. Alatas (1972) described that "by the time he returns to his own country, he has usually completely accepted the prevailing conventional wisdom which he proceeds to transmit to succeeding generations of students" (p.11).

Similarly, Peet and Hartwick (2015) echoed Alatas concerning the captive mind as they state: "Third World intellectuals, trained in Western knowledge, have come to speak the colonizer's language and to stress the colonizer's history and experience over their own…The Third World is made dependent on the First World for knowledge…about itself" (p. 213). These captive-minded scholars have limited knowledge repertoire because they have become disconnected from many schools of thoughts such as folk traditions as well as dissenting culture due to colonialism (de Sousa Santos & Meneses, 2019). They rarely go beyond the European lens to make sense of the world. Moreover, Alatas (2004) also warns concerning the

pervasiveness of this captive mind: that even those who "vehemently opposed to colonialism" may also be under a captive mind (p. 692). As the captive mind is a state of intellectual bondage, scholars may be unconscious about their own captivity.

3.2.3. De Sousa Santos' Epistemologies of the North/South

Similar to Connell and Alatas, De Sousa Santos (2015) sees social science research as part of the problem but taking the critique further. For him, what is needed is a paradigmatic transition with broader socio-political and epistemological possibilities because our modern problem cannot be solved by our business-as-usual modern solutions. For Santos, colonization created an abyssal line that divides the Northern and Southern epistemologies. The dominance of Northern epistemology have invisibilized various forms of knowledges on the other side of the abyssal line. However, those on the other side of the abyssal line (silenced and invisibilized knowledges) make up a larger experience of the world. Thus, the aim of Epistemologies of the South is to "enlarge the field of credible experiences in this world" (de Sousa Santos 2015, p. 197). In exploring this, he distinguished the Epistemologies of the North and Epistemologies of the South.

Epistemologies of the North and Epistemicide. According to Santos (2015), modern domination is not merely concerned with the political and economic dimensions but it is a Eurocentric civilizational paradigm (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 28). This Eurocentric paradigm is constituted by an internally diverse body of hegemonic knowledges or what he calls as the epistemologies of the North. With the dominance of epistemologies of the North, a "massive waste of social experience or epistemicide" has occurred (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 238). Epistemologies of the North have a myopic focus on a monocultural way of knowing the world. The following are some aspects of how monocultural logic dominates the modern Euro-centric world and have silenced other forms of knowledges. He calls this "sociology of absences" which have five logic of non-existence:

First, *Monoculture of knowledge and the rigor of knowledge:* Modern science is perceived as the only valid and legitimate way of understanding the world. Other

knowledges are approached as non-existent as they are considered traditional or backward.

Second, *Monoculture of linear time*: The dominant idea of time is linear: progress, revolution, modernization, development and globalization and this is ignoring other notions of time where different cultures and societies have different temporalities such as circular time. Third, *Monoculture of the naturalization of differences:* Hierarchies such as racial and sexual classifications have become naturalized within the population. However, these categorizations further reify domination and inferiorization. Fourth, *Monoculture of logic of the dominant scale:* The norm is to become universal and global, regardless of the context. Universality becomes the rule which takes over other social realities. Fifth, *Monoculture of the capitalist logic of productivity*: Modern life puts high value on productivity and efficiency, while there is no space for matters of non-productivity. With the dominance of capitalist logic, it is believed that "capitalist economic growth is an unquestionably rational objective" (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 174). With this, Santos calls for an epistemic break away from these monoculture logic, and advocates for alternative thinking of alternatives such as learning from the anti-imperial South, not from the imperial South (Santos, 1995, p. 479-520).

   Epistemologies of the South and Ecologies of Knowledge. De Sousa Santos (2015) proposed Epistemologies of the South as alternative to the Eurocentric epistemological monopoly and to engage excluded and invisibilized knowledges.[25] For De Sousa Santos (2015), Epistemologies of the South acknowledges that "the understanding of the world by far exceeds the West's understanding of the world." (p. 164). It validates those knowledges born in struggles developed by social movements or groups: unveiling and resisting systemic oppression such as colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy to overcome and minimize suffering (De Sousa Santos, 2016, p. 18-19). The South here is an anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist South (De Sousa Santos, 2016, p. 19), opening space the diversity of excluded knowledges that were wiped out. This includes discriminated

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[25] However, it is to note that Epistemologies of the South are not the symmetrical opposite of epistemologies of the North. It is not an opposition towards a single valid knowledge by another single valid knowledge.

knowledges such as indigenous epistemologies, as well as knowledges of "the dark world of passions, intuitions, feelings, emotions, affections, beliefs, faiths, values, myths, and the world of the unsayable, which cannot be communicated save indirectly" (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 5).

Epistemologies of the South not only expresses the silenced/subaltern epistemologies, but it celebrates the ecologies of knowledge or the inexhausible knowledge in the world. First, ecologies of knowledge is opposed to hierarchies of knowledges. The "universal and abstract cognitive power" is not superior than other knowledges (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 208). It is gearing away from viewing modern science as a monopolistic, superior knowledge and embracing it as part of the ecology of knowledges because no knowledge form in the world could capture the inexhaustible experiences in the world. Ecologies of knowledge values relations and conversations among knowledges. For instance, modern science is then approached as partial, situated and incomplete knowledge and celebrates dialogue of rationalist epistemologies with other forms of knowledge.

This shows that ecologies of knowledges pursue intercultural dialogue and translation among different knowledges and practices - includes conversations among South-centric and North-centric, popular and scientific, religious and secular, female and male, urban and rural, and so forth" (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 42). This depicts that ecologies of knowledges are not limited to privileged knowledges but invites "polyphonic and prismatic epistemologies."[26] With ecologies of knowledge, scholars are invited to dive into the vast "repertoire of models, models, means and ends of social transformation" that has been excluded by the dominant knowledge system (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 46). Scholars are encouraged to keep a distance with European theories of emancipation but to explore emancipatory transformations beyond the "grammar and script" of Western-centric critical theory (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. viii) and instead, use imagination and social experimentation. This is not only imagining new ways of theorizing but to create more new

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[26] Polyphonic includes those which explanations become complex as "different knowledges have autonomous developments, different ways of producing and communicating knowledge". On the other hand, prismatic means that the "relation among knowledges changes according to the kind of social practices in which they intervene" (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 208).

forms of collective action - welcoming alternative ontologies that have been excluded by dominant ways of knowing and being (such as different cosmologies which includes spirituality/belief of sacredness).

3.3. Postcolonial Politics of Voice and Representation in Literature

Since postcolonial theory has its early connections to literary criticism, problematizing language is a common approach to postcolonial critique. This includes examining the "material" or the "text". These texts (such as researches, reports and other publications) are subject to social structures and norms, thus, analyzing literature related to international scholarship would help uncover the underlying power/knowledge inequalities and its ideological bias (Dant, 1999; Loomba, 2005). Examining texts is what literary scholar Edward Said did with his work Orientalism (1978).[27] In Orientalism, Said uncovered power inequalities behind knowledge production as he analyzed diverse texts (such as scholarly works, novels, memoirs, travel books/diaries, and other literary works). Across these various types of knowledge production, he found that the East was systematically represented in certain tropes and representations such as irrational, uncivilized or exotic – or what Said coined as "Orientalism". Said claimed that Western institutions regulate the knowledge production about the East. In particular, Western experts, scholars and intellectuals (such as geographers, historians, anthropologists) produced the body of knowledge that supports colonizers' interest. These knowledge producers were instrumental in shaping the ontological and epistemological distinction between the East and West, playing a major role in constructing the dominant representation of the Orient (Said, 1978, p. 2).

This Western scholarship legitimized colonization and made certain representations naturalized and authoritative, while marginalizing other voices and perspectives.[28] This

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[27] Edward Said is regarded as the founder of Postcolonial Studies, and his theoretical work Orientalism serves as the founding text of the field or referred to as a 'principal catalyst and reference point' for Postcolonial Studies (Gandhi, 1998, p.23).e

[28] Said theorized that these myopic representations are based on the idea that the West or Occident is superior and enlightened while the East or Orient is inferior, uncivilized and is in need of the guidance of the West. This binary representation of the East and West then justified colonial domination of the

shows that examining textual representations and voice matters in research literature because this is a way for hegemony to produce a body of knowledge, which shapes the view of reality, define people's subject positions and shape their agency. With this, I will expound on three key postcolonial concepts of "Other", "Subaltern Voice" and "Re-presentation" to address the politics of voice and representation that would be relevant in examining the literature of international scholarships as development aid.

3.3.1. "Other" as Hegemonic Perspectives and Voices

"Other" is a key postcolonial concept about how representation is framed by the colonizer. This representation is based from the experts on behalf of the postcolonial subjects, and not from the postcolonial subjects themselves. It implies that the postcolonial subject's subjectivity is dependent on the imperial Western gaze (Ashcroft et al., 2006; Burney, 2012). Instead of representing themselves, they are objectified as "Other" (Burney, 2012, p. 174). This process of Othering stabilizes the superiority of the colonizer and the inferiority of the colonized. Hegemonic representations (such as the binary distinction of traditional/modern, superior/inferior) are sustained through the circulation and consumption of these kinds of texts. In Orientalism, Said (1978) explained how representation was unified across the corpus of texts he analyzed:

> I set out to examine not only scholarly works but also works of literature, political tracts, journalistic texts, travel books, religious and philological studies...the unity of the large ensemble of texts is due in part to the fact that they frequently refer to each other: Orientalism is afterall a system for citing works and authors (p. 31)

The practice of narrow referencing or citation within the research literature becomes a channel for sustaining colonial discourse and hegemonic representations (Burney, 2012). This narrow referencing excludes certain discourses that are not beneficial to the colonial powers. For instance, marginalized discourses that are pertaining to inequality and exploitation are usually excluded (Ashcroft et al., 1998, p. 37-38). With the exclusion of these

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West, and legitimized authority over the East. It is said that Said's main contribution to postcolonial studies through Orientalism is the introduction of 'colonial discourse'. Colonial discourse links the concept of discourse and the hierarchical colonial relations of the East and West (Ashcroft et al., 1998).

negative discourses, it further projects a positive light into the colonizers' identity and maintains the domination.

3.3.2. Subaltern Voice as Silenced Perspectives and Voices

While Said problematized representation from the hegemony's point of view, another leading postcolonial scholar problematized the plight of the subaltern. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) is widely known for her influential essay, "Can the Subaltern[29] Speak?" In her famous essay, Spivak was concerned about the subaltern's subject position because they are mostly the subject of the statements but not its immediate author (Peet & Hartwick, 2015, p. 210).[30] Briggs and Sharp (2004) echoed how the subalterns are caught in the realm of translation so that their voices are not heard – they described it as "the subaltern must always be caught in translation, never truly expressing herself, but always interpreted" (p. 664). Rather than speaking for themselves, subalterns are being spoken for, interpreted and translated by the hegemonic power. Thus, the experts may research and write about the subaltern's experiences but one must take note that they are not from the subaltern's point of view (Sharp, 2000). Burney (2012) described this kind of representation as being "robbed":

> The postcolonial subject is robbed of the word, speech and voice...Colonialism inflicted violence on the postcolonial subject's psyche by legitimizing colonizers' hegemonic, biased knowledge of the postcolonial subject...Colonial experiences have adversely affected the subaltern subject or a person who has been marginalized and silenced through the dynamics of imperialism, oppression and power...there is no luxury of voices, use to tell their stories, write themselves into the script of history - neglect to represent themselves (p. 52)

The postcolonial subject is not able to represent one's own interests as 'authentic subjects' (Ziai, 2015). Spivak (1988) calls this silencing as epistemic violence – "a remotely orchestrated, far flung, and heteronous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other" (p.

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[29] Subaltern is a concept from Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci that pertains to those subjugated to the hegemonic power, and are underrepresented in the society

[30] Spivak (1988) explained subaltern voice in the context of how the practice of 'sati' was used to justify the 'civilized-barbaric' binary between the British and India, and legitimized the civilizing mission of the British. With this example, she problematized the agency of the subaltern to speak and represent oneself

280). There is no self-representation: these silenced or excluded voices undermine their agency.

3.3.3. Re-presentation and Writing Back as Resistance

However, resistance entails reclaiming ownership of one's agency and this can be done through re-presentation. Burney (2012) aptly explains re-presentation as:

> Re-presentation is a mode of resistance for the subaltern. It is a form of power that disenfranchised voices can deploy to construct knowledge about themselves, to retrieve, reclaim and reassert their lost identities and re-do the narratives of their lives. Being able to re-present the Other from one's point of view is a form of resistance: Oriental becomes the subject of his own re-presentation, not the object as seen through the Western gaze.

In order for the subaltern to resist the hegemony and re-present oneself, postcolonial scholars such as Ashcroft et al. (1989) recommend the strategy of writing back to the empire. "Writing back" resists colonial discourse by challenging its assumptions and creating counter-discourse using new narratives and new paradigms. Resistance entails to decenter the hegemony and its ideologies by creating an epistemological space for more diverse agents to form new language and new norms that challenge the dominant discourse. Through re-writing strategies, marginalized voices are able to tell lost and untold stories that were neglected due to colonial domination. Spivak also asserts the responsibility of the intellectuals in resistance. An example of subaltern resistance or "writing back" is Ranajit Guha's Subaltern Studies Collective and their work concerning Indian historiography (Guha, 1997; Prakash, 1994; Chakrabarty, 2000). This group of South Asian scholars challenged the official history, which is largely from the perspective of the bourgeoisie and opened a space for the silenced voices to be out along with the mainstream history. However, Spivak cautions that resistance is not merely providing counter-narratives to expose power. Authentic resistance is striving to work against subalternity itself. She reasons that resistance to hegemony is difficult because the language of resistance also take shares through the dominant discourse. Thus, what is needed is for the expert status of the West to be stripped down (hooks, 1990; Sharp, 2008). To resist the expert status, an example of

resistance is going beyond the subjective-objective dichotomy (Alatas, 2008) and moving towards a shift into "inter-subjective" which values care and relationships over objective indifference (De Sousa Santos, 2018).

3.4. Conceptual Framework

One way to rethink international scholarship research is to understand how colonial legacies influenced international scholarship research. To examine the postcolonial politics within the international scholarship research field, I created a conceptual framework for this study (see Figure 3.2). This framework is organized to conceptualize knowledge production through research paradigms. Paradigms have distinct, interdependent and interrelated philosophical assumptions such as ontology (What is the nature of social reality?), epistemology (How is social reality known? What is the nature of knowledge and its relationship with the knower or researcher?), axiology (What is valued in the research?) and methodology (How is knowledge discovered and examined?) (Creswell, 2014; Crotty, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln et al., 2011). For this dissertation, I created a conceptual framework of "colonial research paradigm" and "alternative research paradigm" to distinguish the nature of knowledge production that would guide on how to problematize and rethink the international scholarship research field. The frameworks have main elements relevant in examining and rethinking international scholarship research: ontological dimension, epistemological dimension, axiological and methodological dimension. These dimensions were based on the postcolonial concepts discussed earlier.

ONTOLOGY: From Colonial Ontology to "Otherwise". Western vision of development has naturalized various hierarchies within the context of international scholarship. Internalized subjectivities such as North-South donor-recipient subjectivity is expected to shape international scholarship research. However, rethinking involves going beyond these constructed hierarchies and explore Otherwise (ie. alternative ontologies such as relational ontology).

EPISTEMOLOGY: From Northern Epistemologies to Ecologies of Knowledges. As theorized by Alatas (2003), Connell (2007) and Santos (2014), international scholarship research is expected to be under the hegemonic lens of Northern epistemologies. Research would be dominated by Northern theorizing and exhibiting academic dependency, while Southern epistemologies are overlooked, silenced or unheard. However, rethinking taps into the vast knowledges of Southern epistemologies, which is part of the greater ecologies of knowledges.

AXIOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY: From Othering to Re-presenting and Dialoguing: As international scholarship research is under the Northern gaze (Other), where the Global South is objectified and spoken for. There is expected subject-object dichotomy for Global North and South (Alatas, 2008). With this unequal relationship, certain hegemonic representations of international scholarships are expected to be reproduced, while there are marginalized voices and certain counter-discourses that are excluded. The Northern dominance in knowledge production influences what is valued within the research field and how the research is conducted. However, rethinking involves the Global South re-presenting in the research as well as dialoging with the Global North as equals.

ACADEMIC DEPENDENCY AS BARRIER TO OTHERWISE: Uncovering the dominant colonial research paradigm within the international scholarship research field is crucial to rethinking. However, academic dependency (Alatas, 2004) creates a barrier to open a way for the research field of international scholarships to go beyond the colonial research paradigm. As shown in Figure 3.2, academic dependency blocks working towards Otherwise.

Figure 3.2.

Conceptual Framework

ONTOLOGY
(Social Reality)

**COLONIAL
PARADIGM**

Colonial Ontology
(Hierarchy)

**Northern
Epistemology**
(Northern Theory)

Other
(Subject-Object
Dichotomy)

METHODOLOGY
AND AXIOLOGY
(Relationship and Value)

EPISTEMOLOGY
(Nature of Knowledge)
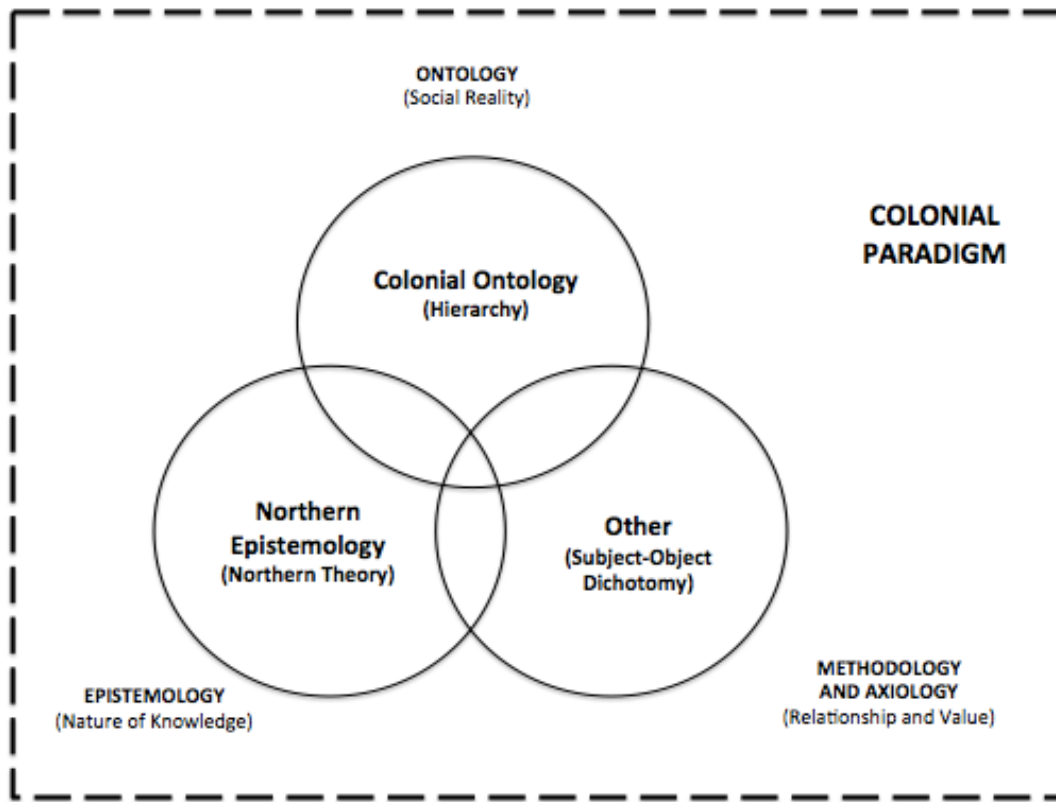
_____[Academic Dependency as barrier]_____

{O T H E R W I S E}

ONTOLOGY
(Social Reality)

**ALTERNATIVE
PARADIGM**

Alternative Ontologies
(Relational)

**Ecologies of
Knowledge**
(Epistemologies of
the South)

**Re-presenting
& Dialoguing**
(Inter-
subjectivity)

METHODOLOGY
AND AXIOLOGY
(Relationship and Value)

EPISTEMOLOGY
(Nature of Knowledge)
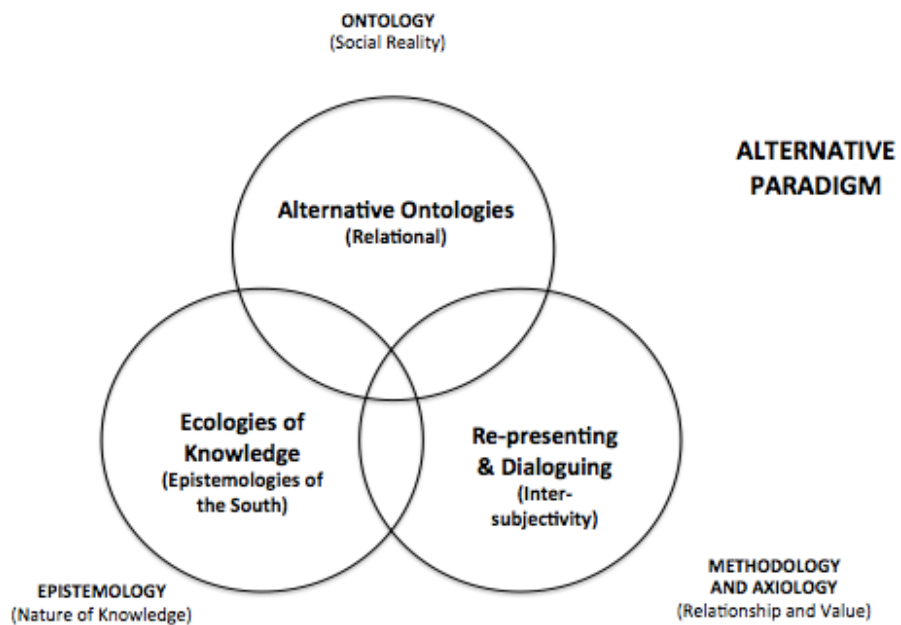
CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter expounds on the methodologies used in this dissertation. First, Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis (PCDA) is a methodology that enables researchers like me to examine complex relationships of language, power and social inequality via international scholarship research literature. In this chapter, I detail the process of data collection, data analysis and addressing issues on CDA through a discussion on trustworthiness, transparency and reflexivity. This chapter ends by introducing storytelling as indigenous methodology and a Filipino storytelling approach called Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative) through which I offer my researcher theoretical/methodological reflexivity. Through Sarilaysay, I connect my own researcher experience to the wider critical inquiry about international scholarship research. This conversation between Western and Indigenous methodology provides a more holistic picture of the politics of knowledge within international scholarship research and provides insights on how to further rethink the research field.

4.1. Methodological Approach

4.1.1. Critical Research Paradigm

Generally, there are five major Western research paradigms: positivism, postpositivism, interpretivism, critical and pragmatic. Currently, pragmatism is the predominant research paradigm in the evaluation of international scholarships as development aid (Mawer, 2014a). The main question that a pragmatic research paradigm tries to answer is "does international scholarship work?" The main aim of pragmatic researches is to figure out practical and the most appropriate solutions to issues and apply it to real-world practice (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2002). Pragmatism predominantly uses mixed methods for practical reasons, where using both quantitative and qualitative methods

allows more holistic and plural understanding of the research problem than using an approach alone (Creswell, 2014). In the case of researching international scholarships as development aid, program and project-level evaluation studies are common within the literature (Mawer, 2014a). Using survey questionnaires as well as interviews and case studies are commonly used to know whether international scholarships effectively work (Dassin, 2017; Mawer, 2014a). A quintessential example of mixed methods is the Alumni Tracer Studies (ATS) where scholarship recipients are asked to participate in answering questionnaires and/or be interviewed.

However, the chosen approach of this dissertation seeks to explore beyond the dominant pragmatic paradigm in evaluating international scholarships. In this dissertation, I hope to contribute an alternative approach initially using critical research paradigm. If pragmatism and other paradigms aim to describe, predict or interpret certain social phenomenon, critical paradigm seeks to uncover and critique. Ontologically, critical paradigm views that external factors such as socio-historical structures construct our social reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Mertens, 2008). Critical paradigm helps to reveal hidden patterns of power, dominance and oppression that are easily overlooked.

Moreover, critical paradigm is also called as the "transformative paradigm" (Mertens, 2007) or "transformative worldview" (Creswell, 2014) for a reason: it does not only aim to uncover and critique inequality but it advocates the process of transformation (Crotty, 1998). This means that critical researchers seek change beyond creating awareness of inequalities but to propose tangible ways towards social change (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2014; Mertens, 2010). With this background, I chose critical paradigm to examine international scholarships because it is a paradigm that explicitly challenges the status quo, could help uncover hidden forms of power imbalance especially in the knowledge production and pave ways on how to rethink and re-imagine international scholarship research.

4.1.2. Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis as Methodology

In order to closely uncover hidden patterns of power, dominance and oppression, this dissertation used Critical Discourse Analysis as methodology, particularly, Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis (Sabido, 2016). One of the advantages of using CDA as research methodology is its flexibility (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010) because it enables to "translate theoretical assumptions into instruments of analysis" (Martinez, 2007, p. 127). With this, Ruth Sanz Sabido (2016) proposed a methodology framework combining Postcolonial Theory and CDA, as both engage with dismantling power and revealing inequalities through texts. According to Sabido (2016), if postcolonial theory explains the hidden power relations embedded within the discourse, CDA provides a concrete strategy to investigate it linguistically (p. 69). In the next section, let me give some background on CDA first and then followed by an explanation of postcolonial approach to CDA.

Features of Critical Discourse Analysis. CDA is an interdisciplinary and problem-oriented type of discourse analysis that deals with social issues (Van Dijk, 1993; 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The major difference of CDA among other textual analysis is that it does not aim to describe the text and its linguistic features such as syntax and semantics but CDA critiques a social practice by examining texts and its context. It focuses on the complex relationship of language, power and society. Instead of approaching language as mere abstract words, CDA as a methodology gives attention to the use of language - seeing how language is shaped by a particular historical, social and political context.[31] CDA exposes the connection of language, power, society and the ideological assumptions by "essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 747; Fairclough, 2001; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In order to uncover implicit power relations and ideological themes, CDA examines "naturalization" or the natural use of language (Fairclough, 1995, p. 54). Naturalization is how language becomes

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[31] Two prominent scholars of CDA Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.271-280) concisely summarized the eight main tenets of CDA as follows: 1.) Critical Discourse Analysis addresses social problems. 2.) Power relations are discursive. 3.) Discourse constitutes society and culture. 4.) Discourse does ideological work. 5.) Discourse is historical. 5.) The link between text and society is mediated. 7.) Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. 8.) Discourse is a form of social action

neutral, common sense, taken-for-granted, and other unchallenged assumptions that

conceal reality (Fairclough, 2001; Sabido, 2016; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2001). A major aim

of CDA is then to denaturalize the hegemony's dominant discourses and uncover hidden

power structures that limit what other people can think and do (Janks, 1997; Van Dijk, 1993;

Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

  The 'Postcolonial' in Postcolonial CDA. As explained earlier, CDA ties the

relationship of text and context to uncover hegemony. It is an approach that explores how

power influences text production, and how texts also maintain and reproduce power. In this

dissertation, Postcolonial Theory becomes the "macro-context" of CDA, where postcolonial

perspective would provide a historical and a theoretical context to the analysis of the

literature (Sabido, 2016). This approach ties colonial history as vital socio-political context

that shape the (re)production of dominant discourse. As an example of this particular CDA

approach, Sabido's (2016) work 'Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the British Press" (2016)

contextualized her CDA application to postcolonial perspective as she analyzed how British

national newspapers covered the said conflict. She analyzed media representations of the

conflict at four different points during the history of conflict and found how coverage of word

"Palestine" changed over time in British newspapers and then linking her analysis with the

neglected historical/postcolonial connections. Her findings demonstrate how historical

socio-political context of text production shapes discourse and representations. The

advantage of linking postcolonial theory to CDA provided Sabido theoretical insights

concerning power relations. Aside from Sabido (2016), other Southern scholars also have

used CDA with postcolonial lens in their works such as Maposa (2015). Maposa (2015), on

the other hand, utilized CDA for history textbook analysis of South African history textbooks.

He used postcolonialism as the theoretical framework to analyze the construction of African

consciousness. His rationale for using CDA was to "analyse the apparent, the implied, the

hidden, and the missing in curricula and textbooks" (p. 60). In Maposa's research, one of the

things he focused on is the role of 'silence'. He reflected in his work that "without noticing

the omission of islands from the meaning of Africa or the silences on South Africa, it would

have been difficult to understand the exceptionalism that is promoted in the textbooks" (p. 71). Inspired by Sabido's newspaper analysis and Maposa's textbook analysis, I deem that using postcolonial approach to CDA in examining international scholarship research could also bring forth fresh perspectives and spark new questions in the research field as I uncover various forms of naturalization within texts. In order to use PCDA as a methodological framework, Sabido (2016) proposed the following steps for using PCDA. Please note that a more contextualized and detailed explanation in relation to analysis international scholarship research will be discussed within the analysis section of this chapter. This section only serves as an overview of step 3, 4 and 5, but will focus first on step 1 and 2:

   Step 1: Formulation of an Appropriate Historical and Postcolonial Theoretical Framework. In this step, researchers are expected to become knowledgeable concerning the postcolonial/historical context of the chosen topic to be analyzed. Since my theoretical perspective is Postcolonial Theory, I elaborated this in Chapter 3 (Theoretical Background). Postcolonial Theory will serve as the macro-context of the discourse. In this step, I established the relationships between the text, discourse and postcolonial context, where I answered the following questions: *What are the historical and social contexts relevant to the texts on international scholarship?* The premise of this research is that postcolonial politics of international scholarship as development aid establishes the nature of power relations relevant and reflected within the text under analysis. As explained in Chapter 3, international scholarship became institutionalized within the international development landscape, and is accepted as a global norm in our contemporary world.

   Step 2: Collection of Relevant Data and Historical Contextual Information. This step concerns about setting criteria to select relevant data. This could be selection of specific periods of time relating to important discursive events, selection of specific media and genres, among others. In this step, "critical discourse moments" or specific time periods relating to important discursive events are important factors (Carvalho, 2008). These key moments could be involving "political activity or socially relevant events" (p. 166). In the case of international scholarship research, I limited the data collection from

2000-2020. As elaborated in Chapter 2 Review of Related Literature, Pre-2015 and Post-2015 are crucial due to the specific global development agenda shaping the research field. As I examined the discursive practice surrounding the text (collected data), I get to explore the questions: *What is the production process of the texts concerning international scholarships?* This step establishes how these development agendas and institutions influence the general position of the researches concerning international scholarship.

Step 3: Specification of Research Assumptions and Preparation of Data. PCDA aims to investigate whether colonial/postcolonial relationships "shape contemporary representations" (Sabido, 2016, p. 40). In order to do that, research assumptions may include not only how postcolonial power relations are "discursively produced, or how they are missing from the narratives. They may [also] consider how and why the choice of lexical items…are used to portray those relations, and how social actors are represented, challenged or simply excluded" (Sabido, 2016, p. 40). Huckin's Textual Strategies of genre, foregrounding, backgrounding and omission (which will be elaborated more in the analysis section of this chapter) would guide the preparation of data analysis.

Step 4: Analysis and Formulation of a Critique in Relation to the Postcolonial-Historical Background. Since CDA is within the 'critical' tradition of examining inequality, this step involves uncovering the ideologies. Findings would be analyzed and explained through the postcolonial lens. The assemblage of postcolonial concepts discussed in Chapter 3 such as Northern and Southern Theory, Academic Dependency, Captive Mind, Epistemologies of the North/South would guide on uncovering ideological assumptions. After the postcolonial analysis, PCDA encourages critiquing one's own findings.

Finally, *Step 5: Application of the Analytical Results.* Aligned to the aims of critical/transformative paradigm, PCDA encourages researchers to actively present the results to the public and raise consciousness concerning inequality/injustice. However, it is to note that while CDA is a promising research methodology, using CDA in any research does not offer exact answers concerning the problem. Instead, it mainly allows researchers to gain

insights on the ideological assumptions and locate the texts in its socio-historical context (Mogashoa, 2014, p. 106). However, this does not limit the strengths of CDA: it is not only a critique of discourse, but it can also serve as an explanatory critique to open new debates and ways of thinking (Fairclough, 2001). Using CDA provides space for researchers to experience that relationship of power and language is not only a form of domination, but be used as resistance to power, such a way that it is instrumental in creating consciousness of injustices and work towards change. And this is what this dissertation hopes to do: by closely examining researches on international scholarship as texts and its context, I wish to help uncover the power imbalance, resist inequality and seek change by encouraging new ways of researching international scholarships as development aid.

4.2. Data Collection and Analysis

This section will explain the process of data collection and data analysis. For the purpose of readability, other pertinent lists that would take up space (such as the list of texts) would be found in the Appendix as indicated. For data collection, this dissertation included both grey literature and academic literature as textual data for critical discourse analysis. But first, what is the difference of grey literature and academic literature? Grey literature includes documents or researches produced by government, academics, NGOs, industry, civil society, among others. It is called "grey" due to its uncertainty concerning its quality of information because this type of literature did not undergo any formal peer-review process to assess its quality. Grey literature includes thesis, dissertations, conference papers and proceedings, working paper, institutional reports, government documents, among others. I decided to include grey literature because prior to the increasing academic literature during post-2015, many academic scholars were actively involved in producing grey literature as development consultants and most researches pre-2015 were in this category. On the other hand, Academic Literature includes academic books and academic journal articles. This type of literature undergoes a lengthy and rigorous peer-review process compared to grey literature.

4.2.1. Data Collection: Process and Limitations

For data collection, both grey literature and academic literature published from January 2000 to October 2020 were included as data. I started the literature search in year 2000 as this marked a milestone in the international development field with the first global development agenda – the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and all the way to 2020, as the deadline for SDG4b (scholarships as means of implementation of SDG4). With this timeframe, this dissertation covered 20-years of knowledge/research production on international scholarships as development aid. Overall, the corpus of data for this dissertation is composed of 167 grey literature, 72 peer-reviewed academic journals and 7 books on international scholarships. The full list of the literature is found in the appendix (see Appendix B). Various types of texts such researches, reports, documents were included as long as they fit the criteria which will be expounded in the next section. I first explain the academic literature collection process, followed by the grey literature collection process.

Academic Literature Collection Process

Academic journals and books were searched through multiple electronic databases. Literature searches were done through four platforms: Web of Science, Google Scholar, ERIC (Education Resources Information Center) and Seoul National University library's collection/databases. The following are the detailed steps with the data collection and selection:

STEP 1: Define the scope of literature on 'international scholarships as development aid' through creating selection criteria. I created a selection criteria list to limit the published works that will serve as data in this dissertation. In order to evaluate which materials are included in the data set, each is evaluated through the following five criteria: Type of international scholarship, sector, recipient, program type and funding. This set of criteria is important to the scope of the study as "international scholarship" or "scholarship" can have a variety of meanings when searched in the database. Table 4.1. is an overview of the criteria used and it is followed by an elaboration of the criteria (Table 4.1.).

Table 4.1

Criteria for Inclusion and Exclusion on Data Collection

Criteria	Included	Excluded
Sector[32]	Higher Education	Primary Education, Secondary Education and others
Type of International Scholarship	International scholarship as development aid – provided by donor countries (OECD) to developing countries (ie. Australia Awards) *Private scholarships such as Ford Foundation's International Fellowships Program and South-South scholarship such as Chinese Gov't Scholarships were also included in this study	Domestic Government-Provided International Scholarships Example: International scholarships provided by local government within developing countries (ie. Kazakhstan's Bolashak Scholarship)
Target Recipient	Students from OECD DAC recipient countries ('Global South')	Students from non-OECD DAC recipient countries Example: International scholarships provided by OECD countries to its own citizens (ie. Fulbright US Student Program for American citizens to study abroad) were excluded
Program Type	Degree Program (undergraduate and graduate) in any field of study	Short-term programs or other non-degree programs, not included unless analyzed with degree program
Funding	Full scholarships	Partial scholarships students shoulder a larger portion of costs

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[32] To be included in the data, the scholarships must be for the purpose of international education. Domestic scholarships are excluded as data. Recipient students must study abroad under a scholarship program with the objective related to 'development' or programs that are reported as part of ODA. International scholarships that are funded by OECD government, major INGOs and foundations focused on development and supranational bodies such as European Union are included in the study. The examples of the scholarships included here are Fulbright Program, Erasmus Mundus, Australia Award/AusAid, among others. Ford Foundation's IFP and other related private scholarships with development objectives are included in the study with distinction (that will be elaborated in the findings section). Scholarships provided by domestic government or universities to study abroad such as King Abdullah Scholarships are also excluded as it is not considered under SDG4b. Likewise, scholarships for students from OECD to go study abroad such as Fulbright American Program are excluded.

STEP 2: Search the Literature Database using Keywords. *Through* online search of academic databases using Web of Science, Google Scholar, ERIC and SNU Library Collection/Database, peer-reviewed journals and books were selected based on the criteria. Sample search keywords used in academic databases are the following: "International scholarship", "international scholarship program", "international development scholarship", "international development scholarship program", "international scholarship aid", "international scholarships for development", "overseas scholarship", "foreign scholarship", "human capital international scholarships". Names of common international scholarship programs were also used as keywords in database search: "Fulbright Program", "Erasmus Mundus", among others. Keywords were used to also search the title, abstract and the article body.

STEP 3: Sift and Select Relevant Articles. To sift the search results, I used the inclusion/exclusion criteria to select the relevant articles. The search initially provided the following articles on different platforms. I searched and sifted through approximately 3,000 articles. The following are some examples of keywords used and relevant articles that came out:

- **Web of Science Core Collection:** 15 relevant articles out of 1,009 articles (search keyword: international development scholarship), 16 relevant articles out of 176 articles (search keyword: international development scholarship program)

- **ERIC:** 16 relevant articles out of total 852 articles (search keyword: international scholarship)

- **Google Scholar:** 23 relevant articles out of first 500 articles (search keyword: international development scholarship program)

- **SNU Collection/Database:** 39 relevant articles out of first 500 articles (search keyword: international development scholarship program)

Among these 3,000 articles, 31 peer-reviewed articles and 6 books were selected as relevant to the research. Common topics of retained researches included program evaluations/impact studies, international scholarships and soft power, among others. After selecting relevant

literature, I also checked the reference list/bibliography of retrieved articles and snowballed new articles on international scholarships based from it. Serendipitously, in October 2020, I also found a newly released journal article of Campbell and Neff (2020)'s *A Systematic Review of International Higher Education Scholarship for Students from the Global South* relevant to my dissertation. With this new and recent resource, I cross-checked my data with Campbell and Neff's (2020) reference list. In addition, Campbell and Neff (2020) also introduced Scholarship Program Research Network (SPRN)'s 24-page collated bibliography on international and national scholarships. The 24-page bibliography list is made available and accessible to the public through the following link http://bit.ly/sprn-bibliography. SPRN is composed of "more than 100 scholars and practitioners who contributed materials to an open source bibliography" (Campbell & Neff, 2020, p. 6). I snowballed certain references from this SPRN list.

Grey Literature Collection Process

First, search engines of the official websites of relevant institutions were used to locate reports and research studies that are related to international scholarships as development aid. This includes official website search among aid agencies (US, Australia, UK, Japan, Germany and France) and international organizations (UNESCO, OECD, World Bank). Policy briefs, evaluation reports such as Alumni Tracer Studies and Meta-Studies concerning international scholarships were found. The full list of grey literature is on Appendix B. As an example, the following documents were included:

- UNESCO Global Monitoring Reports (2005-2019)

- UNESCO GEM Background Papers on SDG4b (2016-2019)

- Other pertinent UNESCO documents and OECD Reports (particularly on statistics of scholarship data)

After retrieval of the documents, snowballing of references was done. For instance, meta-studies on international scholarship evaluation made by Mawer (2014a) and Creed et al. (2012) were valuably helpful in snowballing because they had collated references of various

evaluation studies. Reference list of academic literature (journal articles and books) was also helpful in the grey literature data collection. Again, overall, this dissertation is composed of 167 grey literature, 72 peer-reviewed academic journals and 7 books on international scholarships. The full list of the literature is found in the appendix (see Appendix B). Articles that were not chosen and the reasons why of their exclusion are also found in Appendix B.

Limitations of Data Collection Process

As a researcher, I acknowledge that there are limitations in my data collection process. This dissertation does not aim to be exhaustive and complete literature on international scholarship as development, but rather I seek to take initial steps to explore a wide perspective concerning international scholarship research. With international scholarship as a research subject remains an emerging research field, this dissertation provides a rough and initial breadth and width of the research field and hopefully encourages other future researches to explore the literature further. The following are some limitations I found during data collection process:

English language-medium: The search is limited only to English-medium articles. Journals that are in non-English medium (such as Chinese) are not included due to my linguistic limitations. I acknowledged that studies about international scholarships as development aid using languages other than English would have been a valuable insight to the Southern perspective of international scholarships as development aid. But the focus on English-medium researches already reveals a dimension of the politics of knowledge.

Limited keywords*:* The nature of my keywords may have limited the search scope. Aside from the main search word "international scholarship", I tried different combinations of keywords such as foreign scholarships, international scholarship development, foreign student scholarship, etc. to increase the possibility of not missing any potential data. However, I acknowledge that there is a wide range of terminologies used to pertain to 'international scholarship as development aid'. Moreover, it must be noted that the term 'international scholarship' or 'scholarship' also connotes different meanings in other

research contexts. For instance, the term 'scholarship' can also mean as a "field of study"/"scholarly approach" that are more relevant to other disciplinary fields in academia, thus, increasing the difficulty of the relevant search in academic databases. I, as a researcher must be constantly mindful and careful in reviewing and assessing the literature as not to include irrelevant articles or exclude relevant ones.

Contextual Selection: For all potential data during the literature search, the title and abstract of the study are also evaluated whether it suits the inclusion criteria. The abstract is crucial in the selection process because some articles do not necessarily indicate traces of international scholarships within the title. However, some articles' abstracts specify international scholarship is involved in the context of the research. Thus, mention of the word 'international scholarship or scholarship' in the abstract also prompts me as a researcher to check the context of the word within the study and decide whether it would be included in the dataset. For instance, in the study Maxwell et al.'s (2015), "Becoming and being academic women in Cambodia: Cultural and other understandings", it is mentioned in the abstract that 'international scholarship' was a factor in the result of the study. It states, "Becoming an academic for many Cambodian women meant support from their parents and others close to them. Receipt of an international scholarship may have been critical." I checked the study and the text states that international scholarship was one of the reasons why eight out of 14 Cambodian women in the study decided to become an academic. An example of the international scholarship mentioned was from the Ministry of Education/Government of Japan (Maxwell et al., 2015, p. 7). Thus, this study is chosen to be part of the dataset.

No niche database/journal: Lastly, academic literature on international scholarships is not concentrated on a particular type of journal. This illustrates that academic works on international scholarships are fragmented from each other. Due to its interdisciplinary nature, they are found in varied types of journals: within the fields of education, international studies, history, among others as also observed by Campbell and Neff (2020). This then becomes a limitation as I may have missed some valuable articles in

certain disciplinary journals not included in the databases.

4.2.2. Data Analysis Process

The selected reports and researches on international scholarship served as the corpus of texts to be analyzed using Postcolonial Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (PCDA). The data analysis process is as follows:

Preparation of Data and Textual Analysis. This step primarily is doing a close examination of the texts such as recurrent key words and its textual structure. In this step, the aim is to address the questions: *What are the common key words, vocabulary and themes recurring in texts concerning international scholarships? What are highlighted ones and what are omitted?* To answer this, I examine the common headlines, statements as well as layouts in reports and researches. According to Sabido (2016), this phase could explore not only what is dominant but also what is missing from the narratives. "They [researchers] may consider how and why the choice of lexical items used to portray those relations, how social actors are represented, challenged or simply excluded. While the analysis of actors and events is always crucial in the study of representations, it must be considered that exclusions are equally meaningful and marginalization is a key area of interest for both PT and CDA" (p. 10). To analyze the textual patterns, I specifically utilized another CDA tool - Huckin's textual strategies (1997) to concretize the micro-level analysis. Among the various types of strategies Huckin offered, I only chose to focus on the "text as a whole" strategy – genre, framing, foregrounding, backgrounding and omission for the analysis. These are the explanations for each textual strategy proposed:

First, *Genre.* Genre is approaching the text as a whole. The CDA analyst can determine the genre by observing if a text follows a particular orientation or a "text type". According to Huckin (1997): "Readers don't just pick up a text and start deciphering it word by word. Rather, they usually begin by recognizing that the text belongs to a certain genre (text type) that manifests a characteristic set of formal features serving a characteristic purpose." (p. 81). Genres have particular statements appearing in the texts and serving the

purpose of the text-producer. Genres can also guide the analyst to imagine what is left out – "what could have been said, but was not" (p. 82). Second, *Framing*. Framing concerns perspective about how texts are being presented as a whole. Huckin (1997) explains framing as "how the content of a text is presented, what sort of perspective (angle, slant) the writer is taking. To be coherent, a text cannot simply be a collection of details; rather it must try to pull these details together into some sort of unified whole...One particularly powerful way of framing a text is through the use of visual aids. Analysts should be alert to photographs, sketches, diagrams, formatting devices and other visual embellishments" (p. 82).

Third, *Foregrounding*. Foregrounding is when "the writer emphasizes certain concepts (giving them textual prominence) and de-emphasizing others" (p. 82). Fourth, *Backgrounding*. Backgrounding is when things are placed in the background if they do not support the cause (p. 82). Lastly, *Omission*. Omission is leaving certain relevant things out of the text. These textual silences could be "broad ideological sort" or "tactical" (Huckin, 2002, p. 10). Huckin (1997) explains "omission is often the most potent aspect of textualization, because if the writer does not mention something, it often does not even enter the reader's mind and thus is not subjected to his or her scrutiny. It is difficult to raise questions about something that is not even "there" (p. 82)**.**

Formulation of a Critique in Relation to the Postcolonial-Historical Background. In this step, I further analyze through postcolonial concepts, interpret and draw conclusions by connecting the themes to the broader context using postcolonial theory. After focusing the examination on the textual strategies, I examine the context of the research production and the common research approaches. I ask the questions: *What institutions and actors are involved in the production of these texts? Who are the dominant researchers and research funders? What are the dominant research approaches they use?* These are then investigated using postcolonial concepts such as Connell's Northern and Southern Theory, Alatas' Academic Dependency/Captive Mind and Santos' epistemologies of North/South. Interpreting the data with these postcolonial concepts would provide a glimpse on the extent of how colonial legacies has influenced the research field and in what ways

rethinking could be done. Intriguingly, my initial original plan of postcolonial analysis and critique further expanded after my dissertation defense. During the defense, my panel challenged my postcolonial approach in rethinking international scholarship research and highlighted the limitation of my Postcolonial Theory and CDA approach in disrupting and rethinking international scholarship research. As a result of this discussion, I added in this dissertation a section on meta-critique (critique of my critique). As a researcher, this process reminded me to be self-critical of the results and insights one arrives when researching and embrace how important communal knowledge building is.

Application of the Findings/Learning. Lastly, researchers are encouraged to share the findings/learning with the public as CDA mainly aims to seek social change. Public sharing will bring forth awareness concerning international scholarship research as a topic (Sabido, 2016). Future plans concerning public sharing will be elaborated more in the concluding chapter. As this dissertation provides concrete ways to rethinking international scholarship research, public sharing could also become an avenue to build future collaborations.

4.3. Transparency, Trustworthiness and Reflexivity

4.3.1. Issues on CDA as Methodology

CDA as methodology has been critiqued in various aspects. In this section, I will briefly focus on three main critiques concerning CDA. First, the concept of "discourse" itself in CDA is deemed problematic. Discourse is a concept widely used in the academia but it is variedly conceptualized across disciplines, making it an ambiguous and confusing concept to use (Stubbs, 1983). Widdowson (1995) claimed that "discourse is something everybody is talking about but without knowing with any certainty just what it is: in vogue and vague" (p. 158). Similarly, Weninger (2008) pointed out that CDA's claim of relationship of 'language and social practice' is deemed to be a problem of circularity. Second, CDA is said to lack a clear methodological framework (Widdowson, 1995), that it has no standard empirical

method on data collection. For instance, many researches fail to elaborate on their data gathering process and analysis despite using a large number of texts as data.

Since discourse analysis is highly interpretative, analysis and presentation of data, it is critiqued to be highly subjective (Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014). Thus, Lincoln and Guba (1985) warned critical researchers that the distinctiveness of the methodology must not be a "license to engage in undisciplined and haphazard poking around" (p. 251), instead to pursue systematic research process with great attentiveness. To address this particular issue, Leitch and Palmer (2010) proposed to create a strict methodological protocol to increase the dependability of CDA. However, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010) rebutted that a universal, strict research protocol could stifle CDA's intended flexibility/versatility to question power and its institutionalization. Flexibility is said to be one of the strengths of CDA, that its ability to be open to various theoretical backgrounds, research questions as well as critical analysis. Lastly, CDA is critiqued concerning the validity and reliability of its findings, particularly questioning its methodological rigor and the quality of findings (Weninger, 2008). With this, Weninger (2008) pointed out one of the critical assessments is that "the analyst is likely to find what he or she is looking for in a text…This also relates to charges against a lack of methodological rigor in data selection/elicitation and analysis that leaves too much room for researcher bias to guide the research process" (p. 148). Similarly, Widdowson (1995) critiqued that CDA is not an analysis but an ideological interpretation. He disputed that "CDA, in a dual sense, a biased interpretation: in the first place, it is prejudiced on the basis of some ideological commitment, and then it selects for analysis such texts as will support the preferred interpretation" (p. 169).

However, Greckhamer and Cilesiz (2014) defend CDA by saying that this critique on objectivity and lack of rigor is particularly coming from the positivist perspective. As Fairclough (2003) explained, CDA does not aim to be "objective" in the positivism term, but this concept of "rigor" must be dependent on the paradigm used (Hammersley, 2007 as cited in Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014). Therefore, CDA must stand true to its own paradigm and being able to strike a balance in "engaging systematic and rigorous analysis and

interpretation process without succumbing to the pressures of dominant positivist approaches for standardizing the process...while at the same time avoiding over-interpretation and forcing metanarratives on the data" (Grant & Hardy, 2003 as cited in Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014, p. 425). But despite these critiques and issues, CDA continues to be applied in various fields and various types of researches since it started in the 1970s in the field of linguistics (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). It still continues to enable researchers to reveal power relations behind the texts and providing us with newer ways to view things differently and resist unequal power.

4.3.2. Trustworthiness and Transparency

The concept of rigor and quality has been dynamically debated in qualitative studies. Lincoln and Guba (1985) challenged the concept of rigor by proposing the concept of "trustworthiness". Trustworthiness revolves around authenticity and the confidence of the readers concerning the findings. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), a qualitative research does not need to rely on the quantitative approach to validity and reliability. For instance, the assumption of accuracy for validity and replicability for reliability is a positivist approach. Instead Guba and Lincoln (1994) proposed that, and validity is based from understanding the nature of the chosen social phenomena examined – evaluating it for its appropriateness, groundedness and fruitfulness as an analytic tool (Gee, 2005; Wood & Kroger, 2000). Lather (1986) also proposed using the concept of 'catalytic validity' or the power of the research to emancipate for researches with transformative agenda such as this dissertation. Instead of evaluating using the lens of other paradigms, Lather (1986) explained that catalytic validity pertains to "the degree to which the research process re-orients, focuses and energizes participants in what Freire (1973) terms 'conscientization' - knowing reality in order to better transform it." (p. 67). Thus, one can ask and evaluate the research by asking these questions: Was it able to uncover injustice? Was it able to provide ways for people to understand and change the situation? Does this research lead to reflection and action?

On the other hand, reliability is proposed to be based on the consistency in the research process. I addressed these issues of consistency and trustworthiness through showing transparency in my research process. I provided a detailed process of my data collection. As for data transparency, readers can have access to the list of researches for both grey literature and academic literature I used in this study. The detailed list of criteria for inclusion and exclusion is also presented in this research (Appendix B). This enables readers to view the range and richness of literature and independently evaluate my data and interpretation.

However, one limitation of this research (particularly based on Western research standards) is the lack of member check or external audit reviewing my corpus of data, analytical process and findings of my study (Creswell, 2012; Given, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Unfortunately, due to the uncertain COVID situation in 2020, my initial plan of member checks had been interrupted. Two Filipino professors who were international scholarship recipients and who are well adept in the field of discourse analysis were initially planned to provide feedback. Instead, only recommendations on how to improve the research were only solicited. External reviews could have multiplied the lenses, apart from a monologic researcher like me.

4.3.3. Personal, Epistemic and Methodological Reflexivity

CDA as a method is explicit about its transformative intentions. This allows critical researchers to be "unapologetic for having a critical stance in their research work, and upfront with their position and interest" (Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 293). With this, critical researchers are called to be reflexive about oneself and one's own research (Wodak, 2001). As qualitative researchers like critical researchers are highly immersed in the study that one conducts, reflexivity is an important methodological tool to introspect. Reflexivity provides space for "analytical attention to the researcher's role in qualitative research" (Gouldner, 1971, as cited in Dowling, 2006, p. 8). It enables the researcher to acknowledge one's subjectivity openly and serves as self-examination where the researcher expresses one's

assumptions, biases and interests as part of the transparency process (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Parker, 1994). This acknowledges the researchers' personal experiences and perspectives are not outside the research process, instead of distancing oneself away from the research. Reflexivity also allows the researcher to be reflexive on the personal transformation brought by the research process itself and how one's personal journey likewise influenced the research process. This clearly shows the dialogical relationship of the researcher and the research.

Interestingly, Barusch et al. (2011) found that some qualitative researches have the absence of reflexivity suggesting that some "authors fear it would be unprofessional or intrusive to disclose their personal characteristics, or perhaps they thought personal disclosure would be inconsistent with editorial demands" (p.7). However, reflexivity is a promising avenue to establish a connection between the researcher and the reader/participant, as it allows reader/participants to know the researcher's positionality and answer questions such as "Why is the researcher investigating this? Where is this researcher coming from? What experiences contributed to the research?" Answers to these questions situate the researcher in the context of the study and invites the readers to reflect and engage as well. With this background, I wrote my reflexivity with great pleasure to conclude this methodology chapter. Initially, this reflexivity section only included a personal reflexivity, however, I then added a post-defense epistemic and methodological reflexivity in this dissertation.

Thus, this reflexivity section includes my personal, epistemological and methodological reflexivity illustrating the process of my own conscientization while working on this dissertation. According to Creswell (2014), the transformative agenda of critical researches does not only aim to alter the lives of respondents or organizations but as well as the life of the researcher. This transformative process is made possible through the process of critical self-reflection (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). The process of reflexivity gave me space for close examination of my personal and academic journey and how it influenced the progress of my dissertation.

Acknowledging My Researcher's Positionality as Not Neutral. CDA is critiqued to be partisan for its lack of neutrality such as mixing scholarship with politics (Sabido, 2016). But as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010) defended, ideological commitment is inherent to doing CDA. The illusion of neutrality in research neglects to acknowledge that all knowledge is constructed and valued (Lazar, 2007, p.6 as cited in Sabido, 2016). Sardar (1999) succinctly quipped that "no one comes to the subject without a background and baggage" (p. vii). With this, I acknowledge that my positionality had greatly influenced by analysis in this dissertation and I have written my personal reflexivity as well as a post-dissertation reflexivity to allow readers to anchor and contextualize my work. I also acknowledge that this dissertation is one out of many ways of interpreting texts about international scholarships as development aid.

As Apple (1992) describes it, texts are "open to multiple readings" (p. 10). Thus, I respect that readers of this dissertation have their own agency to interpret and respond to my work; and I believe this space of diverse interpretations and questioning cultivates a fertile ground for more discussions and possibly, towards epistemic diversity. It is then my hope that apart from Postcolonial CDA, there would be a more complex and nuanced analysis or other alternative approaches could be made in the future which would consider more "contradictions, fissures, not done by the application of simple formula" (Apple, 1992, p. 10) because complexity would open deeper and more varied understanding of international scholarships as development aid.

A RESEARCHER'S PERSONAL REFLEXIVITY

My Personal Journey as Scholarship Recipient, Activist and Researcher. I am Eva Marie Wang, a young, female researcher from the Philippines. I am a Filipino student who had opportunities to study abroad for a total of ten years under different international scholarships provided by Japan and Korea. I became immersed in the field of international scholarships and its connection with student recipients in various

capacities over the years: such as a researcher, community mobilizer/leader and as a scholarship recipient. The idea of international scholarships was unheard of to me, not until I was a third year undergraduate Psychology student in the University of the Philippines. That time, I received my first international scholarship to Japan for a yearlong exchange student program. I consider this period as a turning point. My first overseas experience as an exchange student opened my eyes to the world of international students (a group of people who were once invisible to me) and to what international education is. This study abroad experience began my curiosity on how international scholarships operate. When I returned back to Manila after my study abroad program was done, I had a set mind to become more involved with foreign students in my undergraduate campus because I felt I could now empathize what it was like to be an overseas student – the struggles, the in-betweens and the victories. I became highly involved in initiatives to engage with international students through two undergraduate university organizations. Years fast-forward, I did not expect that this undergraduate advocacy for international students would still linger and persist. A year after my undergraduate graduation, I was granted a scholarship for a Master's degree in the Republic of Korea. While in graduate school, I served as a leader of the Filipino and international student community in different capacities.

First, I formally served Filipino students (who are mostly scholarship recipients of various sources) through the official Filipino student organization in South Korea as a Public Relations Officer in 2012, and as president in 2013. I was able to engage with many Filipino and international students concerning their student life in various places in Korea. Second, I served as a student representative on behalf of international student organizations during policy development meetings in 2012 and 2013 to deal with international student issues and student rights in South Korea. This opportunity provided me a space to become more immersed with issues on international student vulnerabilities, and build up from my Master's thesis and compose policy briefs in Korea and in the Philippines. And third, we (collaborating with other overseas Filipino student leaders) founded the network of overseas Filipino student organization from Australia, Japan, Korea and Taiwan in 2014 called ANIB

(Alyansa ng Nagkakaisang Iskolar sa Ibang Bansa or Alliance of Filipino Scholars Abroad). Through ANIB, we created an organizational alliance to conduct academic and social events for aspiring students, current overseas Filipino students and alumni. Through various interactions with Filipino and international students who were scholarship recipients from other countries, it was clear that there were stories and lived experiences that remain untold and undocumented in the research field. These various personal and organization experiences revolving on international education, international students and international scholarship offered a nuanced perspective of international scholarship and the larger socio-political context it is in.

International Scholarship Research and the Shifting Phases of My Dissertation. In 2013, I entered my Ph.D. program with the intention of writing about international scholarships as development aid. Looking back, I witnessed my dissertation evolve into different configurations of topics and research approaches until it came to the shape you are reading now. Initially, I wanted to do an empirical study about Filipino scholarship recipients of Korean government scholarship program, expanding on my previous Master's thesis work on Internationalization of Korean Higher Education. Specifically, I wanted to explore international scholarships using critical pedagogy framework as inspired by Paulo Freire's (1973) Pedagogy of the Oppressed. I thought that since most studies on international scholarships then were using economic-based Human Capital Theory as theoretical framework and focusing more on positive scholarship impacts and contribution, I want to conduct my research to focus on the Southern voice particularly highlighting students' learning process and experiences within the nexus of neoliberal higher education and scholarship programmes.

The desirability of international scholarships as a development aid is well regarded by stakeholders from both North and South, and this parochial attitude I think has created a blind spot to question and imagine vulnerabilities and other possibilities. But as a recipient of various international scholarships myself, I find it difficult to perceive international scholarships apart from being benevolent. Although I and other scholarship fellows have

witnessed contradictory practices from being "benevolent", it was difficult to reconcile the lived experiences with the academic discourse.

But the research process was not easy. As I was conducting the review of related literature at that time, I hardly found any relevant resources. There was a dearth of studies available concerning international scholarships (whether in the context of scholarship donors and recipients). With this, I doubted my position to pursue this kind of research project and put on hold my academic pursuit. Moreover, my work as an international student rights activist also affected the trajectory of my academic work. In one of the public discussions where I presented issues of international students in Korea, I was queried: "Are you not grateful for being able to study abroad, especially under your scholarship?" In addition, I also received pondering comments concerning my research: "Are these challenges just personal complaints? How would you know that these are not only isolated, personal cases?" At that time, because I was deeply immersed in the heat of liaising with vulnerable students and working on my dissertation, the task became too heavy for my well being and became burnt out. Because of this, I decided to take an academic break gradually from the latter part of 2015.

In 2019, I started to think about writing my dissertation again after almost four years of hiatus. The rest gave new strength and a fresher lens to think about international scholarships. By this time, a significant research turning point came. To my surprise, international scholarships as a research topic gained momentum as compared to when I started my research years ago. Academic literature about international scholarship slowly increased from 2016 onwards and gained more visibility in academic discussions. Inspired by this new development on international scholarships as SDG4b made me ask different questions than I initially asked myself when I started my PhD. As a researcher, it has been a perplexing matter to me as to why international scholarship - a longstanding, prominent and controversial aid in the field of international development is an under-researched topic over the years (but then slowly increased as it became part of the formal global agenda). This healthy curiosity about politics of knowledge is the point of departure of this dissertation.

Post-2015 SDG4b allowed me to shift from exploring international scholarship as aid and practice to problematizing it as a research field.

The expansion of post-2015 research production enabled me to access two decades of researches in international scholarship (2000-2020) and investigate the politics of knowledge. I decided that taking critical research paradigm as an approach for this dissertation would be my new direction. Critical theories such as postcolonial theory opened spaces for researchers like me to ask different challenging questions for research such as "What are the power imbalances underlying international scholarships?", "Are there other ways to view international scholarships" and "How does colonization impact the way we approach international scholarships?" I deemed that my immersion with the research texts, combined with my immersion in personal and communal international scholarship experience would be helpful in contributing something new to the research field. I was thinking that using postcolonial theory and CDA would allow me to problematize the normalized and resilient status of international scholarship and examine its knowledge production that had not been done before.

Southern Identity and Embodied Struggle towards Decolonizing the Mind. Completing this dissertation was a long journey of unlearning, learning by doing, and experiencing moments of conscientization (critical consciousness). Writing this dissertation became a concrete space of resistance for me, where I was able to articulate and materialize consciousness – linking ideas and experiences as a scholarship recipient, as a student leader and to what I read and study as a graduate student. But before I end this reflexivity, I have a confession to make. I first encountered postcolonial theory when I was a university student back in the Philippines. Though it was articulated and taught well and found it engaging, it did not sink in as deeply (yet). Over the years, my critical lens gradually amplified as I began to encounter a wider world filled with allies, mentors from different places and disciplines. It was a slow forming critical consciousness – one that is full of struggles and still struggling, but remaining hopeful. This dissertation then is an academic culmination and amalgamation of what I learned and experienced through the years. This work is a testament of how my

'scholarship' evolved over the years. My mentors from the Philippines, Japan and Korea (also from Northern and Southern scholars I learned from online) introduced and helped me appreciate the various works of influential scholars whether from critical, postcolonial to recent decolonial perspectives.[33] These various ways of knowing influenced the approach of this dissertation. This entire dissertation process allowed me to exercise new ways of seeing, desiring and re-imagining possibilities of international scholarships as development aid for the future.

But I must admit that over the course of conceptualizing and writing this dissertation, I was faced with various episodes of self-doubt. I experienced a great sense of discomfort and waves of confidence loss in the process of writing. I was questioning myself and having regular internal debates as an emerging young scholar from the South: "Do I have the right to write this?", "Am I really making sense?", "Am I contradicting myself in various ways?" There was a loud critical voice: "You are a fraud", "You're too ambitious", "Are you not grateful to your scholarship for you to write such work as this?" It is as if my mindset and sense of being are challenged. It dawned on me that this dissertation process not only challenged me as a researcher, as an advocate and as a student. But it challenged me being a Filipino. A Female, and a Scholarship Recipient. What does it mean to be any of these in relation to rethinking scholarship? With this dissertation, I can see that my positionality, my subjectivity as a 'knower' and as a 'researcher' is socialized in certain ways that it is inevitable to struggle. But I am learning to slowly embrace the complexity, the uncertainty, embrace the vulnerability along with it and accept my research journey as an embodied politics that I have to live with, negotiate and hope beyond. This awareness of politics brings me choices to critically think, engage, move forward and imagine. With this, I present to you this dissertation as praxis: my resistance to normalcy and my desire to

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[33] Some scholars that have inspired my scholarship are Edward Said, Syed Farid Alatas, Syed Hussein Alatas, Paulo Freire, Arturo Escobar, Raewyn Connell, Walter Mignolo, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Gloria Anzaldua, Vanessa Andreotti, Virgilio Enriquez, Jose Rizal, David Abram, Robin Wall Kimmerer, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, among others (Though some works only have sunk in within me slowly).

contribute towards re-imagining international scholarship research through a Southern way of knowing and being.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL REFLEXIVITY
On Decolonizing CDA via Sarilaysay

During my dissertation defense, my chosen postcolonial CDA as methodology was critiqued to remain within the colonial imaginary. As a response, I added this section to acknowledge the limitations of my initial PCDA methodology to rethink scholarship of international scholarship. It dawned on me how researchers from the South like me can become complicit in reproducing colonial research paradigm and contributing into the unequal global knowledge production without even being conscious of it. For instance, although the initial approach of this dissertation is already critical, it remained Western-centric. To address this limitation, I researched how academic scholars have decolonized Critical Discourse Analysis and upon studying their approaches, I consequently reframed my dissertation. Upon acknowledging that CDA is coming from European legacy (Resende, 2010, Resende, 2018; Sabido, 2016), I was on a quest for answers concerning how I can decolonize my methodology. Resende's (2018) article on Decolonizing CDA provided me an eye-opening revelation and had led me to other scholars' work. Latin American CDA scholars Bolívar (2010), Pardo (2001), Resende (2010, 2018) inspired me on to take steps to decolonize CDA. In Resende's paper, she opened a discussion on decolonization and offering an invitation for more dialogue on problematizing CDA rather than proposing specific method/questions to decolonize CDA. Resende (2010) cautions researchers to avoid "theoric xenophoby" - reminding not to deny or reject theories or methods for the mere reason that it is imported (p. 209) because decolonizing does not mean an abandonment of Western scholarship. Instead, she recommends researchers to "maintain critical watchfulness" (p. 194) and being more reflexive of ontological and epistemological aspects of the theory one adopts. She encourages researchers to question oneself: "what modifications should be made? How can I contribute so that this becomes more complete and more appropriate?" (p.

209). The following are some recommendations I found on how to decolonize CDA and with these recommendations in mind, I took concrete steps towards decolonizing my dissertation (albeit already delayed in the dissertation process)

First, Resende's (2018) work encourages researchers to incorporate the discussion of power/knowledge-consciousness of the politics in their own research and to take "creative act to overcome universalizing knowledge – accepting the force of local methodological and theoretical production…questioning disciplinary separation and its impositions…[and] make strategic use of the paradoxical space…possibilities of knowledge communion, including common knowledge" (p. 2). As a response, I added this post-defense methodological reflexivity you are reading now as an awareness of the colonial legacies within my own scholarship.

Second, Bolivar (2010) recommends shifting focus from "texts to people" (p. 213) for "new research problems arise, different results are obtained and new or slightly different approaches emerge" (p. 212). This shift on dialogical process enables how people participate in events rather than monological process of textual analysis. Dialogical approach gives emphasis to "people's need to become aware of a notion of history that will empower them or make them feel responsible for their actions in social events in the present" (p. 214-215). With this, I expanded my findings to include a Filipino storytelling style called Sarilaysay, an approach similar to Autoethnography, which centers storytelling, personal experience and emotions within the research process. The term Sarilaysay is coined by Torres-Yu (2000): sarili (self) and sanaysay (story/narrative). I chose Sarilaysay as inspiration as this focused on Filipino writers and shared their writing process via storytelling.

In Torres-Yu's (2000) book, Sarilaysay: Tinig ng 20 Babae sa Sariling Danas Bilang Manunulat (Voices and Experiences of 20 Women Writers) and Torres-Yu and Aguirre's (2004) Sarilaysay: Danas and Dalumat ng Lalaking Manunulat sa Filipino (Experience and Contemplation of Filipino Male Writers)[34], various Filipino authors shared their intimate stories of being writers such as how they started their writing journey, their process of

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[34] English translation of Sarilaysay books are my rough translation as there is no official translation

creation and how a particular socio-political consciousness influenced their writing. With Sarilaysay as inspiration, I used my personal experience as an international scholarship researcher to examine my research practices as well as the feelings about the process throughout the dissertation and add this as part of the findings. Adding Sarilaysay to converse with PCDA responds to what Bolivar (2010) recommends to shift the focus from text to people. It expands the mono-logical process of textual analysis to expand to include people and their participation in the events – in this case, visibly situating me as an embodied researcher within my dissertation process. This Sarilaysay becomes a space to "research the researcher" (Blakely, 2007; Campbell, 2002). Sarilaysay as storytelling approach provides a window for me to explicitly process what it means to me as a researcher to rethink international scholarship research (or at least attempted to disrupt the research field). Moreover, Sarilaysay provides a safe space for me to rethink 'scholarship' of international scholarship research using my ancestral knowledge system. With these late adjustments and iterations, it is my hope that this dissertation would also encourage fellow international scholarship researchers to closely examine their research process, to consider exploring alternative ways of knowing/being in order to rethink one's scholarship.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

I divided this chapter into three sections to present various aspects of politics of knowledge within international scholarship research. For the first section, I focus on the research texts. I closely read three common genres of international scholarship research - UNESCO Global Reports, Alumni Tracer Studies and Academic Literature (journal articles and books) and explored how Northern knowledge production occurs within these common researches. For each genre, naturalized representations, normative research approaches and assumptions are presented. This illustrates how the unchallenged status quo is sustaining the unequal power relations within the research field and marginalizing voices, perspectives and epistemologies. In this second section, the four common dimensions of Northern knowledge production cutting across the research genres are laid out. This is what I call as *Scholarship of Other* where international scholarship research is under colonial research paradigm. The following are the four dimensions:

First, **Subject-Object Relations:** ***Northern 'Experts' as Researchers and Scholarship Recipients as Sources of Data***. There is an internalized hierarchical research relationship within the research field. Experts from the Global North are the neutral "knowing subjects" (Alatas, 2008). Development consultants and academics predominantly conceptualize and conduct international scholarship research. On the other hand, scholarship recipients are objectified as research participants. With this subject-object dichotomy, it is natural to research "about" scholarship recipients, rather than research intersubjectively "with" scholarship recipients.

Second, **Axiology of Productivity and Progress*: Fixation on Post-Scholarship Outcomes and Impacts but Missing Complexities.*** Northern knowledge production highly values productivity and efficiency (De Sousa Santos, 2015). This is evident in the research field: researching about post-scholarship outcomes and

impacts is the dominant agenda within the research field. With this, scholarship recipients are predominantly represented as idealized impact makers or social change agents within the literature. However, there are grand erasures of wide experiences under Northern gaze (Connell, 2006). Dissenting voices and complex perspectives such as vulnerabilities, inequalities, colonial entanglements and other trajectories of international scholarships are rarely foregrounded in research.

Third, **Monologic Research Inquiry:** *Dominance of Northern Theories but Missing Alternative Epistemologies.* With Northern epistemologies dominant within the research field, there is a monological rational approach towards theories and concepts in understanding international scholarships that largely excludes alternative ways of knowing and being. International scholarships are commonly analyzed within a Eurocentric worldview: read from the center (Connell, 2006) under individualist, nation-statist and human-centric lens. With this gesture of exclusion, Southern concepts, theories and epistemologies that welcome postabyssal knowledges such as emotions, intuitions, ancestral wisdom are invisibilized (Connell, 2006; De Sousa Santos, 2015).

Fourth, **Resistance From Within:** *Diversification and Radical Resistance, Not Otherwise.* With SDG4b's launch during post-2015, incorporation of more diverse recipient voices and growing diverse theoretical approach became evident in the research field. However, these resistances to status quo still remain under the Northern epistemologies. Researches exhibited academic dependency (Alatas, 2004) and missed the opportunities to introduce alternative ways of knowing. Radical imagination concerning international scholarship is limited within Western critical tradition and excluding the wealth of Southern epistemologies. Due to this limitation, this diversification as resistance strategy is what I call as "resistance from within, not otherwise" for failing to go beyond colonial worldview in order to disrupt knowledge production.

Lastly, after presenting these four dimensions of Scholarship of Other, I conclude this findings chapter by presenting a meta-critique (critique of critique) and contemplation about my own dissertation via a Sarilaysay (personal narrative). With this

storytelling, I contemplated on my research process as an international scholarship researcher. I explored my own research approach as an attempt to resist status quo and unpack my own colonial entanglements. It dawned on me that though this dissertation initially sought to be disruptive and transformative in order to serve as a concrete example of a resistance genre, I, just like other researches failed to go beyond 'resistance from within'. My attempt to rethink international scholarship research remains greatly influenced by colonial legacies. However, this emerging critical consciousness opened ways for me to further re-imagine what disrupting the status quo could possibly be – approaching international scholarship research using an alternative worldview through my own ancestral knowledge system.

5.1. Three Research Genres under Northern Lens

In this first section, I focus on how Northern knowledge production is evident as I closely read three common research genres: UNESCO Global Report, Alumni Tracer Studies and Academic Literature. To closely examine each genre, I used Huckin's textual strategies as CDA analysis. Here, I elaborate on what is foregrounded, backgrounded or omitted within the research literature. After which, the postcolonial concepts of Connell's (2007) North/South Theory, Alatas' (2004) Academic Dependency and Subject-Object Dichotomy, and De Sousa Santos' (2015) Epistemologies of the North/South served as guides as I uncover Northern assumptions within each genres.

5.1.1. UNESCO Global Report: Datafication of Aid Donors and Recipients

One of the key documents in understanding international scholarship as development aid is the UNESCO Global Reports. These reports are deemed to be the "singular, comprehensive, analytical and authoritative reference in the field of education and development" (UNESCO, 2019; UNiLibrary, 2020, para 1). UNESCO Global Report is important to be examined because it is considered that "global reports have become a critical ingredient in the public face of international development cooperation" (King, 2010, p. 2).

These reports were prepared by a team of international researchers and having an extensive public reach and influence: published in six UNESCO languages and providing aid policy analysis that informs a wide range of audience from decision makers, researchers to the media (UNESCO, 2019). With this background, closely examining global reports could provide a grasp on how international scholarships are widely conceptualized, reported and naturalized within the official development landscape.

Overall, there are two types of UNESCO Global Reports: The Pre-2015 UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Report (EFA GMR) and The Post-2015 UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report (GEM). Both of these reports are greatly shaped by global development agendas such as MDG and SDG. The discussions on international scholarships are mainly framed within the aid allocation context, which utilized quantitative data (scholarship aid volume) to inform its critiques. However, an evident shift of research agenda from pre-2015 to post-2015 could be observed. While pre-2015 UNESCO Global Reports' critique was myopically framed within donors' aid financing, post-2015 UNESCO Global Report expanded its discussion to include scholarship recipient discourse when it became SDG4b. The next section will further expound on the differences between pre-2015 and post-2015 UNESCO Global Reports and their dominant discourses.

Pre-2015 UNESCO GMR: Foregrounding Donors' Value for Money Discourse and the Missing Recipients. During pre-2015, aid volume was the sole official indicator of international scholarship as development aid. Consequently, the critical analysis of international scholarship within the pre-2015 reports was limited on donors' aid financing, particularly comparing primary and higher education aid allocation. Thus, Pre-2015 UNESCO Global Reports had a dominant "Value for Money" discourse, a highly economic and donor-centric perspective. Discussion on scholarship aid was first mentioned in EFA GMR 2005 (UNESCO, 2015, p. 192-193, 199) and the succeeding pre-2015 discussion on scholarship aid was rather brief and mainly juxtaposed with primary education context. UNESCO repeatedly critiqued how top donors were providing more aid to higher education at the expense of primary education (MDG2), especially that primary education was the

supposed aid priority under MDG. Across pre-2015 UNESCO EFA GMR, graphs on donors'
aid volume were foregrounded to visually critique top scholarship aid donors such as
Germany and France (see Figure 5.1. as an example of a graph within UNESCO GMR). While
the discussion was focused on critiquing donors' aid volume, there was no direct discussion
concerning scholarship recipients whether in the context of recipient countries or students
throughout pre-2015 UNESCO GMR (2002-2010) until post-2015. Instead, scholarship aid
recipients were only framed and presented as recipient regions (Figure 5.2.) during pre-
2015.

Figure 5.1.

Aid Volume of Top Donors of Scholarship Aid

Note: Images from UNESCO Global Monitoring Report. (top): UNESCO EFA Global
Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2009, p. 218) and (bottom): UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring
Report (UNESCO, 2012, p. 219)

Figure 5.2.

Scholarship Aid Recipients by Region

Figure 2.13: Middle income countries receive almost 80% of aid to scholarships and imputed student costs
Education aid spent on scholarships and student imputed costs, 2010–2011

Note: For region groups, aid to 'other' includes disbursements to Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and aid that is geographically unallocated. For income groups, 'other' refers to high income and unallocated by income.
Source: OECD-DAC (2013).

Note: Image from UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2012, p. 219)

While there are only brief critical discussions on international scholarship on the earlier UNESCO EFA GMR (2002-2010), a shift to a more assertive critical tone could be observed within pre-2015 EFA GMR 2011 and 2012. This critical tone was aligned with the Higher Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan in 2011 and its campaign for evidence-based agenda. In 2011, UNESCO (2011) explicitly expressed its "worry" with regards to the aid allocation landscape and recommended donors to reconsider their aid allocation:

> Recent aid data on education point a worrying direction for the Education for All Agenda…Given the scale of this financing gap, there is clearly a case for reconsidering priorities in the education sector…. However, there is little evidence to suggest that major donors are rethinking the balance between aid for basic education and higher levels of provision (UNESCO, 2011, p. 11-12)

This worrying tone continued even in the next UNESCO GMR (2012) and more explicit in its call for re-allocation. Interestingly, it is within this context of aid re-allocation discussion that a brief yet rare instance where scholarship recipients were actively referenced within pre-2015 UNESCO GMR. Explicit discussion on scholarship recipients (particularly

referencing to students) was done within UNESCO GMR's *Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work* (2012).

> **Reallocating some of the US$3.1 billion that aid donors currently spend on scholarship and imputed costs for developing country students to study in donor countries would go a long way** towards helping provide the US$8 billion needed to ensure that all youth complete lower secondary school (2012, p. 33, emphasis mine)

> There are two potential avenues for increasing external financing for education: **redistributing funds currently spent on scholarships that bring young people from developing countries to study at tertiary level in developed countries**, and encouraging emerging donors to engage more effectively in skills development, with a greater focus on disadvantaged youth (UNESCO, 2012, p. 20; cf p. 219, emphasis mine)

While UNESCO GMR (2012) acknowledged the importance of aid allocation to higher education, it advocated its aid relocation towards the most disadvantaged instead. As evidenced by these quotes, UNESCO 2011 and 2012 used words such as "reconsidering priorities", "reallocating aid" and "redistributing funds spent on scholarship" which illustrates how UNESCO actively recommended donors focus more on marginalized countries and education sub-sectors rather than allocating aid towards international scholarships in higher education (UNESCO, 2012, p.219). And aligned to this recommendation of "redistributing funds", UNESCO also presented an estimate financial calculation of how re-distribution to secondary education could be done using Japan and Nepal as case:

> To give one example, Japan spends between US$20,000 and US$25,000 a year per foreign student on stipends for higher education (JASSO, 2011). In Nepal, by contrast, US$406 a year is spent on one post-secondary student and US$109 per secondary school student. This means that for what it costs for one Nepalese student to study on scholarship in Japan, as many as 229 young people could have access to secondary education in Nepal (UNESCO, 2012, p. 220)

This appeal for re-allocation from higher education to other education sectors was so serious that this particular information was turned into a visual campaign disfavoring international scholarships as development aid to higher education, for a wider public reach (see Figure 5.3.)

Figure 5.3.

Visual Representation of UNESCO's Critique of International Scholarships

FROM THE 2012 UNESCO EDUCATION FOR ALL GLOBAL MONITORING REPORT: Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work

PAYING A HIGH PRICE FOR
SCHOLARSHIPS

¼ OF AID TO EDUCATION NEVER REACHES DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

$3 BILLION IS SPENT ON UNIVERSITY STUDENTS STUDYING IN DONOR COUNTRIES

ONE SCHOLARSHIP for a Nepalese student in Japan

SCHOOL

Scholarship to Japan

could pay for **229** SECONDARY SCHOOL **STUDENTS** in Nepal

ONE scholarship in Canda could pay for **184** students in Nepal.

ONE scholarship in France could pay for **160** students in Nepal.

ONE scholarship in Germany could pay for **102** students in Nepal.

UNESCO EFA GMR EDUCATION FOR ALL GLOBAL MONITORING REPORT

www.efa.unesco.org   #YouthSkillsWork

Note: Image from UNESCO (2012). Paying a High Price for Scholarships [Infographic] https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/paying-high-price-scholarships

With UNESCO Global Report's overall focus on donors' aid allocation during pre-2015, this marginalized perspectives revolving around scholarship recipients. However, SDG4b created evident changes in the way international scholarship was discussed in the post-2015 UNESCO Global Report. The next section would cover and illustrate these changes.

Post-2015 GEM: Scholarship Recipient Turn and The Move Towards

Further Datafication. If pre-2015 GMR was preoccupied with debates on financial aid

allocation and marginalizing discussions on scholarship recipients, post-2015 GEM took a

different turn when SDG4b was launched – a recipient turn. The distinct changes concerning

reporting and discussions on international scholarship within the post-2015 GEM were

evident as follows: First, SDG4b paved the way for more extensive coverage of international

scholarships in its own right. Instead of brief discussions juxtaposed with MDG2 in pre-

2015, each post-2015 UNESCO GEM has a dedicated and specialized chapter on

international scholarships as SDG4b (see Figure 5.4.). Each of the chapter focused on

monitoring SDG4b:

> By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to
> developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing
> States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational
> training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering
> and scientific programmes, in developed countries and other developing countries

With the SDG4b agenda, post-2015 GEM addressed pragmatic issues of measurement of

international scholarships, transparency, data accessibility and monitoring systems.

Second, post-2015 GEM was able to introduce more varied issues and critical discussions

compared to pre-2015 GMR that only focused on aid volume. Most especially in 2019,

UNESCO GEM featured themes that were not discussed in earlier global reports before. The

themes such as donor motivations such as soft power (p. 238), scholarship selection process

(p. 238-239), international students as sources of income (p. 95-96), international

scholarship as labor pathway (p. 95-99), human capital, brain drain, remittances and return

migration (p.100, 105, 106 respectively), international scholarship as cultural diplomacy (p.

100), scholarship data insufficiency (p. 208) and positive impact on employment and career

(p. 206) emerged in Post-2015 UNESCO Global Report. UNESCO also presented various

kinds of scholarships for different groups such as for refugees (p. 7), nursing students (p. 75)

and highlighting that the current scholarship practice is not well-targeted to the poorest and

remains not accessible to the poor (p. 150).

Figure 5.4.

Post-2015 UNESCO GEM's Chapters on International Scholarship as SDG4b
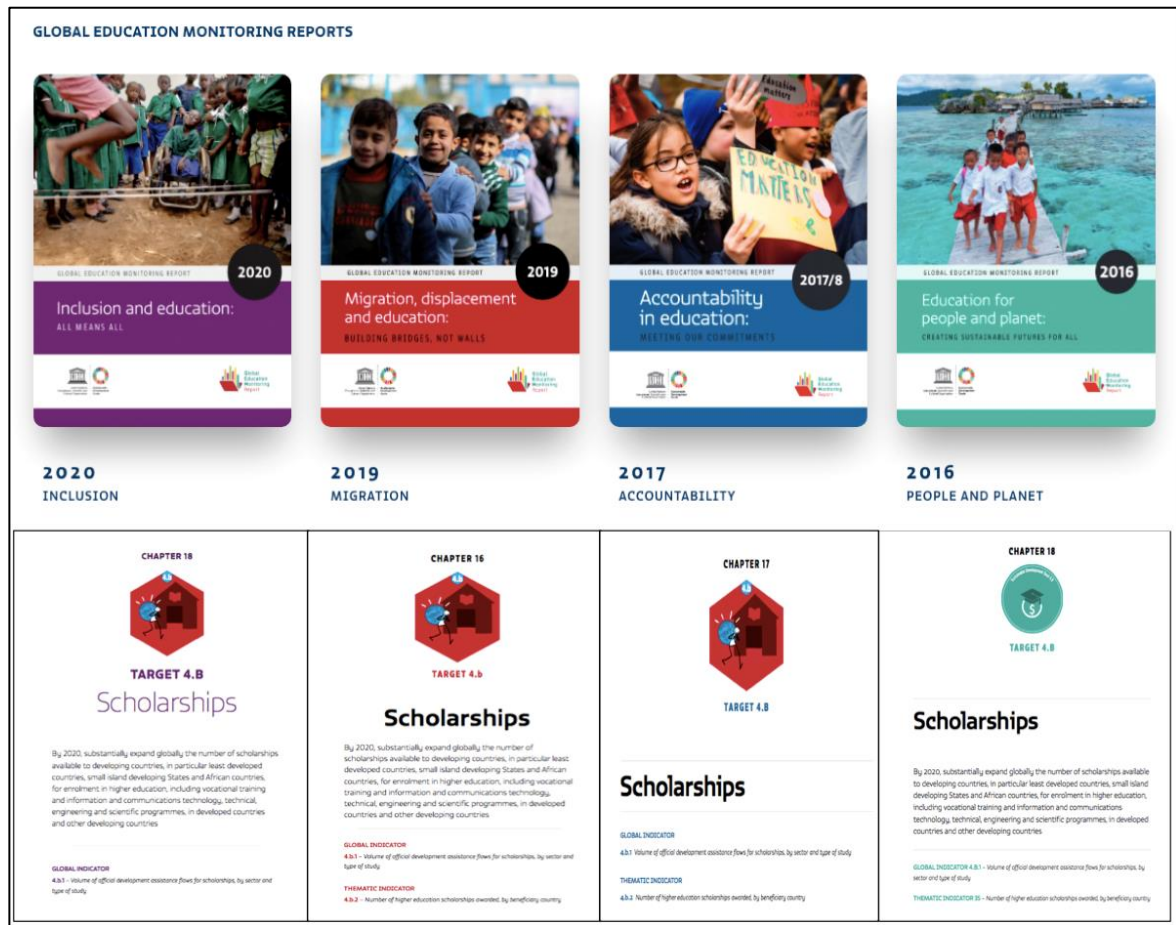
Note: Image from UNESCO (2020). Global Education Monitoring Reports.
https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/allreports

When one closely reads the Post-2015 UNESCO Global Reports, there is an evident
difference from its earlier versions. If pre-2015 GMR only focused on presenting donors' aid
volume data, it was the first time during post-2015 GEM to foreground data on scholarship
aid per recipient country (see Figure 5.5. Scholarship Aid to Recipient Countries). In
addition, Post-2015 UNESCO Report allotted a designated section on scholarship data not
only by region, but also per recipient country within every appendix of UNESCO GEM (see
5.6.). However, this post-2015 recipient turn mainly focused on quantitative data.

Figure 5.5.

Scholarship Aid to Recipient Countries

FIGURE 18.2:
Countries with more students receive more scholarship aid, but small island developing states receive higher levels per capita
Volume of official development assistance for scholarships, by region and tertiary education enrolment, 2018

GEM StatLink: http://bit.ly/GEM2020_fig18_2
Note: Axes are on a logarithmic scale.
Source: UIS database.

Note: Image from UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2020, p. 296)

Figure 5.6.

Scholarship as Aid Volume in UNESCO GEM Appendix (by Region and Individual

Recipient Countries)

Note: Image from UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2019). (Top) p. 325 and (bottom) p. 327. The encircling distinction on Scholarships are my own emphasis.

Both Figure 5.5. and 5.6. illustrate the deliberate shift from foregrounding pre-2015 donor aid volume to highlighting recipient aid volume during post-2015. Initially, the official post-2015 indicator for international scholarship solely remained as "aid volume" (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 74), but it later expanded to include indicator concerning individual student recipients. This inclusion of scholarship recipients as post-2015 thematic indicator did not come up as automatic, but a journey of negotiations.

UNESCO commissioned external consultants to produce thematic background papers solely focused on SDG4b for post-2015 GEM. Five commissioned background papers on SDG4b were produced from 2016-2018 (See Appendix B for full list of articles) and these were instrumental in incorporating diversified discussion points beyond aid financing and vital to the expansion of indicators. For instance, Balfour's (2016) background paper problematized the narrow framing of the official SDG4b statement and pointed out the need for a more holistic view of scholarships. He reiterated the importance of widening the scope of international scholarship as: "[scholarships] have three interested parties, presume to benefit: Scholarship holder, Institution(s) at which one studies and the Scholarship provider(s). SDG target 4b must be considered in multi-perspective – both from providers and recipients" (Balfour, 2016, p. 3).

Balfour (2016) further highlighted the (neglected) role of recipients in the discourse by raising a question: *Who are the scholarship recipients and how are they chosen?* (p. 3). With this found gap, it was then proposed that specific indicator which includes recipients' socio-demographic profiles and other factors such as level of award must be added as new indicators for SDG4b. This recommendation to expand the focus from recipient countries to recipient students was echoed in the global report (UNESCO, 2016, p. 321). However, although this development concerning recipient turn is deemed as a feat for visibility of scholarship recipients, another UNESCO's commissioned background paper by Bhandari and Mirza's (2016) problematized this promising proposal of student data inclusion. They found a roadblock in its implementation: a major data gap. The Global Reports from

UNESCO GEM (2016) and even until UNESCO GEM (2019) highlighted the struggling case of the missing scholarship recipient data.

> There is no single source of information on scholarship number, let alone on recipients' nationality or fields of study (UNESCO GEM, 2016, p. 318)

> The Global indicator is insufficiently informative of global progress, relative to achieving the target. Focusing on volume of official development assistance flows for scholarship can be misleading. First, **volume of aid reveals nothing about recipient numbers** (UNESCO GEM, 2019, p. 208, emphasis mine)

Interestingly, reports remained focused on aid volume despite the call for student data. With this struggle of student data, Bhandari (2017) offered explanation as to why there is a 'taken-for-granted' attitude toward scholarship recipient data: "some plausible reasons could be that governments (as well as other providers) do not maintain detailed databases and perhaps do not see the value of gathering this type of data" (p. 544; cf Bhandari & Mirza, 2016). With this, UNESCO made a concrete call for accountability for scholarship data: to foster a community of practice among practitioners that could "facilitate debate on standards and best practices for scholarship data applicable to both awarding agencies in developed countries and universities and agencies in developing countries" (2017/18, p. 237). This community of practice is envisioned to foster scholarship data that is "transparent, clearly written and publicly available for debate and follow-up" (UNESCO 2017/18, p. 239).

Summary and Analysis: Datafication under Northern Lens

As described in this section, UNESCO Global Reports primarily focused on donors' aid allocation during pre-2015 and the recipient datafication during post-2015. Table 5.1. summarizes the textual analysis of the two types of UNESCO Global Reports. Followed by an analysis of how Northern gaze is dominant in this genre. While UNESCO Global Reports have expressed its reservations on international scholarship as development aid across pre-2015 and post-2015 reports, its critiques and recommendations remains normative and pragmatic in orientation.

Table 5.1.

Comparison of Pre-2015 and Post-2015 UNESCO Global Reports

Global Agenda	Pre-2015 MDG		Post-2015 SDG
Policy Focus	Aid Effectiveness Agenda - Paris and Accra's Results-Based Aid (2005-2010)	Aid Effectiveness Agenda – Busan's Evidence-Based Aid (2011-2015)	SDG4b's Accountability and Transparency Agenda (2016-2020)
Type of UNESCO Global Report	UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Report (EFA GMR) 2005-2015		UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report (GEM) 2016-2020
Dominant Framing	Donors' Aid Volume (Value for Money Critique) Brief discussion on IS, focused on critique on donors' aid allocation as juxtaposed with MDG2		Recipient Aid Volume (Recipient Turn as Datafication)
Foreground	Graphs comparing top donors' scholarship aid allocation to primary education (MDG2)		Graphs and appendix section on scholarship aid volume received by each recipient country
Background/ Omission	No mention of scholarship recipients and other perspectives beyond aid volume	Recipients (students) were mentioned in GMR 2012 as part of aid re-allocation critique	Missing socio-demographic data on students

The following are the Northern assumptions within this international scholarship research genre: UNESO's critique of international scholarships is mainly limited within questioning and addressing pragmatic issues such as data management (donor aid allocation) and procedural issues (scholarship recipient selection), though it must be acknowledged that there were brief critical perspectives on soft power, brain drain particularly during post-2015. But UNESCO Global Reports is primarily focused on pragmatic critique of nations (donors and recipients) and numbers (how much aid volume provided and received). This critique of nations and numbers leaves little room to explore beyond the status quo; particularly how international scholarship maintains power and epistemic inequalities. With this, the following are the Northern normative assumptions that remain unchallenged within UNESCO Global Reports:

***Normative Assumption 1: Datafication as Universal and Neutral
Research Approach.*** Datafication has become the global research norm and mainstream
tool in informing evidence-based policy and practice. Since UNESCO's pragmatic focus is on
scholarship aid investment, the main research approach across UNESCO Global Report is
datafication of aid volume that expanded from donor to recipient perspective. Particularly
during post-2015, datafication of scholarship recipients became the prescribed research
direction. With this, UNESCO (2017/18) strongly calls international scholarship donors to
maintain and sustain databases. This type of knowledge production enables "highly efficient
ways to plan, conduct, disseminate and assess research" (Leonelli, 2020, para 1).

However, while datafication has its pragmatic promises in providing quantitative
socio-demographic representation (such as recipient gender, country, field of study),
datafication also sustains what Alatas (2008) calls as subject-object relations. Not
questioning the universality of data extraction normalizes objectification or datafication of
the "Other". This reifies socially constructed labels that sustain colonial hierarchies and
inequalities that coincide with it. For instance, scholarship recipients are datafied into
socially constructed categories such as gender and countries. But with these abstract
categorization and quantification, scholarship recipients are decontextualized and
disembodied from their socio-cultural, historical and other pertinent contexts that cover
nuances and complexities, missing the richness of voices and the complex narratives and
experiences surrounding international scholarships. Solely relying on statistical data has its
limitations in understanding the complexity revolving around international scholarships and
scholarship recipients.

***Normative Assumption 2: Dichotomy of Donor-Recipient Nations as
Naturalized Differences.*** UNESCO's research is focused on collecting data on which
nation provides aid and which nations receive aid and how much. The discussion of
international scholarship from pre-2015 to post-2015 is normatively within the context of
nation-states: aid donors and recipient countries. However, this normative categorization
focusing on aid provision is naturalizing differences (De Sousa Santos, 2015). While

materially, it is true that donor countries provide scholarship aid to recipient countries, this donor-recipient categorization further reifies the colonial hierarchies that maintain the paternal stance of the Global North and infantilizing the Global South, while remaining silent on the politics of knowledge occurring within.

Normative Assumption 3: Universal Progress through STEM. The rise of post-2015 SDG4 strengthened the favor on technical-scientific investments towards development. Across post-2015 UNESCO Global Reports, it spelled out SDG4b and its emphasis on ICT and STEM particularly in small islands and African countries. This pragmatic techno-scientific development policy direction is far from apolitical. Yet there has been no visible critical discussion concerning this technical-scientific approach in any UNESCO Global Reports. There is silence with critical science and technology – pointing to the historical, colonial and exploitative enterprise of technoscience subsumed under neoliberal globalization and Northern epistemologies and absence of alternative futures. This illustrates that the conception of progress within UNESCO Reports remains within the Eurocentric worldview: universal, linear and teleological progress as how Connell (2006) and De Sousa Santos (2015) critiques dominant ways of knowing.

With these normative assumptions, I illustrated how international scholarship remains understood from the center (Connell, 2006) within UNESCO Global Report. With its pragmatic stance, UNESCO Global Reports are silent on the politics of knowledge, particularly how international scholarships are continually part of colonial legacy with its modernist stance and hinged in development narratives of Western techno-scientific progress. Without critical consciousness, international scholarship as SDG4b would reify the unequal relationship between Global North and South further, where Global North remains serving as paternal help to the Global South, and without addressing the dark side of international scholarship such as its complicity to various domination such as capitalism, colonization and patriarchy.

In the next genre, I will closely examine another literature: Alumni Tracer Studies (ATS) within the grey literature. Compared to UNESCO Global Reports that focused on aid

volume and the critique on nations and numbers, ATS attempts to provide space for individual scholarship recipients to be featured – a way to "humanize" the abstract numbers and let the recipient voices be heard. But which voices are heard, really?

5.1.2. Alumni Tracer Studies: Recipients as Other - Homogenized, Idealized and Spoken For

Monitoring and Evaluation Reports is one of the most common documents within the international development field. These reports mostly deal with program and policy evaluations, particularly in the form of expert reviews, internal progress reports and case studies (Creed at al., 2012). The growing emphasis on international scholarship evaluation intensified during the pre-2015 Aid Effectiveness Agenda, particularly after the series of High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan (2011). And with this, Alumni Tracer Studies (ATS) is one of the most common evaluation approaches within international scholarship research.

ATS is an ex-post evaluation approach, which is conducted after completion of the scholarship program. The purpose of ATS is to primarily assess scholarship outcomes and impacts after a certain period of time has passed (Creed et al, 2012; Mawer, 2014, p. VI and 4). Scholarship alumni are invited to participate and report their post-scholarship realities and experiences. Close examination of evaluation reports such as Alumni Tracer Studies could provide insights on the current evaluation research norms and practices within the field of international scholarships. To further explore the politics of knowledge, some questions to ponder are: whose criteria are we basing this evaluation? Who is defining the research problem? Whose voices and perspectives are highlighted? Which ones are marginalized? This section explores how recipient voices are represented under expert lens (such as development consultants) and how recipients are complicit in sustaining narrow meta-narratives concerning international scholarships.

Fixation on Post-Scholarship Impacts and Meta-Narratives of Success: Since policy makers and funders are invested in policy-relevant results to inform their next

policy directions, the dominant pragmatic agenda of measuring aid effectiveness is sustained

over the years. With this aim, aid agencies commission 'experts' such as external consultants

from consulting firms, research institutes or academics to conduct international scholarship

evaluation and produce reports (Dassin & Navarrete, 2018; Martel, 2018; Mawer, 2014).

Common research questions of these aid agency-funded evaluation like ATS mostly revolves

around answering the pragmatic question, "does international scholarship work and how?"

as Human Capital Theory is the underlying theoretical approach.

With this primary aim to produce evidence-based data to measure and prove

effectiveness, narratives of 'success' are common across various ATS. Successful alumni

voices and cameos are evidently foregrounded throughout ATS using quantitative data

(survey) and qualitative data (interview narratives) (see Figure 5.7. as example). Across

various pre-2015 and post-2015 ATS, the vocabulary/term "impact" is ubiquitous. The level

of impact measured and analyzed across ATS is framed on various levels from individual

(micro), organizational/institutional (meso), national to international (macro) impacts

(Edwards et al., 2020).

During pre-2015 ATS, individual income and levels of career leadership positions

were some of the post-scholarship indicators featured in ATS to measure and analyze

impacts (The World Bank Institute, 2004, 2007, 2010). But what is distinct during post-2015

ATS compared to pre-2015 ATS is that the vocabulary and concepts evidently expanded. If

the pre-2015 ATS myopically revolving around individual impacts such as recipient

satisfaction and career-related data, post-2015 ATS intentionally emphasizes the role of

scholarship recipients as social change agents by highlighting organizational, national or

international contributions (The World Bank Institute, 2004, 2007, 2010; Edwards &

Taylor, 2017; Martel, 2019, see Appendix B for full list of ATS).

For example, there are more diverse representations of alumni that can be

particularly seen within post-2015 ATS of Australia Awards and ATS of private scholarships

such as Ford Foundation's International Fellowships Program. Here are two concrete

examples of post-2015 ATS and its expansion of narratives and representations of

international scholarship and recipients. First, Australia Awards became more intentional in emphasizing "Development Outcomes" across its post-2015 ATS (see Figure 5.7.). These alumni profiles serve as positive testimonials of how the scholarship program helped and how knowledge was successfully passed forward or spilled over to their communities, workplaces or countries through alumni contribution. These individual alumni stories serve as evidences to illustrate the concrete impacts of the program, commonly used to support the quantitative results of the survey results. This example from post-2015 Australia Awards illustrates the intentionality of highlighting alumni development contributions ranging from "training and mentoring", "formal teaching" and "implementing reforms and new approaches such as innovations" (see Figure 5.7, Australia Awards, 2018, p. 21, 24).

Figure. 5.7.

Example of Post-2015 Alumni Tracer Study Focus on Development Contributions

Note: Images from (top) Edwards, D. & Taylor-Haddow, A. (2020). Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Tracer survey report year 3 2018-19: Alumni of 2011-2016 (p. 18, 19) on "Contribution to Development" and (bottom) Edwards, D. & Taylor-Haddow, A. (2020). Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Tracer survey report year 3 2018-19: Alumni of 2011-2016 (p. 21, 24) on "Contribution to Development"

Aside from post-2015 Australia Awards ATS and its visible emphasis on development outcome and impacts, Ford Foundation's IFP also introduced new concepts during post-2015 by highlighting scholarship recipients being advocates of "Social Justice" An example is Figure 5.8 as featured within ATS.

Figure 5.8.

Scholarship Recipients as Social Justice Advocates

IFP IMPACTS WORLDWIDE

CREATING NEW INITIATIVES

Over 900 IFP alumni have created new programs and organizations. 97% of these initiatives address social issues or provide community services and 48% have been created by women.

CHANGING THE LIVES OF MILLIONS

Alumni report that these new programs and organizations have impacted **9.5 million adults and children** in the IFP countries and **860,000 additional individuals** worldwide.

IMPROVING ORGANIZATIONS

84% of IFP alumni reported making improvements in the organizations where they work or volunteer as a result of their IFP fellowship, impacting approximately **66,800 employees and volunteers** worldwide.

FURTHERING SOCIAL JUSTICE

IFP alumni have created nearly **34,600 products and forms of outreach related to social justice,** including over 12,000 conference presentations; almost 15,500 books, reports, journal, or news articles; and over 1,700 works of art.

BUILDING AN IFP LEGACY

Over 95% of IFP alumni remain in touch with each other, collaborating on various social justice issues and initiatives.

IFP FELLOWS AS SOCIAL JUSTICE ADVOCATES

More than half of alumni respondents (58%) advocate for social justice issues within their home communities. Alumni from earlier cohorts are engaging in advocacy work more than the rest of the alumni. This suggests that as alumni regain their foothold post-fellowship, their goals become more actionable over time. 63% of IFP alumni indicate that others in their community look to them when advocating for social justice. Both men and women are equally participating in this policy work, serving as role models for the rest of the members in their home communities.

"I feel committed to tackling problems that are affecting vulnerable populations; namely, indigenous communities, farmers, women, children and adolescents."
—survey respondent, Guatemala

"You can feel the support from other people who are fighting the same fight. By building credibility, we are gradually making progress. The scholarship reaffirmed my conviction that we can create a different kind of world, despite the challenges."
—survey respondent, Chile

Note: Images from Martel & Bhandari (2016, April). *Social Justice and Sustainable Change: The Impacts of Higher Education.* Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program – Alumni Tracking Study. Report 1. (p. 3, p. 30)

The terms "social justice advocates" are repeatedly emphasized throughout all Ford Foundation's IFP ATS reports – which is a striking difference to other Human Capital Focused ATS (see Appendix B for full list of Ford Foundation's IFP ATS). However, despite this expansion of recipient representation within post-2015 ATS, the research and reporting norm remains having a strong inclination towards positive reporting and representations: primarily emphasizing on the successful scholarship alumni and their social impacts which serves as "evidences" to depict program effectiveness. With this fixation on scholarship recipients as individual impact makers or change agents, it consequently fails to explore nuances and complexities surrounding international scholarships as development aid, and this lack of diversity in narratives marginalizes various voices, perspectives and experiences particularly beyond post-scholarship outcomes and impacts.

Negative Cases and Other Trajectories as Alternative Representations. Negative cases and other trajectories are rarely foregrounded and discussed within ATS reports due to the fixation on post-scholarship success narratives during pre-2015 and post-2015. As Mawer (2014) observes, there is commonly "no space for bad news to find voice within evaluations" (p. 10, 20). Studies on ATS found that there is a general reluctance for recipients to open up across ATS (Bryant, 2014; Creed et al., 2012; Mawer, 2014; Negin, 2014). Let's take Figure 5.9 as an example of a common satisfaction pie graph that can be easily naturalized and overlooked within ATS. While there are those certain alumni who responded "not satisfied at all" or "rather not satisfied", these non-positive statistical data would not commonly be featured or expounded as "alumni voices" for further explanation.

Figure 5.9.

Alumni Tracer Study & Dis/Satisfaction on Scholarship Program

Figure 4: Satisfaction with quality of the courses at the Erasmus Mundus host universities (GIS 2018)

27% very satisfied
48% rather satisfied
18% neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
6% rather not satisfied
1% not satisfied at all

Students and graduates (less than three years after graduation), n=323.
Wording of the question: "How satisfied are you with the quality of courses at your EM host universities?"
Data Source: Graduate Impact Survey 2018.

Note: Image from Terzieva, B. & Unger, M. (2019, June). Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Graduate Impact Survey 2018. Research Report Study.

However, despite silences, there are sites of resistance to the status quo in the midst of the strong success discourse within ATS. Some selected ATS particularly during post-2015 provided space for alternative voices and representations. Commonly, negative cases reported within ATS tend to revolve around post-scholarship career-related issues such as underemployment. The following are selected snippets that feature other alternative issues: *learning challenges of scholarship recipients*. One overlooked aspect within ATS due to the common fixation on post-scholarship contribution and impacts is the learning experiences of scholarship recipients. While there are certain ATS that used Kirkpatrick's model (an evaluation model that includes learning process and impact) such as ReDI (2015), this is still not widely considered a common framework within the research field (Mawer, 2014, p. VI) and rarely explores negative cases. Hereon, I will present and elaborate on two negative cases focusing on discrimination within learning contexts. Negative cases on "scholarship as learning" touch on issues of discrimination inside the classroom as well as learning difficulties, among others. For instance, Bryant (2014) conducted a study among Cambodian scholarship recipients of Australian scholarship. Some of the concerns he delved in with

were discrimination/racism within the context of learning experiences of Cambodian students. According to Bryant (2014):

> One-interviewed alumni was of the view that had had lecturers who marked the international students lower, although she acknowledged that this may have been due to weaker English language skills. Another reported that he had experienced difficulties in working in groups with Australians who would not listen to the international students (even when discussing development issues (p. 35).

This is merely one example of what DFAT's Ongoing Awardee Survey in 2013 reported where "40 percent of ongoing students reported that they had experienced some form of discrimination during their time in Australia" (p. 35). Apart from discrimination, Bryant (2014) also reported about collective challenges concerning academic research work:

> A number of alumni identified that undertaking research activities in Australia was particularly challenging as their undergraduate training in Cambodia had not included any education in research methodologies and undertaking research. **This had resulted in considerable difficulties for them (and delays) in the preparation of their initial research plans for their studies** (p. 34, emphasis mine)

This particular quote captured how differences in academic culture became a factor in recipients' learning process. In response to these negative cases, Bryant (2014) proposed a pragmatic action to address it: to have the pre-departure training "be reviewed to determine whether it can be strengthened to better prepare awardees for conducting research in Australia" (p. 34).

The second example of going beyond positive trajectories within the literature is connected to a series of post-2015 Australia Awards ATS. Australia Awards had shown high investment in producing regular ATS following the momentum of SDG4b launch. Australian ATS and case studies are annually conducted and reported publicly since 2016. In every post-2015 ATS, "key challenging factors" are intentionally included in each section in order to cover the struggles and issues of alumni (See Appendix B – all Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility Activities). While ATS mostly covered challenges revolving around post-scholarship issues such as "culture shock" and "employment", ATS from Australia Awards covered issues beyond post-scholarship realities such as issues of discrimination within learning spaces. Similar to the earlier study by Bryant (2014), here is an example of

discrimination case in the context of learning environment within post-2015 Australian ATS. According to Australia Awards Global Tracer Study (Doyle & Nietschke, 2019), a Vietnamese MBA student felt discriminated as being accused with plagiarism, which began a struggle within the university:

> The comment on the assignment actually was an insult because the teacher commented, 'This is not the work of international students. They obviously must have outsourced Australian people to do this work.' But still a pass. And then I say, 'If you feel that we plagiarised, we must have a fail, right? But you gave us a pass.' So we wrote a letter to the Dean of the Faculty of Business and they organised a meeting…I sent the email to the Equity Unit at UTS and said that we want respect. 'We want you to realise that there is talent all over the world, including people from non-English speaking backgrounds. That's what we want. Mark, we don't care. We don't want to care about the mark. And we want to save face for the teacher. Okay, so just leave the mark where it is.' But after the semester, the Faculty of Business sent us an email saying, 'We suspend the teacher for one or two semesters to do more investigation because we also received other students' complaints about him (Doyle & Nietschke, 2019, December, p. 57)

This case of the Vietnamese student provided a window of a negative student experience within international scholarship discourse, particularly a tensed student-professor dynamics and how it escalated to include a wide range of people from other students to administrators. While it is common to feature positive bias towards international scholarship and positive donor-recipient relationships within ATS, these two snippets from Bryant (2014) and Doyle & Nietschke (2019) added more complexity and nuance concerning international scholarships and the lived experiences as it further explores beyond the post-scholarship norm. These examples shows that discrimination goes beyond the general daily living of recipients, but inequality is also be experienced within learning environments – inside the classrooms, inside the context of higher education institutions.

These negative cases give readers a glimpse of some lived experiences of scholarship students within the context of various inequalities within international scholarships. However, it must be highlighted that presenting negative recipient voices remains a rare practice and when negative cases were to be included in the reports, it is not expounded in great detail. This is an exception rather than a research norm, but an emerging research approach.

Summary and Analysis: Recipients as Other - Idealized, Homogenized and Spoken For Under Northern Expert Lens

With Human Capital Theory as the common underlying theory informing ATS, there is evident fixation on post-scholarship outcomes and impacts, particularly featuring successful alumni contributions. Table 5.2. illustrates that both pre-2015 and post-2015 Alumni Tracer Studies predominantly frame evaluation reports through "successful alumni voice strategy" (Mawer, 2014), but consequently marginalizes various representations and voices.

Table 5.2.

Pre-2015 and Post-2015 Alumni Tracer Studies

Global Dev't Agenda	Pre-2015 MDG	Post-2015 SDG
Policy Focus	**Aid Effectiveness Agenda**	**SDG4b's Accountability and Transparency Agenda**
Framing	Successful Alumni Voice (Individual and Organizational Outcomes/Impact)	Successful Alumni Voice (Expanding to Macro-Impact such as contribution to development and social justice)
Foreground	Alumni quantitative and qualitative profile (alumni stories and graphs presenting quantitative data, focusing on recipients' satisfaction, career trajectory)	Alumni quantitative and qualitative profile (alumni stories and graphs presenting quantitative data, expanding focus on alumni being change agents and highlighting challenges faced)
Background/ Omission	Negative cases and other recipient trajectories	Negative cases and other recipient trajectories (Some ATS are intentional in including certain negative cases such as discrimination cases)

Despite initiatives to diversify recipient voices within ATS particularly during post-2015, international scholarship and scholarship recipients remain mainly understood under Eurocentric worldview. This section expounds how ATS further reifies subject-object dichotomy between Global North and South: scholarship recipients are objectified and "spoken for", and largely approached as idealized individuals under Northern lens. The following are the normative approaches within ATS:

Normative Assumption 1: Recipient Datafication under Neutral Expert

Lens. ATS as a research genre has a strong subject-object dichotomy as Alatas (2008)

describes. Scholarship recipients remain objectified, serving as the source of data within

Northern knowledge production (Connell, 2007). While ATS seem to appear as co-creation

among researchers and scholarship recipients because ATS is a common space for the

alumni to voice out their insights and sentiments through self-reporting, it must be

acknowledged that the whole research process of ATS – from research conceptualization,

data collection and analysis to results reporting is largely depend on the expert evaluator.

For instance, expert evaluators such as development consultants and academics are

commonly detached and neutral as they collect and analyze data among scholarship alumni.

The research norm relies on extracting data as scholarship alumni participate through

surveys and interviews. The data collected among scholarship alumni is then processed and

interpreted within the rationale of the expert evaluators' chosen framework and

assumptions. With the unchallenged subject-object dichotomy within ATS, international

scholarship remains within the Northern way of understanding the world: through

individualist lens and excluding Southern perspectives such as colonial entanglements

(Connell, 2006).

Normative Assumption 2: Scholarship Recipients Approached as as

Individual and Positive Impact Makers. As the underlying framework within ATS is

Human Capital Theory, the main focus is to illustrate the spillover effect of donor

investment. As ATS is an ex-post evaluation approach, it focuses not on the details of the

educational aspect of the scholarship program but on how the program shaped the alumni's

specialized skills. Across various ATS, alumni narratives foregrounded by researchers are

individuals who singlehandedly created positive impacts in their contexts without

elaborating on complexities or nuances. When researchers become fixated on reporting

positive and individualized alumni impacts and experiences, other experiences are

marginalized. Negative cases, ambiguities, resistances and other trajectories are overlooked.

For instance, the nature of knowledge learned and spilled over to the communities is not

further questioned and discussed within any ATS. This normative assumption neglects to expound on the politics of knowledge and the systemic inequalities it is entangled in. Instead, the alumni contributions (knowledge and skills) are approached as neutral and pragmatic solutions to modern problems. However, this unquestioned fixation on alumni productivity does not address how international scholarship programs are continually serving as ideological channels of Western progress (De Sousa Santos, 2015).

While selected post-2015 ATS are already starting to include negative cases beyond productivity and progress, the reports' discussion on structural inequalities are not elaborated. For instance, while certain ATS already feature narratives of inequalities within the learning environment (Bryant, 2004; Australia Awards, 2018) and utilize new frameworks such as "social justice", it remains silent on how international scholarship programs concretely reinforce colonial patterns through education (Connell, 2007) and how it is shaped neoliberal higher education. Marginalizing this educational/learning aspect within international scholarship fails to give space to explore how the interrelationships of scholarship recipients, educators, staff and the wider international scholarship community question, negotiate or resist what occurs within international scholarship programs concerning its nexus with neoliberal higher education.

Overall, similar to UNESCO Global Report, this section illustrated how datafication is central to ATS. Recipient voices serve as data evidences towards measuring program effectiveness, but failing to address nuances, ambiguities, resistances and complexities under Northern ways of knowing. In the next genre, I will present how academic literature attempts to resist this status quo through diversification of research approaches and alternative representations.

5.1.3. Academic Literature: Diversification under Northern Lens

For the third genre, I present academic literature (journals and books) as resistance to normative knowledge production. Compared to the pragmatic grey literature, academic literature has the capacity to provide more nuanced and complex perspectives concerning international scholarships due to its independent status to pursue knowledge *for knowledge's sake*. This section then explores in what ways academic literature introduced more diverse perspectives and theoretical approaches that went beyond the status quo within the research field. However, it must be noted that despite having a huge potential to be a resistance genre, the research strategy remains within the Northern lens and missing alternative epistemologies such exploring international scholarships via Southern Theory and Epistemologies.

Theoretical Diversity but Northern Epistemic Privilege. While UNESCO Global Reports and Alumni Tracer Studies predominantly subscribe to Human Capital Theory as its underlying theoretical approach, academic literature explores diverse research approaches. Across academic literature, more varied research paradigms can be observed as compared to the pragmatist approach of grey literature (See Table 5.3. and Table 5.4. for comparison of some grey and academic literature). Newly introduced theoretical approaches within the academic literature are ranging from economic to educational frameworks: Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (Campbell & Mawer, 2019), Eraut's Resituation Framework (Franken, 2012; Franken et al., 2016), Wenger's Community of Practice (Campbell & Lavallee, 2019), among others. There are also critical approaches in analyzing international scholarships such as Amazan et al. (2016); Nordtveit (2011); Pietsch (2011) and Wilson (2015).

Table 5.3.

Research Paradigm of UNESCO Global Report and Alumni Tracer Study

Type of Grey Literature		
Text	UNESCO Global Report	Alumni Tracer Study
Research Paradigm	Pragmatic	Pragmatic
Methodology	Quantitative	Mixed Methods
Methods	Statistical Data Analysis (Aid Volume)	Survey Questionnaire Interviews
Focus	International Scholarship as Aid Financing	Recipients' Impact and Contribution
Representation/ Discourse	International Scholarship as Donor Aid Volume Value for Money Discourse	The Successful Alumni Impact Maker/Change Agent Discourse of Success and Impacts

Table 5.4.

Examples of Research Paradigms within Academic Literature

Various Research Paradigms within Academic Literature			
Research Paradigm	**Constructivist/ Interpretative**	**Positivist**	**Critical**
Same Studies (Method or Framework of Analysis)	Franken (2012) Re-situation challenges for international students 'becoming' researchers (Phenomenology - Eraut's Resituation Framework)	Cosentino et al. (2019) Can scholarships provide equitable access to high-quality university education? (Quasi-experimental design, propensity design matching methods)	Amazan et al (2016) From extraction to knowledge production: The impact of Australia's development awards on Uganda and Mozambique (Case Study – Problematizing Aid)
	Campbell & Lavallee (2019) A community of practice for social justice: Examining the case of an international scholarship alumni association in Ghana (Wenger's Community of Practice – Case Study, Archival Documents and Interview)	Henseleer & Plesch (2009) How can scholarship institutions foster return of foreign students (Duration Analysis)	Wilson (2015) Ends changed, means retained: Scholarship programs, political influence and drifting goals (Kingdon's Model of Public Policy)

It is to note that scholar-practitioners from the USA, UK and Australia are largely active in resisting the status quo by diversifying the academic research field. Compared to the general development consultants (such as evaluators in ATS), these scholar-practitioners are well experienced with cross-cultural engagements and directly immersed within

international scholarship programs in various capacities such as program director (Dassin, 2017), program manager/officer (Campbell, 2016; Mawer, 2014) and educator (Baxter, 2018), among others. With their presence in the research field, they blur the delineation of policy community, consultancy and academia, and being able to weave academic knowledge and pragmatic experiences to conceptualize researches. Since they are well versed of issues and the politics within their contexts, they are able to bridge scholarship and practice – creating a strong scholarship of engagement.

For instance, scholar-practitioners introduced the emerging concepts of "Social Change" and "Social Justice" within international scholarship research (Bigalke & Zurbuchen, 2014; Campbell & Baxter, 2019; Campbell & Lavallee, 2019;; Dassin et al., 2018; Volkman et al., 2009; Waluyo et al., 2019). Their academic works tend to carry more nuanced conceptualization and discussions within the current literature. In particular, scholar-practitioners from private foundation were going against the grain, that instead of using the common theoretical norm of HCT, scholar-practitioners used other frameworks in approaching international scholarships. Particularly during post-2015, Sen's Capability Approach gained momentum in the research field (Campbell, 2018; Campbell & Mawer, 2019; Waluyo, 2019), and commonly discussed as resistance to status quo.

Capability Approach is based from Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom, and while this approach is nothing close to new in academia as well as in international development, it is only recently that it is connected with international scholarship research and practice. Scholars such as Campbell (2018) explain how Capability Approach could reframe the way international scholarships is researched and put to practice. Instead of the 'one-size-fits-all-approach', Capability Approach enables scholarship recipients to have the freedom and flexibility to set personal goals and acknowledging complexities such as "changing contours of students' home countries" (Campbell, 2018, p. 183). She explained:

> ...we need new models for scholarship programs that allow for recipients to develop their interests, expand their networks, and increase their choices during the scholarship period, with significant support given to the alumni's social change engagement in the long term. Instead of trying to fit talented individuals into predetermined job descriptions or setting predetermined outcomes of how

knowledge and skills will be applied upon graduation, funders should consider allowing the individual the freedom to build on their experiences, choose their pathways, and design projects or positions that contribute to the home country. (p. 182-183)

This implies that Sen's Capability Approach widens the meaning on what international scholarships could be and what scholarship recipients could do as individuals. With Sen's capability approach, international scholarship is approached as equipping personal development and letting it be an end in itself (Campbell & Mawer, 2019). This is in contrast with the common human capital framework, where education is approached to be a means to an end (Dassin, 2017; Pernia et al., 2014). However, while capability approach introduces a fresher theoretical perspective, this does not explicitly challenges aspirations to go beyond modernity.

On the other hand, while researchers from the Global North are predominant in the research field and actively diversifying the research approaches, it remains rare for researchers from the Global South to be visible in the research field.[35] Observed researchers from the Global South are diasporic researchers: based outside their home country and affiliated with Northern institutions while researching about their own context. They are involved in North-South collaborations (for instance, Abimbola et al. 2016; Amazan et al. 2016). But while some North-South collaborations offer critical and contextualized approaches to international scholarship, Southern theories or concepts are not observed in any existing academic literature. While words such as "postcolonial" and "colonial relationship" were explicitly mentioned in the critical work of Amazan et al. (2016), the colonial context serves a brief background rather than a main analytical framework.

Overall, while existing academic literature offered a gamut of theoretical and analytical perspectives on international scholarships, it is evident that Southern perspectives remain largely missing. Referencing/citations within the research field are narrowly revolving around works of Northern researchers with Eurocentric approaches in

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[35] Researchers from the Global South who are from a scholarship donor providing country such as China are growing too. But the research themes are donor-centric, similar to the dominant research agenda such as donors' soft power

understanding international scholarships. With this, there is a gesture of exclusion as how describes Connell (2006) within the academic literature.

As academic literature on international scholarships is mainly read from the center (Connell, 2006), the common analytical focus remains on individualistic and nation-static. Individualist analyses are normative, focusing on individual scholarship recipients. For instance, studies by Enkhtur (2019) focused on individual contributions to national development of Mongolian students in Japan, Campbell (2017) on individual recipients from Georgia and Moldova and their development contributions, and Campbell (2019) on individual recipient choices with regards to government reforms, among others.

On the other hand, topics on national/macro-level analysis such as donors' soft power, public diplomacy and foreign policy remain growing over the years but without challenging the North-South dichotomy to go Otherwise (Abimbola et al., 2016; Akerlund, 2014; Aras & Mohammed, 2019; Atkinson, 2010; King, 2013a; Metzgar, 2016; Myungsik, & Elaine, 2018; Shangwe, 2017; Trilokekar, 2010). Aid effectiveness evaluation and analysis of policy and programs from donors' perspective remains a common research agenda (Bonilla & Kwak, 2015; Dong & Chapman, 2008; Hejkrlik et al., 2018; Makinda & Turner, 2013; Nemekova & Krylova, 2014). With this, alternative worldviews and research approaches are not yet visible within the research field. For instance, there is yet to conduct international scholarship research using indigenous worldview, which highlights relationships, communities and intimacy of people with the land rather than the normative reading from the center under Northern lens (Connell, 2006).

Diversifying Alternative Voices and Perspectives but Missing Southern Re-presentations. By using more diverse theoretical and methodological approaches than grey literature, academic literature provided more alternative voices and perspectives. Here, in this section, I will focus and enumerate three sample cases found in the current academic literature as signs of resistance to status quo. However, despite diversification, these alternative perspectives are still limited under Northern lens.

Alternative Perspective 1: Scholarship Impacts From Individual to Collective Impacts. Similar to ATS, the word *impact* is common within academic literature. Commonly, impact is studied within the context of the individual's contribution than in collective context (Amazan et al., 2016; Dassin & Navarette, 2018; Martel, 2018 Mawer, 2018). However, certain academic research initiatives on collective impacts were observed during post-2015 such as works of Campbell and Lavallee (2019), Campbell and Baxter (2019), Campbell (2016). Collective contributions of scholarship recipients are researched through alumni associations. For instance, Campbell and Lovallee (2019) did a case study of how an alumni association becomes a Community of Practice (CoP) for social justice advocacy. They studied the case of IFP alumni association in Ghana and how the association worked beyond the information sharing but became a community for social activism – learning and doing social justice work together.

On the other hand, Campbell and Baxter (2019) used a multi-case study to explore practices of three alumni associations from Georgia, Ghana and Mongolia and how the social network developed from alumni associations to becoming social change organizations. However, though collective impacts were studied under more varied theoretical frameworks compared to what Alumni Tracer Studies, this collective framing still remains within the "impact" discourse and fixating on productivity as De Sousa Santos (2015) describes Northern knowledge production. Under Northern lens, recipients remain approached as functional social agents where their knowledge and skills are instrumental towards attaining an aim. This collective approach within the research field remains linked with instrumentality: for instance as "change agents" (Dassin & Navarrete, 2018), "critical mass" (Kent, 2018, p. 33; Boeren, 2018, p. 48; Mawer, 2018) and "ambassadors" (Boeren, 2018).

Alternative Perspective 2: Scholarship Recipients From Impact Makers to Scholarship Learners. While economic-focused human capital theory is the commonly assumed theoretical background within the research field, some academic researches provided a wider range of approach in investigating scholarship beyond productivity agenda - that is, researching through learning or educational framework. Intriguingly, scholarship

learning as a research focus is a largely neglected aspect within international scholarships research. Dassin et al. (2018) pointed that in the current evaluation practice, educational experience remains missed out: "[the] details and nuances of university experience are rarely captured, undermining our understanding of the relative impacts of different host institutions on post-graduate outcomes" (p. 378). Scholars such as Baxter (2018) and Dassin and Navarrete (2018) refer learning as the "black box" of international scholarships. It is proposed to examine more of the role of pedagogy in international scholarship programs, particularly its role in "understanding how the knowledge and skills acquired in their academic programs affect scholarship recipients' post-study activities and social impacts" (Dassin et al. 2018, p. 378).

To unpack this black box, a growing number of studies are covered scholarship recipients and their educational experiences: Baxter (2019), Baxter (2018), Christopher (2008), Enkhtur (2019), Franken (2012) and Franken (2013) focused on scholarship learning and offered new representations of scholarship recipients beyond the dominant impact maker discourse. Let's have a brief overview of these researches: In *Re-situation challenges for international students becoming researchers,* Franken (2012) did a phenomenological study on the process of how scholarship recipients become researchers using transnational and spatial theory. She documented how five New Zealand Aid scholarship recipients from Melanesia and Asia developed their thesis. The research explored the "knowledge re-situation" of scholarship recipients in their research process - from planning, questioning and writing research proposals. Instead of the common focus on learning impact, the approach taken by Franken (2012) delved into the lived student experience and this approach remains rare in the research field.

Another scholarship learning-focused research is how Baxter (2019) explored the student lives of 34 Rwandan scholarship recipients in the USA, particularly focusing on their "student engagement"[36]. Student engagement pertains to student agency and how they

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[36] According to Baxter (2019), this is what student engagement means: "student engagement refers to the meaningful participation of students in activities within and beyond the classroom that contribute

negotiate their learning experiences, which is also a rare research focus in the research field.

Lastly, Baxter (2018) focused on pedagogic approaches that could be employed within international scholarship programs. In the article *The Benefits and Challenges of International Education: Maximizing Learning for Social Change*, she highlighted the importance of reflective learning and civic engagement to be incorporated within international scholarship programs such as non-violent protests, volunteerism, service learning:

> Participants in the African Alumni Study describe the important role that social and political engagement with local and global causes during their period of study abroad through volunteer work and advocacy organizations contributed to their understandings of injustice and their social and civic engagement upon graduation. Some note how these experiences abroad strengthened commitments and values that were formed during childhood and primary and secondary education in their home contexts (Baxter, 2018, p. 114)

With this example, Baxter illustrates some significant factors that influence the learning process such as the role of childhood in current learning experiences – these factors and rarely discussed and explored within the research field. She further emphasized the role of pedagogical approaches in scholarships:

> In addition to the powerful learning that immersion in a new culture stimulates, exposure to new academic cultures and pedagogical practices is also influential. Within the classroom, alumni point to learner-centered and problem-based teaching methodologies that foster engaged learning and critical thinking, applied rather than purely theoretical learning, and state-of-the-art facilities that are not available at home as making an impactful contribution to their learning" (Baxter 2014; Marsh et al. 2016). (Baxter, 2018, p.113-114)

Baxter's article illustrates that scholarship students preferred applied rather than purely theoretical learning – which is in contrast with the dominant approach in scholarship programs. Overall, while promising academic literature is offering new insights and new perspectives on scholarship learning, this remains fixated solely on scholarship recipients on its analysis and not in its complex context of politics of knowledge. Moreover, researchers remain distant and neutral in their interactions with the research participants.

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to desirable outcomes (Quaye & Harper, 2014). It is a multifaceted concept that acknowledges the importance of students, institutions, and sociocultural context in contributing student success" (p. 109)

Alternative Perspective 3: Recipients as From Social Justice Advocate to Experiencing Oppression. Another alternative representation within the academic literature concerns alternative discourses of inequality and oppression. The concept of "Social Justice" began to emerge in international scholarship research, particularly through IFP (Campbell & Lavallee, 2019; Volkman et al., 2009; Waluyo et al., 2019). But while successful discourse of being a social justice advocate is more common within the research field, certain academic literature covered negative cases within international scholarship programs based on students' experiences. The following researches have tied individual struggles to the systemic inequality: for instance, King (2013a) illustrated discrimination and student issues occurring within South-South scholarship, where he dedicated a whole chapter on "African Students in China: Changing Characteristics, Contexts and Challenges". Among the issues of African students covered was the insufficiency of scholarships provided. In his book, he explained:

> As if open discrimination was not enough, the great majority of the African students who were interviewed (71%) found that their 'so-called scholarship' from China was **'woefully inadequate'** in terms of covering costs. Further, there was no way that they could make up for the **inadequacy of their scholarship by part-time jobs,** even during the holiday periods. Such jobs were said to be not allowed (p. 71-72)

King's example provided a snippet of a collective struggle among African students in China, as a direct consequence of scholarship policy/program design. By calling out the inadequate scholarship aid or "so-called scholarship", it illustrates a counter-discourse or alternative perspective on scholarship as generous financial support to students. It challenges the dominant discourse of international scholarship as privilege, but as explained here, a source of suffering.

Similarly, another example of how the personal struggle is linked with the larger social structure is a study done by Harman (2003). In his study, he presented learning challenges of international students in Australia, and the following snippet illustrates the tensed nature of supervisor-student relationship:

> A number of them reported experiencing some difficulty in coping with less formally structured supervision arrangements...One Asian woman student in chemistry explained that in her home country research students are given much more direction and supervisors have more time available to direct student projects. **She aptly compared her research project to swimming to an island, commenting: 'I**

don't know whether I can swim to the island or not'. A number of both international and Australian students complained of difficulty in getting access to busy supervisors who often had a dozen or more research students and were actively involved with externally funded research projects [emphasis mine] (Harman, 2003)

This example depicts not only a snippet of an individual student's difficulty with different supervising styles but also capturing a larger context of the changing nature of neoliberal higher education where professors are now actively involved in externally funded research projects and influencing the learning environment. These two examples of student vulnerabilities by King (2013a) and Harman (2003) provided a picture of how the oppressive learning environment shapes the experiences within the scholarship program and how it spills out into the daily life of scholarship recipients as well as other people within the community.

Interestingly, while these three alternative perspectives - *collective impact, scholarship learning and systemic oppression* are offering new voices and perspectives to the research field, these alternative representations about scholarship recipients remain as "spoken for". The lived experiences of scholarship recipients remain as data gathered and spoken for by Northern expert researchers, instead of scholarship recipients as immediate authors/researchers of these perspectives.

Summary and Analysis: Diversification under Northern Lens

While the academic literature of international scholarships is still in its state of infancy and merely emerging post-2015, academics from Global North and South have contributed various alternative representations through a diverse range of theoretical/conceptual frameworks than before. These new research approaches made it possible to expand understanding of international scholarship such Capability Approach and Social Justice as theoretical perspectives and providing glimpses of alternative perspectives such as *"Scholarship Impacts From Individual to Collective Impact", "Scholarship Recipients From Impact Makers to Scholarship Learners", "Recipients as From Social Justice Advocate to Experiencing Oppression"* as diversification strategy. However, this

section will expound more on the overlooked politics of knowledge production within academic literature. Across academic knowledge production, both Northern and Southern researchers have used diversification of theoretical and conceptual approaches in order to diversify voices and perspectives in the research field. But although academic literature provided promising developments towards research diversity, it remains under the Northern gaze with epistemic privilege of Northern epistemologies. The following are some specific aspects of its Northern lens:

Normative Assumption 1: Scholarship Recipient as Research Object, Not Theorizing Researcher. While more diverse recipient voices and experiences are featured in academic literature, scholarship recipients remain as research objects by serving as sources of data (Connell, 2007). They remain naturally being interpreted and spoken for mostly by Northern academics through data collection and analysis. Academic researchers write about the recipients' (subaltern) experiences, where they are still objectified as the "Other" (Burney, 2012). Thus, subject-object dichotomy remains intact (Alatas, 2008) within academic research as scholarship recipients still fail to re-present themselves and engage as theorizing researchers. As observed across academic literature, there is gesture of exclusion (Connell, 2006). Southern theorists are not cited or observed and Southern epistemologies were not consciously engaged within the existing academic researches. As a response, Dassin and Navarrete (2018) aptly acknowledged the research gap and invited recipients and researchers from the South to actively engage in the research field: "researchers and former scholarship holders in developing countries should be encouraged to build new models and methodologies for impact assessment. This dimension is almost entirely missing from the existing literature and should be encouraged" (p. 322).

But it is to note that despite certain Southern researchers emerging within academic literature post-2015, diversification of researchers does not guarantee epistemic diversity. For example, academic research through North-South collaborations and Southern diasporic researchers do not necessarily go beyond the Eurocentric assumptions in their researches (Abimbola et al., 2016; Amazan et al., 2016; Franken et al., 2016). International scholarships

remain being read from the center under Eurocentric worldview. Aligning to what Alatas (2003) points out with academic dependency, scholars from the Global North set the theoretical agenda and methodological standards while those from the Global South mostly conduct empirical research work and struggle to be creative in problematizing.

Normative Assumption 2: Northern Theorizing as Rigorous Research and the Missing Alternative Epistemologies. During post-2015, there was a strong call for more rigorous international scholarship research. As a response, post-2015 academic researchers introduced new theoretical and conceptual frameworks, ranging from "Capability Approach", "Social Justice" to "Transformative Pedagogy". However, these new theoretical frameworks and concepts still remain within the Eurocentric worldview. There is a monoculture of knowledge and rigor (De Sousa Santos, 2015) as the emerging direction maintains monological/rationalist epistemology. The abyssal line that divides North and South epistemologies are strong within academic literature. Academic researchers maintain neutrality, engaging with participants limitedly (ie. cognitively), and analyzing scholarship recipients within individualist and nation-statist approaches.

However, without epistemic resistance of status quo, the academic research field is continually framed and dependent on Eurocentric ways of knowing and missing a wide range of knowledges and experiences through epistemologies of the South. For instance, the research field fails to seriously address the colonial entanglements within international scholarship, this is what Connell (2006) describes as a grand erasure of colonial experiences. While there are certain post-2015 researches within academic literature that features inequality and oppression discourses, it misses the opportunity to disrupt the colonial status quo and explore Otherwise.

5.2. Scholarship of Other: Common Themes of Northern Gaze Across Research Genres

In the earlier sections, I presented three genres: UNESCO Global Reports, Alumni Tracer Studies and Academic Literature and how politics of knowledge occurs within each genre. In this second section, I will briefly present the four common themes concerning politics of knowledge that cut across the research genres. These four themes or what I call "Scholarship of Other" illustrates the dominance of Western/Northern knowledge production within the international scholarship research field. These features answer the questions: "Whose scholarship matters and kind of research relationship exists within the research field?", "What is predominantly researched about?", "How is it researched?" and "How is status quo resisted?" These four themes touches on the nature of researcher relationship, dominant research agenda and approach as well as dominant resistance approach to status quo. This section illustrates how international scholarship research field is largely under Northern ways of knowing, which is monologic, reductive and largely read from the center (Connell, 2006).

5.2.1. Subject-Object Relations: *Northern 'Experts' as Researchers and Scholarship Recipients as Sources of Data*

International scholarship research field is predominantly under Northern expert gaze, an epistemic privilege revolving around researchers from the Global North. Development consultants and academics serve as de-facto researchers while scholarship recipients are naturalized as research participants rather than as researchers. This naturalized difference fosters a highly internalized us/them dichotomy: researchers from the Global North are the "knowing subjects" as Alatas (2008, p. 8) calls it and research participants from the Global South become the research objects. This unchallenged subject-object dichotomy reifies the paternal and hierarchical relationship between Global North and South.

Northern Experts as Neutral Researchers. As the role of experts become a fixture within the research field, development consultants and academic researchers mainly from the Global North (particularly US, UK, Australia) have become the authoritative voice on international scholarships. The relationship of researchers with participants is commonly distanced, objective and neutral. Especially with the increasing demand for more prescriptive evidence-based and policy-informing research during post-2015, researchers maintain an 'unbiased' stance as they attempt to measure or analyze international scholarship objectively and effectively. There is rarely a research practice of reflexivity despite certain researchers were immersed or embedded within the international scholarship community such as roles of program administrator, staff or educator. Apart from brief autobiographical profiles of researchers, opening up about positionality, biases, ideological perspectives or entanglements in the research is quite rare.

Scholarship Alumni as Sources of Data. On the other hand, the naturalized subjectivity of scholarship recipients is being the research participant. Across Alumni Tracer Studies and Academic Literature, scholarship alumni are commonly invited to participate as survey respondents and interview informants in various kinds of international scholarship researches. As Connell (2007) frames it, they have become "sources of data". Particularly during post-2015 Recipient Turn, scholarship recipients became the targeted data: UNESCO GEM Reports proposed mainstreaming of recipient data while ATS and academic literature are exploring more diverse recipient narratives into data analysis. However, this intensifying datafication reifies recipient objectification as it further categorizes scholarship recipients into socially-constructed, colonial labels under Northern ways of knowing. Recipients become disembodied and decontextualized from their lived experiences, overlooking socio-historical complexities and vulnerabilities. And instead of scholarship recipients speaking and representing themselves (Ashcroft et al., 2006; Burney, 2012), they are naturally spoken for as Other under Northern gaze and rarely observed as international scholarship researchers themselves.

5.2.2. Axiology of Productivity and Progress: *Fixation on Post-Scholarship Outcomes and Impacts but Missing Complexities*

Northern knowledge production on international scholarship shaped limited vocabularies and research agendas within the research field. For instance, the words "outcomes and impacts" are ubiquitous across the research literature. This focus on change and progress is hinged in the monoculture of linear time – one of the features of Northern epistemologies (De Sousa Santos, 2015). With Human Capital Theory (HCT) remains the dominant theoretical framework in research, measuring and analyzing post-scholarship outcomes and impacts are over-emphasized. This illustrates how international scholarship research field puts high value in measuring efficiency, productivity and reporting progress or what I call 'axiology of productivity and progress'.

Scholarship Alumni as Impact Makers. Researching post-scholarship recipient experiences has become a common research agenda**,** particularly exploring how scholarship recipients are impact makers. There is a sense of un/conscious performativity for both donors and recipients to prove that international scholarship is a good effective aid. Success narratives in the form of alumni profiles/voices are prevalent features across international scholarship literature. For instance, represented as "critical mass" (Kent, 2018, p. 33; Boeren, 2018, p. 48; Mawer, 2018), "social justice advocates" (Martel & Bhandari, 2016) and "social change agents" (Dassin & Navarrete, 2018), illustrating how they are spilling over progress back to their own communities. The results of efficiency and productivity would then inform further planning and implementing international scholarship practice. However, as recipients are continually idealized within a hero narrative and only focusing on their instrumentality in producing impacts, this sustains representations of international scholarships and scholarship recipients without nuances and complexities. For instance, this fixation with post-scholarship recipient experiences maintains sanitized representations not only of scholarship recipients but the international scholarship community. It lacks the width and depth of complex lived experiences within the international scholarship community – whether present students, educators, staff, and the

community's connection to the past and future.

Missing Complexities, Vulnerabilities and Other Trajectories. The hyperfocus on the role of scholarship recipients as impact makers marginalizes various voices and perspectives: excluding discourses of vulnerability, oppression, exploitation and resistances within the field. There is a lack of multifaceted, nuanced and complex approach towards inquiring international scholarship. One example of what is overlooked under impact agenda is exploring politics of knowledge within international scholarship programs. Despite the centrality of learning in international scholarship programs, there is a dearth of discussion surrounding the politics of knowledge. This misses exploring vulnerabilities occurring within and through international scholarships as development aid across time and space. No discussions on the nexus of international scholarship programs and neoliberal higher education, and further examining its colonial entanglements within the global knowledge economy.

5.2.3. Monologic Research Inquiry: *Dominance of Northern Theories but Missing Alternative Epistemologies*

During post-2015 SDG4b, there is a stronger call for a more serious and rigorous research approaches within the research field. This encouraged more theoretical or conceptual and empirical research initiatives: more data gathering, measurement and analysis as prescribed research direction. However, this prescribed direction remains parochial and operating within monologic research paradigm – epistemologies of the North as how De Sousa Santos (2015) describes. With this, the research field largely is within a Euro-centric worldview. For instance, the normative units of analysis within international scholarship research are under Northern logic: highly individualistic (focus on the scholarship recipient), nation-states based (naturalized Global North as donor and South as recipient countries) and human-centric (nature-human divide). This normative approach of understanding international scholarships under Northern lens needs to be challenged further.

Dominance of Monologic Theorizing. Before 2015, theories were rarely explicitly mentioned within the research field. Human Capital Theory (HCT) - a Western economic theoretical framework had the monopoly as the underlying logic across international scholarship research and practice. But during post-2015, a more visible and prescriptive call for theoretical/conceptual diversity within international scholarship research can be observed. New theoretical approaches such as Rights-Based Approach and Capability Approach became visible within the research field. However, although promising, these theories are still based on what Connell (2006) calls as "reading from the center". This means that theorizing under the Northern lens is still limited within the Northern experiences of understanding the world. The following are some Eurocentric ways of analyzing international scholarships:

First, *Individualistic Orientation:* Individual scholarship recipients are one of the common units of research analysis. Recipients are viewed as objective individuals who are independent and autonomous decision makers and social change agents in control of resources and their own fates. Researchers assume recipients' rational choices, where their alumni contributions such as policy innovations are commonly centered as individual feats without socio-historical complexities and nuances. This individualist approach neglects a system-oriented understanding towards international scholarshipIt fails to address systemic/structural violences that international scholarship programs are complicit to maintain. It also maintains the invisibility of other actors/agents in the field – missing complex interrelationships among program managers, educators/professors, students, staff and community members from host and home communities (such as work colleagues).

Second, *Modern Nation-States:* Another normative analytical unit within international scholarship research is the dichotomy of donor-recipient countries. With the normative term "inter-*national* scholarship", there becomes a fixed, essentialist approach to nation-states and national identities and failing to recognize that these are abstractions disembedded from its colonial context when discussing about international scholarships. This unchallenged conceptualization and analysis within the nation-state context sustains

the internalized hierarchical differences of the Global North as aid donor/knowledge producers and Global South as aid recipients/passive knowledge receivers. But this dichotomy is crucial to be problematized.

Exclusion of Southern Theories and Epistemologies. While international scholarship research is dominated by Northern theories and epistemologies, it excludes alternative ways of knowing and being beyond Eurocentric sensibilities. There is absence of alternatives using Southern theories or epistemologies such as feminist, social, decolonial ways of knowing. This is a gesture of exclusion as Connell (2006) calls it and this creates a "massive waste of social experience" (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 238) by failing to include complexities, holism and nuances of international scholarship as development aid from alternative epistemologies. The dominant monologic and rational approach in understanding international scholarship overlooks how various people within the international scholarship community are social, affective, nuanced and complex beings who engages in doubts, negotiations, resistances and contradictions.

5.2.4. Resistance From Within: *Diversification and Radical Resistance, Not Otherwise*

There is a growing resistance of the status quo within the international scholarship research field, particularly evident during post-2015. There were a number of literatures that incorporated more diverse voices, perspectives and a wider range of theoretical frameworks than before. Grey and academic literature started to feature counter-narratives such as themes of oppression and inequalities, breaking the monolithic narrative of success and impacts. However, research approaches - even the radical approaches remain trapped within the logics of Northern epistemologies, which I call as "resistance from within". Diversification missed the opportunity to disrupt using alternative research paradigms such as considering epistemologies of the South with regards to international scholarship research.

Northern Resistance as Incorporation of Diverse Voices and

Perspectives. The different research genres explored in this chapter introduced various forms of diversification particularly during post-2015. For instance, if pre-2015 literature focused more on Human Capital Theory (HCT) as the common underlying theoretical approach in research and practice, international scholarship researchers from the Global North (particularly as scholar-practitioners) introduced new theoretical and conceptual approaches within international scholarship research. Examples of new theoretical and conceptual approaches within post-2015 literature that challenge the status quo are "Social Justice", "Capability Approach", "Social Change Agents". However, despite its promises in expanding and diversifying voices and perspectives within the research field, there are certain limitations with using diversification as rethinking strategy. First, expert researchers still maintain subject-object dichotomy between Global North and South. Scholarship recipients remain as research objects, extracted of data and analyzed using Euro-centric ways of understanding the world rather than re-imagining Otherwise. Second, while new theoretical/conceptual approaches allow telling the stories that were marginalized before such as vulnerabilities and oppression within international scholarship, these are more engaged as single-issues of inequalities, and failing to address the interconnectedness of systemic modern violences such as racism, capitalism and patriarchy. While certain studies include socio-historical contexts of specific nation-states, colonial legacies are approached as a backdrop and rarely discussed as serious core context. Colonial violence is rather discussed in an indirect manner.

Academic Dependency in Southern Resistance: Writing Back to Power but with Captive Minds. On the other hand, Southern resistance to status quo is either produced through North-South research collaborations (such as Amazan et al., 2016 and Abimbola et al., 2016) and rare independent Southern research. However, there is academic dependency in the language of Southern resistance. Western critical tradition remains the common inspiration for radical imagination of liberation, and not Otherwise. As De Sousa Santos (2015) warns, radical politics is limited in thinking about alternatives. While

researchers in resistance utilize radical frameworks such as social justice or postcolonial theory as critical lens, alternative paradigms tapping on Southern theories and epistemologies remain marginalized and unexplored. With this academic dependency, original theoretical and conceptual contributions are minimal (Alatas, 2003).

My dissertation is a concrete example of academic dependency. While critical approaches such as postcolonial theory and critical discourse analysis enabled me to uncover the inequalities, it remains within the limited colonial frame of references concerning liberation and emancipation. While critical approach uncovers Northern epistemological hegemony, it fails to go beyond ontological domination and remains stuck in the structural North-South power relations. In the next section will expound on the politics of knowledge found within my dissertation. Via Sarilaysay, I would explore my own academic dependency and captive mind (Alatas, 2004).

5.3. My Dissertation as Resistance: A Meta-Critique and Contemplation via Sarilaysay

After presenting the common research genres and dimensions of 'Scholarship of Other' in this chapter, I now proceed to critique my own dissertation's approach and research process. I included this critical reflexivity as part of findings as this offers a different approach in rethinking international scholarship research. Juxtaposing this part to my findings is a dialogue of critical-rational scholarship and what I call "contemplative scholarship". Surprisingly, in my quest to problematize international scholarship research and uncover postcolonial politics of knowledge, my research inquiry took a very personal, embodied and intimate turn. In this Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative), I contemplate on my own dissertation journey by consciously pondering on various questions: *"In what ways do colonial legacies influence me as a researcher and shape my own scholarship?", "In what ways did I become complicit to perpetuating dominant Eurocentric knowledge system?", "What does this dissertation process mean to me as an international scholarship researcher from the Global South - especially as someone who aimed to disrupt the status quo of the*

research field?"

This space becomes a meta-critique and contemplation concerning my attempted resistance within international scholarship research using critical/postcolonial approach. Prior to my dissertation defense, I had already taken sufficient steps concerning reflexivity (Chapter 3 Methodology). There, I consciously narrated my positionality and biases to give a transparent context of where I am coming from. I thought that it was enough. But this Sarilaysay becomes an additional space and practice towards a "conscious adoption of greater self-reflexive and mindful methodologies by researchers" (Kester et al., 2019, p. 7). After my dissertation defense and contemplating on the panel's engagement, there was a growing curiosity for me to confront my intentions and research process closely, candidly. I pondered on more direct questions such as *"Why did I choose Postcolonial Theory?" and "Why did I choose Critical Discourse Analysis?"*

As I answer these questions, I will share particular moments in my researcher journey: exploring inner musings, struggles and epiphanies during the research process. Specifically, I will highlight certain questions offered by my dissertation panel and honor the communal nature of this dissertation journey. As I contemplate on their questions, I will include moments of confusion, failure, grief, joy and even mundane encounters. By sharing my intimate and vulnerable research experiences in this Sarilaysay, not only this provides space to process my dissertation's limitations in rethinking international scholarship research, but also gives space how this very limitation serendipitously became a bosom for critical consciousness, creativity and epistemic healing for me. This awareness of the limitation became a gateway in opening myself towards re-imagination beyond colonial terms, engaging with alternative onto-epistemic possibilities as an international scholarship researcher.

Swimming In the Colonial Unconscious*:*

Confronting Captive Mind

During my dissertation defense, I received my panel's compelling comment concerning my usage of Postcolonial Theory and PCDA: "the framework and methods for the work are themselves Western-centric. Why has Eva chosen such Western/Northern-centric approaches when the work itself is attempting to disrupt this way of thinking?" It was a comment I was not able to shake off easily. It became a constant echo reverberating as I opened my dissertation draft every single time…This comment potently revealed my deep embeddedness within the dominant Euro-centric knowledge system which I sought to resist. This gripping imagery came to my mind…*Oh, I am a fish swimming in the (colonial) waters?!*

This dissertation transitioned to become an intimate, soulful inquiry on postcolonial politics of knowledge: a researcher confronting her very own captive mind and deeply committed to unpacking this colonial unconscious. As Alatas (2004) asserts, captive mind is due to the colonial structure of domination – whether conscious or unconscious, willing or unwilling, it is hindering the creative mind to flourish. That particular question during my defense dawned on me that I did not even have to look too far and critique other researches in order to uncover the postcolonial politics of knowledge. I can already start with my dissertation, and clearly witness how colonial legacies limit knowledge production on international scholarships! Suddenly, this dissertation is no longer an academic rite of passage but a compelling space to interrogate myself as a complicit researcher. Similar to the various resistances done by Northern and Southern researchers I enumerated earlier in this chapter, I likewise failed to go beyond the colonial research paradigm. Despite my well-intentioned transformative aim (which I consciously spelled out in my methodology chapter), I unconsciously geared towards the very system I wanted to disrupt. My dissertation remains within a normative approach to ontology, epistemology and axiology – a Eurocentric scholarship concerning international scholarships.

The funny thing is, Alatas (2004) already warned the pervasiveness of this captive

mind: he quipped that even those who "vehemently opposed to colonialism" may be unconsciously under a captive mind (p. 692). Alatas exactly described *me as a researcher*. Ironically, I have even detailed out what captive mind is in my own theoretical background in Chapter 3...and yet it did not sink in, as I understood it only academically, cognitively, cerebrally. There was a seemingly disconnection, an epistemic dissociation with what I cognitively "know" and how I embody my research experience. This was a sobering and humbling researcher turn: that despite my intentional and certain resistance of the status quo, my work remained within the realms of the colonial paradigm: a disembodied scholarship.

In my lost-ness, I contemplated on Captive Mind again. Allowing space to hold discomfort and meditate, this time of deep listening revealed how captive mind's violence is deep, structural, lived and embodied. The "mind" in Alatas' captive mind is not only about "intellectual/academic mind" but captivating one's being: flesh, blood, soul, spirit – of consciousness, gasping under the waters of colonial entanglement. This aligns with De Sousa Santos (2018) assertion on the corporeality of knowledge: "Epistemologies of the South are about knowledges embodied in concrete bodies, whether collective or individual. Body, as a living entity, is the body that suffers oppression and resists it, that mourns with defeat and death and rejoices with victory and life (p. 13)

And this colonial water does not only concern me as an individual researcher, but a collective lived experience. I, Eva, a graduate of various Westernized universities back in my own homeland and abroad, am part of a "dysfunctional generation of graduates" as what Alatas (2004, p. 694) describes. Generations of scholars who struggle and will struggle "to be creative and raise original problems, the inability to devise original, analytical methods" (Alatas, 1993, p. 308) and who are systematically disconnected from a wide range of knowledge repertoire due to colonialism (De Sousa Santos & Meneses, 2019). I gasped with shock, grief and mourning as this unconsciousness settled within. This revelation gripped my very soul: caught off guard, as if drowning by the revelation of the water. How could one not be?

/Generations and generations of scholars, struggling/

Our normalized knowledge production follows a colonial structure through our global education system, the colonial water we are all swimming in. This is a lived, painful collective unconscious, a collective trauma across generations whether one is from Global North or South. As I let this sink in, I suddenly began to resonate with captive mind not only cognitively as a researcher, but viscerally and painfully as a human being. This revelation made me sincerely wonder moving forward: *to what extent is this colonial entanglement, really? How is it deeply present in our lives and in our research projects that we are unconscious of?* The following snippets you'd be reading are journey stories of unpacking the unconscious.

Questioning

The Critical Scholar in Resistance:

Privileging the Northern Epistemologies and the Cognitive Empire

Another comment from my dissertation panel that lingered with me was how my chosen "critical" approach might be hindering me to do the deeper work that truly challenges the colonial legacies that I was aiming for. This insight made me confront my own stance as a critical researcher. For a long time, I embraced critical approach as the ultimate radical perspective to uncover inequalities and oppression. Critical works on political economy, postcolonial canons, and critical pedagogy have fueled my academic-activist journeys. All these guided me on a radical pathway towards what emancipatory work is like. While I acknowledge that these paved fruitful and liberating paths, it also dawned on me that with this dear reverence, I have put "critical" on a pedestal and failed to deeply contemplate on its limitations. I resonate with Zembylas' (2018, p.2-3) confession of choosing to critique the dominant epistemology with critical tools, failing to address its Eurocentric heritage and the need to take a more reflexive stance.[37] To be honest, this challenge on critical stance baffled

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[37] This is an except in Zembylas' (2018) article that help me understand the Eurocetric heritage of critical theory: "As Deutscher and Lafont (2017, ii) have recently argued more generally, critical theory

and wrestled my mind for a long time, and it took awhile to digest. But I sought refuge in Andreotti's (2011b as cited in Zembylas, 2018) words of reminder: "every theory offers practical and limited perspective. Keep in mind the complexities – it can't be captured by single approach no matter how critical" (p. 3). *Ah, keep in mind the complexities, complexities...*

After the defense, I took time to ponder on my intentions and started from the very obvious: the dissertation title - from "rethinking scholarship" to "postcolonial approach". Was there any trace of (colonial) unconsciousness here? This pondering process took a long time. But one day, I smirked at myself as De Sousa Santos' (2018) work on *The end of the cognitive empire: The coming of age of epistemologies of the South* came suddenly to mind. /Something clicked/

It came to my senses that even from the very first word of my dissertation title, I have already placed an epistemic privilege to the Northern rational epistemologies. As a researcher, my epistemic and emancipatory repertoire is still limited to the cognitive resistance: "re-**thinking** scholarship". This concretely illustrates how my stance as a critical researcher is oriented to something that "values reason and rational dialogue as a means toward transformation and emancipation while failing to attend to the unequal power relations operating in the background such as the subjugation of non-rational ways of knowing/being" (Hajir & Kester, 2020, p. 518). With this 'aha' moment on my critical approach, I curiously asked further: so why did I choose Postcolonial Approach? Why CDA? What has this got to do with the cognitive empire? To explore this deeper, I had to remember the time when I was planning the dissertation writing.

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has failed 'to confront its Eurocentric heritage' and respond to challenges from postcolonial and decolonial theories. Hence it is valuable to examine the potential tensions and paradoxes that emerge in the entanglements of postcolonial and decolonial theories with critical theory and pedagogy, as those are manifested in utilizing Freirean theory and critical pedagogy to conceptualize critical peace education. My own past contributions to theorizing critical peace education have also included the use of critical theory and pedagogy as analytical tools to critique the Western epistemological premises of peace and peace education, and as conceptual frameworks for pedagogical and policy projects that emphasize social justice agendas. Hence, in choosing to adopt a critical self-reflective approach in this paper toward the particular strand of critical peace education leaning toward Freirean theory, I not only affirm the complex and diverse forms that peace education can take (Bajaj 2015), but also highlight the need to constantly challenge the theoretical assumptions we make and seek alternative ways of renewing critical peace education as scholarship and practice." (p. 2-3)

2019: When I decided to return and sit down with my dissertation after a long period of academic hiatus, there was a strong internal voice: "Eva, remember, this is *academic work*. This must be scholarly, okay?" With this attitude, I thought PCDA was a good combination of *logical* and *critical* – a good balance of what a "serious scholar" should be. That time, I was confident that by analyzing a corpus of research texts on international scholarship, I would introduce a unique approach to international scholarship research that has not been done before. There was this conviction within me that critiquing normalized research texts about international scholarships and uncovering overlooked power relations within the research field would definitely be a rare, rigorous large-scale work, fitting for PhD.

Aside from my biased perception of "rigor", my chosen approach was also a counter-response to my previous activist-artist engagement in relation to international scholarship community. My advocacy work among international students, especially those of "students-at-risk" had pained me deeply that I desired to dissociate these away from my academic work (See Appendix C for a brief overview of our advocacy work and my reflections of international scholarships' connection to neocolonialism). With this, I decided that vulnerable stories of my and my communities' lived experiences with regards to international scholarship and its nexus to neoliberal/colonial higher education were better taken out of scope in this dissertation. Before, I was very invested in making visible the missing nexus of international scholarship as development aid and neoliberal higher education in my academic work. I wished to explore how international scholarships are channels of oppression/inequalities and how dissenting voices are absent within the research field. But when I came back to start my dissertation writing, I resolved to myself that this particular academic work would be a stark contrast to what I had been doing many years prior: *not too entangled, not too invested but finding the "just right"*. I felt that focusing on theory and texts was a safer route for me in disrupting the status quo. It would still do approximately the same aim: *expose the politics of knowledge but with lesser pain*. But looking back, this vulnerable energy espoused me into a tunnel vision.

By choosing CDA, I had an assumption that CDA is a ground zero – a "supposedly neutral starting point of observation" (Resende, 2018, p.3).[38] I wanted some certain degree of distance in my academic work but still critical as resistance. The more "hidden, concealed, erased from analysis" (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 4), the better. I viewed my research approach as a compromise, a balancing act as I allowed my lived experience as a community mobilizer/activist, artist and other multiple identities to take steps back, and simply let its spirit hovering in the background. That time, I had this conviction that with certain detachment, I could become a more legitimate critical PhD scholar. As Grosfoguel (2011) asserts, "the disembodied and unlocated neutrality and objectivity of the ego-politics of knowledge is a Western Myth" (p. 6). But it also dawned on me that this distanced approach of being disembodied and unlocated was a reactionary protective strategy.

My panel's earlier critique on how my "critical" lens might be hindering me from fulfilling my aim of disrupting the colonial status quo was like a wake up call. It gave me space to wonder about my process with more curiosity and embodied presence. It made me grapple with my research choices that remained under Northern epistemologies. This allowed me to open up to take De Sousa Santos' (2018) proposal of being a post-abyssal researcher seriously and embrace epistemologies of the South with more vigor and openness. This attitude is a beginning of unlearning what "scholarship" is and who a "scholar" is beyond colonial terms.

Scholarship of Liberation:
Expanding Radical Imagination
From Western Critical Tradition to My Ancestral Ways of Knowing/Being

When I was first imagining how rethinking international scholarship research would be, it was different. I first envisioned 'Scholarship of Liberation' by uncovering domination of

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[38] Resende (2010, 2018), a Latin American critical discourse analyst problematized CDA's European origins, and described CDA as having "colonized nature of the field" (2018, p. 2).
Consequently, the field has "very little creativity in local theoretical and methodological production" (2018, p. 2) because of its perceived neutrality.

Northern knowledge producers and normative research culture within the international scholarship research field. My initial strategy was to critique the domination of Northern institutions, researchers and agendas, point out the missing Southern researchers and advocate for marginalized Southern voices and perspectives, particularly those dissenting voices of scholarship recipients absent in the research field. But looking back, this radical strategy myopically focused on differences between North-South power relations and significantly failed to consider complexities and nuances concerning the postcolonial politics of knowledge within the research field. This North-South strategy reinforced the essentialized, bifurcated subjectivities of Global North and South as colonizer and colonized, devoid of nuances and complexities.

Although I "cognitively" know that De Sousa Santos (2015) proposed for researchers to go beyond the politics of identity and victimhood in order to disrupt the colonial status quo, I still paradoxically clung on to this direction of politics of identity and victimhood. Especially evident during the first drafts of this dissertation, rethinking international scholarship research for me remained solely fixated on uncovering domination, difference and oppression as my resistance strategy under critical lens. So yes, although the works of De Sousa Santos (2015) have already warned researchers about using critical theories as myopic oasis of resistance and liberation, my frame of reference about epistemic possibilities then was so narrow and parochial to even grasp what his words meant.

To be honest, during my initial dissertation drafts, I thought I already incorporated "epistemologies of the South" as De Sousa Santos (2015) advocates. But looking back closely to my initial dissertation drafts again, I began to notice my biases of what "valid sources" of knowledges meant for me, how narrow I interpreted what epistemologies of the South meant and realized how complex the politics of knowledge is. Just taking a look at my theoretical background, I centered the critical works of Connell (2006, 2007) and De Sousa Santos (2015) as authorities or "flagbearers" of alternative knowledge production (Puwar, 2020), along with Alatas (2004), a sociologist from Malaysia. Recently, I became aware of how Connell and De Sousa Santos are critiqued to be 'White Ambassadors of South from the

North' for taking center-stage as global spokesperson for the South (Puwar, 2020). But I acknowledge that despite these scholars being from the Global North, their scholarly contributions have paved a way for me as a researcher to uncover knowledge inequalities and imagine of possibilities. Politics of knowledge is complex, nuanced.

But it dawned on me that my major transgression does lie on not about having majority of my references from scholars from the Global North, but it is with my hesitation to embrace theories or epistemologies from the South with full confidence to converse with epistemologies of the North as valid ways of knowing for this dissertation. For instance, although a wide range of scholars from my land has inspired me, I unconsciously (perhaps, half-conscious?) not including them forefront and hesitated to quote them in my dissertation. Even if I initially referenced scholars from my homeland such as Virgilio Enriquez and Jose Rizal within the first iterations of my dissertation, I mentioned them as the footnotes. In addition, I also initially placed our indigenous concepts such as *kapwa* and *bayanihan* towards the end of my dissertation as recommendations for international scholarship research rather than centering them in my dissertation. I guess what I did was exactly what Connell (2006) exactly describes as a gesture of exclusion. Although I mentioned Southern scholars and concepts, it did not actually disrupt the "main theoretical conversation" (Connell, 2006, p. 261). By default, my captive mind was unconsciously putting them on the sidelines. This gesture of exclusion may have my unconscious longing for "credibility" that as I cite more known scholars and their works, my academic work becomes more scholarly and legitimate as an academic knowledge production.

Through this contemplative journey of uncovering my captive mind, it challenged me to expand what "Scholarship of Liberation" could be under alternative research paradigms. This critique is not meant to abandon the Wester Critical Tradition for good, but I was reminded that to rethink beyond colonial terms – beyond the binary, the hierarchies. I am beginning to shift that the postcolonial politics of knowledge is not about where a scholar or researcher is from Global North or South, but to acknowledge our embeddedness in the colonial epistemic system and opening to far wider horizons by widening my sources of

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knowledge. De Sousa Santos (2015; 2018) recommends an expansion of emancipation repertoire such as welcoming epistemologies of the South and nurturing ecologies of knowledges. In my journey of exploring alternatives, I encountered this gripping quote by Kincheloe and Steinberg (2008) that gave me courage in my exploration. They shared:

> Indigenous knowledge provides a provocative vantage point from which to view Eurocentric discourses, a starting place for a new conversation about the world and human beings' role in it. In some ways, the epistemological critique initiated by indigenous knowledge is more radical than other sociopolitical critiques of the West, for the indigenous critique questions the very foundations of Western ways of knowing and being (Aronowitz, 1996; Harding, 1996; Kloppenberg, 1991; Ross, 1996; L. T. Smith, 1999 as cited in Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008, p. 357).

The specific lines in this quote: *the epistemological critique initiated by indigenous knowledge is more radical than other sociopolitical critiques of the West, for the indigenous critique questions the very foundations of Western ways of knowing and being* gripped me on how to disrupt colonial knowledge production. When I was planning my dissertation, it did not even sink in that I could disrupt international scholarship research by fully embracing my ancestral or indigenous knowledge system as my research worldview. Instead, my (unconscious) compromise was putting traces of our indigenous knowledge here and there in this dissertation: *they were on the footnotes, they were in recommendations section*. The spirit is somehow here, as if I said, *I did not forget you. You are still present, here*. But as a main strategic choice, I was still more pre-occupied with critical approach as the radical option. Why so?

Contemplating on my research process and attuning to my relationship with knowledge helped me see and feel how I unconsciously wanting to approach my dissertation as more "global" or "universal", and putting in mind how more people should relate to my work. With this, I am grateful to have this dissertation journey with my advisor and my panel for the questions they raised to let me ponder on my research process deeper. Their inquisitive questions led me to dive deeper into the politics of knowledge within international scholarship research and further examine my own "scholarship" as a researcher and as a scholarship recipient. Now that I am more conscious of my captive mind, where shall I go then?

Recently, discussions on "decolonizing knowledge production" have become more common. Conferences and discussion groups have sprouted out. As I am seriously diving into what it means to disrupt colonial knowledge production, I found various serendipitous oases along the way with decolonial movement. This growing movement has become a home for my yearning soul, inviting me to engage with knowledge production in a different way. Let me share one encounter that guided me in expanding my emancipation repertoire with regards to knowledge production. This is an initial epiphany on how I can disrupt international scholarship research differently.

On December 11, 2020, there was a compelling need for me to joining this particular zoom meeting (Ibn Khaldun and Decolonization of Knowledge by Dr. Syed Farid Alatas) even if it is not quite related to my research work. In a zoom meeting, Dr. Alatas (2020) advised us young scholars to "go beyond the critique of Eurocentricism in knowledge production...but to engage in non-Western sources...Look at our own region, beyond the nation-states." He further added that "to have a decolonial attitude means to be critical of Western knowledge when we should be critical, but it also means to be interested in the literary and philosophical traditions of other non-Western civilizations...as a source of ideas and concepts".

Yes....going beyond critiquing Euro-centric knowledge production! Commonly, critique only stops in uncovering the domination, but not actively seeking alternative ways of knowing – as what I did for this dissertation. But with this insight, where do I go from here? I sighed deeply in exasperation...Where should I start? *After the zoom meeting, I uttered a breath prayer. Then my skin felt warm; I heard a whisper: "Austronesians"*

The Austronesians - the Philippine pre-colonial ancestors are (forgotten) voyagers (see Figure 5.10). But series of colonizations in the Philippines have dislodged our ancestral ways of knowing/being into a cultural amnesia and epistemic dissociation within our education system.

Figure 5.10.

Austronesian Migration
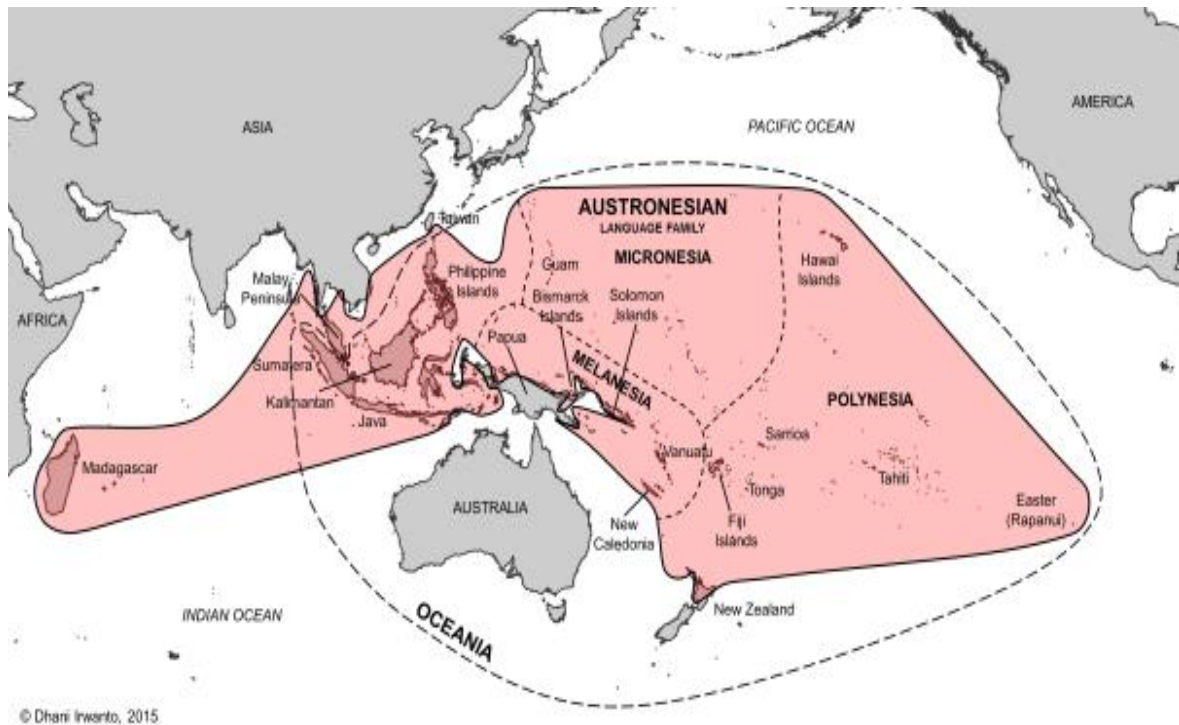
Note: Image from Irwanto, D. (2017). Spread of *Austronesian Language Family*.
(https://atlantisjavasea.com/2017/01/16/austronesian-language-family/.) Copyright 2015 by Dhani
Irwanto

      In the next sections of this Sarilaysay, I will explore how my pre-colonial ancestors'
worldview could guide me in expanding my research worldview for a growing emancipation
repertoire for me as a researcher, and particularly, how my ancestral worldview can help me
re-imagine international scholarship research. In the next sections of this Sarilaysay, I
attempt to explore questions such as *What does my ancestral history and wisdom got to do*
with me as an international scholarship researcher in the modern world? How would this
disrupt international scholarship research beyond colonial terms? With these questions
and packed curiosity, I sailed off to embark on re-engaging with my ancestral wisdom.

Before diving into my ancestral worldview, I deem it is crucial to first contextualize socio-historically where I am from and foreground the Philippines' historical relationship with international scholarship as development aid. Like many aid recipient countries in the Global South, The Philippines is a nation that has been a recipient of a wide-ranging international scholarship over the years. The Philippines regularly receive international scholarships from traditional donors, emerging donors to private foundations, supporting Filipino students to study abroad for a wide-ranging field of studies. This social imagination of being a "scholarship recipient" has been deeply internalized as a nation and as scholars individually and collectively across time and space. The Philippines has been a consistent recipient country of international scholarships as early as from early 20th century American colonization through the Pensionado Program (which I briefly mentioned in Chapter 3 Theoretical Background) until today through international development aid.

As I already mentioned in Chapter 3, the Pensionado Program was the earliest recorded large-scale international scholarship program where one of the lofty rationales of this program was for Filipino students to study in America "to acquire a thorough knowledge of Western civilization" (Orosa, 2007, p.4) and become elite leaders of Philippine nation building (Francisco, 2015). The Filipino pensionados (scholars) became influential in building various sectors of modern Philippine society such as our contemporary education system. As Francisco (2015) argues that the early Filipino scholarship recipients, the pensionados were "a new class of US-trained experts and intellectuals helped sustain the American colonial education, and…was influential in molding Philippine education into what it is today" (p. 4).

Across Filipino generations, international scholarships have become internalized as a crucial part of our Philippine nation building process, so ingrained that if I challenge you to ask around Filipino scholarship recipients like me what receiving international scholarship meant for them, I have a certain degree of confidence that it wouldn't be long until you hear these particular words uttered: *Para sa bayan* (for the country). I spoke and reasoned like this too, along with many of our Filipino scholars in Korea and various countries I had worked with in my advocacy work among Overseas Filipino Students. It has become an unquestioned notion that international scholarship is this privilege, honor and responsibility to hone our knowledge, our "scholarship". Our international scholarship is a space for learning innovative solutions on how to fight poverty, to propose progressive policies to re-design programs back home. Many of us are inspired by national revolutionists such as Jose Rizal and other ilustrados, pensionados and past generations of Filipino scholars who came before us. Thus, the words "Para sa Bayan" (for the country) is our nationalist battle cry, and a testament of a collective Filipino dream, that our knowledge learned abroad is for the betterment of our country.

But as I recently dipping my toes in decolonial waters, it awakened me to take colonial legacies by its horns. Challenging colonial legacies and its hold in knowledge production is deeper and more entangled than I initially thought. Through being part of decolonial communities and movements in different parts of the world, I learned that it is vital to acknowledge and contextualize nation-states like the Philippines as colonial imaginaries that have now become fundamental and unquestioned part of our modern lives. Our post-colonial world remains under the normative order of nation-states: the realm of "inter-national" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021). With this in mind, what I will attempt is to explore beyond normative Western Eurocentric worldview and seek a paradigm shift when disrupting status quo with regards to international scholarship research.

Prior to European colonization, the nation "The Philippines" did not exist. The 7,000+ islands lying in the vast Pacific Ocean were composed of polities: different multicultural and multi-lingual communities linked by the waters (as it still does until now).

These polities were active in maritime trading and intercultural exchanges not only among the vicinity islands, but sailing through far reaching societies. These exchanges in entrepots were recorded as vibrant encounters and interplays: our ancestors were adopting and accumulating not only material goods but also other cultural aspects such as ways of knowing.[39] But under Spanish colonization that the archipelago became one nation, named after the 16th century Spanish king Philip II. This change is deeply ontological and epistemological.

As our socio-historical experiences are predominantly understood through Eurocentric lens, this creates silences that are sustaining forgotten histories, distorted perspectives and narrow ways of knowing and being. This challenged me about complexities when engaging myself in postcolonial politics of knowledge: that when theorizing and disrupting international scholarships as development aid beyond colonial terms, there are multi-layers of colonial legacies to consciously peel one by one...One of which is to peel the depth of colonial entanglements through the normative discourse of nation-state building over the years. Disrupting "scholarship" of international scholarship as development aid concerns challenging the dominant discourse of "progress" and "development" among Filipino scholarship recipients like me. Moreover, it also calls for us, scholarship recipients to contemplate our own embeddedness within postcolonial politics of knowledge. This includes contemplating on how our (forgotten) pre-colonial Austronesian legacies and ways of knowing/being are further trivialized and deemed irrelevant in our modern Philippine nation. Acknowledging this epistemic silencing allowed me to engage differently in disrupting international scholarship research with a different starting vantage point. It opened a wide variety of anti-colonial and pre-colonial lived experiences that could be springs of emancipation and epistemic repertoire, springs of re-imagination and re-desiring.

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[39] Examples of this interchange were pre-colonial artefacts as well as traces in our language. For instance, our ancestors borrowed foreign words from Sanskrit, which is traced from the maritime trading during pre-colonial era. The following are some resources that provide partial insights on our pre-colonial societies: Alcina, S. J. (2005). History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands, 1668. *Edited by Cantius J. Kobak and Lucio Gutierrez. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House* and Scott, W. H. (1994). *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society*. Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Prior to colonization, boats were central to our ancestors' way of knowing/being. It was core to their worldview extending even to life after death.[40] But this way of living was disrupted during colonization and slowly becoming extinct. This first intercultural encounter of our ancestors and the Spanish crew led by Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan in 1521 was a prelude to an eventual long, series of colonization of the 7,000+ Pacific Islands into one nation: 333 years of Spanish colonization, almost 50 years of American colonization and 3 years of Japanese occupation that would shape the history of our lands, waters and people. Across time and space, our pre-colonial ancestors were perceived as backwards and needing civilization as widely documented in various historical records (Ocampo, 1998; Rizal, 1890). Wide-range of ancestral knowledges were discredited and destroyed in the name of civilizing mission.[41]

Even 19th century Jose Rizal already lamented how our ancestors' wealth of knowledges and way of living had become forgotten: among of which was skilled shipbuilding and seafaring. According to Rizal (1890 as cited in Ocampo, 1998, p. 200), "…celebrated and skilled in navigation, but far from progressing, have become backward. Although boats are still built in the islands now, we can say that they are almost all European model. The ships that carried one hundred rowers and thirty fighting soldiers disappeared". The Manila Bay and many bodies of water that once carried various indigenous boats, slowly dwindling as centuries went by (Abrera, 2020). As modernization became the trajectory of progress in the Philippines over the years, our Westernized knowledge production has internalized inferiority across generations. Our pre-colonial ancestry is disenfranchised from our collective memory and not taken seriously as part of our education system. Under

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[40] Our ancestors approached death connected to the waters. They were buried in "soul boats" and believed to come back as spirits (Abrera, 2007)

[41] I acknowledge that colonization is a dynamic process of tensions, negotiations, resistances, of interplays among peoples. For instance, some of our pre-colonial ancestors also willingly rejected their own knowledge system or mixed their indigenous knowledges and animist worldview into syncretic forms such as our widely practice Folk Catholicism today. But these interplays do not diminish the extent of colonial violence – physical or epistemic that occurred across generations. Colonial violence is well recorded in various documents across different colonizations (Spanish, American and Japanese), although our present modern worldview has cut off the relevance of this ancestral wounding to our present lives. Over time, it gradually lost its connection but the woundings present in how our modern nation-state is being run and how our daily lives are lived.

various colonizations – of experiencing wars, loss and resistance, various historical sources and artefacts were destroyed (Alfonso, 2020).[42] *This is the forgotten way of knowing/being.*

But the *indigenous in us* is still present and lived in various ways and levels like palimpsests to be articulated in our educational system. To rethink and disrupt Eurocentric knowledge production is to take curiosity with the remaining ancestral traces and fragments and take this epistemic wealth as inspiration. Coincidently, the Philippines - after a long hibernation is currently embarking on a recent public journey of remembering our pre-colonial ancestors. 2021 was named as "Year of Our Pre-colonial Ancestors" as a local response to the global 500th celebration of the First World Circumnavigation of Magellan's crew. The Philippine National Quincentennial Committee launched a series of public educational online programs to honor our forgotten ancestors and their culture.

Focus of the celebration is re-introducing and remembering our ancestral ways of knowing/being. Various Filipino academics (such as historians) gave me a glimpse of these forgotten onto-epistemologies. It dawned on me how the loss of ancestral connection robs us of epistemic vitality and expansiveness as human beings. As a researcher, remembering and re-engaging with our ancestral knowledge system is an exploration towards what Otherwise could be with regards to knowledge production. It is to note that this epistemic curiosity is not to romanticize and advocate going back to the pre-colonial era. I acknowledge that cultures and worldviews are fluid and not static. But I approach this ancestral remembering is an act of "re-membering" the dis-membered parts and the dissociated collective memory of our people, land and seas – as if a soul-retrieval ceremony for me. Not knowing our ancestral histories limit our frames of reference in questioning the universal, normative assumptions of the world we live in. With this emerging curiosity and confidence, I will explore how our ancestral ways of knowing/being guided me into re-imagining international scholarship research.

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[42] Various primary historical sources and artefacts were destroyed through bombing and arson of museums and libraries throughout the Philippines that carried rare collections. Alfonso, C. (2020, February). Losing A Part of Our Ancestors: Historical Sources Lost During World War in the Philippines. National Quincentennial Committee. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCS3MN_Q0L8

Prior to being the Philippines, the archipelagic islands were home to communities of people intimate with the seas. Our Austronesian ancestors were voyagers: keen and inquisitive explorers who used wayfinding to make their way to known and uncharted places. Wayfinding is our ancestral way of voyaging, which primarily relies on the intimacy with more-than-human worlds (stars, moon, sun, waves, wind, clouds, birds, whales, spirits). It uses no Western navigational tools but relying on a complex and intimate communion with the more-than-human worlds. Through wayfinding, our ancestors have voyaged the world dubbed as the Austronesian Expansion (Bellwood, 1995). Wayfinding is a way of knowing and a way of life. Re-engaging Wayfinding as my ancestral way of knowing/being and as a research inquiry could guide me on how to disrupt international scholarship research. The following are some initial thoughts on how our ancestral/indigenous worldview can disrupt, decolonize and re-imagine international scholarship research.

KAPWA: International Scholarship Research as Relational Inquiry. As our Austronesian ancestors voyaged the open seas, they sailed with their human community and with deep entanglement with the more-than-human world. This is distinct from the dominant rationalist epistemologies that are human-centric and approaching nature as inanimate and as resources. Our ancestors related with the stars, the seas as not inanimate objects or animals as objects but as kin to guide their way. While colonial worldview subscribes to hierarchical ontology of us/them and human/nature dichotomies, our ancestral way of knowing/being is about inseparability of everything. This inseparability is "kapwa" - regarded as the core ethic of "Filipino" indigenous psychology (Enriquez, 2004) and is translated by local scholars as "shared self or being". This worldview is connected to

our ancestral animist tradition of kinship among humans and more-than-human worlds: a relational ontology with the living world.

If kapwa as relational ontology is introduced to international scholarship research, research inquiry becomes a shared and relational exploration with human and more-than-human worlds. This will disrupt the one-time, transactional and subject-object research relationship prevalent within the research field. Instead of experts such as development consultants extracting data, international scholarship research under kapwa welcomes co-inquirers: not researching "about" scholarship recipients but researching "with" scholarship recipients and beyond. A quick example of "kapwa" and being co-inquirers is engaging in a collective reflexive inquiry among educators and scholarship students concerning their scholarship program curriculum, together. This allows an egalitarian and dialogical approach in understanding the "black box" of international scholarship programs.

But aside from human collaborations in research inquiry, another distinct aspect with our ancestral worldview is that "kapwa" does not only pertain to relationality among humans but also to the more-than-human worlds. Under this ancestral worldview, I am learning to decenter human-centric inquiry: becoming conscious that humans are part of the sacred creation, not separate or superior from the more-than-human worlds. It shifts approaching knowledge production from "my research" stance to "our research" with a wider relationality of humans and more-than-human worlds which embrace the common-ness of intuitions, dreams, serendipities within research inquiry. Interestingly, there is an emerging field of studies connected to relational ontology and researching with more-than-human worlds in different parts of the world. An example is the academic work by Bastian, M., Jones, O., Moore, N., & Roe, E. (Eds.). (2016). *Participatory research in more-than-human worlds*. Taylor & Francis.

As our modern academic research revolves around human exceptionalism and separation of the sacred and secular, this made the sense of enchantment remaining silenced, and regarded as too private, mundane or even "heretic". Invisibilized knowledges in the other side of the colonial abyssal line is what De Sousa Santos (2015) calls as

epistemologies of the South. For instance, one invisible aspect of this dissertation is that it is a fruit of serendipities, intuition and prayers. Though I hesitate to disclose this and become vulnerable as an academic researcher, I am recognizing that silence is an epistemic violence. Thus, in the spirit of epistemic humility and vulnerability, I am sharing this to allow open discussions among researchers about expanding our plethora of epistemologies and researcher experiences because this is how rethinking and disrupting colonial scholarship could possibly be.

Similarly, my Filipino friends who were also scholarship recipients in Korea openly discuss this in our private, mundane encounters. We unashamedly talk about how our spirituality intersects with our academic work – filled with prayers, graces, and interventions. I acknowledge that as the parameters of our contemporary research field are based on a Eurocentric worldview, the view of the world is predictable, homogenous and in human-centric knowledge production. But international scholarship research could consider expanding its worldview from a Northern way of knowing (individualist, human-centric knowledge production) to a relational knowledge production with a living world. Welcoming of multiple knowledge systems into conversation with each other may bring forth new directions.

PAKIKIPAGKWENTUHAN: International Scholarship Research as Journey-Oriented and Embracing Vulnerabilities. Oral tradition was central to our ancestors as knowledges are shared and passed down as stories, such as stories of journeys. Similar to other indigenous ways of knowing/being, storytelling (pakikipagkwentuhan) is a large part of our indigenous scholarship and introducing this into international scholarship research could aligned with the spirit of kapwa as relational ontology. The indigenous Filipino inquiry method pakikipagkwentuhan enables a mutual relationship between the researcher and the participant: "It involves conversation between individuals (ranging in number from two to seven, or even more) who are free to participate in telling stories when, where, and in whatever manner they feel is appropriate" (Ong, 2018, p. 14). With this, it

decenters researchers from the neutral and distanced expert stance, as they are considered equals in the inquiry.

Pakikipagkwentuhan is regarded different from common interview which have "formal, evaluatory connotations" as this is more "informal, relaxed encounter" (Santiago and Enriquez 1976; Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino 2000 as cited in Ong, 2018, p. 14). When pakikipagkwentuhan is used in research, it does not need to have a theme but only a topic. This can be done as informal conversations and questioning explorations, which allows mutual inquiry and curiosity. Instead of the usual measuring or analysis of impacts, pakikipagkwentuhan among kapwa allows process-oriented communal inquiry that welcomes joys, vulnerabilities and uncertainties to be explored and discussed. A concrete example of this is how pakikipagkwentuhan among my fellow Filipino scholarship recipients in Korea had led me to engage with international scholarship research differently. Here is an excerpt of a memoir I penned entitled "Iskolars, Tara Na!" (Scholars, let's go!) in 2016, which features a snippet of pakikipagkwentuhan among Filipino students:

> *At first, these informal gatherings seemed insignificant to some students. But looking back, it is evident that the personal connections created in these spaces were the strong backbone of the things ahead for PIKO (Filipino student organization). These moments were an invitation for students to feel the sense of 'kapwa' (shared self), telling them that we are here! In this process, I learned that PIKO is not merely a student organization for activities. It is of relationships, of shared selves and shared dreams.*
>
> *In one of the gatherings, I remember over samgyupsal (Korean grilled pork), we were talking about how convenient trains are in Korea and devising how transportation system could be improved in the Philippines. Discussions over meals like this have always been 'meaty' and engaging that it has been an insider joke that whenever students are gathering to eat out, there should be an official rapporteur who jots down our debates and musings. Over meals and drinks, students begin*

sharing about their own researches. One student shared her work on stem cell research. Another on e-governance. Another on influenza virus. Researches concerning Forestry. International Relations. Health. Environmental Engineering. I can't help but say, how diverse the talent pool here is! This diversity was even proven further as PIKO mobilized a nation-wide data basing of Filipino Students in Korea. We were surprised at the courses students have in different parts of Korea: seafood engineering, robotics, film, voice to name a few. So many talents, so many potential and so many possibilities. I had this growing sense of pride upon hearing each of their research fields.

However, as I get more involved with students, it dawned on me that there is an overlooked question we ought to ask: how are students treated abroad and what does it mean to us? After we visited different universities and engage in kwentuhan with students online/offline, we found a surprising status: scholars-at-risk. Our common notion of overseas student vulnerability is limited in terms of "loneliness", "linguistic barriers" and "adjustment to foreign culture". However, issues raised during various times of kwentuhan were deceptive recruitment, issues on Intellectual Property Rights (IPR), exploitative research work conditions, mismanagement of scholarship/funding, among others. One student even quipped, "Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) talaga tayo, no…hindi estudyante?" (We're like OFWs, not students, right?). Students are working, getting "salaries" through scholarship allowances and some sending remittances back home…

Over eating and cooking samgyupsal, scholarship recipient stories of joys and vulnerability eventually flowed. These series of informal pakikipagkwentuhan became a turning point of our student advocacies. This snippet illustrates how pakikipagkwentuhan becomes this relational inquiry that allows stories of vulnerability and discomfort to emerge organically. These kinds of stories from the ground rarely reach formal reports and researches. With this, I propose pakikipagkwentuhan (storytelling) as an alternative way of knowing within

international scholarship research. Relational and process-oriented research through pakikipagkwentuhan holds space to let the struggles, the ambivalence, the mess within international scholarship become visible.

Another example of how journey-oriented can rethink international scholarship research is this Sarilaysay. By writing this Sarilaysay, I foreground how dialogues and conversation with people who have influenced my scholarship. Featuring the dialogues and conversations with my dissertation panel have allowed me to show how professors guided me to which direction I next sail as they shared the feedback and questions during my defense. Their questions provided me space to contemplate what "scholarship" could be. Foregrounding a scholarship recipients' research process is valuing the journey. This gives space of how an aspiring scholar like me is developing my "scholarship" through epistemic friendship with group of scholars.

Aside from foregrounding the relational process with my dissertation panel, my Sarilaysay also showed my internal process: how this dissertation has voyaged long through the rough seas - not only cognitively, but viscerally, emotionally, spiritually (as probably, many scholarship recipients could relate with this process too). So I wonder, what if scholarship recipients or international scholarship researchers also begin to be reflexive concerning their research, particularly their relationship with colonial legacies? How could this disrupt the colonial status quo? This illustrates that conversations, stories and intimate musings can expand the research repertoire from only being fixated on post-scholarship outcomes and impacts towards valuing the learning process, relationships within international scholarship programs and also questioning the (colonial) status quo.

BAYANIHAN*: International Scholarship Research as Communal Voyaging and Transdisciplinary.* While academic knowledge production subscribes to an individualist and monologic rational approach, our ancestral worldview could offer an alternative to this dominant way of knowing/being. Community and communal knowledge production is central to our ancestral ways of knowing/being especially through *bayanihan*. *Bayanihan* is a common Filipino word that depicts collective spirit and action happening

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when the community (barangay) comes together. Interestingly, our pre-colonial word for community (barangay) is derived from the term "balangay" (boat). Balangay pertains to outrigger boats that have been used by our Austronesian ancestors to sail across seas for trade or exploration.[43] The communal spirit of bayanihan was a way of life for our ancestors: Sailing via balangay, our ancestors voyaged as a community of navigators, chanters, drummers, shamans - relying on unboundaried knowledges of science, art and spirituality to sail across seas.

So how can bayanihan rethink international scholarship research? Bayanihan encourages communal and transdisciplinary inquiry within the research field: expanding from the monologic knowledge production to ecologies of knowledges or what I call "epistemic bayanihan". Our ancestors approached ways of knowing as holistic: rational, embodied, intuitive, spiritual and creative – not separating the body, mind, soul and world. Moreover, our ancestral worldview held space for plural identities and perspectives. Thus, epistemic bayanihan on a personal level encouraged me that being an international scholarship researcher is not only "cerebrally", but my subjectivities as an artist, activist (and among many other subjectivities) remains relevant in research. Our ancestral wisdom reminded me not to compartmentalize my multiple ways of knowing/being. As evident in this dissertation, I initially separated theory and practice. I was a disembodied researcher who mentalized different ways of knowing within me. But re-engaging with my ancestral wayfinding gave me courage not to solely rely on my own cognitive/intellect to know one's orientation but to explore communally and in a transdisciplinary way.

As a glimpse of how epistemic bayanihan might look like in international scholarship research, let me share how my communities of students, activists, artists have paid attention to different lived experiences of scholarship recipients. The series of pakikipagkwentuhan (storytelling/conversations) with fellow Filipino scholarship recipients gave birth to

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[43] Barangay pertains to our pre-colonial, egalitarian and kinship-based communities. Interestingly, the Philippines as a nation retains this word as our smallest political unit. On the other hand, "Bayanihan" is commonly depicted as a Filipino indigenous tradition where a family's entire traditional house (bahay kubo) is relocated by the help of the community neighbors. Together they carry the bamboo/nipa house to transfer into the new place

collection of visual poetry on academic capitalism – a creative critique on politics of knowledge within global higher education. I regard this artwork as what De Sousa Santos (2018) pertains to as "knowledge born out of struggle". This creative way of knowing validates those knowledges born in struggles developed by social movements or groups: unveiling and resisting systemic oppression such as colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy, and "overcome and minimize suffering" (De Sousa Santos, 2016, p. 18-19). In collaboration with an artist friend and the student community, we transformed stories as art to express our frustration concerning the overlooked and unspoken oppression within the context of international scholarships and find refuge in its expression. The following are some excerpt from the tongue-in-cheek visual poetry collection that my artist collaborator, James and I created. First image is a mock abstract and followed by an example of a visual poetry piece of how knowledge is commodified: labored by scholarship recipients as academic migrant workers. This snippet shows how when academic words and activism could not accommodate the (political) pain, art became a refuge, a creative release. Art became these "displacement spaces" or "places we move into (either by force or by choice) whereby we see things differently" (Brock et al., 2006, p. 38).

Figure 5.11.

Abstract of KOW Interrupted: A Visual Poetry Collection

Abstract

KOW Interrupted:
Dismantling Academic Capitalism
in Global Higher Education

In a society where knowledge has become increasingly commodified, the entire knowledge process is subject to systematic vulnerability – from production to diffusion to consumption. With the rise of the knowledge-based economy, global higher education has transformed itself into a transnational edu-factory populated with knowledge workers. However, there is a general unawareness of and disregard for education as a site of domination, oppression, exploitation and resistance. This text serves as a reflection on the politics within the educational system, of how knowledge workers are inevitably reduced to knowledge cows – fed, fattened and milked in the 21st Century. Moo!

Keywords: Academic Capitalism, Edu-factory, Global Higher Education, Knowledge Economy, Knowledge War, Knowledge Workers, PETA

Figure 5.12.

Production Quota: Visual Poetry Excerpt from KOW Interrupted

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With these examples, this shows that "epistemic bayanihan" could welcome an alternative way of knowing that may be considered within international scholarship research. By sharing this artwork, I was able to point out a glimpse of communal knowledge production: how our student community and artist friends have shaped my work as an aspiring scholar. This calls for international scholarship researchers to consider the spirit of "epistemic bayanihan" in their inquiry. This communal and transdisciplinary approach allows space for new re-engagement: letting the balangay (boat) sail the uncharted seas, together.

Healing Transgenerational Epistemic Trauma:

Re-membering, Mourning

and Re-Imagination

By embracing epistemologies of the South more seriously as an international scholarship researcher, it invited me towards deep experience of the senses (De Sousa Santos, 2018) and engage in a different way than I initially started my dissertation. Contemplating and writing this Sarilaysay became a space for onto-epistemic healing for me. This gave me a space to pause, think/feel about my own "scholarship" as a researcher. And it was a great pleasure to be able to re-imagine international scholarship research under our ancestral ways of knowing/being no matter how briefly. But also through this reflexive journey, it challenged me to contemplate deeply what Spivak's (1988) epistemic violence and De Sousa Santos' (2015) epistemicide mean to me, our ancestors, and to our future generations, to humanity, to our more-than-human worlds, to our planet.

I am slowly learning how Spivak's (1988) epistemic violence or De Sousa Santos' (2015) epistemicide are no longer some distant academic concept which I can cite in my academic work cerebrally without feeling the depth of colonial violence that afflicts across generations. This Sarilaysay became a space of re-membering what was lost: how colonial violence dis-membered our ancestral ways of knowing/being and how our modern Western-centric way of knowing/being has limited possibilities and imaginations in the way we live in the world. It dawned on me that this epistemic violence is not only an epistemicide (murder of knowledge) but ontological – an existential, planetary trauma as it robbed humanity of the multiple onto-epistemologies the world could possibly have, as our desires and imaginations are colonized. And what does this mean to international scholarship research?

Commonly, international scholarships are conceptualized as channels of development, of modernity: of national productivity and teleological progress without questioning how colonial desires and imagination flow through it. But to rethink international scholarship research is to acknowledge the persistence of complex, violent colonial entanglement that the institutionalized project partakes in. But international

scholarship research still misses to confront the unconscious, encompassing and excruciating discourse: international scholarship as development aid is a channel of *transgenerational epistemic violence and trauma.*

It dawned on me that to rethink international scholarship research is to acknowledge in our discourse the losses and trauma of our ancestors, and to feel it, mourn it because we are entangled in the pain, together – whether one is from "Global North or South". This grief is a planetary grief of what is lost: to be mourned by all humanity entangled in a more-than-human world. Thus, the radical critique on international scholarship must go beyond polarizing Global North-South dichotomized politics but to question its complicity in sustaining the dominance of Western civilization, without opening space for Otherwise. The distortion and silencing of our histories and its absence within the discourse has allowed colonial knowledge production to generationally continue without grieving its depth and extent.

But when colonial violence is acknowledged and grieved, there can be healing. Thus, this is an invitation for the international scholarship community to slow down, attune and deeply listen: how have we become complicit in epistemic violence? How has Eurocentric, human-centric "scholarship" colonized our ways of knowing and being in the world? We must take caution of the impulse of easily moving on from colonial trauma through quick fix solutions such as soft reforms within the international scholarship community, critical rationalizing or cognitively bypassing through more conferences, academic papers and going on as business-as-usual. Again, this is a call for the international scholarship community to embark on a journey of onto-epistemic grieving: to allow international scholarship research became a vulnerable space for healing and embrace epistemic humility towards re-membering, mourning and re-imagining international scholarships beyond colonial paradigm. It is my hope that international scholarship research would rethink not only in problematizing power relations, but transcending colonial legacies through re-imagination and build a "Scholarship of Otherwise".

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In Chapter 5 Findings, I examined three common research genres (UNESCO Global Report, Alumni Tracer Studies and Academic Literature) and uncovered the politics of knowledge within the research field. Afterwhich, I presented four dimensions of how Northern gaze occurs across the genres as guided by concepts from Connell, Alatas and Santos. Findings suggest how international scholarship research largely remains under Eurocentric colonial paradigm: ranging from subject-object research relationships, Northern-centric research agendas and monologic research frameworks even in strategies of resistance to the status quo. The colonial paradigm within international scholarship research has become common sense that this remained unchallenged over the years.

To further illustrate the normativity of the research field, Chapter 5 Findings also included my Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative) as a critical reflexivity of an international scholarship researcher. This critical reflexivity vulnerably explored how my dissertation - despite my transformative aim to resist and disrupt the normative research field using critical lens also remains under Eurocentric worldview and not Otherwise. But by acknowledging this research limitation, I intentionally explored how an international scholarship researcher could engage with Southern epistemologies through my ancestral ways of knowing/being. Juxtaposing two different ways of knowing - critical and alternative ways of researching international scholarships emerged new insights and perspectives. With these findings, this chapter seeks to expound on the postcolonial politics of knowledge and its implications towards rethinking international scholarship research. With this, I will discuss in this chapter the three research questions concerning postcolonial politics of knowledge. First section, I expound on the dominant agendas and approaches within the research field under Northern epistemologies ("Scholarship of Other") and what it marginalizes. Second, I discuss how Northern epistemologies limit international scholarship

researchers in rethinking international scholarships despite seeking to resist status quo and lastly, I elaborate on three ways on how rethinking international scholarship research can be pursued through an alternative epistemology: our ancestral ways of knowing/being.

6.1. Scholarship of Other: International Scholarship Research under Northern Lens

In this section, I will answer the first research question: "What are the postcolonial forms of domination and marginalization within the research field? What are the dominant research agendas and approaches? What are marginalized?" After being taken-for-granted as a research subject over the years, research on international scholarship slowly increased during the 2000s. As elaborated in Chapter 2 RRL, international development agendas MDG and SDG stimulated research engagements and shaped the research agendas. However, this engagement failed to challenge the normative colonial assumptions of international scholarships as development aid. In Chapter 5, I explored how international scholarships are predominantly read from the center: theoretical and conceptual frameworks on international scholarships are influenced by Eurocentric worldview, which limits the way international scholarships are understood. The unchallenged normative knowledge production within the research field is a form of domination, and this marginalizes alternative ways of knowing international scholarships. This Northern expert gaze sustains the postcolonial Other.

6.1.1. Expert Gaze and Dominance of Northern Agenda

According to De Sousa Santos (2015), the hegemony of Northern epistemologies naturalizes differences. The internalized hierarchical relationship of Global North and Global South extends to the nature of research relationships. With the Northern expert gaze dominant within the research field, the subject-object dichotomy is naturalized. The de-facto international scholarship researchers are development consultants and academic researchers mostly from the Global North, while scholarship recipients from the Global South are the research participants. Influenced by Northern epistemologies, researchers maintain an

objective and neutral stance when measuring, assessing or analyzing international scholarships. On the other hand, recipients serve as the sources of data (Connell, 2007). With this subject-object dichotomy, scholarship recipients are "spoken for, interpreted and translated" (hooks, 1990; Spivak, 1988), rarely speaking with their voice and language.

Although the post-2015 Recipient Turn is promising in diversifying recipient voices and perspectives as observed in the research literature, it still fails to disrupt the essentialized subject-object dichotomy (Alatas, 2004). Experts such as development consultants and academic researchers remain the authority throughout the research process: from deciding the research agenda, research conceptualization, crafting research questions until the final stages of report writing and publication. On the other hand, recipient narratives are serving as data for evidence-based research. While certain researchers use research approaches that allow individual scholarship recipients to actively construct their experiences and meanings concerning international scholarship, scholarship recipients continue to be objectified as Other, as sources of data and being spoken for. The positionality of the scholarship recipients remains as research objects rather than engaging as international scholarship researchers. Thus, the nature of the research relationship from pre-2015 to post-2015 persists to be hierarchical, episodic and transactional.

Naturalization of Difference and Persistence of Subject-Object Dichotomy. This subject-object dichotomy between Northern donor-Southern recipient is so deeply institutionalized within the international development field that it is difficult to even think beyond this widely accepted hierarchy. But not challenging this normative hierarchy is sustaining the us/them distinction. Within the colonial paradigm, the logic of international scholarship research operates within deficit subjectivity: Global North is the universal source of knowledge, responsible for the betterment of the Global South and monitoring it. While the subjectivity of those from the Global South is normatively on the receiving end of new strategies, models or new toolkits towards development. But this paternal stance of the Global North reifies infantilization of the Global South (Escobar, 1995). This normativity limits knowledge production within the international scholarship

field as paternal and parochial, making other ways of knowing/being invisible. This essentialized donor-recipient subjectivity becomes a hindrance in exploring the complexity of international scholarships as development aid. For instance, the lack of relational ontology within the research field misses addressing the interrelationships within the international scholarship community itself. As I've illustrated in my Sarilaysay, introducing our indigenous concept of *kapwa* (shared being) as relational ontology opens the research field to a larger web of relationships. The research field would acknowledge interrelationships among scholarship recipients, program staff, educators, home and host community members, among others and value them as co-inquirers/researchers. However, it is to note that expansion of various types of researchers from either Global North or South is not enough without critical consciousness. This complexity would be discussed further in section 6.2. of this chapter about international scholarship researchers, with a discussion focusing on Alatas' (2004) Captive Mind.

Dominance of Northern Agenda and Theory: Focus on Productivity under Human Capital Theory. With an expert-driven research field, it limits our research agenda, vocabulary and modes of inquiry. This myopic gaze limits the way international scholarships as development aid are understood, conceptualized and researched. For instance, Human Capital Theory (HCT) remains the common theoretical framework within the research field. With international scholarship approached from an instrumental/utilitarian perspective, both donors and recipients engage in a performativity of productivity and expertise. Alumni Tracer Studies, for instance, highlights recipient expertise by illustrating how recipients are successful partners of development. Alumni contributions such as innovations and reforms are often featured. Post-2015 research stays fixated on post-scholarship outcomes and impacts. Despite critiques on international scholarships as a "paradox" (Yamada, 2014) and other critical perspectives during pre-2015 elaborated in Chapter 2 RRL, the general notion of international scholarships as a benevolent aid lingers during post-2015. Aligning to what Balfour (2016) mused, international scholarships as development aid are seldom subject to scrutiny:

> The presumption that there is a type of discernible benefit or a version of development which all can agree is a public good is seldom subject to scrutiny, and the initial presumption that scholarships are good remains the dominant ideological reference point: As Joan Dassin and David Navarrete put it, 'The view that well-educated elites will not only contribute their individual knowledge and skills but will also enable their countries to gain from the benefits produced by the global economy is widely shared. (p. 9)

There is a strong valuation towards researching productivity and progress: analyzing whether the donors' policy or programs are effective or whether individual recipients are social impact makers. As Western modernity continues to be the universal aspiration, international scholarship as development aid would be widely accepted as a good aid, a desired modernizing tool. To further critique this, international scholarship is predominantly theorized from a Eurocentric worldview. First, the research analysis is nation-centric. Since it is called "inter-national" scholarship, modern nation-states are the default unit of analysis. Under Northern epistemologies, the research agenda is fixated on how international scholarship serves a channel of productivity and progress. As there is a universal notion of societies, it is approached as historically determined: linear progress of development without critically questioning modernity. There is a normative assumption that scholarship recipients are nation-builders. As I shared in my Sarilaysay, it is natural even for me to link this "scholarship" on behalf of our states ("Para sa Bayan"). But there are no discussions on ideology of development and or the limits of modern techno-scientific approach as centered by SDG4b. How international scholarship nurtures universal desires and complicit in sustaining Western civilization.

Next, scholarship recipients are widely regarded as the "idealized change agents" (Dassin & Navarrete, 2018). They are unquestionably perceived as highly privileged, autonomous individuals who were exposed to global/modern knowledge with expectations for them to spillover skills, techniques and innovations to their communities. But this unquestioned approach towards scholarship recipients assumes a reference point from an individualist Eurocentric worldview. As change makers, recipients are analyzed under the Northern lens: as autonomous and rational individuals who are creating impacts and innovations in various policies, programs and projects (although I have to acknowledge that

some post-2015 academic researches such as Campbell (2018) are starting to engage with the collective subjectivities like alumni associations, this research direction still remains focused on alumni impacts and contributions). What is missing in the research field is the lack of critical reflection on the politics of knowledge: the nature of contributions of these well-educated elites are not further questioned or explored. There is a normative assumption that knowledge and skills learned within and through international scholarship programs are neutral as they are spilled over back to various societies. This silence in discourse uncritically accepts the linear flow of knowledge, devoid of discussions of resistance, contestations and negotiations. Scholarship recipients educated overseas (such as me) can become complicit by embracing modernity without deeper questioning and failing to re-imagine alternatives beyond modernity.

6.1.2. Missing Complexities and Vulnerabilities under Northern Lens

With this dominant Western-centric discourse of productivity and linear progress, there is a strikingly rare discussion concerning the structural oppression and vulnerabilities brought about by international scholarship itself. Systemic and structural oppression within and through international scholarship is rare within the literature. The popular notion of scholarship recipients as well-educated elites can become a hindrance in exploring experiences of inequalities/oppression within the context of international scholarships. In postcolonial thinking, local elites are commonly criticized as complicit to the colonial powers. McEwan (2009) describes elites as having "internalized the Eurocentric idea of the inferiority of their own cultures and ensured the dominance of European powers" (p. 15). But since the schema of elites is mainly associated with privilege and power, juxtaposing it with notions of inequality or oppression causes dissonance. Since scholarship recipients are perceived as privileged elites for having the opportunity to study abroad and be educated under 'world-class standards', discourse of oppression is not the usual part of its discourse repertoire.

Thus, when inequality/oppression is covered within the research literature, international scholarship is approached as an instrument to fight oppression in the society. For instance, the concept of scholarship recipients as social justice advocates is becoming more prevalent in the research field during post-2015 (See Appendix B IFS ATS). Scholarship recipients are represented as social change agents against oppression such as racism and patriarchy in their societies. But this new emphasis on the role of scholarship recipients to counter-oppression remains fixed within the logic of productivity and progress. But what is overlooked are the *unquestioned process and vulnerabilities* within the international scholarship community. With this, there is a compelling need to pursue a more nuanced and complex approach towards international scholarships, particularly with its complicity in maintaining colonial legacies. This supports Ashcroft et al.'s (2006) claim that colonial discourse excludes negative cases and themes of exploitation, putting the powerful in the positive light.

Missing Educational Perspectives and Vulnerabilities Within. With the Northern-centric fixation on productivity and progress, such as analyzing post-scholarship impacts, it continues to neglect to account other lived experiences and discourses relevant to international scholarship. For instance, in spite that teaching/learning is an integral dimension to scholarship programs, educational perspectives in the literature are very rare. Educational perspectives remain marginalized, such that it is even called a 'black box' (Baxter, 2018; Dassin et al., 2018). Figure 6.1. is my interpretation of a "black box". One example of overlooked systemic oppression is the nexus of international scholarships to internationalization of higher education. While there are critiques that connect internationalization of higher education and international scholarship programs in the literature, its critique is limited to issues of brain drain, internationalization strategy and donors' cash cow as expounded in Chapter 2 RRL. But Dassin et al. (2018b) mentioned that the changing higher education landscape is an important factor in understanding international scholarships. They state: "a more fundamental research question is the role of scholarship programs within the shifting global landscape of Higher Education. Fast paced

technological change and the rising demand for Higher Education and shifts in skilled labor

market needs are the backdrop to our analysis" (p. 382).

Figure 6.1.

Scholarship as Learning as the Missing Black Box
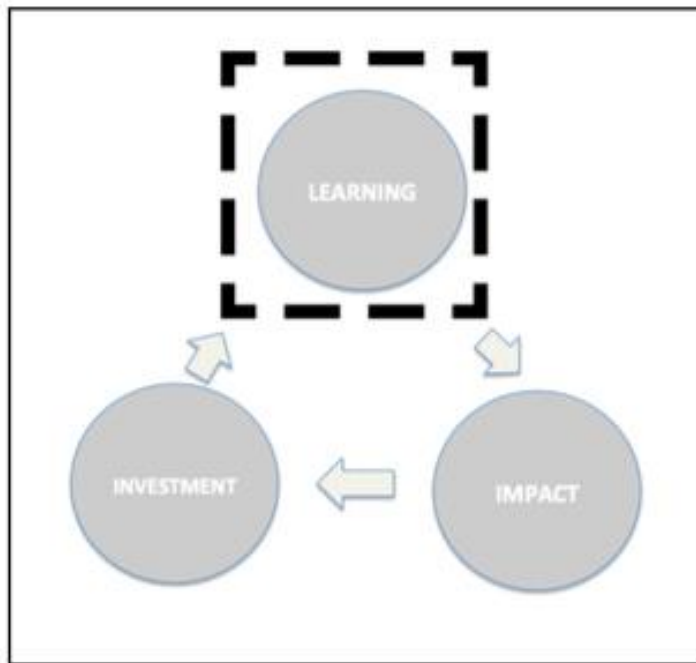
I suggest that one of the changes in higher education that must be highlighted is its

nexus with the knowledge economy. Higher education plays a central role in the global

knowledge economy (Nokka, 2006; Power, 2015). The academic knowledge produced has

economic value in the market than ever before (Scott-Smith, 2018, p. 10). As higher

education institutions have become active economic actors and knowledge production, it is

directly connected to economic production (knowledge economy). This nexus of global

knowledge economy and neoliberal higher education has been changing the dynamics of

global knowledge production. This complicates the learning environment and relationships

within international scholarship programs. Due to the neoliberal ethos of global higher

education, universities around the world fight to fulfill international metrics and increase

their reputation and competitiveness.

The commodification of knowledge within neoliberal higher education is creating a vulnerable environment. Since knowledge becomes a commodity in our global knowledge economy, exploitation and alienation could occur within the context of neoliberal higher education. Thus, while educators and scholarship recipients are perceived as having privileged positions, they could also face inequalities. According to Paulo Freire (1973), no education is neutral. Especially that international scholarship programs are operating within a neoliberal higher education with a learning environment obsessed with productivity, global university rankings and publish-perish culture. The market-driven higher education has definitely influenced various aspects of learning from the curricula, pedagogy, relationships, and this remains a blindspot in international scholarship research. While certain international scholarship researches critique internationalization of higher education, it does not address how international scholarships are instruments of neocolonialism/neoliberalism. A provocative question to ask now is how does commercialization of knowledge impact international scholarship as development aid?

6.1.3. Erasure under Northern Gaze: Transgenerational Epistemic Violence

Although oppression discourse on international scholarships are slowly emerging across grey and academic literature, unpacking the colonial entanglements of international scholarships remains marginalized. While certain research literature mentions the colonial connections of international scholarships, their context serves more of a backdrop:

- Perna et al. (2014) explains it as a backgrounder: "international scholarship programs in higher education have existed for many years. In the early 20th century, some nations established overseas study abroad programs to train the administrative elite of their colonies" (p. 63).

- Baxter (2018) compared the contemporary international scholarship to the colonial efforts of developing local elites: "The student mobility patterns between countries in the Global South and higher education institutions in the Global North continue to resemble those forged through colonial efforts to develop a local elite and cultivate

support for their interests by sending students to study at leading institutions in Europe and the USA" (p. 121).

While colonial entanglements of international scholarship are not completely absent within the discourse, these colonial references remain generalized, abstract and conceptual rather than particular, historicized, situated and embodied. With the absence of Southern theories and epistemologies, the complicit role of international scholarship as a channel of transgenerational epistemic violence is not explored. It fails to explore how international scholarship as development aid is complicit in continuing Western ideology of development, of modernity, turning a blind eye on the dark side of Western civilization. Colonial entanglement is marginalized within the Eurocentric lens since the dominant view of temporality is linear and predominantly under rational approach towards international scholarship research.

   Erasure due to Monoculture of Linear Time: As international scholarship is largely approached through linear time and a teleological future under Northern epistemologies (De Sousa Santos, 2015), the research field fails to address this as ongoing structural colonial violences. Colonial experience is rather understood as a memory of the past rather than a continuous lived present today. I committed to this linear way of Northern thinking too. In Chapter 3, I traced the genealogy of international scholarships as development aid from the colonial era as imperial strategy towards contemporary development aid. I illustrated how international scholarship programs serve as an ideological channel to diffuse modernity in a linear arrow of time. But as I took interest in the historical experiences of our ancestors such as the Filipino Pensionados of the 20th century who built the modern nation-state I am living in now, my notion of politics of knowledge became wider in scope. But by not problematizing the nature of knowledge circulating within the international scholarship community over generations, it remains conduit in actively colonizing people's ways of knowing/being across spacetime. The Sarilaysay gave a sense of clarity of how international scholarship is not only a channel of

intergenerational intellectual dependency of the Global South to Global North, but international scholarship is a channel of transgenerational epistemic violence.

Erasure due to Monoculture of Rational Research: With Northern rational epistemologies are dominant within the research field, this cartesian body-mind dichotomy and linear temporality leave the international scholarship community far from a state of vulnerability. As illustrated by my Sarilaysay in Chapter 5, our normative approach towards linearity of history fails to grasp the extent and depth of how international scholarship as development aid served and continues to serve as a channel of transgenerational epistemic violence and trauma over the years. As I initially understood this colonial genealogy in linear time, it was with lesser extent and pain of epistemic violence. Although there are mentions of colonial entanglements, the research field is yet missing the intensity and pain of transgenerational trauma and planetary loss. The ontological and affective aspects are marginalized, a muted violence. There is absence of collective trauma acknowledgement and mourning. But welcoming epistemologies of the South allowed me as a researcher to unpack international scholarship not only as intellectual dependency but as a channel of painful transgenerational epistemic violence. International scholarship of our ancestral past remains relevant and affects me and my generation today: embodied, materially and viscerally, not abstract in the colonial past. I realized that I initially engaged with Spivak's (1988) epistemic violence and De Sousa Santos' (2015) epistemicide intellectually: limited to discourse and representation rather than my own lived experience.

Our modern world is systematically losing knowledge systems. This epistemic violence concerns us all: not just those in the Global South, not just those in the Global North but *planetary wounding*. This traps us of limited onto-epistemic possibilities, maintaining a civilizational trauma and systemic violence. Without critical consciousness, onto-epistemic possibilities are being limited. As the research community continues being silent on this epistemic violence, international scholarship remains complicit in reproducing colonial violences by missing resistances and re-imaginations. Thus, this is a call for the international scholarship community to slow down and take a pause: become reflexive, critical and

grieving. *How am I part of this violence? How are we part of this violence? How could the international scholarship community become a community of epistemic healing?* With this, the research community could consider understanding international scholarship through a different worldview to truly rethink.

6.2. International Scholarship Researchers in Resistance

During pre-2015, there were only limited types of international scholarship researchers in the research field. For instance, commissioned development consultants carrying out pragmatic evaluation research such as Alumni Tracer Studies. However, the launching of SDG4b in 2015 welcomed a growing diversity of researchers from Global North and South. In this section, I will answer the second research question: "In what ways does postcolonial politics of knowledge influence researchers in conceptualizing and researching international scholarship? How does this limit the rethinking of the research field?" Despite conscious resistance among North and South researchers to go beyond the status quo within the research field, the resistance strategy stays trapped within the Northern way of thinking. Diversification as the resistance strategy: incorporating more voices, perspectives, theories, concepts, knowledge production is not enough because this resistance does not structurally challenge the colonial entanglement of international scholarship. The resistance tools used remain advocating for soft reforms and radical reforms within international scholarships.

6.2.1. Research Diversification under Epistemologies of the North

The prescribed direction during post-2015 is parochial towards Northern rational epistemologies. A call to engage in a more serious and rigorous approach towards international scholarships, compared to the previous pragmatic inquiries. Since academic researchers are not tied with donor agenda and funding, they create more opportune space for resistance and enjoy liberty to challenge research norms. Consequently, different Western research paradigms could be observed: positivist, interpretative, critical. With the growing and visible engagement of academic researchers, more diverse, novel, complex and

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nuanced approaches on international scholarships were introduced into the research field during post-2015. In particular, scholar-practitioners from the Global North introduced approaches that decenter the common theoretical framework of Human Capital Theory. For example, Campbell and Mawer (2018) highlighted Capability Approach while Baxter (2018) introduced Transformative Pedagogy into the research field. However, although these academic researchers bring forth new promising representations such as diverse voices and perspectives into the research field, it has limitations in conceptualizing and rethinking international scholarships. This analytical thinking brought more vibrant critiques to the research field. But while there is self-critique within the international scholarship research field, international scholarships remain under Eurocentric worldview. This rethinking was a call for more empirical data, theories and analysis under Northern epistemologies. While academic researchers responded with a growing variety of theoretical and empirical research during post-2015, international scholarships are predominantly analyzed under Northern lens: fixated on productivity under linear time, approaching individual scholarship recipients as autonomous change agents and societies under nation-states. With dominance of monological Northern theories and empirical data within the research field, the way of knowing remains Cartesian, abstract and reductionist. This shows how the research field remains within a monoculture of knowledge and rigor (De Sousa Santos, 2015).

6.2.2. Radical Resistance with Captive Mind: Missing Epistemologies of the South

Researchers from the Global South are rarely engaged in the research field. Dassin and Navarrete (2018) acknowledged this gap and encouraged Southern researchers to engage, especially in evaluation: "Most importantly, researchers and former scholarship holders in developing countries should be encouraged to build new models and methodologies for impact assessment. This dimension is almost entirely missing from the existing literature and should be encouraged" (p. 322). While there is a general passivity of scholarship recipients turning into international scholarship researchers, there are few

emerging researches that addresses "the South is known but never the knower" (Connell, 2007; Khoo, 2013, para 4). Some examples are North-South collaborations (Abimbola et al., 2016; Amazan et al., 2016) as well as independent Southern researchers like me during post-2015. But this section would argue that more researchers from the Global South does not necessarily disrupt international scholarship research beyond colonial terms. While Southern research engagement could collapse the subject-object dichotomy between the Global North and Global South, it does not guarantee to go beyond the Northern way of knowing. By not challenging the epistemic privilege of Northern ways of knowing, researchers are failing to address and explore complexities and vulnerabilities within international scholarships. For instance, researchers are giving stronger critiques and recommendations in reforming international scholarships. Works such as Rose and Zubairi (2016) radically proposed that international scholarships must be scrapped as development aid. But it does not necessarily address colonial entanglements but rather its rejection stems from international scholarship's failure to show development effectiveness.

While the notion of "*Scholarship Recipients becoming Researchers*" is promising, my own Sarilaysay in Chapter 5 clearly illustrates how "captive mind" limits possibilities of knowledge production. As I elaborated in my meta-critique, I was hoping that postcolonial theory could open the epistemological space by producing alternative perspectives such as counter-discourses on international scholarships. What I had in mind was Ashcroft et al.'s (1989) strategy of writing back as a form of resistance: challenging assumptions and creating counter-discourse through new narratives and new paradigms. However, my chosen research tools for resistance remain under colonial paradigm. My dissertation depicts Alatas' (1993) captive mind: "inability to be creative and raise original problems, the inability to devise original analytical methods" (p. 308). Although I sought to resist the status quo using a critical lens, I failed to resist towards Otherwise. So yes, scholarship recipients can engage as an international scholarship researcher where one re-present with one's voice and not stay as an object of the Northern gaze...***but*** there is a caveat: a Southern researcher can still be unconsciously subscribing to a colonial paradigm. This aligns to what Grosfoguel (2013)

says: "The fact that one is socially located in the oppressed side of power relations, does not automatically mean that one is epistemically thinking from a subaltern epistemic location" (p. 67).

With academic dependency on Western theoretical and conceptual approaches within the international scholarship research field, there is a missing opportunity to explore alternative ways of knowing such as feminist, decolonial ways of knowing, among others. With this, researchers are doing a gesture of exclusion as Southern theories or concepts largely missing in the research field (Connell, 2006). As De Sousa Santos (2015) asserts, not tapping into Southern epistemologies such as using subaltern or silenced knowledge systems is a waste of inexhaustible experiences. As a response, my Sarilaysay attempted to be an experimental space for researching the international scholarship researcher from the Global South as well as a scholarship recipient's reflexivity over her developed scholarship while studying overseas. This was a tentative practice for transrational research: emotional, embodied and involving the metaphysical by tapping into my indigenous onto-epistemologies. Re-engaging with my ancestral ways of knowing/being opened my eyes to the partiality of Eurocentric ways of knowing and expanded my source of liberation.

6.2.3. Role of Western Research Culture in Limited Rethinking

The standard of good research scholarship lies predominantly with Westernized academic research norms that are privileging the dominant Eurocentric worldview. As Westernized universities across the world remain the elitist gatekeeper of perceived valid knowledge, our standard research culture is Western-centric. It is no surprise that the researchers are expected to engage in monological rational inquiry: analytical thinking and critique, as scholars and researchers are measured and audited in a certain way on how they conduct research (Puwar, 2020). This dogmatic approach becomes complicit in homogenizing research culture.

Monologic Research and Scholarship as Unquestioned Standard. What does this mean to international scholarship researchers and resistance? Scholarship

recipients as well as other types of researchers are educated within colonial higher education around the world. To scholarship recipients like me, international scholarship programs are channels to further learn research. Without critical consciousness, this could be reifying the Eurocentric worldview as the universal standard. As Northern epistemologies become naturalized and internalized as standard, researchers are influenced in the way research inquiries are conceptualized and conducted. Attempts of rethinking international scholarship research also remain bound within Northern ways of knowing. Thus, to rethink international scholarship research is first to become conscious of the existing systemic colonial knowledge production and how it is engaging with epistemic violence. This is a call for questioning research education and colonial research practices. The unchallenged research "training" and practice among researchers sustains not only intellectual dependency between Global North and South, but experiencing epistemic loss and violence. If this monopoly is unchallenged, it contributes to the transgenerational epistemic violence.

To rethink scholarship is to engage in a paradigm shift towards epistemic healing: academia around the world has to admit the monopoly of Eurocentric knowledge system and to acknowledge the multiplicity of knowledge systems (Sandoval et al., 2016). To disrupt this epistemic hegemony is to welcome different ways of knowing: to decenter Northern ways of knowing, and dialogue with other ways of knowing. This invitation towards ecologies of knowledge into the university/academic research challenges that academic knowledge on top of the knowledge hierarchy. The epistemic repertoire will expand to include sources of knowledges. For instance, epistemologies of the South welcomes "lay, popular, urban, peasant, indigenous, women, religious knowledges" into the research field (De Sousa Santos, 2015). Introducing epistemologies of the South could raise different issues. This challenges what "international scholarship research" could look like as it expands the repertoire of research genres using alternative knowledge systems. With this, it dawned on me that another blindspot on postcolonial politics of knowledge is not exploring the nexus of higher education and colonial knowledge production: how rationalism becomes the monologic standard of knowledge production and colonizing our education system. As the monological

epistemologies of the North produce parochial knowledge production, this rigidity hinders research fields like international scholarship to be dynamic and creative. This is an invitation to challenge our normative academic scholarly approach, and a call for *unlearning academic scholarship through engaging with alternative ways of knowing/being.*

Rethinking Beyond Rational: The Need to Expand "Captive Mind". Alatas (2004) warns the role of Westernized universities in sustaining the captive mind: "a captive mind is the product of higher institutions of learning, either at home or abroad, whose way of thinking is dominated by Western thought in an imitative and uncritical manner." Thus, for researchers whether from Global North or South, there is a responsibility to engage in critical reflexivity: to become aware of internalized colonization. With this recognition of limitation, I wish to extend Alatas' (2004) notion of "captive mind" as it converses with epistemologies of the South. The following would help international scholarship researchers expand their repertoire in rethinking international scholarships research.

First, expanding the relevance of "captive mind" across researchers from Global North and South. International scholarship researchers remain producing knowledge under Northern epistemologies despite sincere attempts of resistance. With the structural epistemic violence, there is a "collective unconscious" of reproducing colonial knowledge production among international scholarship researchers - whether from North and South. But as the international scholarship community becomes conscienticized of the gravity of epistemic violence within the field, rethinking beyond Northern epistemologies could potentially occur. This critical consciousness could open windows to expand possibilities of re-imagination within international scholarship research as it dialogues with alternative ways of knowing/being.

Second, expanding the notion of captive "mind" beyond intellect: The mind is often linked to the "intellect" or cognitive aspect of a scholar. But this narrow conception of mind limits the discussions of epistemic violence within abstraction and disembodiment, which is subscribing to the Cartesian mind/body duality. Under Northern epistemologies, researchers are removed from their affect, dissociation from the notion that research is sacred, among

other alternative ways of knowing/being. This disembodiment/numbness among researchers is part of the epistemic violence itself and failing to feel and mourn for the transgenerational epistemic violence. I suggest that international scholarship researchers be reflexive not only on how one subscribes to the dominant Northern epistemologies, but how one is experiencing epistemic violence as a researcher and as a human being - and feeling it, grieving it. As our standard research is mainly approached rationally, it fails to sit with the pain. But openness to contemplative inquiry allows researchers to feel how epistemic violence is material and embodied. Through my Sarilaysay in Chapter 5, I was able to pause and contemplate on my lived experience as a scholarship recipient and international scholarship researcher, where I connected to the inquiry viscerally, emotionally, spiritually. And by re-engaging with my ancestral ways of knowing/being, I became aware of the onto-epistemological hegemony of modernity, how it silenced plural onto-epistemologies and mourned for it. With this background, I also propose that the "mind" in "captive mind" be expanded to mean "consciousness" or "being". The colonial captivity is not only of the intellect but holistically of the body-mind-soul-spirit. Due to the monopoly of Northern epistemologies and its reverence to the rational mind, varied knowledges/being had been excluded from our consciousness when research is discussed. So it is not surprising that when talking about rethinking international scholarship research, the limited frame of reference concerning radical imagination stays within the realm of the cognitive. Not challenging this hegemonic onto-epistemological paradigm limits the repertoire of disruption and possibilities of international scholarship research: giving onto-epistemic privilege to rational ways of knowing/being.

6.3. Scholarship of Otherwise: Rethinking International Scholarship Research

In this section, I answer the third research question: "In what ways can rethinking the research field of international scholarships beyond colonial terms be pursued?" Earlier in this Chapter, I provided a discussion of how the research field is predominantly under colonial paradigm or what I call *Scholarship of Other*. This illustrates that the research field

lacks alternative engagement beyond epistemologies of the North. This section then addresses how the normative assumptions within the research field could expand through welcoming alternative research paradigms. I will introduce three dimensions of *Scholarship of Otherwise* inspired by my ancestral worldview which I briefly presented in Chapter 5 Findings' Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative). It is to note that although each dimension (ontology, epistemology and axiology) is discussed separately here, they are all deeply interconnected with one another. By exploring alternative paradigms, this could generate new questions and insights beyond what Eurocentric colonial paradigm could offer.

6.3.1. Epistemic Bayanihan as Ecologies of Knowledges

A way to rethink international scholarship research involves expanding from monologic ways of knowing to welcoming multiple ways of knowing (or what I call epistemic bayanihan). By embracing epistemic bayanihan, researchers would consider inquiring on international scholarships through ecologies of knowledges: dominant ways of knowing dialoguing with alternative epistemologies (such as social, feminist, indigenous ways of knowing) in order to rethink the research field. With this, epistemic bayanihan invites various modes of inquiry: communal, transdisciplinary, transrational into international scholarship research field. Using my dissertation as an example: Surprisingly, by juxtaposing PCDA and Sarilaysay in this dissertation, this epistemic bayanihan reveals new perspectives. Initially, I failed to disrupt the monologic Northern epistemological approach in the research field using a critical approach, solely relied on a rational approach. But the conscious inclusion of Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative) in Chapter 5 became a way to decenter hegemonic Northern epistemologies within this dissertation. By juxtaposing dialogue among different ways of knowing within an international scholarship research, I am acknowledging the partiality of rational/abstract approach and emphasizing the value of ecologies of knowledges.

My additional Sarilaysay became an insight of how rethinking through epistemologies of the South could engage elements that the normative international

scholarship research overlooks: "pleasure, passion, emotion, rhetoric, literary style and biography" (De Sousa Santos, 2018, p. 134). Sarilaysay became a space where a researcher like me can become vulnerable and share emotions and other transrational aspects relevant to my research process. This openness gave space to inquire about socio-emotional aspects: vulnerability, doubts, frustrations that are usually ignored or overlooked in the research field. Moreover, by engaging with my ancestral ways of knowing/being in Sarilaysay (Chapter 5) and briefly introducing our indigenous concepts of *kapwa, bayanihan, pakikipagkwentuhan*, it provided me with the spaciousness of what international scholarship research could possibly be. These concepts guided me how international scholarship could be understood as an interrelated and complex ecosystem beyond the common dualistic and reductionist approach. This shows how epistemic bayanihan could welcome new vocabularies, insights and vitality into international scholarship research.

6.3.2. Kapwa (Shared Being) as Relational Ontology

Introducing our indigenous concept of *kapwa* (shared being) as ontology in Chapter 5 emphasizes relationality. The international scholarship community are approached as entangled beings. The community members are not autonomous or independent from one another, but an ecosystem of interrelationship of students, educators, program staff, researchers, host/home community members, ancestors, among others. By adopting relationality as an ontological stance, the international scholarship research field could expand the hegemonic notion of experts researching *about* international scholarship and scholarship recipients to researching *with* scholarship recipients and even beyond. This decenters experts as the perceived legitimate researchers within the research field. This opens possibilities beyond hierarchical and extractive research approaches towards reciprocal and intersubjective modes of inquiry.

While critical approach invites radical imagination, it remains within hierarchical colonial ontology. However, this monological way of knowing limits the imagination and possibilities of rethinking. But by engaging with epistemologies of the South, it could "invoke

other ontologies" (De Sousa Santos, 2018, p. 153), where these alternative ontologies could open multiple possibilities. To rethink international scholarship research is not limited by critically analyzing the current status of international scholarship, but rethinking research under alternative ontologies opens a wilder realm of engagement by re-imagining the alternative futures of international scholarships. This expands the emancipation repertoire from *radical resistance to worldbuilding through imagination and experimentation*: giving space to a radical becoming, new ways of being and relating with the world. Inquiry under kapwa becomes an interrelationality among humans and more-than-human world, making room for deep listening and contemplation. For instance, kapwa can decenter the rational human-centric (Anthropocentric) approach within international scholarship research and practice. This ontology challenges to re-imagine international scholarship beyond nation states, towards a planetary kinship with the world.

6.3.3. Pakikipagkwentuhan (Storytelling) as Inquiry of Shared Vulnerability

Rethinking international scholarship research could be done by expanding the values of what is considered valuable and good in the research field. Normatively, the research field under the Northern lens places high value on analyzing post-scholarship outcomes and impacts. And the common researcher stance under the expert gaze is detached and maintaining value-neutrality as they conduct international scholarship research. But rethinking international scholarship research could explore various new forms of research relationships and agendas. The research process itself can become relational and collaborative from the very beginning: instead of one-directional surveying or expert interviewing, researchers can engage in an inquiry of shared vulnerability through pakikipagkwentuhan (storytelling).

Approaching international scholarship under pakikipagkwentuhan could widen the sense making within the research field. It expands the inquiry from transactional data collecting, analysis and reporting to relational curiosity, caring and feeling. In Chapter 5, I was able to mention my pakikipagkwentuhan experience in the Sarilaysay. In my Sarilaysay,

I revealed raw and intimate experiences as a researcher and scholarship recipient in relation to my different relationships. For instance, I foregrounded how the dialogic interactions with my dissertation panel have challenged my knowledge production, the nature of my 'scholarship'. The dissertation process became a shared inquiry, a holding space to express my doubts, uncertainties and joys in wayfinding my dissertation revision. In addition, I also elaborated on the inquiry of shared vulnerability among Filipino scholarship recipients as co-inquirers in my Sarilaysay, how pakikipagkwentuhan became a trusting and holding space in processing struggles, discomfort and pains. This shows that members of the international scholarship community can re-present their lived experiences with their own words and conversing and being vulnerable with other co-inquirers. Pakikipagkwentuhan as relational inquiry allows for ethics of care and process-oriented inquiry in international scholarship research. It invites the international scholarship community to inquire about complexities, tensions, negotiations, ambiguities or contradictions, together. It makes listening to vulnerabilities and making space for doubts and tensions a legitimate research agenda. The research agenda shifts from certitude of impacts to complexity of interrelationships. It can expand to embracing researcher biases and acknowledging entanglement with others by engaging in relational inquiry and co-creating. This is collapsing the hierarchy - the us/them dichotomy within international scholarship research and expanding what is valued in the research field.

6.4. Implications

International scholarship research remains under colonial paradigm. It lacks critical and alternative engagements that disrupt normative colonial assumptions of international scholarship research - on ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology. Although there are instances of resistances to status quo especially post-2015, politics of knowledge within the research field remains under Northern epistemologies. This dissertation showed how diversification is not enough in rethinking international scholarship research. Rethinking international scholarship research does not only mean diversifying voices, perspectives or

theories, no matter how critical or radical. Increasing engagement of researchers and diversifying research approaches are not enough in disrupting the status quo, if the normative colonial assumptions within the research field are left unchallenged.

This implies that international scholarship researchers - individually and collectively must exercise critical reflexivity on how colonial ways of knowing (epistemology) and being (ontology) shape the research. This confronts the presence of transgenerational epistemic violence that is largely silenced within the research field. But rethinking does not stop in being conscious of colonial domination within the research field but for the international scholarship research community to expand the frames of reference beyond colonial terms.

Currently, the tools of inquiry and resistance within the international scholarship research field are predominantly under Northern ways of knowing. Thus, the research community may consider exploring alternatives beyond the colonial paradigm. This is breaking away from the homogeneity of knowledge and exploring worlds and knowledges otherwise (Escobar, 1984, 2007).

Researchers are encouraged to be open to epistemic diversity: to engage with Epistemologies of the South and open towards feminist, indigenous, decolonial ways of knowing/being when conceptualizing and conducting research (De Sousa Santos, 2015). This means researchers have to draw into a wider range of experiences and curious to explore unconventional knowledge such as wisdom, intuition, sacred knowledge, ancestral knowledge, planetary consciousness and other neglected knowledges as relevant ways of knowing international scholarships.

With this openness, knowledge production can expand from the monologic knowledge production held by Western scholarship to welcoming the pluralistic ecologies of knowledges. I illustrated ecologies of knowledge through this dissertation: a dialogue between rational-critical scholarship through postcolonial approach and contemplative scholarship through Sarilaysay. Critical postcolonial approach uncovered hegemony and decenter power by writing back. This opened up epistemological space for alternative ways of knowing to introduce counter-discourses on international scholarships. On the other hand,

indigenous storytelling through Sarilaysay gave space for a transrational and holistic approach which includes emotions, spiritual and ancestral ways of knowing/being. This provides a glimpse of how research could experiment towards more plural onto-epistemic possibilities, expand possibilities to see a wider horizon of how international scholarship research could be.

Thus, this is an invitation for researchers to expand from Scholarship of Other to Scholarship of Otherwise, a space to introduce and re-imagine international scholarship, where another world is possible (De Sousa Santos, 2018). International scholarship research can become a space for "world-building": not merely inquiring and telling "what is" but "what could be". In re-imagining other worlds, it cannot be built with conventional worldviews. This re-imagining as a form of rethinking then entails epistemic humility, curiosity and open-mindedness within the international scholarship community as it takes steps to unlearn, listen and re-imagine. *This is rethinking beyond colonial imaginary.*

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Summary

With the rise of international scholarship as SDG4b in 2015, an increasing research interest in international scholarships as development aid emerged. But it made me wonder: why is international scholarship - a prominent and controversial development aid understudied over the years until now? The aim of this dissertation is to problematize and rethink the normative research field of international scholarships over the years. I seek to answer the central question: *How does postcolonial politics of knowledge occur within the research field of international scholarships? How can rethinking of its scholarship be pursued beyond colonial terms?* These were some questions that brought this dissertation into life. Using postcolonial lens, I explored how colonial legacies have influenced and limited the way the international scholarship is conceptualized, researched and discussed.

For methodology, I chose a conversation of two methodologies: Using Postcolonial Critical Discourse Analysis (PCDA) and Indigenous Storytelling via Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative). With PCDA, I closely examined grey and academic literature on international scholarships to uncover politics of knowledge within the research field. This methodological framework enabled me to approach texts as sites of power relations: exposing of naturalization of texts, its ideologies and connecting it with the wider postcolonial context. Initially, my intention was to problematize how existing international scholarship researches and researchers were under colonial research paradigm. However, this dissertation took a more intimate and personal turn as I began to also problematize myself as an international scholarship researcher and my own dissertation work through my Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative). This Storytelling through Sarilaysay was meant to be a response as meta-critique and contemplation, particularly reflecting on how I was (unconsciously) influenced by colonial legacies as I carry out my dissertation.

In Chapter 5 Findings, I first presented how three common genres of research literature, namely UNESCO Global Reports, Alumni Tracer Studies and Academic Literature were under the Northern lens or what I call "Scholarship of Other", and the following are the four common dimensions among genres:

First, Subject-Object Relations: *Northern 'Experts' as Researchers and Scholarship Recipients as Sources of Data.* Aligned to Alatas' (2004) subject-object dichotomy, experts from the Global North are the de-facto researchers while scholarship recipients have limited research subjectivity as a 'research object'. The nature of the relationship is transactional and instrumental: researchers from the Global North such as development consultants and academics commonly take neutral stance as they conduct researches while scholarship recipients serve as "sources of data" as they participate in research interviews or surveys rather than being a researcher and speaking for themselves, researching and theorizing.

Second, Axiology of Productivity and Progress*: Fixation on Post-Scholarship Outcomes and Impacts but Missing Complexities and Vulnerabilities.* Across grey and academic literature, a common research agenda is analyzing post-scholarship outcomes and impacts under the notion of linear, teleological progress. Scholarship recipients are commonly represented in their instrumental roles as positive impact makers or social change agents. Since the dominant researchers in the field revolve around experts from the global North, this limits the discourse within international scholarship research field. Existing vocabulary, research agendas and representations are paternal and parochial. However, this myopic approach under Northern lens has marginalized voices and perspectives in the field. This fixation fails to explore counter-discourses on failures, inequalities, ambiguities, resistances and other trajectories that comprise its complexity and vulnerabilities. For instance, despite the centrality of learning in the international scholarship context, education-based perspectives are rare in the field. In particular, discussions on politics of knowledge within colonial, neoliberal higher education are largely absent in the discourse.

Third, Monologic Research Inquiry: *Dominance of Northern Theories but Missing Alternative Epistemologies.* The launching of post-2015 SDG4b had a visible call to conduct rigorous researches on international scholarship. Northern epistemologies remain the monological, rational research approach, where Northern theories and datafication have largely shaped the understanding of international scholarship. Since international scholarship is commonly theorized under human capital perspective and other Northern ways of knowing, the normative unit of analysis within the research field is individualistic and nation-state-centric. Alternative ways of knowing international scholarship such as Southern theories, concepts and epistemologies as advocated by Connell (2007) and De Sousa Santos (2015) are yet to be observed within the research field.

Fourth, Resistance from Within: *Diversification and Radical Resistance within North Epistemologies, Not Otherwise.* In the midst of a persistent status quo within the research field, I found spaces of resistances. After SDG4b was launched in 2015, there was an emergence of academic literature from the Global North introducing new vocabulary, research agendas using diverse theoretical approaches than before. Concepts such as "capability approach", "social justice", "transformative pedagogy" are introduced into the research field. This expansion diversified the voices and perspectives beyond the discourse of human capital and impacts. Yet, there is another layer of complexity with this promising diversifying turn. Even in this promising development of new research agendas and approaches, these resistances remain framed within the Northern lens, no matter how critical. The tools for inquiry and the tools for resistance remain under hegemonic Northern epistemologies and missing inspiration from the Southern epistemologies with regards to disrupting the colonial status quo. Since international scholarship remains predominantly understood from Northern experiences, it shows what Connell (2007) calls a grand erasure: absence of how transgenerational epistemic violence is related to international scholarship.

With these findings, I concluded Chapter 5 with a meta-critique of my own dissertation through a Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative). Here, I engaged in a contemplative scholarship: unpacking how I embodied what Alatas (2004) calls Captive Mind. Initially, I

examined international scholarship research from a distant by only focusing on how other researchers were limited by colonial legacies. But along the way, my dissertation began to have a more intimate turn. Despite the transformative intention for my dissertation work to challenge status quo and bring forth change within the international scholarship research field, colonial legacies have largely influenced my work too. What I learned is that my chosen Northern-centric approach using Postcolonial Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (PCDA) did not disrupt epistemically or ontologically the colonial status quo. Although I uncovered politics of knowledge using critical lens, my notion of rethinking remained within the hegemonic language of domination rather than re-imagining beyond the colonial terms.

In Chapter 6, I further discussed what these findings/learnings mean and its implication to rethinking international scholarship research. Rethinking international scholarship research is not merely diversifying voices and researches approaches, no matter how critical the approach. To rethink is to acknowledge the colonial legacies and expand frames of references beyond colonial terms. For instance, expanding from hierarchical to relational ontology, from monologic Northern epistemologies to ecologies of knowledge and from neutral and transactional researcher stance to entangled relationships. I ended Chapter 6 with research implications, which reiterates that to rethink international scholarship research is more complex than mere diversification of theoretical/methodological frameworks, topics or voices. Rethinking does not stop from uncovering and critiquing Euro-centric knowledge production either. But to radically rethink international scholarship research, Findings/learnings suggest transgressing normative colonial imaginaries by welcoming ecologies of knowledges such as Epistemologies of the South. This is an invitation to shift from Scholarship of 'Other' towards the Scholarship of 'Otherwise'. Scholarship of 'Otherwise' is about welcoming new possibilities of how international scholarship research could be by engaging many ways of knowing/being. This is an invitation to the international scholarship community to become more curious in expanding the field's onto-epistemic repertoire beyond the colonial terms as we re-imagine together.

7.2. Way Forward: Researching with Alternative Ways of Knowing/Being

  To move forward, rethinking the research field must entail not only becoming conscious of the dominance of Northern epistemologies and colonial ontologies, but to proactively introducing alternative ontologies and epistemologies in re-imagining international scholarship research. This section aims to provide concrete ways on how to disrupt the research field via alternative ways of knowing/being. Four examples of research approaches are enumerated, hoping this serves as an initial exploration on how to rethink and re-imagine international scholarship research for future possibilities and sensibilities. It is to note that this section does not aim to impose but only to offer possibilities beyond the dominant way of knowing with regards to international scholarship research.

  To take steps forward towards Otherwise, international scholarship researchers could explore epistemologies of the South (Santos, 2015). Again, the concept of South here depicts the unequal global power relations such as the hierarchy of knowledge, not so about geography or economic positioning. De Sousa Santos (2016) explains that "the South is rather a metaphor for the human suffering caused by capitalism and colonization on the global level, as well as for the resistance to overcoming or minimizing such suffering. It is, therefore, an anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist, anti-patriarchal and anti-imperialist South" (p. 18-19). Welcoming epistemologies of the South in the research field is an invitation to introduce marginalized/invisibilized vocabulary, agenda and approaches. For instance, it "turns absent subjects into present subjects as the foremost condition for identifying and validating knowledges that may reinvent social emancipation and liberation" (De Sousa Santos, 2014 as cited in De Sousa Santos, 2018, p. 153). In this recommendation section, I will concretely discuss four examples of how alternative epistemologies could disrupt the international scholarship research field.

7.2.1. Exercising Researcher Reflexivity and Critical Consciousness

There are various ways of how researchers can engage in rethinking international scholarship research. One of which is acknowledging the need of becoming critically reflexive. Commonly, international scholarship researchers are detached, neutral and engaging more on rational modes of inquiry. But by exercising researcher reflexivity, it allows researchers to acknowledge positionality and recognize the intimate relationship of the researcher, the research projects one is involved in and how entangled we are in the socio-historical contexts.

As I illustrated in my Sarilaysay in Chapter 5, critical reflexivity can be written as an Auto-ethnography or Sarilaysay (Personal Narrative). The writing process of critical reflexivity enables international scholarship researchers to become conscious of the normalized/universalized forms of knowing (Andreotti et al., 2015) and how one is embedded within the dominant knowledge system. Through reflexivity, researchers can become sensitized concerning their normative colonial assumptions about international scholarships, and also become actively aware how their values, privileges and bias could feed into the inquiry process. Our colonial entanglements range from the chosen topic and problem to examine, the paradigm, theoretical background to methodology and methods, the engagement with participants and presentation of findings, among other aspects. This could open up spaces on how researchers could possibly rethink international scholarship research.

For instance, my Sarilaysay helped me process the colonial structures of power I am embedded in and this critical consciousness opened me to explore alternative ways of knowing/being. Initially, I was somewhat distant as a researcher despite my radical and transformative aim using critical approach. But being reflexive on how colonial legacies have shaped the norm and how researchers reproduce colonial knowledge production (or "colonial water" as I playfully call this). This encouraged me to become reflexive on all aspects of the research process: from conceptualization of topics, drafting research questions

to writing styles and representation, and how this is embedded in colonial knowledge production.

By becoming critically conscious of the knowledge inequality within international scholarship research and practice, this invites courage to become self-reflexive how one's ways of knowing is under Northern epistemologies as well as become more open to emotive and imaginative of ways of how international scholarship research could be conducted under epistemologies of the South. This critical consciousness (conscientization) is central to pivoting into epistemologies of the South (Freire, 1970; De Sousa Santos, 2018). This critical reflexivity can be a part of epistemic healing as it opens epistemic grief and adventure to explore a wide range of ways of knowing/being. This illustrates that critical reflexivity allows researchers to not only become a learner of oneself: to visibly acknowledge one's partiality in research (instead of denying or being oblivious about it) but to begin to long for a more plural and communal approach towards disrupting the status quo. With this, international scholarship members such as students and educators could do critical reflexivity intentionally through learning journals.

Learning Journals for Scholarship Recipients and Educators

Learning journals could serve as an alternative to the common international scholarship researches. Instead of focusing on the usual outcomes and impacts, learning journals could bring the neglected learning process to the forefront of international scholarship research. As shown in the existing research literature, scholarship recipients are rarely engaged in researching about their own learning experiences within the context of international scholarship as development aid. Commonly, students under international scholarship programs are expected to produce researches such as papers and thesis during their international scholarship program. Students whether they are in social sciences, STEM or other fields could use critical reflexivity as a space to intentionally be conscious about their research process, be reflexive of one's relationship with their own research, as well as putting attention on their own research process and its relation to colonial entanglements.

Learning journals can become a space for capturing micro-moments of vulnerabilities, resistances, complexities, nuances, emotions, paradoxes within their learning process. This emphasizes not only the results of research but valuing the process of personal and communal learning, and providing richer layers of international scholarship beyond the discourse of outcomes and impacts. Educators within international scholarship programs could engage in reflexivity too. They could observe and record one's engagement in international scholarship programs such as preparing the syllabus and the pedagogical/andragogical/heutagogical interactions among scholarship recipients. Through this critical consciousness, the community could be a welcoming space where alternative ways of knowing/being can be shared. This shows how rethinking starts with an acknowledgement of the politics of knowledge from oneself as a knowledge producer and the larger community, taking personal and collective steps to make international scholarship research beyond colonial terms.

7.2.2. Experimenting with Research Themes and Genres

The scope and genre of what international scholarship research could be is limited. This is evident as the research genres in the research field only revolves around UNESCO Global Monitoring Reports, Evaluation Studies (ie. Policy Reviews and Alumni Tracer Studies) and Academic Literature. With the dominance of Northern ways of knowing, this hinders creative research via alternative knowledge systems that could introduce radical imaginations and possibilities. Researchers could experiment with aesthetic dimension: writing styles and non-traditional research genres such as arts-based research inquiry (such as poetry or film) to explore aspects of international scholarships. As a researcher brings one's multiple facets of the self to the research project, it can provide new perspectives and insights.

Thus, to rethink international scholarship research, I recommend that one can expand research agendas and creatively resist the status quo by using non-conventional and multimodal approaches to explore knowledge production. This experimentation could open

space for the excluded or discriminated knowledges such as "the dark world of passions, intuitions, feelings, emotions, affections, beliefs, faiths, values, myths, and the world of the unsayable, which cannot be communicated save indirectly" (De Sousa Santos, 2015, p. 5) be explored.

One promising emergent field that researchers can creatively explore in international scholarship research is *historiography*. First, let me elaborate on the current movement within historiography about international scholarships. One recent example of an attempt to write history of international scholarships is the book by Tournès and Scott-Smith (2017)'s *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and transnational circulations in the modern world* I mentioned in Chapter 2 RRL. However, this book focuses on general scholarship programmes across history and not specifically targeted on development scholarships. Yet this pioneering book provides a rare collection of articles that explores different historical contexts in the field of international scholarships.

According to Tournes and Scott-Smith (2018), the historical study of international scholarships remains a blind spot in general. Existing ones are "superficial, hagiographic and Western-centric (p. 1). The study remains with limited focus and not studied in-depth: "The topic falls between different fields of enquiry: international relations, history of science, cultural history, history of higher education, history of philanthropy and migration history" (p. 2). They mused the promise of this field by saying that "there is valuable scope for rethinking the history of scholarships as a unique subject area that opens up access to dense networks of knowledge and cultural transfer between regions over many decades, some of which have never been brought into focus before (p. 4)."

In the case of international scholarships as development aid, history remains predominantly from the vantage point of donors. It is common for aid agency websites to publish a brief history of their own scholarship programmes or what is called history from above. However, beyond that, few existing literature address scholarship history with nuances and complexities. For instance, South African scholar Kallaway (2011) wrote a brief article entitled "Historical Trends in Overseas Scholarship Funding in South Africa Prior to

1994" in King (2011b), and expressed that the role of scholarship recipients in Southern African history is largely neglected: "The funding of higher degree studies for South African students at overseas universities has been a key element in the history of South African education, but it is largely neglected in the literature. This is a very brief outline of what might need to be studied if a fuller picture is to be drawn." (p. 16).

As the history of international scholarships remains limited to the 'aid donor-recipient' narrative and mainly from the Northern donor perspective, researchers can approach international scholarships as connected (and complicated) histories could offer new perspectives. A research approach that a researcher could take is 'history from below' or people's history. This can help in showing how international scholarships are intertwined histories – relational, dialogic/polylogic engagements among various people within international scholarship community (scholarship recipients, educators or program staff) and beyond. This research approach could be called *scholarship from below*. Although there exist brief anecdotal articles about international scholarships such as Momanyi (2011) as Kenyan scholarship recipient in King (2011b) or online vlogs/blogs from scholarship recipients, these types of materials are fragmented and have not yet crossed the research terrain to be documented and recognized.

Scholarship From Below as Arts-Based Research

Currently, text-based literature is the common research genre concerning international scholarship research and mostly exploring the theme of post-scholarship impacts. However, there are many aspects of international scholarships that remain largely unexplored. As new research explorations, I recommend researchers to explore various frameworks and methodologies under epistemologies of the South such as arts-based research. Interestingly, there are recent research initiatives depicting Scholarship from Below creatively. Let me share an example through the growing international scholarship research on the 20th century Filipino scholarship recipients to the US called Pensionados (Figure 7.1.). Dr. Mario Orosa, a Filipino academic researching on Pensionados said: "I

prefer to observe it as a human story of more than two hundred young Filipinos who received a wonderful one time opportunity which they repaid in droves" (Pensionado Story for Film Script, 2020). A recent film project called "Pensionados: The First Young Filipinos who Studied in the US" started from a kwentuhan (informal storytelling) among Filipino-American students at Cornell University:

> Four Fil-American students studying at Cornell University find themselves talking about the Pensionados when their casual conversation inside the Cornell Dairy Bar is directed to knowing who are the first Filipino students in the university. One of them answers that his great grandfather is a Pensionado. The Pensionados are the first students from the Philippines sent to study in the US. As all of the four students took up Spanish in high school, they think the word Pensionados does not mean a scholar. Indeed, the first Filipino students in the university where they presently study are the Pensionados or affiliated with the program (Pensionado Story for Film Script, 2020)

Pensionados were Filipino students who were under US government scholarships during the 20th century and have been largely forgotten in history.

Figure 7.1.

20th Century Filipino Scholars (Pensionados)
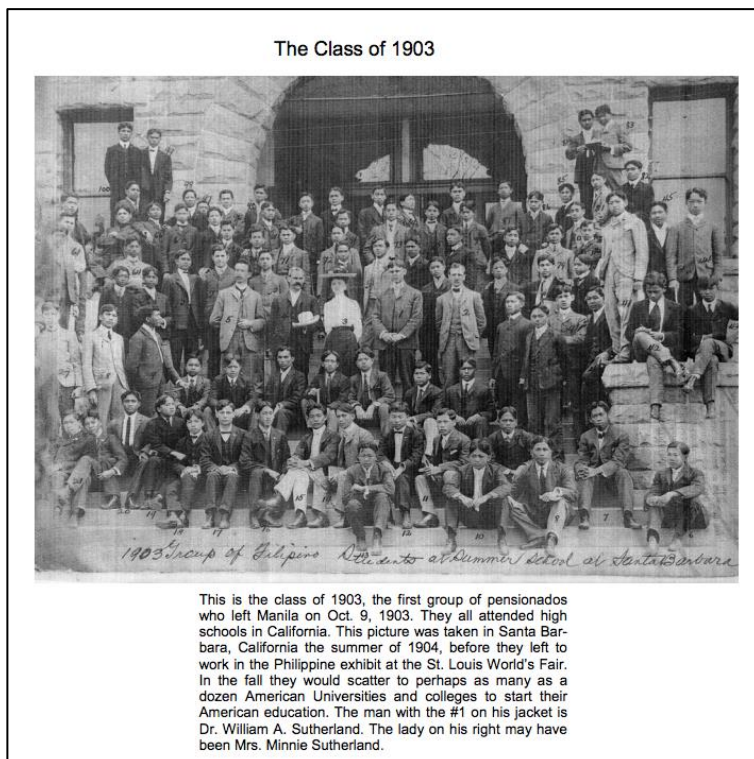
Note: Image from Orosa, M. (2007). The Philippine Pensionado Story. *Journal*, 1-44. (p.40)

The personal and historical curiosity among the Cornell students developed into a film script based on "true stories from Pensionado scholars" (see Figure 7.2). These stories were based from memoirs and personal documents from Filipino scholars and American officials such as Dr. William Alexander Sutherland. Interestingly, this recent growing academic interest about 20th century Pensionados in the US became a springboard for discussions as well as debates: aside from the usual praises for pensionados and their role in national building, issues of colonialism, discrimination, resistances are also beginning to emerge. These new discourses allow people to engage into more dialogues and explorations that gear towards complexities and nuances.

Figure 7.2.

Film Script for Pensionados
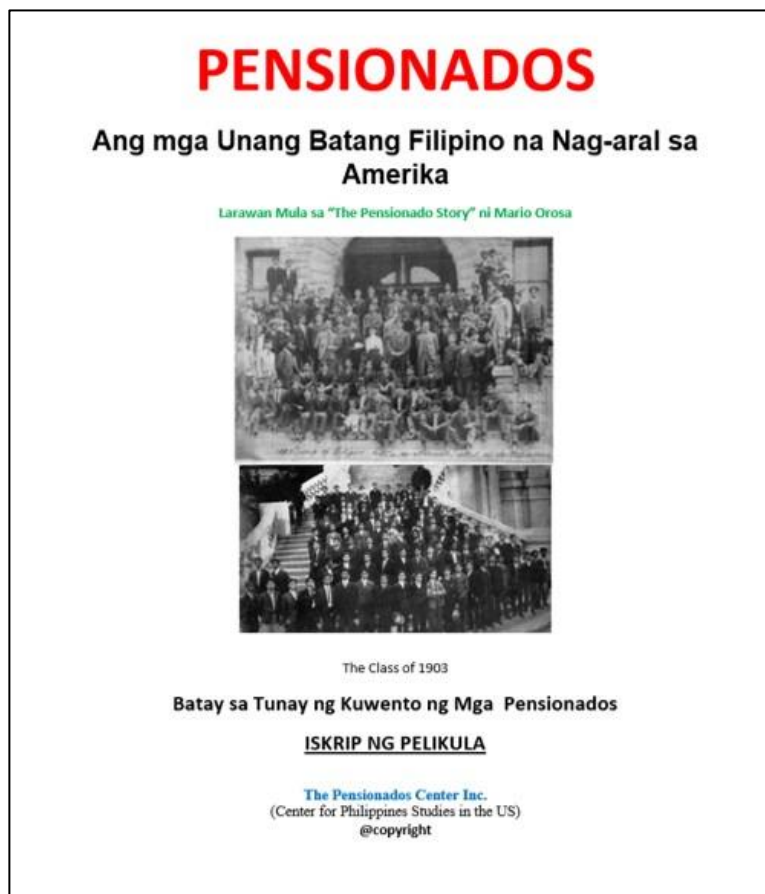
Note: Image from Collective Enterprise (2020). The Pensionado Story for Film Project. https://globalgreentechcorp.com/collectivemediaservice/index.php/2020/03/24/the-pensionados-story-for-film-project/

Another example of film as arts-based research is an experimental feature film I have been developing as a producer with my director-friend Mon Garilao (a fellow scholarship recipient) entitled "Alternating Voices".[44] "Alternating Voices" follows the story of Lara, a Filipina graduate student who received a scholarship to study in Korea. Lara's story is told by four voices – different people in past, present and future. The film is a metaphoric and creative amalgamation based on student experiences trusted in our *pakikipagkwentuhan* (relational storytelling) during our advocacy days among scholarship recipients in South Korea. Using the framework of hyperlink cinema (complex and non-linear structure), the film aspires to depict a journey of desire, vulnerability, loss and recovery, told within the context of how people influence each other's trajectory while living in the complex, modern world (see Figure 7.3. for the aesthetic approach).

Figure 7.3.

Film Poster for Alternating Voices

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[44] "Alternating Voices" has been accepted to various film platforms such as 2019 Seoul Screenplay Development Program by Seoul Film Commission in South Korea, 2018 LINK of CINE-ASIA BIZ-Matching in Busan, South Korea, and 3rd Talent Lab by Tribeca Film Institute (USA) during Luang Prabang Film Festival (LPFF), Laos in 2018. The project remains in-development as of 2021.

Research genres such as film invites pursuit of creative and narrative research that evokes emotional engagement. This genre is challenging the notion that research is value-free as this genre bravely engages with the nuances and complexities. Through this recommendation, international scholarship community could take bolder steps to disrupt Northern ways of knowing and experiment in research such as arts-based methodology.[45]

7.2.3. Engaging in Community Inquiry and Collective Reflexivity

Inspired with our indigenous concepts of *Kapwa (inter-being), Pakikipagkwentuhan (relational storytelling) and Bayanihan (collective action),* this section elaborates on a concrete example of how decentering perceived experts (such as consultants, academics) as international scholarship researchers and considering inclusive community inquiry could generate new questions, perspectives and doubts in international scholarship research. Commonly, the research relationship is hierarchical, transactional and extractive. Experts such as development consultants and academic researchers already have defined research agendas.

But this communal inquiry is an invitation to enter a research space of relationality epistemic plurality and experimentation within the international scholarship community. International scholarship community members - from practitioners (program managers, staff), professors/educators, students and members from host/home communities could become part of the inquiry process and problematize international scholarship research and practice, together. Engaging in community inquiry and collective reflexivity is giving space to listening, collective curiosity and community unlearning/unknowing. Disrupting collective colonial unconsciousness must be a shared vision and longing within the international scholarship community.

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[45] This is an example of how poetics and imagination could serve as tools of inquiry beyond the usual inductive and deductive means of research. Our creative research approach is inspired by Dr. Jose Rizal (considered as the "Philippine national hero") who used novels and diaries to depict and theorize about colonial society during the 19th century Spanish colonization era. His novels El Filibusterismo and Noli Me Tangere are widely read until today in Philippine schools and beyond. His novels and diaries are creative snapshot of historical events and are continued to be used for discussions and debates.

One approach for this community inquiry is Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a channel of "field-based reflexivity" (Kester et al., 2019). PAR can bring together members of the international scholarship community with the intention to question, converse and investigate existing scholarship programs they are involved in. This community inquiry could be a space to slow down, recognize our colonial entanglement and exercise ethics of care.

In a series of workshops, the community can start by informal conversations as part of mapping issues or identify points of exploration together. Topics or themes of the inquiry could range from revisiting curriculum or pedagogy used in scholarship programs and confronting and processing the "colonial unconscious" – the personal and collective unconsciousness, together. For instance, ReDI (2015) conducted an evaluation study on Korean development scholarship found that traditional pedagogy (lecture) is the most common pedagogical approach within scholarship programs. With this context, the community could engage in being reflexive about the existing politics of knowledge, and engage into an inquiry of how the program can be challenged towards a more critical and decolonial pedagogy.

This inquiry could richly open overlooked issues and spring out generative themes valuable and meaningful to the community. After the community inquiry, the team/participants could consider synthesizing and creating a collaborative paper/other forms and engage in joint presentation as collective authors/inquirers. This recommendation shows that international scholarship research is not exclusive only to academic researchers and the process could be inclusive, relational and experiential. While using PAR is not necessarily decolonial, it can become a key element in exercising critical consciousness concerning the colonial bias. The focus is building relationships and putting value on process of inquiry. With such awareness, relational research can be a space for liberating inquiry and dialogue inquiry involving the community.

Collective Inquiry within International Scholarship Community

An example of collective inquiry is when educators and collective students could embark on an international scholarship research, together. A collective learning journal could be used as a space to explore encountered contestations/disagreements and ambiguities in relation to knowledge production. Part of their collective reflexivity could be exploring how colonial legacies have shaped their disciplines/fields of study and how it has shaped their own learning journey as well as communal learning journey as scholars.

Via collaborative/dialogic research inquiry, educators and students can explore points of tensions, resistance and negotiations, but as well as pleasure and joys of this epistemic friendship. This not only acknowledges them as legitimate and equal knowledge producers, but acknowledging complexity and nuances of relationships. My emphasis on communal learning journey in the context of international scholarship is inspired by Virgilio Enriquez, a Filipino psychologist and his journey of pursuing Sikolohiyang Pilipino (Filipino Indigenous Psychology). While Enriquez was studying in the US as a Rockefeller scholar, he started to develop resistance towards Western knowledge. According to Pe-Pua and Marcelino (2000):

> In 1966, he left for the United States to pursue a Masters, then later a doctorate degree in Psychology at Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois…He started preparing for the teaching of psychology in Filipino and had a number of discussion (and arguments) with friends and professors at Northwestern University such as Ernesto Kole, Lee Sechrest and Donald Campbell. Enriquez returned to the Philippines in 1971, bringing with him a wealth of Western knowledge, which he did not impose on his Filipino colleagues and students. His Western education actually drove him to be more Filipino-oriented in his teaching and research in psychology. He established the Philippine Psychology Research House (PPRH), which later became the Philippine Psychology Research and Training House (PPRTH). This place became home to materials of Sikolohiyang Filipino (Filipino psychology) (p. 51)

His learning journey with his professors and colleagues depicted "a postcolonial space for learning that focuses on negotiation and discussion and in which participants think dialectically rather than dually" (Martin & Griffiths, 2012, p. 926).

7.2.4. Exploring Collective Rethinking or Communal Re-imagining

My last recommendation is for the international scholarship community to boldly take steps towards "collective rethink of the field" (Zembylas, 2018). Exploring this path is aligned to De Sousa Santos' (2018) idea of "alternative thinking of alternatives" (p. 381). With this, international scholarship research can become an inquiry towards unlearning and unbecoming as a community – doubting, questioning, re-imagining international scholarship together. Rethinking and re-imagining is a wider relational and experimental engagement rather than the normative individualistic and academic inquiry. With playful and creative spirit, the research community could engage in world-building experiments as research inquiry, an experimental invitation to expand imaginaries.

Via a workshop on Collective Envisioning, the community could re-imagine international scholarships beyond reform. Envisioning is about witnessing, listening and inquiring with epistemic curiosity and humility to seek beyond the status quo. This is an invitation for spaciousness, vitality and imagination in research. Questions such as *How could international scholarship be possibly re-imagined if it is not the way it is? What are the other possibilities beyond colonial terms? How can international scholarship be further re-imagined towards Scholarship of Possibilities or Otherwise* (Zembylas, 2018; Kester et al, 2019) could be explored, together as a collective.

Concretely, this exercise can be done through the use of creative approaches such as engaging in visionary or speculative fiction (Imarisha, 2016; 2020), exploring the question "what if" and using imaginative stories towards possible world-building. Currently, international scholarship is commonly conceptualized within nationalist orientation (emphasis is more on inter-'national') and individualist approach. However, what if international scholarship is re-designed? What if a transmodern, transrational and transnationalist approach is taken, what could it possibly be? What would international scholarship be like if it becomes beyond the realm of "elites", "academics and universities", "beyond individuals" and beyond "nation-states"? (Kester et al., 2019; Zembylas, 2018). This re-imagination could be playfully explored through speculative fiction. When the research

approach invites play and imagination, the possibilities for "Scholarship as Otherwise" are endless.

Another possibility for re-imagining is through social mini-experimentation projects. This inquiry is not only imagining new ways of theorizing but to create more new forms of collective action. One approximate example of this is "Hiraya" (Imagination) – a proposal I created for an inter-community transdisciplinary learning space among computer programmers who are visually impaired (blind and low-vision community), multi-modal artists (creative community of filmmaker, spoken word artists, dancers and percussionists, chef, barista) and spiritual guides (yoga and meditation facilitators) to learn together as a community in 2018. The idea is for "inter-scholarship": cross-fertilization of knowledges among communities. This space was envisioned to be a conversation between arts, science, spirituality - mingling of different life experiences among communities.[46] With this, international scholarship programs could consider experimenting with transdisiplinary approaches in knowledge production even in a small-scale.

Before I close this section, I acknowledge that as I propose these new ways of research, unequal power dynamics remain present within participatory action research or workshops since participants with diverse views about scholarship programs and research orientation would be interacting with one another. Each participant brings one's own knowledge forms, interests and biases. It is expected that dialogues and workshop could end up lacking in consensus due to the diversity of engagement. I view dialogues and workshops as not about quick fix solutions or having a consensus, but rather a space to generate curiosity and discover more questions. But being aware of the knowledge differences among participants could prepare and foster an active and conscious dialogue. In its complexity, these kinds of dialogues still could have the possibilities of making new connections and potentially breaking new grounds when allowed to be messy, vulnerable and uncertain.

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[46] "Hiraya" was a plan I sketched and made after our team (a group of artists and meditation facilitators) facilitated a two-day teambuilding workshop for an NGO run by blind visually-impaired computer programmers in 2018. The workshop allowed us as a community to explore dance, musical instruments (Djembe), storytelling and creative problem solving, among other interactive initiatives delving into the arts and spirituality.

7.3. Limitations and Future Directions

This dissertation featured an alternative critique of international scholarship by problematizing and rethinking its research field. Here, I was able to present how the colonial legacies influence the research field that is commonly overlooked. But despite the promises of this study, I acknowledge that this dissertation has various limitations. The following are the limitations and what future steps I could take looking forward:

First, From Current Data Limitation to Future Multilingual/Cultural Collaborations: One main limitation of this study is that the corpus of data is only limited to English-medium researches. This automatically excludes literature from various linguistic backgrounds such as Korean, Japanese, Vietnamese and other languages. Because of my linguistic limitations as a researcher, existing non-English researches both on donor or recipient side could not be accessible to me. However, this linguistic limitation also gives an evidence of the existing politics of knowledge production, dissemination and consumption: how English remains the hegemonic research and scholarly language, marginalizing non-English researches within the field. Its monopoly reinstates the power structures and the hierarchy of knowledge. For future research, I plan to include linguistic diversity into consideration. A team of researchers with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds could systematically review the literature on international scholarships and publish our learning together. From this project, researchers who worked on the project could also consider releasing an anthology of Sarilaysay, where individual and/or collective learning journals done with regards to the project could be shared. In these Sarilaysay, researchers can choose to share vulnerable moments of confusions, tensions and ambiguities experienced through the research process. This highlights the value of research process, not only the outputs.

Second, From Theoretical and Methodological Limitation to Future Experimentations: Instead of disrupting the way of researching as I initially planned, I succumbed to the dominant/colonial research imaginary by using Postcolonial Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis without much critical reflection particularly in the beginning. Initially, I chose to explore using Postcolonial Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis as I

deemed it was an uncommon approach towards researching international scholarship and could present new perspectives on international scholarships. I thought that CDA could provide structure and logic to my doctoral dissertation – my perceived *pièce de résistance* to culminate the rite of passage to become an academic. But as discussed previously in my Sarilaysay in Chapter 5 Findings, there are alternative ways of researching international scholarships that I could have chosen. As I only became open with alternative onto-epistemologies towards the end of my dissertation writing, there were only certain degrees of recalibrations that I could implement with the given limited time and energy. With this, I acknowledge that there are loopholes, incongruences and overlooked assumptions within this dissertation. But this process has taught (is teaching) me to embrace the vulnerability, contradictions, ambivalence, negotiations, among many others. To be an "academic" does not mean perfection and certainty – but having epistemic humility and curiosity in one's inquiry. It also challenged my unconscious bias that academic work is superior to other forms of knowledge. The knowledge I learned and encountered from places outside academia – from artists, activists, workers, my ancestors, among others can equally converse with my academic work and not compartmentalize. This dissertation process encouraged me to become more deeply caring of my own work and its relation with people, the land, and other worlds. The awareness of vulnerability and decentering myself as a researcher is a step towards disrupting colonial knowledge and opening new doors to possibilities, together.

For future directions, I plan to present my research work to interested communities. I propose future collaborative projects on re-imagining international scholarships. Specifically, I plan to propose a re-imagining workshop – where formal institutions such as aid agencies or grassroots communities in a speculative or experimental project. Second, I plan to extend and complete my Sarilaysay and learning journal concerning this dissertation journey. Since I started my journey as an international scholarship researcher, I have kept all the variety of drafts (different configurations of my dissertation), conference papers, reference materials, and digital correspondences over the years. With curiosity, I wish to explore not only the academic aspect, but engage more on the communal/relational,

emotional and spiritual aspects of dissertation writing, particularly in the context of disrupting international scholarship research.

Lastly, I plan to finish the draft I started: what I call a post-dissertation decolonial meditation or "muni-muni" about re-imagining international scholarships. This piece entitled *Wayfinding Myself and My Dissertation: Voyaging Into the Sea of Knowledge Carried by the South Wind (Paglalayag sa Dagat ng Kaalamang Atin)* is a brief contemplative-storytelling approach of my researcher journey towards epistemic disobedience and freedom. The meditation snippets cover different stories such as mourning prayer of how colonial violence has shaped my own scholarship and another prayer as a celebratory piece of how my re-engage with my ancestral knowledge system have brought me healing as a researcher and as a human being. This meditative piece is *ginhawa* (life force or release/comfort/freedom) to me, as I get more connected to my ancestral way of knowing/being. Opening myself to alternative onto-epistemologies helped me listen more deeply and be guided into new creativity in reshaping my scholarship.

7.4. Conclusion

This dissertation illustrates how colonial legacies limit the way researchers conceptualize, research and discuss international scholarships as a research subject. Under colonial paradigm, the dominance of Northern epistemologies sustains the parochial knowledge production and fails to welcome alternative ways of knowing within international scholarship research. But by uncovering the normative assumptions and acknowledging overlooked knowledge inequalities within the research field, this prompts the international scholarship community to seriously take steps to disrupt the normative research field.

However, this dissertation suggests that diversifying research themes and incorporating more diverse voices or research approaches - no matter how critical and radical - are not enough to rethink international scholarship research and practice. During post-2015, it can be observed that there is a growing research engagement concerning international scholarships and new theoretical, conceptual and analytical approaches emerged. However, this diversifying approach did not disrupt the normative worldview. The colonial research paradigm (ontology, epistemology and axiology) remains unchallenged within the research field. This finding then invites researchers to expand paradigmatic options beyond colonial terms by embracing ecologies of knowledges. By growing epistemic humility and collective curiosity within the international scholarship community, international scholarship research could open up a liberating space to engage with alternative ways of knowing such as epistemologies of the South. This epistemic openness could pivot towards a *critical, caring and creative turn in rethinking international scholarship research* and truly re-imagine international scholarship beyond colonial imaginaries for future possibilities, together.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS

The following are few examples of international scholarship programs provided by traditional donors in the Global North and some emerging donor in the South. This is not an exhaustive list.

Donor Country	Scholarship Program
Australia	Australia Awards
China	Chinese Government Scholarships
France	French Government Scholarships
Germany	DAAD Scholarships
Japan	MEXT Scholarships
New Zealand	New Zealand Government Scholarships
UK	Commonwealth Scholarships and Fellowships Plan Chevening Scholarships
US	Fulbright Program
South Korea	Korean Government Scholarship Program

Although not included as Official Development Assistance, private organizations have been an active part of international scholarship field. The following are some examples of private organizations in the Global North that are visible in the literature.

Private Organization	Scholarship Program
Ford Foundation	International Fellowship Program
MasterCard Foundation	MasterCard Scholars Program
Open Society Foudation	Open Society Foundation Scholarship

APPENDIX B: LIST OF LITERATURE (DATA)

Overall, there are 167 grey literature, 72 peer-reviewed academic journals and 7 books included in the analysis. The following are the breakdown for each literature type for transparency.

GREY LITERATURE

Grey literature includes international organization reports such as UNESCO Global Reports, OECD Reports and other International Organization-related documents on international scholarships. Aid agencies' evaluation reports, along with commissioned reports – policy reviews, case studies, tracer studies are included here. Online articles as well as Master's thesis and doctoral dissertation are listed at the end.

1.1.   UNESCO Global Reports (16 articles)

Year	Global Education Monitoring Report Series
2020	Inclusion and education: All means all
2019	Migration, displacement and education: Building bridges, not walls
2017/8	Accountability in education: Meeting our commitments
2016	Education for people and planet: Creating sustainable futures for all
Year	**EFA Global Monitoring Report Series**
2015	Education for All 2000-2015: Achievements and challenges
2013/4	Teaching and learning: Achieving quality for all
2012	Youth and skills: Putting education to work
2011	The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education
2010	Reaching the marginalized
2009	Overcoming inequality: Why governance matters
2008	Education for All by 2015: Will we make it?
2007	Strong foundations: Early childhood care and education
2006	Literacy for life
2005	Education for all: The quality imperative
2003/4	Gender and education for all: The leapt to equality
2002	Education for all: Is the world on track?

1.2. UNESCO-Commissioned Background Papers for Post-2015 Global Reports (SDG4b) (5 articles)

Year	UNESCO Commissioned Background Papers	Commissioned Institution/Author
2018	International Higher Education Shifting Mobilities: Policy challenges and new initiatives	Rajika Bhandari, Chelsea Robles & Christine Farrugia
2017	Achieving target 4.b of the sustainable development goals: A study of best practices for monitoring data on scholarship recipients from developing countries	Institute of International Education (Rajika Bhandari & Aminou Yaya)
2017	Accountability mechanisms in scholarship awards	Sandy Balfour
2016	Scholarships for students from	Institute of International

Year		
	developing countries: Establishing a global baseline	Education (Radjika Bhandari & Zehra Mirza)
2016	SDG Target 4b: A global measure of scholarships	Sandy Balfour

1.3. United Nations Related-Documents on SDG4b (7 articles)

Year	SDG4/SDG4b UN Reference Documents	Institution
2018	TCG4: Development of SDG thematic Indicator 4.b.2	UNESCO, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Technical Cooperation Group, UN SDG - Prepared by: Manos Antoninis (Working Group 1: Indicator Development)
2018	Metadata for the Global and Thematic Indicators for the Follow-Up and Review of SDG 4 and Education 2030	UNESCO & UNESCO Institute for Statistics
2018	Paving the Road to Education: A Target-by-Target Analysis of SDG4 for Asia and the Pacific	UNESCO Bangkok Office
2018	Education 2030:Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 4	UNESCO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UN Women, World Bank Group, International Labor Organization
2017	SDG Indicators Meta-data for Target 4b	UN Statistics Division Unstats.un.org
2017	Unpacking Sustainable Development Goal 4: Education 2030 – Guide	UNESCO
2015	Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development	United Nations

1.4. OECD Related-Documents Informing International Scholarships (Only used as reference)

Year	Document
2019	Review of the Type of Aid Classification. DAC Working Party on Development Finance Statistics
2018 May	Converged Statistical Reporting Directives for the Creditor Reporting System (CRS) and the Annual DAC Questionnaire Chapter 1-6. Working Party on Development Finance Statistics
2013	Hynes, W. and S. Scott (2013), The Evolution of Official Development Assistance: Achievements, Criticisms and a Way Forward, OECD Development Co-operation Working Papers, No. 12, OECD Publishing
2012	The Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation
2008	The Accra Agenda for Action (AAA)
2008	Herfkens, E. & Bains, M. (2008). Reaching our development goals: Why does aid effectiveness matter?
2005	The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness

1.5. Aid Agencies and Commissioned Evaluation Reports (92 articles)

Evaluation Reports *Policy Reviews, Tracer Studies, Case Studies*		
Year	**Title**	**Organization/ Commissioned Evaluator**
2020	*Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Samoa Case Study, Engineering and Information Technology*, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra.	Australia Awards Edwards, D. & Clarke, L.
2020	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Bangladesh Case Study: Economic Development. Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra.	Australia Awards Haddow, A., Davies, B. & Nietschke .Y
2020	*Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility Case Study: Costa Rica Case Study, Environment and Agriculture,* Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra.	Australia Awards Taylor-Haddow, A. & Edwards, D.
2020	*Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Timor-Leste Case Study, Disability and Development*, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra.	Australia Awards Doyle. J & Nietschke .Y (2020).
2020	Global impact of Australian aid scholarships: long-term outcomes of alumni, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Canberra.	Australia Awards Edwards, D., Doyle, J., Haddow, A., & Radloff, A.
2019	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Tracer Survey Report Year 3 – 2018-2019 (Alumni of 2011 to 2016)	Australia Awards
2019	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study in Cambodia in public health fields: October-November 2018.	Australia Awards
2019	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study in Mozambique in the fields of agriculture, food security and natural resources.	Australia Awards
2019	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study in Pakistan in governance and leadership.	Australia Awards
2019	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study in Papua New Guinea in information and communication technology.	Australia Awards
2019	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case study in Vietnam in finance and banking	Australia Awards
2019	Leveraging Higher Education to Promote Social Justice: Evidence from the IFP Alumni Tracking Study. Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program Alumni Tracking Study, Report No. 5.	Martel, M. Institute of International Education
2019 March	Chevening Impact Report	Chevening Secretariat

2019 June	Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Graduate Impact Survey 2018. Research Report. Study	Terzieva, B. & Unger, M. as commissioned by Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture European Commission
2018	Transformational leaders and social change: IFP impacts in Africa and the Middle East. Alumni Tracking Study. Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program Alumni Tracking Study, Report No. 4.	Kallick, J., & Brown Murga, A.
2018 February	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility Case Study in Solomon Islands – health field	Australia Awards
2018 April	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility Case Study in China-environment and public health fields.	Australia Awards
2018 June	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facilitiy Case Study in Indonesia – education field	Australia Awards
2018	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility Tracer Survey Report Year 2 2017-18 - Alumni of 1996 to 2005	Australia Awards
2017	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility Tracer Survey Report Year 1 – 2016-17 - Alumni of 2006 to 2010	Australia Awards
2017	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study #1: Fiji	Australia Awards
2017	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study #2: Sri Lanka	Australia Awards
2017	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study #3: Kenya	Australia Awards
2017	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study #4: Nepal	Australia Awards
2017 November	Leaders, contexts, and complexities: IFP impacts in Latin America. Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program Alumni Tracking Study, Report No. 3.	Brown-Murga, A. & Martel, M.
2017 December	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study in Mongolia – management and commerce fields	Australia Awards
2017 December	Australia Awards Global Tracer Facility: Case Study in Vanuatu – legal and justice fields	Australia Awards
2017 February	External Evaluation of Netherlands Fellowship Programmes (NFP II) and Netherlands Initiative for Capacity Development in Higher Education (NICHE II)	Dhaene, C., Makundi, H., Phlix, G., Roemling, C., Silvestrini, S. von Coelin, F. (CEval GmbH & ACE Europe)
2017 January	Erasmus Mundus: Graduate Impact Survey	Kruger, T., Klein, K., Reik, S., Pinkas, S., Hopfner, A. & Kuske, J. ICUnet.ag

2017 March	Social Justice Leaders in Action: IFP Impacts in Asia – Ford Foundation IFP Alumni Tracking Study Report 2.	Kallick, J., Martel, M. & Bhandari, R. Institute of International Education
2016	Successes and complexities: the outcomes of UK Commonwealth Scholarships 1960-2012. London: Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the UK	Mawer, M. Quraishi, S., & Day, R. (CSCUK)
2016	Career choices, return pathways and social contributions: The African alumni project. The MasterCard Foundation, Toronto, Canada.	Marsh, R., Baxter, A., Di Genova, L., Jamison, A., & Madden, M.
2016	Education in Support of Social Transformation: Learning from the First Five Years of MasterCard Foundation Scholars Program	The MasterCard Foundation
2016	Social Justice and Sustainable Change: The Impacts of Higher Education, Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program Alumni Tracking Study Report No. 1. New York: Institute of International Education.	Martel, M. and Bhandari, R.
2016	The Atlantic Philanthropies-University of Queensland Vietnamese Scholarship Program 2000-2006: Assessing the Impact	Grigg, T.
2015	Comprehensive Evaluation on KOICA Global Fellowship Program	ReDI
2015	Graduate Tracer Study Norad's Programme for Master Studies (NOMA) and Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education (NUFU). Bergen: SIU	Senter for internasjonalisering av utdanning [SIU]
2015 October	Tracing the Outcomes of Study Abroad Scholarships	Commonwealth Scholarships
2015 November	Erasmus Mundus: Graduate Impact Study	Kruger, T. & Klein, K. ICUnet.ag
2014	Australia Awards: Vietnam – Annual Report	Australia Awards (Vietnam)
2014	Evaluation of the Quota Scheme 2001-2012: Assessing Impact in Higher Education and Development	DAMVAD
2014 June	Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the UK (2014). A study of research methodology used in evaluations of international scholarship schemes for higher education	Mawer, M. (CSCUK)
2014	Trajectories and Impact of UK Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Programme Alumni: Interim Quantitative Analysis	Mawer, M. (CSCUK)
2014 December	Study of DFAT's Australia Awards in Cambodia Tracer study of Cambodian alumni (1996–2013)	Bryant, C.
2013 October	Lessons Learnt in the Scholarships Program in Vietnam – Final Report	Australia Awards (Vietnam)
2013	Australian Agency for International	Australian Agency for

	Development: Annual Report 2012/2013. Canberra: Australian Government	International Development (AusAID)
2013	Austrian Partnership Programme in Higher Education and Research for Development (APPEAR): Mid-term Evaluation	Carpenter, J. & de Vivanco, W. for Austrian Development Cooperation
2013	Knowledge - Action - Change, Three Alumni Surveys in Review: 25 Years of DAAD Postgraduate Courses	DAAD Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst
2013	The International Fellowships Program: Experiences and Outcomes. Enschede, NL. University of Twente	Enders, J. & Kottmann, A.
2013	Linking Higher Education and Social Change. Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program. New York, NY	Clift, R., Dassin, J., & Zurbuchen, M. S.
2012 September	Erasmus Mundus: Graduate Impact Survey	Säring, J, Spartakova, N & Wegera, K. ICUnet.ag
2012	Outcomes Evaluation: In-Africa Australian Development Scholarships Management Program	Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT)
2012 March	Interim evaluation of Erasmus Mundus II (2009–2013) Final Report	Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI) for European Commission Directorate-General of Education and Culture
2012 September	Report on the Interim Evaluation of the Erasmus Mundus II Programme (2009-2013)	European Commission (EC)
2012	Vietnam Tracer Study of Australian Scholarships and Alumni	Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT)
2012 October	Evaluation of Danida's fellowship programme: Uganda country case study report	Kiernan, M, Ssentengo, P. & Naggayi, R.
2012 June	Evaluation of the Netherlands Fellowship Programme (NFP) 2002-2010	Van der Aa, R., Willemson, A. & Warmerdam, S.
2012 May	Evaluation of NPT and NICHE	Ramboll
2012 January	Cambodia: Review of the Australia Awards Program	Barber, D. & Hel, S. DFAT
2012	Evaluation of DANIDA's Fellowship Programme: Ghana case study report	Wyatt, A. & Andah, S.
2012	Examining development evaluation in higher education interventions: a preliminary study. Paper Presented at the LIDC & ACU Conference on Measuring the Impact of Higher Education Interventions on Development, 19-20 March, London.	Creed, C., Parrato, H. & Waage, J.
2012	Tracking Alumni Career Paths: Third NCCR North-South Report on Effectiveness	Heim, E, Engelage, S. Zimmerman, Herweg, A., Michel, C. & Breu, T.

		NCCR North-South (Switzerland)
2012	Vietnam Tracer Study of Australian Scholarships and Alumni	Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
2012	Outcomes Evaluation In-Africa Australian Development Scholarships Management Program	Bysouth, K, and B Allaburton (DFAT)
2011	Country Evaluation: Vietnam. Brussels, Belgium: Flemish Interuniversity Council Office for University Cooperation for Development [VLIR-UOS].	Visser, J., & Trinh, Q.
2011	AusAID's Management of Tertiary Training Assistance. Canberra: Australian Government	Australian National Audit Office
2011	Alumni of the International Fellowships Program: Main Findings from the Survey 2011	Kottmann, A. & Enders, J.
2011	Canada's International Education Strategy: Focus on Scholarships	Embleton, S., Gold, N., Lapierre, A. & Stevenson, M. Canada Bureau for International Education (CBIE) Research
2011	Meta-analysis of AusAID surveys of current and former scholarship awardees. Melbourne, Victoria: Australian Council for Educational Research.	Nugroho, D., & Lietz, P.
2011	Study of Australia's Approach to Aid in Africa. Commissioned Study as part of the Independent Review of Aid Effectiveness. Final Report. Canberra, Australia: Independent Review of Aid Effectiveness.	Negin, J. & Denning G.
2010	Australian Scholarships for Development in Vietnam Program: Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy and Plan. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.	Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID).
2010	Joint Japan–World Bank Graduate Scholarship Program Tracer Study VIII	The World Bank Institute
2009	Evaluation of the Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education (NUFU) and of Norad's Programme for Master Studies (NOMA): Evaluation Report 7/2009. Norad: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.	Marcussen, H. & Mikkelsen, B. & Thulstrup, E.
2009	NFP Tracer 2009: Final Report	NUFFIC
2009	Australian Scholarships in Cambodia: Tracer Study and Evaluation. Canberra	Webb, S. AusAID
2009 July	Evaluation of the Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education (NUFU) and of Norad's Programme for Master Studies (NOMA)	NORAD
2009	Final Report of the Committee to Review the Japan-IMF Scholarship Program for Asia (JISPA)	Nijathaworn, B., Semblat, R., Takagi, S. & Tsumagari, S.

2009 June	Evaluating Commonwealth Scholarships in the United Kingdom: Assessing Impact in Key Priority Areas. London: CSCUK	Day, R. & Stackhouse, J. & Geddes, N.
2009	Evaluating the Impact of Commonwealth Scholarships in the United Kingdom: Assessing Impact in the Caribbean	Evans, G. Stackhouse, J. & Geddes. N.
2008	Evaluating the Impact of Commonwealth Scholarships in the United Kingdom: Results of the Alumni Survey.	Day, R. & Geddes, N.
2008	Scholarship effectiveness review part 1: Current scholarships programs in AusAID. Scholarship effectiveness review part 2: Other donor's scholarships programs- What other donors are doing: development scholarships around the world. Australian Development Awards – The Way Forward?. Scholarship Effectiveness Review Part 3	Gosling, M. (AusAid)
2008	Fiji and Tuvalu Tracer Study, 2008	Bryant, C. & Wrighton N. (AusAid)
2008	Donor Policies and Implementation Modalities with regard to international postgraduate programmes targeting scholars from developing countries. Brussels: VLIR-UOS	Boeren, A. Bakhuisen, K. & Christian-Mak, A., Musch, V. & Pettersen, K.
2007 August	ADB's Japan Funds: Japan Scholarship Program	Asian Development Bank
2007 April	Review of Austrian Scholarship Programmes	OSB Consulting GmbH/L&R Sozialforschung OEG, in cooperation with KEK-COC Consultants - Commissioned by Austrian Development Agency
2007	Effect-Measurement – Norad's Programme for Master's Studies (NOMA)	Andersen, C. & Tobiassen, A. Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Education
2007 May	Joint Japan/World Bank Graduate Scholarship Program: Tracer Study VII	The World Bank Institute
2007	Tertiary Refugee Education Impact and Achievements: 15 Years of DAFI.	Morlang, C, & Watson, S. UNHCR
2005 December	Evaluation of the Canadian Francophone Scholarship Program (CFSP) 1987-2005	Canadian International Development Agency
2005	Evaluation of the NORAD Fellowship Programme	Nordic Consulting Group with Nuffic (Hansen, S., Boeren, A., Lexow, A.

Year	Author & Title
	Sigvaldsen, E., Fergus, M., Mwaipopo, E., Vusia, S., Hossain, I.)
2004	Joint Japan/World Bank Graduate Scholarship Program: Tracer Study VI — The World Bank Institute
2004	Generations of quiet progress: The development impact of U.S. long-term university training on Africa from 1963 to 2003. Washington, D.C.: USAID. — Aguirre International

Note: ADB Annual Reports were not included in the analysis as this was accessed late: https://www.adb.org/documents/series/annual-reports-asian-development-bank-japan-scholarship-program

1.6. Working Papers, Conference Proceedings, Research Papers, Education Magazines, etc. (26 articles)

Working Papers, Conference Proceedings, Research Papers, etc.	
Year	**Author & Title**
2020	Durak, T. (2020). International Scholarship as a Pathway for Overseas Education. in De Wit, H and DeLaquil, T. (Eds). Innovation and Inclusive Internationalization. Proceedings of the WES-CIHE Summer Institute 2020. Boston College. CIHE Perspectives No. 18
2019	Enfield, S. (2019, August 28). Evidence for soft power created via scholarship schemes. K4D Helpdesk Report. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.
2018	Center for Asian Philosophy and Society (2018). Giving Back to the Future: Scholarships for Higher Education. Retrieved from https://caps.org/our-research/giving-back-to-the-future/
2018	Dassin, J. (2018). Lighting the paths to change: How on-award activities can help to improve scholarship outcomes. Melbourne, Australia: International Education Association of Australia.
2017	Baxter, A., Campbell, A. & Martel, M. (2017). The Scholarship Program Research Network – A new internatioanl community for studying and evaluating scholarship programs. The Association of Commonwealth Universities
2017	Raetzell, L., Almqvist, O., & GmbH, S. (2017, October 27). How can a robust measurement of the impact of scholarships be achieved when a panel survey is not feasible? Answers from an evaluation of the Belgian university development cooperation. The Association of Commonwealth Universities.
2016	Bengtsson. S. and Barakat, B. (2016). Aiming higher: Why the SDG target for increased higher education scholarships by 2020 misses the mark in sustainable educational development planning. (International Conference on Sustainable Development)
2016	Medica, K. (2016). Australian Awards: Sacred cow in an age of uncertainty. *Development Bulletin, 77*, 99-106.
2015	Aman, A. W. (2015). The Attractiveness of Turkish Government Scholarship Programs for International Students. *20 Aralık 2016*, 8. International Student Symposium
2015	Fahlevi, H. (2015). Economic Implication of International Student Mobility For Host Countries–Evidences from Western Countries. *20 Aralık 2016*, 141. International Student Symposium
2015	Rudy, S. (2015). The Rhodes Project: Celebrating Many Versions of What

	Women Can Be." In L. Hilly and R. Martin (Eds). Global Perspectives on Human Rights: Oxford Human Rights Hub Blog, 2nd Edition (pp. 229–30). Oxford: Oxford University Press
2015	Sheng-Kai, C. (2015, March). Higher education scholarships as a soft power tool: an analysis of its role in the EU and Singapore. EU Centre in Singapore, Working Paper No, 23
2014	Negin, J. (2014). Australian aid programme scholarships: An effective use of Australian aid? Paper presented at the 2013 Australasian aid and international development policy workshop. February. Canberra
2014	Lindberg, E., Chakrabarti, P., & Thieme, S. (2014). Brain drain or brain circulation? Career paths of international students: Swiss scholarships for international students at ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich.
2014	House of Lords (2014, March). Persuasion and Power in the Modern World. HL Paper 150, pp. 100-101. Retrieved from https://www.acu.ac.uk/news/view?id=80
2014	Wang Yan & Wu Shu Cheng (2014). Reflections on the Management of Chinese Government Scholarship Students. pp. 8.
2013	The Association of Commonwealth Universities (2013). Universities, scholarships and soft power.
2012	Boeren, A. (2012). Issues and Trends in Development Cooperation Programmes in Higher Education and Research. NUFFIC
2012	Wild, K. & Scheyvens, R. (2012). Aid, Education and Adventure: Thai Women's Participation in a Development Scholarship Scheme. Working Paper Series. Institute of Development Studies – Massey University, New Zealand.
2012	Ferdjani, H. (2012, September). African Students in China: An Exploration of Increasing Numbers and Their Motivations in Beijing. Center for Chinese Studies. pp. 1–36
2011	King, K. (2011). The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships and Awards: Old and New Providers, East and West, North and South. NORRAG News 45
2010	Harle, J., & Falk, E. (2010). Scoping Study of Capacity Building, Grants, Scholarships, Fellowships and Training.
2009	Brown, L, Brunt, R., Hardcastle, P. & Long, G. (2009). Scoping Study: Developing a Scottish Government Scholarship Scheme for Sub-Saharan Africa. Edinburgh, Scotland: The Scottish Government
2009	Shaw, Timothy M., and David Jobbins. "Commonwealth Scholarships: Advancing Cosmopolitanism for 50 Years." The Round Table 98(405), 777–87
2007	Enders, J. (2007). Mobilizing marginalized talent: The International Fellowships Program. International Higher Education, 46, 7-8
2005	Boeren, A. & Holtland, G. (2005). A Changing Landscape: Making support to higher education and research in developing countries more effective. Nuffic Conference ' A Changing Landscape; The Hague, The Netherlands, 23-25 May 2005.

1.7. Online Articles (10 articles not included as data count, but served as reference)

Online Articles	
Blog Posts, News	
Year	**Author & Title**
2017	Dassin, J. (2017, August 22). Scholarships for Sustainable Development.
2016	Amazan, R. (2016, May). Structural barriers limit impact of scholarships. Devpolicy Blog.
2016	The Commonwealth Education Hub (2016). Funding Education: The Role of

Year	Author & Title
	Scholarships, Bursaries and other Mechanisms. Discussion Summary. e-Discussion between 7 April 2016 and 29 April 2016
2016	UNESCO. (2016, October). Target 4b – What is at Stake for Monitoring Progress on Scholarships? https://gemreportunesco.wordpress.com
2014	Negin, J. (2014). Scholarships and the Aid Program (part one): waste of money or effective aid? Devpolicy Blog.
2014	Negin, J. (2014) Scholarships and the aid program (part two): emerging results of research into scholarships in three African countries. Devpolicy Blog.
2014	Negin, J. (2014). Scholarships and the aid program (part three): future directions for a scholarship program with impact. Devpolicy Blog.
2011	Legault, E. (2011, November 28). Beyond Busan 2: Should Imputed Student Costs and Scholarships be Counted as Aid? World Education Blog. Retrieved from https://gemreportunesco.wordpress.com
2011	Morris, M. (2011). Are Scholarships Good Aid? Devpolicy Blog.
2011	Howes, S. (2011). The Scholarship Audit. Devpolicy Blog.

1.8. Master's Thesis and Ph.D. Dissertation (21 articles)

Master's Thesis and Doctoral Dissertation	
Year	**Author & Title**
2020	Jeong, H. (2020). *Exploring the Role of International Scholarships in Higher Education* (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Seoul National University
2019	Chhoeun, K. (2019). *Australian and Chinese scholarships to Cambodia: A comparative study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The Australian National University, Australia.
2019	Enkhtur, A. (2019). Government Sponsored Students as Agents of National Development? Perspectives of Mongolian Alumni from Japanese Graduate Schools. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Osaka University, Japan
2018	Marcy, J. (2018). *Exploring the socialization and transnational social fields of international doctoral scholarship students: Experiences of African agricultural scientists. ProQuest LLC*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, USA.
2017	Hanh, T. B. (2017). *Education, Development Scholarships and Women's Empowerment: Exploring the impacts of the Vietnam Education Foundation Fellowship* (Unpublished Master's Thesis) Massey University, New Zealand.
2017	Zappa, M. (2017). Japan as "thought leader": the Japanese grant scholarship for human resource development and its implications in Vietnam and transitional economies in Asia.
2016	Campbell, A. (2016). International Scholarship Programs and Home Country Economic and Social Development: Comparing Georgian and Moldovan Alumni Experiences of 'Giving Back'. University of Minnesota
2016	Medica, K. (2016). *Cultural adjustment in the context of an aid-funded higher education sojourn: An exploratory case study that examines acculturation and re-acculturation challenges for Indonesian PhD Australian scholarship awardees* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), Monash University, Australia.
2014	Baxter, A. R. (2014). The burden of privilege: navigating transnational space and migration dilemmas among Rwandan scholarship students in the US.
2014	Bettie, M. (2014). *The Fulbright Program and American public diplomacy* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). The University of Leeds, United Kingdom.
2014	Le, A. (2014). *Vietnamese international student repatriates: An exploratory study.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Nebraska-Lincoln,

	USA.
2014	Yamada, K. (2014). *Paradox of scholarship aid: Examining the donor motivation of educational aid with a focus on Japan and South Korea* (Unpublished masters thesis). Social Policy for Development (SPD), The Netherlands.
2013	Kone, A. (2013, June). Measuring the Impact of the International Fellowships Program (IFP) in the Area of Education: Development of a Valid and Reliable Measurement Instrument. Master's Thesis. Twente University, the Netherlands
2012	Kent, A. (2012). *Australian Development Scholarships and their place within diplomacy, education and development* (Unpublished masters thesis). The University of Melbourne, Australia.
2011	Amazan, R. (2011). *Mobilising the Ethiopian knowledge diaspora: How can the Ethiopian knowledge diaspora be mobilised into participating effectively in the tertiary educational process in Ethiopia*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) The University of Sydney, Australia.
2011	Mondino, M. (2011). *An Analysis of Flagship Scholarship Programs – Policy, Communication, and Performance in International Comparison*. Hertie School of Governance, Germany.
2011	Nolan, P. G. (2011). *Australian Development Scholarships: returns on investment* (Doctoral dissertation). University of New England, Australia
2010	Dant, W. P. (2010). Squaring their roots: Leadership, perceptions and practices of some US-Trained African Professionals in the Public Sector. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Maryland, USA
2010	Uchehara, K. (2010). Economic cooperation and scholarships to African countries: the case of Turkish government scholarships for African countries. Istanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi Yıl:9 Sayı:17 Bahar 2010 s.67-82
2009	Medalis, C. (2009). *American cultural diplomacy, the Fulbright Program and U.S.-Hungarian higher education relations in the twentieth century* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Columbia University, USA.
2007	Wild, K. L. (2008). *Aid, education and adventure: an exploration of the impact of development scholarship schemes on women's lives. Doctorate of Philosophy in Development Studies* (Doctoral dissertation). Massey University, New Zealand

<div style="text-align: center;">**ACADEMIC LITERATURE**</div>

In this section, peer-reviewed journal articles and books on international scholarships as development aid will be presented.

2.1. Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles (72 articles)

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles	
Year	**Author & Title**
2020	Campbell, A. & Neff, E. (2020). A Systematic Review of International Higher Education Scholarships for Students from the Global South. *Review of Educational Research*
2020	Campbell, A. (2020). Giving back to one's country following an international higher education scholarship: comparing in-country and expatriate alumni perceptions of engagement in social and. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education. 50 (4),* 573-591
2020	Gbollie, C. & Gong, S. (2020). Emerging destination mobility: Exploring African and Asian international students' push-pull factors and motivations to study in China. International Journal of Educational Management, Vol. 34 (1), 18-34
2020	Novotny, J., Fertrova, M. & Jungwiertova, L. (2020). Postgraduate migration behavior of international university students supported from the Czech Development Cooperation scholarships. *Population, Space and Place,* e2361
2020	Ha, W., Lu, K. & Wo, B. (2020). Do Chinese Government Foreign Student Scholarships Target Natural Resources in Africa? *Higher Education Policy,* p. 1-31
2020	Campbell, A., Kelly-Weber, E. & Lavallee, C. (2020). University Teaching and Citizenship Education as Sustainable Development in Ghana and Nigeria: Insight from International Scholarship Program Alumni. *Higher Education.*
2019	Aras, B., & Mohammed, Z. (2019). The Turkish government scholarship program as a soft power tool. *Turkish Studies, 20*(3), 421-441.
2019	Baxter, A. (2019). Engaging Underrepresented International Students as Partners: Agency and Constraints Among Rwandan Students in the United States. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 23*(1), 106-122.
2019	Campbell, A. C. (2019). Exploring the Relationship of Home Country Government Reforms and the Choices of International Higher Education Scholarship Program Participants. *European Education, 51*(2), 147-163
2019	Campbell, A. C., & Lavallee, C. A. (2019). A community of practice for social justice: Examining the case of an international scholarship alumni association in Ghana. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 24*(4), 409-423.
2019	Campbell, A. C., & Baxter, A. R. (2019). Exploring the attributes and practices of alumni associations that advance social change. *International Journal of Educational Development, 66,* 164-172.
2019	Cosentino, C., Fortson, J., Liuzzi, S., Harris, A., & Blair, R. (2019). Can scholarships provide equitable access to high-quality university education? Evidence from the Mastercard Foundation Scholars Program. *International Journal of Educational Development, 71*
2019	Enkhtur, A. (2019). Perceived contributions to national development: Government-sponsored Mongolian alumni from Japan. *Asian Education and Development Studies*

2019	Kang, K. (2019). Are the procedures of recruiting and selecting developing countries' officials for scholarship programs fair?: The examination of the KOICA Master's degree program. *KEDI Journal of Educational Policy*, *16*(2).
2019	McConachie, B. (2019). Australia's use of international education as public diplomacy in China: foreign policy or domestic agenda? Australian Journal of International Affairs, 1-14.
2019	Perraton, H. (2019). Commonwealth Student Exchange 1959-2019–Planned and Unplanned. *The Round Table*, *108*(4), 411-422.
2019	Waluyo, B., Eng, S., & Wiseman, A. W. (2019). Examining a model of scholarship for social justice. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, *14*(2), 272-293.
2018	Campbell, A. & Mawer, M. (2018). Clarifying Mixed Messages: International Scholarship Programmes in Sustainable Development Agenda. *Higher Education Policy 32(2)*, 167-184
2018	Chankseliani, M. (2018). The politics of student mobility: Links between outbound student flows and the democratic development of post-Soviet Eurasia. *International Journal of Educational Development,* 62, 281-288.
2018	Enkhtur, A. (2018). Government-Sponsored Mongolian graduates from Japan: Perceptions of Learning Experience. Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies, 18 (3)
2018	Latief, R., & Lefen, L. (2018). Analysis of Chinese Government Scholarship for International Students Using Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP). *Sustainability, 10*(7), 2112.
2018	Myungsik, H., & Elaine, T. (2018). Socialisation of China's Soft Power: Building Friendship through Potential Leaders. *China: An International Journal, 16*(1), 45-68.
2018	Hejkrlik, J., Horky-Hluchan, O. & Nemeckova, T. (2018). Tertiary Scholarship Schemes as institutionalised migration of highly skilled labor: The mixed evidence of development effectiveness from the Czech Republic. *Czech Journal of International Relations. 53 (4),* 5-19
2017	Basford, S., & van Riemsdijk, M. (2017). The Role of Institutions in the Student Migrant Experience: Norway's Quota Scheme. *Population, Space and Place, 23*(3)
2017	Bhandari, R. (2017). Post-secondary scholarships for students from developing countries: Establishing a global baseline. *European Journal of Education, 52(4),* 533-545.
2017	Campbell, A. C. (2017). How international scholarship recipients perceive their contributions to the development of their home countries: Findings from a comparative study of Georgia and Moldova. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 55, 56-62.
2017	Darnell, S. C., & Huish, R. (2017). Learning through South–South development: Cuban-African partnerships in sport and physical education. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 47*(2), 286-299.
2017	Makundi, H., Huyse, H., Develtere, P., Mongula, B., & Rutashobya, L. (2017). Training abroad and technological capacity building: Analysing the role of Chinese training and scholarship programmes for Tanzanians. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *57*, 11-20
2017	Mawer, M. (2017). Approaches to analyzing the outcomes of international scholarship programs for higher education. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 1(1),* 1–16
2017	Shangwe, M.J. (2017). China's soft power in Tanzania: opportunities and challenges. *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies, 3 (1),* 79–100.

2016	Abimbola, S., Amazan, R., Vizintin, P., Howie, L, Cumming, R. & Negin, J. (2016) Australian higher education scholarships as tools for international development and diplomacy in Africa, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 70:2, 105-120
2016	Amazan, R., Negin, J., Howie, L., & Wood, J. (2016). From extraction to knowledge reproduction: The impact of Australia's development awards on Uganda and Mozambique. *International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives, 15*(1), 45-65.
2016	Franken, M., Langi, N. T. K., & Branson, C. (2016). The reintegration of Tongan postgraduate scholars after study abroad: knowledge utilisation and resituation. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 17*(4), 691-702.
2016	Campbell, A. C. (2016). International Scholarship Graduates Influencing Social and Economic Development at Home: The Role of Alumni Networks in Georgia and Moldova. *Current Issues in Comparative Education, 19*(1), 76-91.
2016	Liu, Q., & Turner, D. A. (2016). Students as a Teaching Resource in Preparing Educational Leaders: An International Masters Programme. *Educational Considerations, 43*(3), 56-61.
2016	Metzgar, E. T. (2016). Institutions of higher education as public diplomacy tools: China-based university programs for the 21st century. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 20*(3), 223-241.
2015	Bonilla, K. & Kwak, J.S. (2015). Effectiveness of Donor Support for Capacity Development in Guatemala: A Study of Scholarship Provision for Overseas Postgraduate Education. *Iberoamericana* Vol. 17 (1), 293-344
2015	Darnell, S. C., & Huish, R. (2015). Cuban sport policy and South–South development cooperation: an overview and analysis of the Escuela Internacional de Educación Física y Deporte. *International journal of sport policy and politics, 7*(1), 123-140.
2015	Lowe, D. (2015). Australia's Colombo plans, old and new: International students as foreign relations. *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 21*(4), 448-462.
2015	Maxwell, T. W., Nget, S., Peou, L., & You, S. (2015). Becoming and being academic women in Cambodia: Cultural and other understandings. *Cogent Education, 2*(1)
2015	Pásztor, A. (2015). Careers on the move: International doctoral students at an elite British university. Population, Space and Place, 21(8), 832-842
2015	Wilson, I. (2015). Ends changed, means retained: scholarship programs, political influence and drifting goals. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 17(1), 130-151
2014	Åkerlund, A. (2014). The impact of foreign policy on educational exchange: The Swedish state scholarship programme 1938–1990. *Paedagogica Historica, 50*(3), 390-409.
2014	Chalid, M. N. H. (2014). Soft Skills, Intercultural Competency and Transnational Education: An Australian-Indonesian Case Study." *International Journal of Arts & Sciences* 7(1), 359–373
2014	Grant, C. J. (2014). The promise of partnership: Perspectives from Kenya and the US. *FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 50-64
2014	Kim, C. (2014). Characteristics of ODA Allocation to Higher Education Focusing on France and Germany. *Journal of International Development Cooperation, 9*(4), 121-150.
2014	Nemeková, T., & Krylova, P. (2014). The Czech government scholarship programme for students from developing countries–Evaluation findings and policy reflections. *Evaluation and Program Planning, 43*, 83-92.
2014	Perna, L. W., Orosz, K., Gopaul, B., Jumakulov, Z., Ashirbekov, A., &

	Kishkentayeva, M. (2014). Promoting human capital development: A typology of international scholarship programs in higher education. *Educational Researcher, 43*(2), 63-73.
2013	Capuano, S. & Marfouk, A. (2013). African Brain Drain and Its Impact on Source Countries: What do we know and what do we need to know? *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice,* 15(4), 297-314
2013	Chung, B. C. (2013). The Korean model of ODA: A critical review of its concept and practices reflected in educational ODA. *Asian Education and Development Studies, 3*(1), 46-57.
2013	Franken, M. (2013). Significant knowledge transitions and resituation challenges in becoming a researcher: International scholarship students' perspectives. *International Journal for Researcher Development*, 4(2)
2013	Grinbergs, C. J., & Jones, H. (2013). Erasmus Mundus SEN: the inclusive scholarship programme?. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 17*(4), 349-363.
2013	Haugen, H. Ø. (2013). China's recruitment of African university students: policy efficacy and unintended outcomes. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 11*(3), 315-334.
2013	Makinda, S. M., & Turner, M. (2013). Contextualising aid effectiveness: Australia's scholarship program in Africa. *Australasian Review of African Studies, 34*(1), 40-60.
2012	Collins, J. (2012). Perspectives from the periphery? Colombo Plan scholars in New Zealand Universities, 1951-1975. *History of Education Review,* 41 (2), 129 - 146
2012	Franken, M. (2012). Re-situation challenges for international students 'becoming' researchers. *Higher Education, 64*(6), 845-859.
2012	Ontiveros, D. U., & Verardi, V. (2012). Does aid induce brain drain? A panel data analysis. *IZA Journal of Migration, 1(1),* 13.
2012	Stone, N., & Gruba, P. (2012). Understanding transition pathways of international development assistance students: With more respect to stakeholders. *Tertiary Education and Management, 18*(3), 253-269.
2011	Brautigam, D. (2011). Aid with 'Chinese characteristics': Chinese Foreign Aid and Development Finance Meet the OECD-DAC Aid Regime. *Journal of International Development* 23 (5), p. 752-764
2011	Nordtveit, B. H. (2011). An emerging donor in education and development: A case study of China in Cameroon. *International Journal of Educational Development, 31*(2), 99-108.
2011	Pietsch, T. (2011). Many Rhodes: Travelling scholarships and imperial citizenship in the British academic world, 1880−1940. *History of Education, 40*(6), 723-739.
2010	Atkinson, C. (2010). Does soft power matter? A comparative analysis of student exchange programs 1980-2006. *Foreign Policy Analysis,* 6(1), 1-22
2010	King, K. (2010). China's cooperation in education and training with Kenya: a different model? *International Journal of Educational Development, 30 (5),* 488−496.
2010	Trilokekar, R. D. (2010). International education as soft power? The contributions and challenges of Canadian foreign policy to the internationalization of higher education. *Higher Education, 59*(2), 131-147.
2009	Henseler, M. and Plesch, J. (2009). How can scholarship institutions foster the return of foreign students? *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, 229(4),* 382−409
2008	Cuthbert, D., Smith, W., & Boey, J. (2008). What do we really know about the outcomes of Australian international education? A critical review and prospectus for future research. *Journal of Studies in International*

Year	Title
	Education, 12(3), 255-275.
2008	Christopher, H. D. (2008). International graduate student scholars reflect on their masters' work and its applicability in their home countries. *The International Journal of Learning,* 14(10), 47–57
2008	Dong, L., & Chapman, D. W. (2008). The Chinese government scholarship program: An effective form of foreign assistance?. *International Review of Education, 54*(2), 155-173.
2008	Lehr, S. (2008). Ethical dilemmas in individual and collective rights-based approaches to tertiary education scholarships: the cases of Canada and Cuba. Comparative Education, 44(4), 425–444.
2005	Sato, Y. (2005). A case of policy evaluation utilizing a logical framework: Evaluation of Japan's foreign student policy towards Thailand. Evaluation, 11(3), 351-378.
2003	Harman, G. (2003). International PhD students in Australian universities: Financial support, course experience and career plans. International *Journal of Educational Development, 23(3),* 339-351.
2000	Demir, C. E., Aksu, M. & Paykoc, F. (2000). Does Fulbright Make a Difference? *Journal of Studies in International Education* 4(1), p. 103-111

2.2. Books and Book Chapters (7 books)

Book	
Year	**Title**
2018	Dassin, J., Marsh, R. and Mawer, M. (2018). *International Scholarships in Higher Education: Pathways for Social Change.* New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
2017	Tournès, L., & Scott-Smith, G. (Eds.). (2017). *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and transnational circulations in the modern world.* Berghahn Books.
2014	Bigalke, T., & Zurbuchen, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Leadership for social justice in higher education: The legacy of the Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program.* Springer.
2014	Wilson, I. (2014). International Education Programs and Political Influence: Manufacturing Sympathy? New York: Palgrave MacMillan
2013	Mansukhani, V., & Handa, N. (2013). *Opening doors: Ten years of the Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program in India.* New Delhi: Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program.
2013	King, K. (2013). *China's aid and soft power in Africa. The Case of Education and Training. Woodbridge: James Currey*
2009	Volkman, T., Dassin, J. & Zurbuchen, M. (2009). *Origins, Journeys and Returns: Social Justice in International Higher Education.* Social Science Research Council, New York
Selected Book Chapters (38 articles)	
Year	**Title**
2018	Baxter, A.R. (2018). The benefits and challenges of international education: maximizing learning for social change. In: Dassin, J., Marsh, R., Mawer, M. (Eds.), International Scholarships in Higher Education: Pathways for Social Change (pp. 105–129). Palgrave Macmillan
2018	Boeren, A. (2018). Relationships Between Scholarship Program and Institutional Capacity Development Initiatives. In International Scholarships in Higher Education: Pathways for Social Change (pp. 43-63). Palgrave Macmillan
2018	Brogden, Z., (2018). Case study: Open Society Scholarship Programs. In: Dassin, J., Marsh, R., Mawer, M. (Eds.), International Scholarships in

	Higher Education: Pathways for Social Change (pp. 131-145). Palgrave Macmillan
2018	Campbell, A. C. (2018). Influencing pathways to social change: Scholarship program conditionality and individual agency. In International scholarships in higher education (pp. 165-186). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham
2018	Dassin, J. R., Marsh, R. R., & Mawer, M. (2018). Conclusion: Pathways Revisited. In International Scholarships in Higher Education (pp. 369-388). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
2018	Dassin, J. R. and Navarette, D. (2018). International scholarships and social change: elements for a new approach. In Dassin, J., Marsh, R. and Mawer, M. (eds), *International Scholarships in Higher Education: Pathways for Social Change. (p. 305-327)*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
2018	Kent, A. (2018). Recent trends in international scholarships. In *International Scholarships in Higher Education* (pp. 23-42). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
2018	Kirkland, J. (2018). Case study: balancing change and continuity—the case of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan. In: Dassin, J., Marsh, R., Mawer, M. (Eds.), International Scholarships in Higher Education: Pathways for Social Change (pp. 147–161). Palgrave Macmillan
2018	Marsh, R. R., & Oyelere, R. U. (2018). Global Migration of Talent: Drain, Gain, and Transnational Impacts. In International Scholarships in Higher Education (pp. 209-234). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham
2018	Martel, M. (2018). Tracing the spark that lights a flame: a review of methodologies to measure the outcomes of International scholarship programs. In Joan, R., Dassin, Robin R.Marsh, Mawer, Matt (Eds.), International Scholarships in Higher Education (pp. 281–304). Palgrave Macmillan
2018	Mawer (2018). Magnitudes of impact: a three-level review of evidence from scholarship evaluation. In: Dassin, J., Marsh, R., Mawer, M. (Eds.), International Scholarships in Higher Education: Pathways for Social Change (pp. 257–280). Palgrave Macmillan
2016	Chung (2016). The Korean Model of ODA: A Critical Review of Its Concept and Practices Reflected in Educational ODA", *Post-Education-For-All and Sustainable Development Paradigm: Structural Changes with Diversifying Actors and Norms* (*International Perspectives on Education and Society, Vol. 29*) (pp. 241-267). Emerald Group Publishing Limited
2017	Pietsch, T. & Chou, M. H. (2017). Chapter 1. The Politics of Scholarly Exchange: Taking the Long View on the Rhodes Scholarships. In Tournès, L., & Scott-Smith, G. (Eds.) *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and transnational circulations in the modern world*. Berghahn Books.
2016	Perna, L. and Orosz, K. (2016). Comparative and International Research on Higher Education: Emerging Evidence on International Scholarship Programs. In *Annual Review of Comparative and International Education 2016 (Vol. 30, p. 61-69)*. Emerald Group Publishing
2015	Perraton, H. (2015). *Learning abroad: A history of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan*. Cambridge scholars publishing.
2015	Purdey, J. (2015). "Investing in Good Will: Australia's Scholarships Programs for Indonesian Tertiary Students." In A. Missbach & Purdey, J. (Eds). Linking People: Connections and Encounters between Australians and Indonesians (pp. 111–32). Berlin: Regiospectra
2014	Africa, L. (2014). IFP and Social Justice Initiatives in South African

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2018	Campbell, A. C. (2018). Influencing pathways to social change: Scholarship program conditionality and individual agency. In International scholarships in higher education (pp. 165-186). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham
2018	Dassin, J. R., Marsh, R. R., & Mawer, M. (2018). Conclusion: Pathways Revisited. In International Scholarships in Higher Education (pp. 369-388). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
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2018	Mawer (2018). Magnitudes of impact: a three-level review of evidence from scholarship evaluation. In: Dassin, J., Marsh, R., Mawer, M. (Eds.), International Scholarships in Higher Education: Pathways for Social Change (pp. 257–280). Palgrave Macmillan
2016	Chung (2016). The Korean Model of ODA: A Critical Review of Its Concept and Practices Reflected in Educational ODA", *Post-Education-For-All and Sustainable Development Paradigm: Structural Changes with Diversifying Actors and Norms* (*International Perspectives on Education and Society, Vol. 29*) (pp. 241-267). Emerald Group Publishing Limited
2017	Pietsch, T. & Chou, M. H. (2017). Chapter 1. The Politics of Scholarly Exchange: Taking the Long View on the Rhodes Scholarships. In Tournès, L., & Scott-Smith, G. (Eds.) *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and transnational circulations in the modern world*. Berghahn Books.
2016	Perna, L. and Orosz, K. (2016). Comparative and International Research on Higher Education: Emerging Evidence on International Scholarship Programs. In *Annual Review of Comparative and International Education 2016 (Vol. 30, p. 61-69)*. Emerald Group Publishing
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2014	Africa, L. (2014). IFP and Social Justice Initiatives in South African

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2011	Polovina, N., (2011). Are scholarships and mobility programs sources of brain gain or brain drain: the case of Serbia. In: Polovina, N., Pavlov, T. (Eds.), *Mobility and Emigration of Professionals: Personal and Social Gains and Losses*. (pp. 164–181.) Group 484 and Institute for Educational Research, Belgrade, Serbia
2011	Cassity, E. (2011). Is It Really Aid? Bilateral Aid and the Tertiary Sector in Australia. In *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG 45
2011	Hyden, G. (2011). Scholarship Programmes Still Going Strong. *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG
2011	Jung, I. (2011). Human Capacity Building: Professionals Learning for Sustainable Career. German International Cooperation Agency (GIZ), Bonn. In The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South. NORRAG 45
2011	Kallaway, P. (2011). Historical Trends in Overseas Scholarship Funding in South Africa Prior to 1994. In The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South. NORRAG News, 45
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2011	Kingombe, C. (2011). The Economic Rationale for French Support to Foreign Students. In The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South. NORRAG 45
2011	Kirkland, J. & Unwin, T. (2011). Commonwealth Scholarships in an Age of Change: the Case of the UK. In The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South. NORRAG 45
2011	Medica, K. (2011). Mixed Motives in Australia's Higher Education Scholarship Programme. In *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG 45
2011	Momanyi, B. (2011). Geopolitics of Scholarships: Views of a Kenyan Beneficiary. In The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South. NORRAG News, 45
2011	Rathgeber, E. (2011). Fellowships and Awards: New Approaches for the 21st Century. In The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South. NORRAG News, 45
2011	Sanyal, B. (2011). French Policy of Overseas Scholars' Aid. In *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG 45
2011	Wagenfeld, F. (2011). The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) at a Glance. In *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG 45

2011	Welch (2011). The Perils of Pauline: Commercialism in Australian Internationalisation. In *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG 45
2011	Wesseler, M. (2011). Scholarship Courses: At the End of the Day, it's the Secretary Who Matters! In *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG 45
2011	Williams, P. (2011). Scholarships in an Age of Change: A Commentary and Postscript. Council for Education in the Commonwealth.). In *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG 45
2011	Williams, P. (2011). Steep Decline in Britain's Prestigious Chevening Awards. Council for Education in the Commonwealth.). In *The Geopolitics of Overseas Scholarships & Awards, Old and New Providers, East & West, North & South*. NORRAG 45
2009	Dassin, J. (2009). Higher education as a vehicle for social justice: possibilities and constraints. In Volkman, T.A., Dassin, J., Zurbuchen, M. (Eds.), *Origins, Journeys and Returns: Social Justice in International Higher Education*. Social Science Research Council, New York, NY, pp. 19–36.
2005	Nilan, P. (2005). The Viability of Aid Scholarship-Funded Study in Australian Universities: The Case of Indonesia. In Peter Ninnes & Meeri Hellsten (Eds). *Internationalizing Higher Education: Critical Explorations of Pedagogy and Practice*. p.159-180. Springer, Dordrecht
2005	Harman, G. (2005). Internationalization of Australian Higher Education: A Critical Review of Literature and Research. In P. Ninnes & M. Hellstén (Eds.), Internationalizing Higher Education. Critical Explorations of Pedagogy and Policy (pp. 119-140). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.

2.3. Excluded Articles on International Scholarships

The following are some articles that we not included due to various reasons such as non-English (ie. Chinese articles despite having English title), International Scholarship Program Funded by National Government, International Scholarship Program for Students from Global North, Articles Before 2000 or Different Meaning of Scholarship.

Reason	Title
Non-English	de Lima Júnior, A. F., & Stallivieri, L. (2020). International academic mobility programs as instruments to promote international development: The case of PEC-PG. *education policy analysis archives*, *28*, 174. Yuan, T. (2020). Re-thinking International Students' Voice in South-South Cooperation in Higher Education: An International Development Perspective. *Journal of International Students*, *10*, 94-98 賴冠伃. (2009). The career success orientation of graduates of Taiwan CDF Higher Education Scholarship Program. *臺灣師範大學國際人力教育與發展研究所學位論文*, 1-69.
International	Bokayev, B., Torebekova, Z., & Davletbayeva, Z. (2020).

Scholarship Program Funded by National Government	Preventing Brain Drain: Kazakhstan's Presidential "Bolashak" Scholarship and Government Regulations of Intellectual Migration. *Public Policy and Administration*, *19*(3), 25-35. Perna, L. W., Orosz, K., & Jumakulov, Z. (2015). Understanding the human capital benefits of a government-funded international scholarship program: An exploration of Kazakhstan's Bolashak program. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *40*, 85-97. Sagintayeva, A., & Ashirbekov, A. (2014). The practice of implementing international scholarships: Experience of the Republic of Kazakhstan. *Voprosy Obrazovaniya*, *2014*(4), 119-127. Sagintayeva, A., & Jumakulov, Z. (2015). Kazakhstan's Bolashak scholarship program. *International Higher Education*, (79), 21-23. Hilal, K. T., Smith, L., Harman, K., & Denman, B. (2015). The Political, Socio-Economic and Cultural Impacts of the King Abdullah Scholarship Program (KASP) in Saudi Arabia: An Exploratory Study. Taylor, C., & Albasri, W. (2014). The impact of Saudi Arabia King Abdullah's scholarship program in the US. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, *2*(10), 109. Zha, Q., & Wang, D. (2018). Case study: The Chinese Government Scholarship Program—The brain development scheme that illuminates a vision across 30 years. In *International scholarships in higher education* (pp. 235-254). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
International Scholarship Program for Students from Global North	Akli, M. (2013). Study abroad and cultural learning through Fulbright and other international scholarships: A holistic student development. *Journal of International Students*, *3*(1), 1-9. British Council, and DAAD. "The Rationale for Sponsoring Students to Undertake International Study: An Assessment of National Student Mobility Scholarship Programmes." Manchester, UK: British Council, 2014. https://www.britishcouncil.org/education/ihe/knowledge-centre/student-mobility/rationale-sponsoring-international-study.
Articles Before 2000	Kluger, R. (1996). Increasing Women's Participation in International Scholarship Programs: An Analysis of Nine Case Studies. IIE Research Report Number Twenty-Seven
Different Meaning of Scholarship	*The word 'scholarship' is mentioned in the abstract/body but meaning is different* Cuthill, M., O'Shea, E., Wilson, B., & Viljoen, P. (2014). Universities and the public good: A review of knowledge exchange policy and related university practice in Australia. *Australian*

| | *Universities' Review, The, 56*(2), 36-46.

Mwangi, C. A. G. (2017). Partner positioning: Examining international higher education partnerships through a mutuality lens. *The Review of Higher Education, 41*(1), 33-60. |
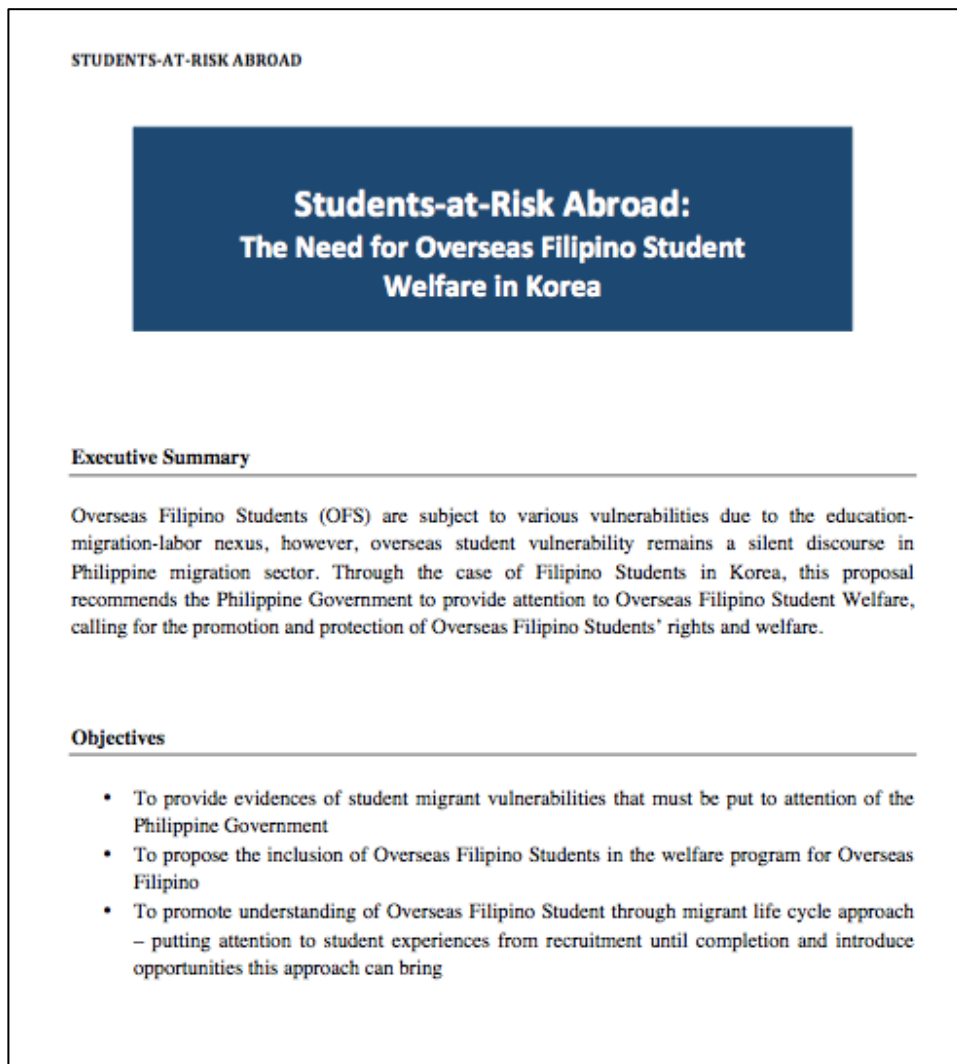| --- | --- |

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Other Examples of Excluded Articles
Some are focusing on local-government sponsored international scholarships, while others are domestic scholarships</td></tr>
<tr><td>Year</td><td>Author & Title</td></tr>
<tr><td>2020</td><td>Nimer, M., & Çelik, Ç. (2020). Social justice or 'human capital'development through higher education: experiences of scholarship students in Lebanon. <i>International Studies in Sociology of Education, 29</i>(4), 366-384.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2019</td><td>Abeuova, D., Muratbekova-Touron, M. (2019). Global talent management: Shaping the careers of internationally educated talents in developing markets. Thunderbird Int. Bus. Rev. 61, p. 843-856</td></tr>
<tr><td>2018</td><td>Del Sordi, A. (2018). Sponsoring student mobility for development and authoritarian stability: Kazakhstan's Bolashak programme. Globalizations, 15(2), 215-231.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2018</td><td>Poi, G. (2018). An analysis of the rate of return home as an indicator of success from a government-funded overseas scholarships programme: The case of Rivers State (2008-2015). African Journal of Education Research and Development (AJERD), 11(2)</td></tr>
<tr><td>2018</td><td>Ahmed, N.A. (2016). Saudi women's experiences studying at Canadian universities through King Abdullah Scholarship Program (Master's Thesis).</td></tr>
<tr><td>2017</td><td>Ahmad, Ahmad Bayiz, Hemin Ali Hassan, and Mustafa Wshyar Abdulla Al-Ahmedi (2017). Motivations of Government-Sponsored Kurdish Students for Pursuing Postgraduate Studies Abroad: An Exploratory Study.<i>Journal of Studies in International Education</i> 21, no. 2, p. 105–19.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2017</td><td>Azhgaliyeva, D., Belitski, M., Jumasseitova, A. S. S. E. L., & Kalyuzhnova, Y. (2017). The impact of government-sponsored education abroad on entrepreneurship: case study Bolashak scholarship. <i>Human Capital and Professional Education</i>, 1(21), 37-47.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2017</td><td>Bersimbayeva, A., Bersimbayev, Y., & Uruzbayeva, N. (2017). Bolashak International Scholarship as a Breakthrough Innovative Project of Education System in the Republic of Kazakhstan. <i>International Journal of Economic Perspectives, 11</i>(1).</td></tr>
<tr><td>2017</td><td>Pavan, A. (2017). The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques' Overseas Scholarship Program: Targeting Quality and Employment. <i>World Journal of Education, 7</i>(4), 32-39.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2016</td><td>Achinewhu-Nworgu, E., & Nworgu, Q. C. (2016). An Exploration of the Wider Costs of the Decision by the Rivers State Government in Nigeria to Revoke International Students' Scholarships. <i>Bulgarian Comparative Education Society</i>. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED568095.pdf</td></tr>
<tr><td>2016</td><td>Al Afifi, Z. H. (2016) Strategies and public policy models of effective human capital talents and workforce development: An investigation into the effectiveness of different scholarship programmes in the U</td></tr>
<tr><td>2016</td><td>Hunter-Johnson, Y., & Newton, N. (2016). Exploring the Transformational Learning Experiences of Bahamian Students Studying in the United States. <i>Commission for International Adult Education</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>2016</td><td>Lin, R. J. V. (2016). Eastward Expansion of Western Learning: A study of Westernisation of China's modern education by Chinese government</td></tr>
</table>

	overseas-study scholarships. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, *48*(12), 1203-1217.
2015	Hilal, K. T., Scott, S. R., & Maadad, N. (2015). The political, socio-economic and sociocultural impacts of the King Abdullah Scholarship Program (KASP) on Saudi Arabia. *International Journal of Higher Education*, *4*(1), 254
2015	Perna, L. W., Orosz, K., & Jumakulov, Z. (2015). Understanding the human capital benefits of a government-funded international scholarship program: An exploration of Kazakhstan's Bolashak program. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *40*, 85-97.
2015	Perna, L.W., Orosz, K., Jumakulov, Z., Kishkentayeva, M., Ashirbekov, A. (2015). Understanding the programmatic and contextual forces that influence participation in a government-sponsored international student-mobility program. High. Educ. 69(2), 173–188
2014	Algahtani, A. (2014). Evaluation of King Abdullah Scholarship Program. Journal of Education and Practice, 5(15), 33-41
2014	Engberg, D. (2014). The Rationale for Sponsoring Students to Undertake International Study: An Assessment of National Student Mobility scholarship Programmes. Report for the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) with the British Council
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2014	Scurfield, K, and F Barabhuiya. "Evaluating Commonwealth Scholarships in the United Kingdom: Review of the Commonwealth Professional Fellowship Scheme 2008-2011." London: Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the UK
2014	Taylor, C., & Albasri, W. (2014). The impact of Saudi Arabia King Abdullah's scholarship program in the U.S. Open Journal of Social Sciences, 2, 109-118. doi:10.4236/jss.2014.21001
2013	Akli, M. (2013). Study abroad and cultural learning through Fulbright and other international scholarships: A holistic student development. *Journal of International Students, 3*(1), 1-9.
2013	Bukhari F., & Denman, B. (2013). Student scholarships in Saudi Arabia: Implications and opportunities for overseas engagement. In L. Smith & A. Abouammoh (Eds.), Higher education in Saudi Arabia. Higher education dynamics (Vol. 40). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
2013	Egan, B. (2013). International Education as a Conduit for Engagement between Countries: The Case of Saudi Students in New Zealand (Doctoral dissertation). University of Auckland, New Zealand.
2013	Hall, T. R. (2013). Saudi male perceptions of study in the United States: An analysis of King Abdullah scholarship program participants. [PhD Dissertation]
2013	Hilal, K. T. (2013). Between the fears and hopes for a different future for the nation-states: Scholarship programs in Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates from a public policy standpoint. *International Journal of Higher Education, 2*(2), 195.
2013	Hilal, K. T., & Denman, B. D. (2013). Education as a tool for peace? The King Abdullah scholarship program and perceptions of Saudi Arabia and UAE post 9/11. *Higher Education Studies, 3*(2), 24
2012	Hickling-Hudson, A., Corona González, J., & Preston, R. (Eds.). (2012). *The capacity to share: A study of Cuba's international cooperation in educational development*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan
2013	Monks, E. (2013). The Brazil Scientific Mobility Undergraduate Program in the United States: A New Phase in U.S.—Brazil Educational Exchange. New

	York: Institute of International Education
2013	Odhiambo, G. O. (2013). Academic brain drain: Impact and implications for public higher education quality in Kenya. *Research in Comparative and International Education, 8*(4), 510-523.
2011	Denman, Brian D., and Kholoud T. Hilal. "From Barriers to Bridges: An Investigation on Saudi Student Mobility (2006-2009)." International Review of Education 57, no. 3–4, p. 299–318
2011	Pan, S. Y. (2011). Education abroad, human capital development, and national competitiveness: China's brain gain strategies. *Frontiers of Education in China, 6*(1), 106-138.
2010	Algahtani, A., Lu, H. & Lu, J. (2010). Towards semantic-aware and ontology-based e-government service integration-An applicative case study of Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah Scholarship Program. In Advances in Intelligent Decision Technologies (pp. 403-411). Spring, Berlin, Heidelberg
2010	Lien, D., & Liu, G. (2010). Financial assistance for study abroad students: An economic analysis. *International Review of Economics & Finance, 19*(3), 515-522.
2010	Lien, D., & Wang, Y. (2010). Optimal design for study-abroad scholarship: the effect of payback policy. *Education Economics, 18*(2), 191-205.
2010	Rotem, A., Zinovieff, M. & Goubarev, A. (2010). A Framework for Evaluating the Impact of the United Nations Fellowship Programmes. *Human Resources for Health* 8(1)
2009	Norris, E. M. & Gillespie, J. (2009). How Study Abroad Shapes Global Careers Evidence from the United States. Journal of Studies in International Education 13(3). pp. 99-108
2007	Lien, D. (2007). "The Role of Scholarships in Study Abroad Programs." Education Economics 15(2), p. 203–13.
2007	Mathews, J. (2007). Predicting international students' academic success… may not always be enough: Assessing Turkey's foreign study scholarship program. *Higher Education, 53*(5), 645-673.
2005	SRI International (2005). *Outcome Assessment of the Visiting Fulbright Scholar Program.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
1985	Mehmet, O. & Hoong Y. Y. (1985). An Empirical Evaluation of Government Scholarship Policy in Malaysia." Higher Education 14(2), p. 197–210

APPENDIX C: STUDENT MOVEMENT ADVOCACY

This appendix features an overview of our student movement advocacy among Overseas Filipino Students in Korea. The following are exerpts (the first four pages) of a policy brief I wrote and submitted to the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs concerning "students-at-risk". This was a document produced based from consultations among Overseas Filipino Students in different universities in South Korea through Pinoy Iskolars sa Korea (PIKO) or Organization of Filipino Students in Korea. In this appendix, I also included a brief reflection/analysis I wrote in 2018 while pondering about how international scholarships are instruments of neocolonialism.

STUDENTS-AT-RISK ABROAD

Students-at-Risk Abroad:
The Need for Overseas Filipino Student Welfare in Korea

Executive Summary

Overseas Filipino Students (OFS) are subject to various vulnerabilities due to the education-migration-labor nexus, however, overseas student vulnerability remains a silent discourse in Philippine migration sector. Through the case of Filipino Students in Korea, this proposal recommends the Philippine Government to provide attention to Overseas Filipino Student Welfare, calling for the promotion and protection of Overseas Filipino Students' rights and welfare.

Objectives

- To provide evidences of student migrant vulnerabilities that must be put to attention of the Philippine Government
- To propose the inclusion of Overseas Filipino Students in the welfare program for Overseas Filipino
- To promote understanding of Overseas Filipino Student through migrant life cycle approach – putting attention to student experiences from recruitment until completion and introduce opportunities this approach can bring

Introduction

"Scholars, return home and serve the country!"

For a Filipino student abroad, this advice has been heard countless times. The issue of Brain Drain/Gain is the central discourse concerning Overseas Filipino Students. Ong & Cabanes (2011) aptly described this national expectation, and student internalization –

"Students are expected to return physically to their homeland as part of their nationalistic duty to lead the nation and their return is the very fulfillment of their debt and obligation to the homeland: by physically returning home, they are able to directly transmute through their bodies, the ideas, talents..."

However, with this myopic framework of focusing on students as future human resources, we overlook challenges and opportunities pertaining to Overseas Filipino Students in the context of the "Global Talent War". One question we ought to ask ourselves is "how are our students treated abroad and what does it mean to us?"

Students as Skilled Migrants in the Global Talent War

Overseas students are widely recognized as skilled migrants as they are valuable human resources in contributing and increasing national competitiveness (Hawthorne, 2008; She & Wotherspoon, 2013). OECD countries are competitively strategizing in the context of the Global Talent War where "Attract and Retain" has been a popular policy agenda towards overseas students (Hawthorne, 2008; She & Wotherspoon, 2013). For instance, Korea launched "Study Korea Project" (SKP) in 2005 where Korea adopted an open immigration policy to overseas students recognizing their potential contribution to internationalize their higher education and research. SKP was instrumental in actively recruiting students through scholarship provision and overseas study fairs. As a result, Korea experienced a dramatic increase from 12,314 international students in 2003 to 89,537 in 2011 and is targeted to increase to 200,000 students in 2020. However, this rapid quantitative expansion of international students in Korea is critiqued to consequently affect and compromise students' quality of learning, working and living conditions (Kim & Choi, 2007:227; Wang, 2012).

For full discussion on international student policy in Korea, check Appendix A: Development of Student-Migration Related Policies in Korea.

Students as Migrants – Developing Country Perspective

While developed countries are strategizing for the Global Talent War, developing countries such as the Philippines are stuck in viewing students as future human resources and are unaware of the vulnerabilities of the "Global Talent War."

Who are the
Overseas Filipino Students?

Currently, there is an estimated **11,210 Overseas Filipino Students** all over the world (UNESCO, 2012). Filipinos are regular recipients of various types of scholarships ranging from government scholarships, university-based to private scholarships. In the case of Filipino Students in Korea, the number has grown over the years – from 108 (2005) to 400 (2010) to 1028 (2014) where students are enrolled under various short-term and long-term academic programs (Philippine Embassy, 2010; KIS, 2014).

Philippine Immigration has no official statistics of Overseas Filipino Students. Moreover, there is no specific agency assigned to oversee Overseas Filipino students such as POEA or CFO for other migrant groups (exception for Overseas Filipino Students are J-1 Exchange Visitor Program visa holders who are mandatory to attend PDOS under CFO).

With agenda on student welfare remaining non-existent, this shows that Overseas Filipino Student is a marginalized group in the Philippine migration sector – that despite the long history and regular overseas movement of Filipino students, this field remains unexplored.

"Students-at-Risk": Vulnerability of Overseas Students

Notion of overseas student vulnerability is commonly limited in terms of "loneliness", "linguistic barriers", "minority", "adjustment to foreign culture"" (Forbes-Mewett & Nyland 2008:1,2). However, with changing nature of global higher education embedded in the knowledge economy, various vulnerabilities and insecurities emerge in the context of 'academic labor'.

As current notion on 'international students as skilled migrants' largely remains focused on students being 'future talents' or 'potential workforce' of either the host or home country (Hazen & Alberts, 2006; Hawthorne, 2008; She & Wotherspoon, 2013), there is a need to expand the understanding of students as sources of labor by problematizing their roles in internationalization of higher education and research as this affects students' overall migrant life.

"Students-at-risk" is intentionally chosen as a terminology here to convey the situational and/or circumstantial vulnerability of Overseas Filipino Students. As the term "at-risk" already gives a sense of familiarity in the welfare field, it is an apt way to introduce this unexplored issue by building on the common imagery that the term "at-risk" possesses.

Student Welfare in Global Agenda

'Overseas student' is a fast growing migrant group. In 2012, there are 4.5 million overseas students and is projected to grow to 7.2 million in 2025 (OECD, 2014; Varghese, 2008:11). Over the years, overseas student welfare will become increasingly vital. To this day, overseas student welfare as a global agenda is relatively a new field. Intriguingly, few existing discussions and agenda are all coming from developed country's perspectives:

- European Association for International Education (EAIE)'s International Student Mobility Charter
- Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC)'s Principles to Promote and Protect the Human Rights of International Students
- NAFSA's Association of International Educators Conference "The Need for a United Nations Declaration of the Rights of International Students"

Perspectives from the developing countries still remain a blindspot; thus there is a compelling need to include developing countries' perspective on Student Migrant Welfare as this concerns both developing and developed countries – with different context and agenda framing. For instance, Overseas Student Welfare can be framed in "Brain Welfare" agenda – problematizing issues of intellectual property rights and academic work conditions in cross-border or transnational context. With the growth of overseas students in the future, lobbying for overseas student welfare is a good opportunity for the Philippines not only to understand its own citizens, but to contribute and expand "Overseas Student Welfare" as a global agenda.

Filipino Students in Korea: Cases of "Students-At-Risk"

Through the consultations done with Filipino Students in Korea from 2011-2015, the following are the identified common issues and vulnerabilities:

Issue 1: Deceptive Recruitment and Issues of Scholarships/Funding

Education cost is a deciding factor to study abroad (Kahanec & Kralikova, 2011). As there is competition among developed countries to attract highly competitive international students, scholarships and funding support are primary instruments in attracting students through the 'skilled migration approach' (OECD, 2004). In Korean policies, there is more visibility of the mainstream scholarships such as Global Korea Scholarships (GKS).

However, various types of scholarships and financial support have been offered to prospective students in the Philippines, in particular the 'professorial scholarships' or 'research assistantships". As these recruitment channels are informally regulated, this can become channels of vulnerability. The following are experiences of students from various degree programs, where 'scholarship/support' served as salaries instead of 'scholarships as merit':

"I just thought that this is an exchange student program and a "scholarship" for me. But [when I came here] we should pay all the expenses in dormitory, tuition fee (for education), insurance, food and the like. I pay those expenses through the salary that I get from English tutorial. The salary depends on the number of the students you have. It's quite unfair. At first, it was really hard for me to save money for expenses because I had a small number of students at that time...I don't know why there is such thing like this. They were

always real secretive about a lot of things. I wasn't confident in them."(Exchange student)

A case when scholarship and assistantship is not distinct:

"When I came to Korea, I only realized that time that what he meant by "support" is through salary - he will give us the 'salary' and it is up to us to budget. I was disappointed that knowing that, we didn't have any 'contract signing"...He also didn"t tell us how much our 'salary' would be. We only got to know during our first payday. I thought, my work is similar to other foreign students in the other labs, that research assistantship would include tuition, dorm and allowance...I was surprised to receive our first 'salary' - it was 300,000 KRW! But our professor later said he would add some amount to our salary and eventually gave us 800,000 KRW...But we have to pay our tuition and dorm from the salary we received. There was a time that our 'salary' was even delayed. We received it months after since our salaries are coming from project funds from different funding agencies. It was difficult since that was the same time that we had to pay our tuition...but the good thing is, our Filipino friends lend us money first. I am thankful to my friends." (PhD student)

Scholarships and financial support are commonly perceived as positive, however, when scholarships become tools and means of productivity, it can lead to various vulnerabilities. The narratives above show overpromise-underdeliver as well as expectation-reality gap due to 'branding/marketing issues' on recruitment. These are consequences of unregulated provision and management of "scholarships" where scholarships and assistantships are not clearly distinct from one another. Nature and management of scholarships must then be thoroughly reviewed and audited.

Issue 2: Forced English Work and Other Oppressive Academic Work Condition

One strategy to enhance national competitiveness is to internationalize education and research through increased research productivity (KEDI 2006:30).

Reflection: International Scholarships within Neoliberal Higher Education

While certain international scholarship researches critique internationalization of higher education, it does not address how international scholarships are instruments of neocolonialism/neoliberalism. Agendas are filled with obsession on improving international ranking and productivity. And this nexus with the global knowledge economy is a perfect backdrop for neocolonialism. I will briefly enumerate how international scholarships are instruments of neocolonialism/neoliberalism.

First, *importing and exploiting intellectual capital*. In history, resource extraction is central to colonialism. In the 16th century, colonizers exploited the colonies for their resources and cheap labor, and profited from it. For instance, British attained the Industrial Revolution with colonial slave labor (Davis, 1999; Morgan, 2000). Fast forward in the post-colonial knowledge economy, intellectual labor becomes the 'most important productive resource' (Patrick, 2013; Peters and Reveley, 2014). With intellectual capital becoming the basis of production, I argue that international scholarships serve as a strategy to attract intellectual capital from developing countries and contribute to the North's knowledge economy. Our common notion of Northern gain with international scholarships is in the context of 'post-scholarship skilled labor', 'soft power' and 'cash cow'. However, there's another layer of Northern gain that is overlooked: how the North immediately benefits from the South through internationalization.

Students contribute to the North's knowledge economy through the following ways: *Increasing Internationalization Ranking and Contributing to Research Productivity:* The number of international students is an indicator for global university ranking (ie. QS and THE). Thus, aside from Southern students contributing in internationalizing campus culture, their mere presence in the Northern campuses contributes to its university ranking. Moreover, research productivity is another indicator for ranking (ie. QS and THE). Southern students, particularly from STEM fields, contribute to the North's research output. Producing publications is already built within the students' academic requirement and these outputs are credited to the North's ranking. ⸬This shows that the mere Southern student

presence and their research outputs benefit the North in the context of knowledge economy. Not only does the South experience brain drain, but it alienates the South from these gains. With this, students turn into incidental knowledge migrant workers of the North.

Knowledge economy changes the roles and responsibilities within academia. The ranking obsession has changed the professor-student relations and the learning environment. As intellectual/human capital within the knowledge economy, professors and students alike are measured for their academic productivity (ie. research outputs or publications or patents). This puts a lingering high pressure in publishing within top-tier English journals (Weidman, 2016). And aside from publishing, laboratory work and project engagements become integral part of students' academic work (ie. engaging in triple helix collaborations of government, academia and industry).

However, working environments under the ethos of academic capitalism could be sources of systematic inequalities. Students can become vulnerable to exploitation as cheap labors, yet without access to adequate support and protection. Since there is normalcy of discourse (emphasizing 'success' and marginalizing negative cases) within international scholarships, there remain various blind spots that have to be uncovered and challenged. These discussions on global political economy and the role of international scholarships in neocolonialism/neoliberalism are vital in resistance and decolonization.

As explained by Altbach (1971), "only when an adequate understanding of modern neocolonialism in its many facets is achieved will it be possible to change the domination of the West over East to a more equitable arrangement in an increasingly interdependent world" (p. 456). This context then could be part of a collective learning reflexivity among scholarship recipients and find meaning together. This illustrates that critical pedagogy is crucial in exploring the culture of silence/resistance. Although it may be argued that our educational system now promotes more collaborations and co-learning among professors and students and is far from what Freire calls as model of banking, the neoliberal ethos has seeped within the education system (ie. higher education policies and practices such as publish-perish). While pedagogy is perceived as becoming more collaborative and

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participatory now (for instance, students are more involved in proactive knowledge production activities such as research and projects with their professors, the changing nature of international education and its nexus to knowledge economy influence the learning environment to become exploitative. As pedagogical relationships in the context of international scholarships are examined, contextualizing these dynamics within the colonial, neoliberal-learning environment could put forth new perspectives. The learning environment of scholarship programs within the nexus of knowledge economy and internationalization of higher education - particularly exploring experiences of silence but as well as resistances. This becomes an invitation to have discussion within the community.

ABSTRACT IN KOREAN

탈식민주의 관점에서 바라본 국제 장학금:
공적개발원조를 중심으로

에바마리왕
서울대학교 사범대학원

오랫동안 주요한 논란이 되고 있는 원조이지만, 국제 장학금은 지금도 국제개발 분야에서 연구가 적게 된 주제이다. 이 주제에 대한 연구는 여전히 학술적 초기 단계에 머물러 있으며 2015 년 유엔의 지속가능한 개발목표 (SDG4b) 로 지정되면서 겨우 관심을 얻기 시작했다. 이러한 배경에서, 본 연구는 기존 연구분야를 문제화하여 그동안 간과되어온 지식의 정치적 측면을 발견하고자 한다. 탈식민주의론을 비평적 렌즈로 활용하여 본 연구는 국제 장학금의 식민지 유산이 그동안 어떻게 국제 장학금을 개념화하고 연구하는 방식을 제한해 왔는지 살펴본다. 본 연구에서는 비평적 담론 분석에 대한 탈식민주의적 접근법을 방법론으로 하여, 2000 년부터 2020 년까지 국제 장학금 주제에 대한 167 건의 회색문헌, 72 건의 동료심사를 받은 학술지, 그리고 7 권의 단행본을 검토했다. 연구결과, 기존의 연구문헌들은 북부 중심의 헤게모니를 반영하고 있으며 해당 연구 분야의 연구 의제, 이론, 대표성은 제한적임을 보여준다. 또한 저항이 있긴 하지만 여전히 이러한 연구가 주도적 위치를 차지하고 있다. 이러한 연구결과는 기존의 권력 불균형을 해결하지 않는다면 국제 개발 장학금의 연구는 주로 북부 우위의 관점에서 이루어지고 대안적 관점, 의견 그리고 인식론을 소외시킨다는 사실을 보여준다. 이에 본 연구는 국제 장학금을 재고하는 방식으로서 연구 의제를 다양화하여 기존 헤게모니에 저항할 뿐만 아니라 국제 장학금 연구를 탈식민지화할 것을 요청한다. 이러한 탈식민지화를 위해서는 연구자들이 비평적 의식을 발휘하고 서양중심의 인식론을 넘어서는 다양한 인식론을 사용하는 데 개방적이어야 한다. 제언으로 대안적 인식론을 사용하는 연구를 본 논문의 후반부에 열거했다. 이는 그동안 간과해온 지식의 정치학적 특성을 검토하고 비평적이고 세심한 담론의 전환을 추구함으로써 진정으로 미래의 유망주들을 위한 국제 장학금을 다시 상상할 수 있을 뿐 아니라 본 연구분야를 재고하는 데 한 걸음 나아갈 수 있음을 보여준다.

핵심어: 개발 원조로서 국제 장학금, 국제 개발 장학금 연구, 탈식민주의론, 식민담론, 비평적 담론 분석,저항

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