Internationalisation of Higher Education in the United States of America and Europe

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Chapter Five

Rationales for Internationalisation of Higher Education

1. Introduction

In Part One, a comparative overview of the historical development of the internationalisation of higher education in the United States of America and Europe was presented. The concept of the internationalisation of higher education will be the subject of this second part. A better understanding of the rationales for and the meaning of the internationalisation of higher education will help to contribute to the improvement of the theoretical basis of analysis and research methods of internationalisation of higher education. This chapter will deal with the ‘why’, the rationales for internationalisation of higher education.

Why is, in the words of Ulrich Teichler, internationalisation a rising phenomenon? Why are institutions of higher education, national governments, international bodies and increasingly the private sector so actively involved in international education activities? There is not one single answer to that question. According to Ollikainen (1996, 83) “there are very few attempts at exploring the rationales and processes of international educational co-operation in the microcosms of academic working communities... The prevailing motives and means of universities and various organizations promoting internationalization of higher education have not been questioned.”

The question ‘why’ and attempts to answer it are present in a lot of studies, but only in general and not in an explicit and structured way. An example of answering the question ‘why’ is a publication by Goodwin and Nacht (1988), who, in ‘Abroad and Beyond’, dedicate a chapter to ‘the point of it all’, giving an overview of educational and social goals of education abroad. Another example is Platt (1977, 1539-1541), who mentions ‘aid to and co-operation with developing countries’, ‘foreign policy’, ‘educational and cultural enrichment’, ‘prestige’ and ‘profit’.

This fundamental question received more structured attention only in the 1990s. In 1991 De Wit (1991, 62-69) presented an overview of social and academic rationales for internationalisation, and indicated that social rationales, in particular economic rationales, are more dominant than academic rationales for internationalisation. Aigner et al. (1992) mention three major reasons for the internationalisation of higher education: security; economic competitiveness; and international understanding. Robert Scott (1992) mentions seven reasons, which can be grouped into economic competitiveness, labour market, national security, and mutual understanding. Warner (1992) also writes that there are different reasons and motivations for internationalisation. Jane Knight (1994, 5) states that “there is no single motivation for internationalizing. Instead there are a variety of imperatives, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but which may be viewed as such.”
In a study on 'strategies for internationalisation of higher education: historical and conceptual dimensions', Jane Knight and De Wit (1995) have developed a conceptual structure for rationales and introduced stakeholders as an important factor linked to rationales. They wrote (1995, 9) that the rationales and incentives for internationalisation are influenced and to a large extent constructed by the role and viewpoint of the various stakeholders: international, national and regional governments; the private sector; institutions; faculty and students. While each of the stakeholder groups has a distinctive perception and set of priorities with respect to internationalisation, there is also substantial overlap.

In policy documents and statements, a great diversity of arguments, social, economic and educational, are deployed to support the internationalisation of education. Some of these arguments have their origin in the needs of society and/or the economy; some in the needs of education itself. Together (Ibid., 10) they constitute a set of overlapping rationales for the process and activities of internationalisation. In turn, they form the basis of the incentives for internationalisation that are perceived by stakeholders, and the justifications that are made internally and externally. And there is potential overlap, but also conflict, between the interests of the different stakeholders.

Rationales can be described as motivations for integrating an international dimension into higher education. They address the 'why' of internationalisation. Different rationales imply different means and ends to internationalisation.41

In this chapter an updated version of the concept of rationales, as developed by Jane Knight and De Wit in 1995 will be presented. Originally they identified two groups of rationales: (a) economic and political, and (b) cultural and educational. In later studies Jane Knight (1997 a, 1999 a) separates them into four: political, economic, social/cultural and academic.

This division in four groups of rationales is accepted by others (Van der Wende, 1996, 1998; Ollikainen, 1996, 1998; Gacel-Avila, 1999, Callan, 2000; among others). Blumenthal et al. (1996, 4) also refer to four dimensions of "explicit or latent objectives underlying many programmes and actions in the academic mobility and co-operation field": economic; political; socio-cultural; and academic, scientific and technological. Some make other subdivisions, for instance Wächter et al. (1999), who divide rationales into educational motives (referring only to quality); economic considerations (referring only to fees from international students); foreign cultural policy; and promotion of peace and global responsibility, regional integration and development. In this division the social arguments are missing and the other arguments are rather narrowly defined.

This division in four categories of rationales will also be the basis for this research and to each of them will be added different subcategories: political (foreign policy, national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding, national identity and regional identity), economic (economic growth and competitiveness, the labour market, national educational demand and financial incentives for institutions and governments), social/cultural and academic rationales (providing an international dimension to research and teaching, extension of the academic

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41 See also De Wit, 1998 a, and 1999.
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horizon, institution-building, profile/status, enhancement of quality and international academic standards).

2. Political Rationales

Foreign policy

The political rationale links education in the first place to foreign policy or as Alladin (1992, 12) says, education is seen as "the ‘fourth dimension of foreign policy’, to improve the ‘image’ of a country, to cast its policies in a favourable light." 42

This argument considers educational co-operation as a form of diplomatic investment in future political relations. In the first place, the provision of scholarships to those likely to become future leaders is considered to be a way of endowing them with knowledge of the host country, and sympathy with its political system, culture and values. In addition, cultural and academic agreements between countries can be a vehicle for the development or preservation of economic and political relations: in extreme cases, for example, they can be a way of keeping communication going between governments when formal diplomatic relations have been broken, and form a ‘stepping stone’ for their re-establishment. As the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (1995) states in a document on ‘Public Diplomacy for the 21st Century’: “Exchanges and training have direct and multiplier effects that make them among the most valuable instruments of America’s foreign relations.”

The twin arguments of economic and diplomatic investment were the traditional rationales in the UK for welcoming foreign students and educating them on generous terms, in the years before fee revenue became the dominant incentive.43 In the case of Germany, Roeloffs (1994, 29) states that the policy in Franco-German relations – aiming at reconciliation in the first post-war phase, then co-operation, then integration – has been the motive for academic co-operation between France and Germany.44 For Europe and the Netherlands, Rupp (1998 and 1999) has analysed the political aspects of the Fulbright Program and the exchange programmes of the British Council. Rupp (1998, 263) states for instance: “De Nederlandse wetenschappelijke wereld is gericht geraakt op de wetenschap van de Engelsprekende wereld, vooral op de Verenigde Staten en in iets mindere mate op Engeland. De Amerikaanse (Fulbright) en de Britse (British Council) wetenschappelijke uitwisselingsprogramma’s hebben in deze veranderingen een beslissende rol gespeeld.” (The Dutch academic world has become oriented towards the English speaking academic world, in particular the United States and to a somewhat lesser extent England. The American (Fulbright) and British (British Council) academic exchange programmes have played a decisive role in these changes)

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42 See also Tierney (1977, 1509-1510), who gives examples of political rationales from the 1960s.


44 See also the frequent accounts by Littmann (1997) and Markert (1998) on academic mobility between Germany and the United States of America, and on the foreign policy aspects of this mobility. See also Heginbotham (1997) for Japan and the US.
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One can also say that the opening of the educational and research programmes of the European Commission to the EFTA countries and later Central and Eastern Europe was intended to prepare the climate for the future incorporation of these countries into the European Union. The decision on the withdrawal of Switzerland from these programmes was based on a political conflict with regard to its relation to the European Union.

National Security

Closely related to the foreign policy argument is the argument of national security, which is rather dominant in American international education, in particular in the period between the 1960s and the 1980s, as we have seen in Chapter Two. NATO is also active in providing international scholarships, on the basis of security considerations.

Apart from the US and NATO, no other examples of such explicit links between national security and internationalisation have been encountered, but this argument most probably applies to the former Soviet Union and other countries as well. The Cold War period is a clear example of how political rationales have set the agenda for the internationalisation of higher education.

It is important to note that the aims of the foreign policy and national security arguments for the internationalisation are not always met with the results as intended by the donor and/or the receiver. 45

Technical Assistance

A third political rationale for internationalisation is technical assistance or development co-operation. After the Second World War, and in particular in the period after decolonisation in combination with the intensification of the Cold War, technical assistance to the developing countries became an important part of foreign policy in most industrialised countries. Assistance to higher education in these countries has always been one element. Institution-building projects, the sending of experts, training programmes and scholarships were funded by national governments, international organisations such as the World Bank and private foundations. Institutions also contribute to development co-operation from their own budgets. In particular, in countries such as Australia, Canada and the Netherlands, international co-operation and technical assistance to higher education in developing countries were one and the same until the 1980s. At that time, in Australia, as Back, Davis and Olsen (1996, 7) put it, ‘educational aid’ became ‘educational trade’, and in the Netherlands internationalisation became at least as important as technical assistance. In Canada, it took longer for educational trade and internationalisation to overshadow educational aid, but its exclusive dominance has also disappeared.

Three other related arguments for internationalisation fall under the category of political rationales: peace and mutual understanding, national identity and regional identity.

45 I remember from my own time as a student in Lima, Peru, that Peruvian students from lower income groups who had studied with a scholarship in the former Soviet Union were said to have returned as convinced capitalists, while students from rich families who had studied in the United States came back as leaders of the radical left. So, they were affected in a quite the opposite way to that intended by their host countries, and returned with a different impression than that for which their sponsors – respectively the (at that time left) wing military regime and the conservative oligarchy – had hoped.
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Peace and Mutual Understanding

Sometimes coinciding with but frequently also in conflict with foreign policy rationales of national governments, internationalisation is promoted for ideological reasons as an instrument to realise the aspiration of ‘peace and mutual understanding’. In many publications and policy documents, this rationale is present as a driving force for internationalisation. The use of the term ‘internationalism’ is closely related to this argument, as Dennis Kallen (1991, 26) observes in linking ‘internationalism in education’ with idealistic and political roots.

Political rationales, such as providing peace and mutual understanding, have been more dominant in international education in the US than in other parts of the world, and date back to the period between the two world wars, as we have seen in Chapter Two. It can be related to the first element of the definition of Maurice Harari for internationalisation of higher education, the ‘international ethos’.

In American studies, documents and political statements, you can find many examples of this peace-driven rationale. De Wit (1998 a), states that, although seen in the rest of the world by many as a sign of American imperialism – matched by a similar trend in the former Soviet Union – internationalisation is presented by politicians in the US as a stimulus of peace and mutual understanding.

This optimistic view of international education as peace making force has been dominant in American politics and higher education in the past fifty years, is still rather widespread there and has found supporters elsewhere. For instance, the ‘Policy Statement on Internationalisation of Higher Education in the World’ of the ‘International Association for University Presidents’ of 1995 speaks of “promoting vigorously the internationalisation of their institutions and the global competence and literacy of their students as being essential to the long term pursuit of a more peaceful world where international understanding and co-operation in solving problems will be increasingly critical for the quality of life and sustained economic, social and cultural development.”

This argument is used mostly hand in hand with that of technical assistance. As remarked elsewhere (De Wit 1998 c, 15), although it is quite tempting to sympathise with such a view of internationalisation of higher education, one should be careful with such a purely political rational for internationalisation. Who’s peace is it and who’s understanding of the world? Was and is higher education in the rest of the world in the position to place its understanding on equal terms with that of the American and European academic world? Does such a view provide space for one’s own national identity?

Which brings us to the related political rationale of national identity.

46 It is also present in the UNESCO (1998), World Declaration on Higher Education. Wächter et al. (1999, 20-22) give several examples of this argument from organisations such as IAUP, UNESCO and CRE.
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National identity

In a comparative study of internationalisation strategies in Asia Pacific countries, Knight and De Wit (1997, 23-27) found the enhancement of national identity as a rationale for internationalisation of higher education was given. By becoming part of a global environment, higher education and society can move away from dependency on and dominance of Western technology, Western means and languages of instruction. Not the expansion of English as the language of instruction – an issue in several continental Europe higher education institutions – but the option of the introduction of local languages of instruction in addition to the use of the colonial, mainly English, language, a heritage from the past, is part of the internationalisation strategy in several Asian countries and universities. And this is not pursued as a nationalist reaction to globalisation, but to neo-colonialism.

There is a link between foreign policy arguments and national identity arguments for internationalisation in their consequences. Many national leaders have had their education abroad as a result of the foreign policy of industrialised countries such as the USA and the UK, and, in that other cultural environment, became even more attached to their own national identity than before. In 1952, the Czech-born political scientist Karl Wolfgang Deutsch, wrote, at Harvard: "there is an excellent change that among the hundreds and thousands of foreign students at the universities today there may be a considerable number of young men and women who may go back one day to their countries with a deeper emotional attachment to their own nation and often with a deeper nationalism than the one with which they came."

There is also a link between cultural rationales and national identity, which is closely related to preservation of cultural identity.

Regional identity

As with globalisation in relation to nationalisation and regionalisation, one can also identify, in addition to the global identity and national identity argument, the regional identity as an argument for internationalisation. This rationale is strongly present in the aspiration of a European dimension and Europeanisation in the European Union programmes. The creation of a ‘European citizenship’ is a crucial rationale in its education programmes. It also is present for instance in the Japanese orientation on Asia in its international programmes (IIE, 1997, 65). Pratt and Poole (1998a, 15) see some evidence that Australian universities are evolving toward regional strategies, focused on Asia.

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47 See also Welsh and Denman, 1997, 26.

48 Wächter et al. (1999, 22) give some examples of this argument. See also Chapter Three.

49 Back, Davis and Olsen (1996) disagree. They see a global focus in the internationalisation strategies of Australian universities. Successful or not, there are certainly enough indications that Australian universities are working in the direction of tapping markets that according to Pratt and Poole (Ibid., 22) are still largely untouched, such as South Africa, the Gulf States and South America, but also Europe and the USA.
3. Economic Rationales

Economic rationales are becoming more dominant, and there is a direct link with the globalisation of our economies. That does not mean that certain economic rationales have not always existed.

Economic growth and competitiveness

According to this argument, the internationalisation of education will have a positive effect on technological development and thus on economic growth. This argument is for both the public and the private sector perhaps the most important reason for investment in international co-operation in higher education, in particular since the end of the Cold War. For Europe, a study on national policies for internationalisation of higher education showed that increasingly “concerns related to international competence and competitiveness, and thus economic rationales” became more important (Van der Wende, 1997 b, 227). For the United States, Lyman (1995, 4) observes a similar trend: “Today, internationalizing education in the US is proposed as a way to help restore our economic competitiveness in the world.” According to Joseph Johnston and Richard Edelstein (1993), “today, the dominant argument for internationalizing higher education is that it will ensure the nation’s economic competitiveness.” Also Groenings (1997, 105) speaks of a reframing of rationales from Cold War foreign policy to global knowledge economy.

One consequence of the economic growth rationale is the investment by national governments in future economic relations. For many national governments this is the reason for the creation of scholarship programmes for foreign students, in the hope that they will become the future decision-makers in the private and public sector of their home countries and by then will remember with gratitude the host country that gave them the opportunity to become what they are now. Such investment will, it is hoped, bear fruit in the form of favoured treatment of the former host country when large orders are placed and contracts negotiated against international competition. This is true for many scholarship programmes for Third World students and recently also for students in Central and Eastern Europe.

Another consequence is the investment in international programmes for research and development. The Framework Programmes of the European Commission since 1984 and their predecessors since 1979, created with the intention of stimulating European research and development, are clear examples of such investments, motivated by competition with the US and Japan.

The labour market

Closely related to the economic growth argument is the labour market argument. The more international the labour market becomes, as a result of the globalisation of our economies, the more a graduate has to compete with people from other countries and the more he/she has to work in an international environment.

50 As remarked elsewhere (De Wit, 1998 d, 88), it would be better to read for Europe ‘Northern Europe’, because the case studies are, with one exception on Greece, limited to that region.
The demand of the labour market in a global economy is used very frequently by politicians and international educators as a reason for the internationalisation of higher education, but little research has been done on the effect of internationalisation on the labour market. Although Dick Krasno and others at an ACA meeting in 1996 (ACA, 1996, 5) mentioned market-driven human resource requirements as an important external factor, the views of employers and the labour market itself may be less clear on the need for 'international' graduates. There is some evidence that representatives of the private sector, in particular the multinationals, are less outspoken on this matter than politicians and educators. A study by Hubert van Hoof (1999) among job recruiters in the US confirms this view. Huebner (1994, 74) found that international education is at best a fifth concern for a company looking for staff for an international assignment: "What most corporations do not seem to be looking for, however, is some standardised 'global' man or woman."

National educational demand

In some European countries, the lack of sufficient higher education provision at home has stimulated the mobility of students and faculty. For instance, in Norway the government deliberately stimulates study abroad instead of creating new facilities at home. In other countries also, such as Greece and Portugal, the academic infrastructure has not been adequate in the past to absorb national demand for higher education and research, thereby generating a high net outward mobility. The same pattern is true for developing countries and their external mobility to the industrialised world. Asia is a relevant example, that also illustrates the dynamics of this rationale. Certain countries, such as Singapore, are moving from import of knowledge by sending their students for training abroad, to exporters of knowledge by receiving students from other parts of Asia and even beyond (Knight and De Wit, 1997).

Financial incentives for institutions and governments

Internationalisation activities, such as contract education, recruitment of foreign students and international education advisory services, can be initiated for reasons of income generation. University entrepreneurialism is becoming more dominant these days as a consequence of globalisation, as Slaughter and Leslie (1997) argue. This also affects internationalisation strategies.

"International education marketing is now big business for Australian universities", observe Platt and Pool (1998, 8), and this is becoming true in more and more countries. On the other hand, one should not exaggerate this development. As other studies show (for instance on Australia, Back et al., 1996), there are also counterbalancing measures for internationalisation, such as exchanges and programmes to stimulate outward mobility of students and faculty.

Higher education as an export commodity is becoming a dominant rationale for internationalisation, not only for national governments, but also for institutions and the private sector. The more foreign students there are paying a high tuition fee, the higher the economic return and the less the national government needs to invest in higher education. In 1979 the UK government adopted a full-fee policy (i.e. the requirement that students pay a tuition fee equivalent to the 'real

cost' of their education) with regard to students from outside the European Community. As a consequence, the internationalisation of higher education in the UK has been mainly concentrated on attracting high tuition paying foreign degree students, and has been understood in that manner. Indeed, many administrators in British higher education institutions have seen the exchange of students, where there is no net income gain, as an expensive burden rather than as something to stimulate.

One can see the same trend in other English-speaking countries in the 1980s and 1990s, in particular in Australia and New Zealand and to a lesser extent Canada. The United States, the leading country in receiving international students, has until now been able to maintain that position without active investment in recruitment campaigns, based mainly on status and reputation, but more recently has become concerned by the competition, not only from the other English-speaking countries, but also from the European continent (France, Germany, the Netherlands in particular) and from newly industrialised countries in Asia such as Malaysia and Singapore, which are becoming both sending and receiving countries.

There is an institutional argument based on finance, as indicated by Callan (1993, 9) for the UK: "The full-cost fees policy was resisted at first, but later became, ironically, a financial lifeline to institutions in the face of progressive restraints of public expenditure through the 1980s." And there is a national economic argument, as indicated for the US by Lambert (1992), who states that "the US has come to realise that even financially, the import of foreign students is a major asset on our international balance sheet." Export of knowledge, recruitment of international students, has become the number one export product of Australia.

As Carnestedt (1997) concludes from a comparison of internationalisation strategies of Swedish and Australian universities, for Swedish and other Scandinavian and European continental universities it is not so much the financial motive that is the incentive for recruitment – through lack of or rather low fees – but status. Status (and similar qualifications as reputation, profile, prestige) is seen as an indirect economic rationale of perhaps greater importance than the direct financial incentives, by Van Rooijen (1998) and Knight (2000).

The different positions became clear in statements in the Chronicle of Higher Education by the rector of the University of Bonn, Germany, Klaus Bochard, and the chief of the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom, Baroness Diana Warwick. Bochard, noting that state universities in Germany do not charge tuition, stated that "the only currency we value is brain", while Warwick states that recruitment is "for the sake of our country's prosperity." (Desruisseaux, 2000)

52 For Australia, see for instance Pratt and Poole (1998 a and b), and Black and Davis (1995). For New Zealand, see Smith and Parata (1997).

53 For the United States, see Dunnett (1998). For the Netherlands, see De Wit (1998). For Asia, see De Wit (1997 b).

54 On foreign students flows, policies and industries, see also Altbach (1997, c and d), and Cummings (1993), who gives a useful overview of push and pull factors in international student flows.
4. Cultural and Social Rationales

Alongside these economic and political rationales, there are arguments which have a more cultural and social character. John Davies (1992) explains why international activities have been expanding in the past decade on the basis of a combination of economic and cultural rationales. He states that internationalisation is "closely linked with financial reduction, the rise of academic entrepreneurialism and genuine philosophical commitment to close cultural perspectives in the advancement and dissemination of knowledge."

Cultural Rationales

The first of these is the 'cultural function' of internationalisation. This function is stressed as important in many studies on the internationalisation of education. In some cases, in particular in French and American policy, this cultural function constitutes a nationalist argument, one which emphasises the export of national and cultural and moral values. It thus merges with the 'foreign policy' and 'national identity' arguments described above. Heginbotham (1997) observes on this that "it is not inappropriate to consider American cultural and educational activities, including the notion of "exchanges", a third sphere of American rules." This attitude is not only found among politicians. Burkart Holzner (1994, 6) makes reference to an Ivy League professor who insisted that international education "really meant the education of the people of the world about the achievements of American civilisation."

Davies (1997, 83) observes, on the basis of case studies of twenty European universities, that for these institutions there is confusion about the term 'European values', but that they see "an essential role of the university in propagating civilizing and cultural values." This can be interpreted as a strong hesitation by the higher education sector with respect to attempts to impose ideological values from outside versus the autonomous role of higher education with respect to the spread of cultural values.

The cultural rationale, as related to foreign policy and national identity, is present in cultural and scientific agreements and programmes between governments. Intermediary agencies such as the British Council and DAAD in Germany are an expression of this in the same way as institutes such as the Goethe Institute for Germany, Maison Descartes for France and again the British Council for the United Kingdom are for the arts. The support given by national governments and universities to the promotion of their national languages and country studies, is also linked to this rationale.

Such a nationalist case stands in contrast to the cultural function of internationalisation as described by the director of UNESCO, Federico Mayor (1989, 5, 13): "The university is an institution in which the production, transmission and reproduction of culture meet harmoniously and in which the latter are completed by reflection on the role and the function of culture in the life of nations and individuals". And it is for this reason, as Mayor continues, that "... the cultural function of the European university goes hand in hand not only with its humanistic search, but also with its international dimension. To develop an awareness of the interdependence of peoples and of societies in today's world must be one of the basic functions of the universities."
The Liaison Committee (1992, 3), in a comment on the European Commission's 'Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community', also stresses the cultural function of the university: "The direct usefulness of universities for their community is not limited to their economic function; they are also, or primarily, cultural centres or 'think-tanks', offering a forum for learning, research and social debate."

Davies (1998, 79) refers in this respect to the role of the universities in 'transmission of cultural values'.

These views on the cultural function of the university are more related to the notion of 'universalism' of knowledge and its institutions, the university. Such universalism is used frequently as a rationale for internationalisation.

Social rationales

These rationales emphasise the relevance of internationalisation for the individual, in particular the student. Kallen (1991) has called this 'social learning', others refer to it as 'personal development'. It stresses the importance of the individual development of the student and the academic through a confrontation with other cultures, but also, and perhaps even more, with the home culture. In the context of fieldwork training in social anthropology, this has been called 'the daily experience of not knowing'. For this confrontation Mark Twain's comments about travel are true, namely "that it is fatal to prejudice, bigotry, and narrow mindedness", and also as Paul Theroux wrote: "Being mistaken is the essence of the travellers tale." Most studies indicate that studying abroad does not change much in the student's attitude to their host country, but there are clear indications that overcoming mistakes and the prejudices of their own culture is equally important effects as overcoming those of other cultures.

It is frequently argued that international academic exchange is more important for the individual's development than for academic or social reasons. American universities, in particular, focus on individual development as an important argument for internationalisation. On this issue, in a study of the IIE (2000, 10), an interesting observation is made about the different rationales for international education in Japan and the United States: "The prevailing Japanese ryugakusei rationale stresses long-term commitment to gain knowledge and insight from a foreign expert. In contrast, the dominant American rationale of 'mutual understanding' stresses moderate overseas exposure as a stimulus for expanding personal awareness." Chambers (1950, 32) described it already in 1950 in the following way: "Young students or industrial apprentices can be greatly enlightened by the experience away from the homeland, even though their individual motives may be scarcely more than a dilettante wish to 'see the world' or a vague feeling that 'travel is broadening'. These attitudes, characteristic of youth, may be trite, but they hold vast possibilities for good."

American universities fear parochial orientation of their students and the American population in general and for that reason encourage study abroad at the undergraduate level. Elsewhere (De Wit, 1998 c) it is written that reading publications on international education in the United States one gets the impression that a central drive for internationalisation is the feeling among academics that the population in general and the youth in particular is ignorant of global issues.
Barbara Burn (Briggs and Burn, 1985, 42) quotes a report for the Rockefeller Foundation on "persistent American parochialism" as an argument for study abroad for American undergraduate students. Richard Lambert (1994, 12-13) observes that "Americans frequently tell themselves and are told by others that they are a parochial lot, ignorant of world geography, people, and events." Richard Lyman (1995, 2) stresses cultural parochialism and arrogance as main factors in policies for internationalisation. He provides an interesting explanation for the view that Americans are "monoglot and widely ignorant". He states that a lot of it has to do with "self-serving testimony from international studies scholars" and "sheer frustration" by the lack of global awareness, and their actions should mainly be considered as "cries of alarm, which are proverbially a wasting asset."

This is further underlined by Lambert (1989, 162), who made an evaluation of American study abroad programmes and discovered that "all of the evaluative studies, almost without exception, were concerned with what I would call the characterological benefits which a foreign sojourn provided. There is almost no evaluative literature on the academic, as distinct from the characterological, benefits of study abroad." The strong emphasis in the US on global/transnational/intercultural/international competences is also linked to this view.

It has been observed elsewhere (De Wit, 1998 c, 16) that the concern for global awareness is also an important issue in Europe, but the focus for solutions is directed at primary and secondary education, rather than at the post-secondary level. It is surprising that few American authors see a role for the internationalisation of education at any level before higher education.

Parochialism is less of a concern in the call for international education in Europe than in the United States. But it is not so clear anymore that one should continue to underestimate social learning and global awareness as a force in the internationalisation of higher education in Europe, and the policy of the European Commission to stimulate the European dimension and the development of a European citizenship by way of mobility schemes and support to curriculum development as a specific interpretation of this rationale.

5. Academic Rationales

Providing an international dimension to research and teaching

It can be said, and has been said by many, that the internationalisation of education is inevitable, as the advancement of knowledge and understanding is a global enterprise that has no borders. It can also be said, and has been said by maybe even more people, that universities by nature

55 Dronkers (1993, 298), however, observes that the growth of international education in the Netherlands – in particular in primary and secondary education – is primarily the result of the development of a cosmopolitan culture by part of the Dutch elite.

56 An exception is for instance IIE (1997, 55-57).

57 Knight and De Wit (1995, 13) wrote elsewhere that while more research analysing the benefits of international experience to the development of the individual is welcomed, for such analyses to be useful one must distinguish clearly between benefits accruing from the educational content of the experience, and those which might be more loosely characterised as 'academic tourism'.
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are international. That being said, it is important that a thoughtful approach be taken to why and how higher education institutions are giving more importance and priority to integrating an international dimension into their teaching/learning, research and service mandates.

In terms of academic study, an international approach attempts to avoid parochialism in scholarship and research and to stimulate critical thinking and inquiry about the complexity of issues and interests that bear on the relations among nations, regions and interest groups. Often introducing or emphasising the international and intercultural aspects leads to more interdisciplinary co-operation in research endeavours.

Internationalisation efforts are intended to enable the academic community to have the ability to understand, appreciate and articulate the reality of interdependence among nations (environmental, economic, cultural and social) and to prepare faculty, staff and students to function in an international and intercultural context. Even students who never leave their own country are affected by the impact of our globalised society and economy. Institutions of higher education have the opportunity and responsibility through teaching and research to increase awareness and understanding of the new and changing phenomena that affect the political, economic and cultural/multicultural developments within and among nations.

Internationalisation strategies such as curriculum innovation, study abroad programmes, faculty/student exchanges, area studies/centres, foreign language study, joint international research initiatives and cross-cultural training are important activities which require serious review and reflection as to their greatest impact on the student and faculty experience.

As far as research is concerned, the international dimension has been less discussed and more assumed as a natural and implicit element. Studies on internationalisation of research are limited in number, compared to those on the internationalisation of education. Gingras et al. (1999) distinguish two components: the training of researchers, and the production of knowledge. Studies on the internationalisation of research tend to focus on citation indexes, technology transfer, funding issues, networking, training of researchers, dissemination of research, licensing and patents, the academic profession, etc. Internationalisation is already integrated and mainstream in research, although the global knowledge economy gives it a new dimension.58

That is certainly still not the case with the internationalisation of education. Most studies are directed to this sector of higher education, and then in particular to the internationalisation of the curriculum (Van der Wende, 1996) and to student mobility (Blumenthal et al., 1997), and the organisational aspects of these two. Less attention is given international staff mobility and development (Bunt-Kokhuis, 1996). But all in all, one can say that this rationale, also looking at my working definition, is the main theme of studies on the internationalisation of higher education.

58 Few studies have been done on the internationalisation of research. A positive example is the article by Gingras et al. (1999). For a study on doctoral students see Blume, 1995 and Kyvik et al., 1999. On the global knowledge economy, licensing and patents see for instance Eskowitz and Leijdesdorf, 1997. On the international aspects of academic publishing Altbach, 1988, and on the Academic Profession Altbach, 1996, and Welch, 1997.
Extension of the academic horizon

This argument is part of the previous one, but given the dominance of study abroad as an instrument for the internationalisation of higher education, it is also relevant to treat it here separately.

As stated above, internationalisation in the sense of mobility of students and faculty is seen in the US mainly as a form of social learning by means of a multicultural experience. In Europe, on the other hand, the importance attached to study abroad, faculty mobility and research co-operation tends to be measured more from the academic point of view: can one learn something at a foreign institution that one cannot learn at the home institution? This has a negative side in that in some cases opportunities have been reduced for co-operation between institutions in Northern and Southern Europe, owing to prejudices on the Northern side with respect to the quality of research and education in Southern Europe. It also applies to the continuing dominance of Europe as the destination of study abroad for the US. Recently, in the US the academic rationale for study abroad has been gaining importance, and in Europe, the added social and cultural value of study abroad becoming more recognised.

Institution-building

Closely related to the above is the argument that internationalisation can strengthen the core structures and activities of an institution, and may enable initiatives to be taken that would not otherwise be possible on the basis of local resources and/or expertise. The pursuit of knowledge in the modern world requires vast resources which are not all available in any one university; international co-operation between higher education institutions, in many cases, then becomes a necessity. Electronic communication is facilitating this co-operation in a significant way.

North American educators have long been aware of the resource value of graduate students from abroad in staffing research programmes and also in undergraduate teaching. In some countries of Europe, resource constraints have led to a situation in which the 'catchment area' for recruitment of both faculty and students in some subjects needs to be international if the departments themselves are to be viable. In the United States already but in the near future also in European countries, science faculties will be occupied mainly by Asian faculty and students. The negative side of this case is, obviously, the brain-drain problem. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge the necessity of mutual benefits for partner institutions/countries in international co-operation activities.

Profile/Status

A related and at first glance contradictory issue is the growing tendency to competitiveness among institutions of higher education across national borders. For research institutions and professional schools in particular, international ranking is increasingly becoming more important than competition with neighbour institutions within the national borders. Participation in international research, teaching, service and institutional networks is an important aspect of this competition.

This argument refers to the aspiration on the part of institutions to increase their international profile for status and marketing purposes, based on an assumed perception that the
more international a university is, the better it is. A perception that Rudzki (1998, 227-229) seems to adhere to in describing three scenarios: the international institution, the opportunistic nationalists and the parochial institution, in which the first scenario is linked to status and presumed excellence.

Callan (2000, 17) uses the term ‘negative rationale’, "the fear of falling behind competitively when an entire system or sector is moving in the direction of greater international involvement." This also falls under the profile/status argument.

Linking this rationale to the economic rationale of financial incentive is one way of positioning, but it is also an element that belongs to the educational rationale. For instance, the recruitment of PhD students in Asia, by the Faculty of Science of the Universiteit van Amsterdam, is not in the first place based on financial incentives – although certainly also part of its motivation – but on maintaining its profile as a high class research faculty.

Enhancement of Quality

Quality assurance of education and research is receiving more and more attention, and its assessment instruments are widely debated (Woodhouse, 1999). This is also true for the quality of internationalisation and of transnational education (Knight, 1999). As Smith (1994, 17) has pointed out, there are two aspects to the link between internationalisation and quality of education: "The first is quality of the delivery of international education, but just as important is the question of how the international dimension of higher education can actually enhance the quality of higher education provision. ... The two are interlinked in the sense that the international dimension of higher education can make the best contribution to enhancing quality in higher education if it is itself of high quality." Van der Wende (1999) also emphasises the relation, with both tensions and coherence, between the two. In a separate chapter, the issue of and relationship between quality and the internationalisation of higher education will be handled.

As a rationale for internationalisation of higher education, the issue of enhancement of the quality of higher education is relevant. This rationale is used frequently, although mostly in a very general way, without providing clear indicators on the way internationalisation enhances the quality of higher education.

International academic standards

Related to the arguments of profile/status and quality assurance and assessment, is the argument of international academic standards. Two studies by Jane Knight (1995 and 1997 b) for Canada, a study of CHEMS (1996) on the Commonwealth and the comparative study by Jane Knight and De Wit (1997) on internationalisation of higher education in Asia Pacific countries, mention the achievement of international academic standards as important motivations. Meeting international academic standards is a way for institutions of higher education to match others and receive recognition in the international arena. As Jane Knight (1999 d, 225) points out, there is also a fear that standardisation implies uniformity and westernisation.
6. Shifts in Rationales

When analysing rationales, we have to take into account the diversity of stakeholders’ groups in higher education and within each stakeholders group: the government, the private sector and the educational sector. Within the first group we see a trend away from national governments towards regional bodies (EU) and international entities (UN). In the second group, there is a difference between multinational companies and foundations and smaller, national or local companies. Within the last group we have to distinguish between several subgroups: the institutional level, the academics and their departments, and the students. Jenkins (1977, 1513) writes: “International educational interchange is, almost by definition, a partnership that involves at least two parties, the student applicant and the admitting institution, and often a third, the governmental or private agency or organization that is providing all or part of the funds for the educational programme. Each of these partners will have different and sometimes conflicting purposes.”

In a study of national policies for the internationalisation of higher education in Europe, Marijk van der Wende (1997 a, 36) has brought the four rationales together in a figure in which each rationale is represented by a separate line and in which the position on the line in relation to the centre of the model indicates the relevant importance (minimum in the centre, maximum at the edge) of the rationale.

Figure 2.
Rationales for the internationalisation policy

Source: van der Wende (1997 a, 36)
This model can be used not only for national policies but also for other stakeholders and can in addition be used to compare the relative importance of rationales at a certain moment between stakeholders as well as the change in importance of rationales in time within one group of stakeholders.59

In Part One, the shift in rationales was already referred to in the historical analysis of the international dimension in higher education. There, one clear example was the shift in the United States from the political rationale (which dominated until the end of the Cold War) to the economic (competitiveness), as well as a shift within the political rationale from ‘peace and mutual understanding’ (between the two World Wars) to ‘foreign policy’ (after the Second World War) to ‘national security’ (during the Cold War). Another shift we have seen, in for instance in Australia, is from the rationale of ‘technical assistance’ to ‘trade’, higher education as an export commodity.

At the same time, we have seen that the rationale for one stakeholder does not necessarily have to coincide with the rationale of another stakeholder. For instance, the rationale of personal development for a student can be different from the rationale of national security for a government or the labour market argument for a private company. The effect can still be the same. On the other hand, as illustrated in the Peruvian case (note 43), the outcome can be different than that intended – the rationale – by the initiator.

It is important to keep in mind (see also De Wit, 1998 a) that:

- There is a strong overlap in rationales within and between different stakeholders’ groups; the main differences are in the hierarchy of priorities, as Jane Knight (1997 b) has illustrated for Canada.

- In general, stakeholders do not have one exclusive rationale but a combination of rationales for internationalisation with a hierarchy in priorities (see also Knight, Ibid.).

- Rationales may differ between stakeholders’ groups and within stakeholders’ groups, as for instance Davies (1997, 83) illustrates for Europe.

- Priorities in rationales may change over time and may change by country and region. A clear example is the change in time of the rationale from development assistance to export in Australia, and the difference in rationales between the UK (export) and the rest of the European Union (co-operation and exchange).

- Rationales have a strong influence on the internationalisation of higher education, but, as has been indicated before, the question ‘why’ is in many cases not explicitly formulated. Or, as Overbeek (1997) explains for the Dutch case, they are described in very general terms, such

59 For an example of the use of this model on Finnish SOCRATES European Policy Statements, see Aaro Ollikainen (1998). Jane Knight (1997 b) has made a study of rationales and stakeholders’ perspectives in Canada. In a study on transnational competence, (IIE, 1997, 46-56) an analysis is given of the changes in rationales of international education in the US and in Japan. These studies and the one on ‘National Policies for Internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe’ are among the few case studies on rationales for internationalisation of higher education.
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as 'improving the quality of education' or 'enhancing the chances on the labour market', and cannot be measured.

After having presented an overview of stakeholders' perspectives and rationales, in Chapter Six the 'what', the different meanings for 'international education' and 'internationalisation of higher education'.