Knowledge Studies in Higher Education 9

Leon Cremonini
John Taylor
K.M. Joshi *Editors*

Reconfiguring National, Institutional and Human Strategies for the 21st Century

Converging Internationalisations

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Knowledge Studies in Higher Education

Volume 9

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Leon Cremonini • John Taylor • K.M. Joshi
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Chapter 1
Introduction: Developments in Internationalisation in the Twenty-First Century

Leon Cremonini, John Taylor, and K. M. Joshi

Abstract This volume presents a series of new perspectives on internationalisation in higher education predicated on the notion that drawing lessons from traditionally researched countries alone (mainly the US, Europe and Australia) can no longer do justice to understanding where internationalisation is going. All across the globe, universities have engaged in internationalisation for centuries; "being international" has been deemed to be the *essence* of higher education for generations. However, as demonstrated by contributors to this book, many of the challenges that now impact upon internationalisation have evolved over time. For much of the post-World War II era, the issues dominating the internationalisation agenda were predominantly ideological, regulatory and market-driven. Emphasis was placed on matters such as "mutual understanding", cross-border accreditation mechanisms, international student recruitment and the attractiveness of higher education (see amongst others, OECD, 2004; Wildavsky, 2010; Cremonini et al., 2012; Cremonini & Taylor, 2018). Economic drivers have also played a critical role in contributing to national and institutional income as many universities see internationalisation as a viable alternative or supplement to national funding. This is the case, for example, in Australia and the UK where it has been known for several decades that universities and individual academic departments are heavily dependent on international student fee income (see e.g. Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; OECD, 2008). In addition, a deeply-rooted perception amongst, *inter alia*, institutional leaders, staff, and students that "international" equals "high quality" has long held sway. However, in recent years

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much as changed. Demands that higher education be "international" have grown beyond regulation and economics. At the same time, more inward-looking approaches have visibly changed the playing field. Thus, this volume concentrates on elements as yet less researched, which are nonetheless redefining the internationalisation of higher education.

This volume presents a series of new perspectives on internationalisation in higher education predicated on the notion that drawing lessons from traditionally researched countries alone (mainly the US, Europe and Australia) can no longer do justice to understanding where internationalisation is going. All across the globe, universities have engaged in internationalisation for centuries; "being international" has been deemed to be the *essence* of higher education for generations. However, as demonstrated by contributors to this book, many of the challenges that now impact upon internationalisation have evolved over time. For much of the post-World War II era, the issues dominating the internationalisation agenda were predominantly ideological, regulatory and market-driven. Emphasis was placed on matters such as "mutual understanding", cross-border accreditation mechanisms, international student recruitment and the attractiveness of higher education (see amongst others, OECD, 2004; Wildavsky, 2010; Cremonini et al., 2012; Cremonini & Taylor, 2018). Economic drivers have also played a critical role in contributing to national and institutional income as many universities see internationalisation as a viable alternative or supplement to national funding. This is the case, for example, in Australia and the UK where it has been known for several decades that universities and individual academic departments are heavily dependent on international student fee income (see e.g. Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; OECD, 2008). In addition, a deeply-rooted perception amongst, *inter alia*, institutional leaders, staff, and students that "international" equals "high quality" has long held sway.

However, in recent years much as changed. Demands that higher education be "international" have grown beyond regulation and economics. At the same time, more inward-looking approaches, like those following the 2014 elections in India, the 2016 presidential election in the US and the "Brexit" referendum in the UK have visibly changed the playing field.

The first trend is, perhaps, epitomized by expectations of societies and governments that internationalisation should not merely be a way for universities to compete within an over-saturated market or for academic staff and students to benefit from international experiences. Instead, it is increasingly deemed an essential dimension for internationalisation to demonstrate its ability to address national and/or local societal problems. This is particularly evident in emergent economies (see e.g. Papadimitriou & Boboc, 2021, pp. 141–168; 229–250).

In parallel, the link between internationalisation and nationalism is evolving. For the better part of the last half century, internationalisation was considered a channel for countries to extend their international influence, looking outwards. The UK, the US, China and Germany – amongst others – have all used internationalisation as a tool of "soft power" (see e.g. Brandenburg et al., 2020; Li, 2018; Yang, 2010) including, for example, the creation of campuses abroad, or by promoting student exports and their socio-cultural influence abroad. However, more recently, nationalist movements have increasingly pushed for a more inward-looking approach, building up national expertise and skills. Thus, many of the same countries are now changing their emphasis, decreasing their student exports.

Thus, it is time to concentrate on elements as yet less researched, which are nonetheless beginning to redefine internationalisation drastically. This book focuses on how global changes in demand, supply and processes of tertiary education have impinged on established teleological paradigms of the relationship between higher education and its internationalisation. Continuing dependence on strategies and models stemming from past (dogmatic) paradigms will not suffice. *Autre temps, autre moeurs*?

This publication sets the groundwork for a necessary reflection on a new approach to internationalisation. Namely, a wide-ranging approach that accounts for the diversity of players and the recent events which have accelerated the pace of change.

The collection of chapters we offer in this volume presents a unique selection of approaches and contributions from regions that have previously been under-represented in the academic literature, including Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. This reflects the broad range of emerging areas of research that affect how twenty-first century internationalisation in higher education is changing. Decolonisation in higher education and the role of new technologies in internationalising higher education – particularly as a result of challenges posed by Covid – are examples of momentous developments that will, one way or another, reshape how governments, providers and individuals construe, plan and execute internationalisation in higher education.

Although each chapter describes a specific national setting, conceptually three central themes impact how nations, institutions, and individuals (the three "building blocks" of this volume) experience and build internationalisation:

1. The role of government;
2. Innovations in technology;
3. Increasing awareness of ethical concerns.

These three themes are this book's conceptual backdrop against which each of the broad topics transpiring from the chapters contribute to understanding the new directions that internationalisation policies have been taking since the turn of the century – and which are briefly listed at the end of the introduction.

The Role of Government

The impact of national governments on internationalisation in higher education is both varied and complex, as emerges clearly from the different contributions to this volume. There is no single paradigm for government activity. In essence, government fulfils four roles:

(i) **Instigator**: governments seek to encourage internationalisation for many reasons often linked to economic benefits (especially the income generated by international students), workforce development, knowledge transfer and international status and influence;
(ii) **Regulator**: governments exercise huge influence over the conduct of internationalisation in higher education, including the regulation of fees, the granting of visas (for students, staff and visitors) and arrangements for long-term residence;
(iii) **Facilitator**: at the same time, governments are commonly parties to international and domestic agreements and organisations intended to promote internationalisation, often requiring significant commitment of resources; governments may also play an important role in developing the infrastructure for internationalisation, including data collection, access to communications technology and ensuring the safety for international travellers;
(iv) **Evaluator**: Governments commonly act as an evaluator for internationalisation, both in terms of policy and delivery. Such evaluation may be direct through government agencies or indirect by setting out the arrangements and expectations to be applied by other bodies. Given the wider roles of government, there is a strong sense of being "judge and jury".

The wide and geographically dispersed range of countries referenced to in this book uncover the diversity of influence governments have over aspects of internationalisation. Whatever the dominant paradigm, the importance of effective government incentives show that policy statements alone are insufficient without the application of public inducements as well as a well-defined communication strategy.

For example, in Greece, research policy has been strongly influenced by the development of the European Research Area (ERA), which is dominated by larger economies (Chap. 2; Daimer et al., 2011. The Greek government is one, relatively small voice in shaping the activities of the ERA and this might lead to compromise as far as national or local priorities are concerned. The Hungarian government is keen to attract incoming students, but offers little encouragement for the outward movement of staff and students (Chap. 10). Finland enjoys an open and supportive approach to internationalisation. However, what is also clear is that, whilst some aspects of internationalisation are relatively "easy to sell", such as research benefits, in other cases it is more difficult to convince a sceptical audience of staff and students. Finland's "internationalisation at home" policy demonstrates the importance of building attractive rewards, normally in funding. Similar arguments might be made for Flanders and other northern European countries. Further afield, navigating in a very different context, India is concerned with increasing inward movement in the face of massive outward movement (Chap. 3).

But governments do not just "steer and fund". They create agencies, departments and schemes intended to promote aspects of internationalisation in higher education, as the cases of Argentina and India presented in this book testify to (see Chaps. 4 and 5). Still, ensuring effective coordination between such bodies and avoiding unnecessary duplication and wastage of resources is of the essence. Therefore, governments must deliver clear and consistent messages.

A conclusion, therefore, is that, for the good or the bad, internationalisation represents a pressure on national agendas and affects how governments and universities make policies and decisions. Internationalisation exposes tensions within government, such as the friction between attracting incoming students, especially with the prospect of long-term residency, set against immigration and security arguments; at the same time, some countries – notably peripheral and emerging economies – invest in initiatives such as student and research exchange programmes for national reputational and economic benefit even though this often reinforces patterns of global inequality. Universities are pressured to pursue world-class status and develop relevant networks that promote this objective (Ostrom, 2011).

From the perspective of universities, government pressures play a significant part in their institutional strategizing on – inter alia – internationalisation. Thus, in the case of Hungary, most strategies for internationalisation developed within universities closely mirror the expectations of government. However, as shown in other chapters in this book, the role that institutions themselves can play in shaping internationalisation outside the direct influence of government can be substantial. In Flanders, for example, both the institutions considered have taken forward a vigorous commitment to internationalisation that has gone well beyond the expectations of their government. A key principle that underpins strategic planning in higher education institutions, as well as in other sectors, is the desire to shape one's own destiny, aware of and sensitive to, but not driven by, external constraints. This approach can be seen in the two Flanders cases. In taking forward their strategies, both institutions were driven by their own histories, cultures and, possibly most important of all, ambitions. Similarly, the example which we present of an institutional merger in Finland shows how aspirations towards establishing a new institution with increased critical mass in both education and research and able to make a strong international impact could drive forward actions with little direct government involvement. It is interesting to note that, in several of the cases studied in this book, a key factor in stimulating a new institutional approach to internationalisation has been the reaction to international university rankings. This was true in Finland and was also an important factor behind a new emphasis on internationalisation in Brazil.

Another challenge to the role of national governments can come through the development of new models for internationalisation of higher education. For example, regional universities described in Chap. 6 may not only open up the prospect of new forms of international education and research. They might challenge the idea of higher education as essentially a matter for national concern.

How Innovation and Technology Shape Internationalisation

The application of new technologies for and in higher education, and their impact on internationalisation, is a prominent aspect that the COVID-19 pandemic has made all too clear. The relationship between internationalisation and technology has long been complex. On the one hand, internationalisation and technological advances are often self-reinforcing. After all, opportunities and networking are facilitated by online platforms and communities. But, on the other hand, less technologically advanced countries start at a disadvantage. They possess less facilities and opportunities and, thence, risk remaining relatively unattractive as advanced economies enjoy the benefits of the "technological oligopoly of nations" to which they belong. Apportionment of technological advancements is still not fluid globally. The oft-vaunted speed and depth of twenty-first century technological developments risks deepening existing centre-periphery divides (see e.g. Altbach & De Wit, 2021). Nor should we ignore that reliance on technology – especially post-Covid – has broad implications on research collaborations, degree structures and pedagogy. It will not be a case of "delivering old formats in new ways". New formats and content will be necessary. It is indeed noteworthy how in recent years, governments, university organizations, and supranational bodies (e.g. the EU) have increased their interest in lifelong learning and new forms of flexibility in education (see e.g. European Commission, 2020). Moreover, the applications of new technology are not driven simply by the technology itself. New technology requires human expertise if it is to be exploited; training in necessary skills is equally as important as access to the latest equipment.

Fundamentally, there are two key drivers that affect if and how we use technology. These include the *desire* to do so (i.e. the willingness and acceptability) and whether or not it is *practical* to so do (i.e. the degree to which obstacles such as poor infrastructure or lack of digital security may inhibit us from using technology). From this perspective, it is clear that there are differences in potentials and futures, which reflect different levels of development globally, as well as possible priorities (policy choices). The chart below shows how these developments can play out in different contexts. For instance, many emerging economies might show a high motivation to use technologies but a low level of practicality (e.g. because of poor infrastructure). But this can promote prioritizing investments in digital development to boost access, thus moving towards a more positive future. Developed countries, on the contrary, might have less obstacles but may face low willingness to invest and use technology. In this case, uncertainty and suspicion towards innovation (e.g. universities that do use technology extensively in their education) might ensue. It might then be wise to consider countermeasures such as (government) incentives to promote digital education. A more positive future could be where there is a willingness and acceptability to use technologies in a system where obstacles are low. This paves the way for new opportunities in internationalisation (e.g. because of lower costs, greater access to higher education opportunities, environmental benefits). The negatives appear more like the legacy of a world where practical obstacles were significant and – thus – the desire to use, invest and create new technology was also low. Overcoming this scenario is necessary to reduce international inequalities and develop new pedagogy.

	Strong practicality		
Low motivation	Students uncertain Governments and employers suspicious	More opportunities for higher education New opportunities for internationalisation Reduced costs (e.g. less travel) Environmental benefits	**High motivation**
	International inequalities Cost of investment Failure to develop new pedagogy Insufficient skills Lack of skilled support Lack of infrastructure	New technologies Increasing access	
	Significant practical issues		

From the student perspective, two broad issues, if under-researched at present, will no doubt go on to dominate academic literature for many years to come, namely the impact of new technology on the structure, organisation, delivery and experience of higher education, including internationalisation, and the pressures for decolonisation of higher education, with immediate consequences on the movement of staff and students, the conduct of international collaborative research and curriculum. At the same time, several authors have also considered the impact of the Covid pandemic on internationalisation of higher education, especially, but not exclusively, from a student perspective. These issues are each important in their own right, but they are also inter-related. As the pandemic has curtailed the delivery of traditional forms of face-to-face teaching and disrupted international travel, a new emphasis has been placed on opportunities for international delivery of programmes in online and blended formats. On the one hand, this has the potential to enhance diversity and broaden access to higher education. On the other hand, as can be seen in, *inter alia*, Hungary and India, many prejudices remain about the value and quality of online courses. Moreover, there are many deep concerns about access to the necessary technologies in poorer parts of the world, especially in terms of equipment and expertise. These concerns apply just as much, sometimes even more so, to academic staff as to students.

Increasing Ethical Awareness

Issues of diversity and access raised in connection with the applications of new technology are, in practice, also part of an increasing recognition of the importance of ethical considerations in the delivery of internationalisation. International travel and living expenses can be expensive, often deterring students from poorer backgrounds or from less developed countries. Universities are now focussed on providing the benefits of internationalisation for staff and students from the widest possible background, regardless of wealth, ethnicity, gender, age and disability. However, progress remains limited. One response outlined in several chapters is the development of ‘internationalisation at home’ whereby increasing numbers of students can enjoy, to some degree, an international experience.

Internationalisation in higher education is also increasingly influenced by ethical concerns associated with the environment. International travel, especially by air, has serious environmental consequences. Increasingly, staff and students are questioning the justification for long-distance travel, especially given new opportunities for online communications.

A further key illustration of the increasing impact of ethical concerns on internationalisation in higher education highlighted in this book relates to the colonial heritage that has for many centuries shaped staff and student experience. The relationships between internationalisation and national priorities have changed. It is now clearer than before that different countries “use”, and are “affected by”, internationalisation in different ways. This has led to debates on a number of subjects hitherto largely bypassed, including the nature and impact of north-south relationships that reflect continuing colonial heritages. Indeed, the issue of decolonising university sectors faces many former colonial nations across the world. Yet, how this will impact on internationalisation in higher education remains uncertain. At its heart, the issue raises questions over the friction between the ascendency of a Northern and Western vision of higher education and the potential that internationalisation offers to forge new alliances that transcend an asymmetric “north-south” cooperation paradigm. One author in this book calls for a radical re-thinking in the delivery of higher education to reflect national needs and traditions and a re-balancing of activity, especially in the conduct of research partnerships.

However, this is neither a straightforward development nor an easy option. For instance, for all its promise, the surge in popularity of new technologies in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic may have rather stimulated unexpected effects. New technology may pose an alternative to traditional international movements of students, but the applications of new technology and the related educational pedagogies are still dominated by Northern and Western universities; the flowers of internationalisation might be changing, but the roots are still the same. Covid has increased the attraction of online delivery and may have created some new opportunities, but it may actually have cemented still further the domination of Northern and Western approaches. Indeed, the chapter on Brazil shows how the pandemic has resulted in a sense of caution in shaping new university partnerships, a reversion to familiar faces and connections.

Overall Developments Worth Considering

Governance, innovation and ethical innovation shape a number of key shifts in internationalisation priorities across the world. Without a claim to exhaustiveness, we believe this volume's 12 chapters, collectively, unfurl important developments that help grasp some of the new trends that internationalisation policies have been taking since the turn of the century. Below, we list four that are most prominent across the chapters.

Research Over Student Mobility

Mobility has been for a long time *the* prime defining attribute of internationalisation, not least because of the financial benefits it brings. In the EU, non-EU/EEA+ students pay higher fees than their EU counterparts. This helps explain efforts to institutionalise strategic international partnerships with universities overseas and the primary focus on student mobility. Beyond the EU, this trend is even clearer, for example in Australia. However, research exchanges and the establishment of international research networks have increasingly played a crucial role in profiling institutional internationalisation. Partaking in international consortia of universities or research institutes produces non-price information (reputation and prestige, see Brewer et al., 2002). This means becoming a more attractive "place to be" for both students and researchers, and more research funding opportunities because of the mass of applicants and the concentration of expertise. In times of nationalism and following on from Covid, internationalisation of research seems to maintain prevalence vis-à-vis a relative weakening role of student mobility. After all, the attractiveness of an international learning experience lies largely in the foreign cultures that students imbibe. Research can often be coordinated at distance, and partners' contribution is often exactly their embeddedness in the local context. In addition, a university's role in international research is often seen as having greater reputational capital than student exchanges, especially if these are primarily at undergraduate level. This might be a factor in the post-Brexit UK's decision to opt out of Erasmus student mobility, but not the research exchange programme with the EU.

Internationalisation at Home

Another trend that is becoming increasingly commonplace is the investment in "internationalisation at home". From this perspective, mobility is understood as "a piece of the puzzle", albeit perseveringly crucial. But the "purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments" (Beelen & Jones, 2015) is no longer considered a marginal aspect of internationalisation. There is increased emphasis on internationalising learning outcomes for all students, including those who do not travel abroad for study. This has been apparent in the institutional organisation of internationalisation. The University of São Paulo (USP), described in this volume, is an example. USP has a dedicated body, the USP Agência de Cooperação Acadêmica Nacional e Internacional (AUCANI, or *Agency of National and International Cooperation*, in English) that defines how different aspects of the University's internationalisation policy are to be integrated and implemented across the institution. AUCANI acts on six framework elements. "Internationalisation at home" is a key objective that guides the internationalisation of the university environment internally, so that the entire university community can benefit from an international experience, regardless of actual mobility. At the same time, internationalisation at home raises further questions of access and diversity. Some academic staff question the impact of required curriculum change on their academic freedom; some subject areas are prescribed by legal and professional requirements that curtail the scope for international experience. In such circumstances, institutional and individual sensitivity and imagination are paramount.

Internationalisation as a Core Function to Fulfil a University's Social Responsibility

More than ever before, we now understand that internationalisation affects humans, the way we are and the way we think. From this perspective, it is not only a tool for economic or reputational benefit (whether for institutions or nations), but for personal benefit. When a university engages genuinely in internationalisation, it does so also to fulfil its "third mission". Unlike the prevailing twentieth century attitude, which positioned internationalisation as an addition to the core university functions, today internationalisation is *inherent to the university's mission*. In other words, internationalisation is an essential contributor to universities' social responsibility, to their duty to identify and address societal issues where they occur and to provide excellent teaching and learning. This is very evident, for example, in the developing world. Cooperating internationally contributes to enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of higher education institutions in carrying out their core functions. This includes better teaching and learning and addressing political, economic and social problems related to globalization, because "higher education is recognized as a key force for modernization and development" (see e.g. Adamu's chapter focussing on Ethiopia).

The Enthusiastic Views of Internationalisation

Finally, as internationalisation of higher education has been studied, conceptualised and scrutinised, it appears that more "benevolent" views have at times been forgotten. Academic staff often have a genuine desire to understand and work with international contexts; staff and students have a desire driven by curiosity to experience learning in different countries. This is a relevant point for at least two reasons. First, it calls for a less cynical and – perhaps – more trusting approach to the pursuit of internationalisation in higher education in the genuine belief shared by many in our universities that international relationships do yield human and academic benefits beyond revenue and prestige. In addition, and second, it recognizes that academics often are sincere believers in internationalisation, a view that warrants the further re-thinking of governance (discussed heretofore) and of the incentive and motivational mechanisms for academic work more generally.

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Part I
National Strategizing of Internationalisation in Evolving Policy Environments

Chapter 2
Greek HEIs in the ERA: Internationalised Research and National Development – The Role of the University

Georgios Stamelos, Aggelos Kavasakalis, and Andreas Vassilopoulos

Abstract The State has always been the main source of funding as far as research is concerned in Greece. However, Greek governments have never drafted one concrete, longitudinal set of national priorities to this end. Furthermore, they cut public resources available to Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) as far as 60% in the midst of the economic crisis (Pruvot et al., EUA, Public Funding Observatory Report 2018. EUA, 2018). In contrast, participation in the European Research Area (ERA) both provided a set of priorities for research –a research policy- and comprised one significant alternative form of funding for Greek Universities. Hence, HEIs have adopted a bottom-up approach with the aim to support efforts by research-groups and/or individual academics to take part in international consortia and attract funding. In light of these developments, the paper addresses the issues of the relation between internationalised research and national development, especially in the case of Greece, and the role of HEIs as producers of scientific knowledge and innovation in the context of a national society, specifically the Greek society.

Keywords Internationalisation · Higher education · European Research Area · R&D · Comparative approach

Introduction: Legislative Framework, Structural Organisation and Financial Resources Concerning Research in Greece

The introduction of research bodies, almost, coincided with the foundation of the Greek state. However, they were uncoordinated and did not cover all scientific fields and national needs. A national policy for research began to be formulated from the

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mid-1980s under the influence of the country's membership in the European Union (EU). Since then, it continuously evolves in an effort to keep up with all contemporary developments. Indicatively, the first framework Law about research was L.1514/1985, while the most recent one was L.4386/2016 providing for decreasing the intensity of brain drain – the young, highly educated, leaving the country as a result of the financial crisis (Amanatidou et al., 2018).

The Greek state established the General Secretariat for Research and Technology (GSRT) – now General Secretariat for Research and Innovation (GSRI) – with the aim to apply the provisions of legislation regarding research and explicitly provided, from the beginning, that research should not be conducted, exclusively, by higher education institutions but in collaboration with them or by other institutions and the industry.

On this basis, today, a series of institutions comprise the Greek research network. The main public institution supervising the funding of research in the country is the GSRT (www.gsrt.gr, accessed in 22.12.2020), along with the research bodies under its supervision (NHRF, CERTH, EKKE, FORTH,[1] etc). The HFRI (http://www.elidek.gr/, accessed in 22.12.2020) may also fund research and sponsor scholarships in the context of the national policy for the support of Research and Innovation – beneficiaries of the HFRI funding may be the public academic, research and technological institutions of the country. The HFRI funds research conducted by, *inter alia*, postdoctoral researchers, doctoral candidates, researchers and Teaching and Research Staff. Finally, research programmes of a smaller scale may be funded by the SSF (www.iky.gr, accessed in 22.12.2020), by Ministries, and the various Administrative Regions of the country.

Research funding originates from public and private bodies -mainly, the European Union (indicatively for the last 15 years 6th and 7th Framework Programme, Horizon for the period 2014–2020, but also the new Programme for the period 2021–2027).[2] Additionally, Community funds –European Structural and Investment Funds– are dispensed by the government agencies to the interested parties –businesses, institutions, individuals– through the establishment of 7-year Operational Programmes supporting specific policy sectors. The Operational Programme *Competitiveness, Entrepreneurship and Innovation* (OPCoEI) and the Operational Programme for the *Development of Human Resources, Education and Lifelong Learning*, are two of the seven sectoral operational programmes that were approved together with 13 Regional Operational Programmes[3] by the European Commission

[1] National Hellenic Research Foundation, Centre for Research and Technology Hellas, National Centre for Social Research, Foundation for Research and Technology – Hellas.

[2] Public funding supported R&D activities in all sectors of R&D and was the main source of funding for higher education and the public sector. According to Eurostat's data, institutional funding accounted for 60.7% of total budget for R&D funding in 2016 (against 50.3% in 2015). The largest part of institutional funding is channelled to universities and research centres in the form of block funds covering mainly salaries (Amanatidou et al., 2018; Commission of the European Communities, 2018).

[3] The architecture of the NSRF for the period 2014–2020 was as follows: 7 Sectoral Operational Programmes (including the programmes for Agricultural Development and Fishing) relating to one

and relate to, among others, the funding of research in our country, for the period 2014–2020. It is worth noting, at this point, that the umbrella programme for all these programmes for the period 2007–2013, 2014–2020, but also for the new period of programmes (2021–2027), is the *National Strategic Reference Framework* (NSRF) or Partnership Agreement (see also https://www.espa.gr/el/Pages/Default.aspx, accessed in 22.12.2020), as it is now called.

Most recently, the supervision of the GSRT shifted from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Development and Investments (Presidential Decree no. 81, 2019)[4] with the aim to directly connect research with the economy. The particular development triggered a heated debate, as it was argued that the humanities, social sciences and basic research would be mostly affected.

The European Research Area

The ambition for the promotion of collaboration in the sectors of science and technology, but also the thought that the free movement of researchers would constitute an important step for the formulation of a common research area which would facilitate the European plan for unification existed very early within the European Community (Meng Hsuan Chou, 2014; Fumasoli et al., 2015). However, the member states were unwilling to concede the necessary responsibilities to the Community institutions to this end. The idea for a European Research Area (ERA), but also for researcher mobility, appeared and disappeared numerous times as successive Commissioners responsible for Research in the Community, as well as other prominent politicians attempted to pose the issue of research collaboration in the European continent (Meng Hsuan Chou, 2014). In this context, the formulation of (national) research policies remained in the field of state responsibilities and the Community adopted a *soft* approach in relation to research that was still based on subsidiarity. However, at the same time, since 1984, it introduced the multi-year Framework Programmes (FPs) which, essentially, paved the way for ERA since: (a) they managed to handle the objections regarding national control on research policy, (b) they facilitated the expansion of Community responsibilities in this particular field, (c) they widened the research areas where collaboration at a European level was

or more sectors and whose geographical scope included the whole country and 13 Regional Operational Programmes (ROP), one for each of the 13 Administrative Regions of the country, that included actions with a regional scope.

[4]As is mentioned in article 4 of the presidential decree "Transfers of services, renaming of Ministries and related matters": The General Secretariat for Research and Technology of the Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs and the bodies that fall under it, with the reservation of the provisions in 2.3, paragraph 2, article 1 of the present decree, are transferred, as a set of responsibilities, positions, staff and supervisory bodies, to the Ministry of Finance and Development, which is renamed as Ministry of Development and Investment. The Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs is renamed as Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs.

considered desirable, and (d) they strengthened the relationship between the Community and interest groups at the subnational level, national research institutions, and universities (Chou & Gornitzka, 2014; Chou, 2014).

The launch of the European Research Area (ERA) in January 2000 by Commissioner Busquin, in charge of Research, underlined the need to adopt a common European policy in the fields of research and technology, because, as it was claimed, it was necessary to deal with the issues created by the insufficient investments in the field, in the period before 2000, the absence of an environment conducive to research and the utilisation of its results, and also the dividing of activities and the dispersion of funds (Commission of the European Communities, 2002, p. 4). To this end, the European Commission suggested that the approach 15+1[5] should be abandoned and a common European space be formed, which would concern the undertaking of coordinated action, administratively as well as organisationally, at the European, national, regional or even local level. The European Research Area (ERA) should be uniform, interconnected, without limitations, a space where collaboration would prosper and an operational integration process would take place[6] (Commission of the European Communities, 2001, p. 4).

To this end, first of all, the participants set the "well-known" goal of Barcelona regarding the increase of national investments allocated to the goals of R&D to 3% of the GDP (Stamelos & Vasilopoulos, 2013), which until today mobilises the national policies towards a certain direction. This fact constitutes an important difference compared to the past, as it unites national policies and the European goals without requiring the provision of European tools for their achievement (Daimer et al., 2011). Secondly, in the context of the ERA multi-year research projects of a large scale were activated, with funding from the FPs, with the ultimate aim of forming new, self-governing structures in Europe (Fumasoli et al., 2015). Thirdly, the networking of businesses with research bodies was supported, beyond research programmes that are funded through the FPs (Vasilopoulos & Mavrogianni, 2019), in order to define and fund multi-year strategic research programmes in specific technological areas (see Technology Platforms, Joint Technology Initiatives). Fourthly, participation in the ERA promoted a tighter coordination and collaboration between the different national research policies and programmes, through the establishment of indicators, benchmarking exercises, mutual learning schemes of policy makers and coordination schemes of various project managers (ERA-Net, ERA-Net+) that may lead to various forms of collaboration between different

[5] The 15 member states at the time and the European Commission.

[6] Despite this, the content of the ERA changed with the passing of time. While at the beginning of the process in 2000 the goal was the formulation of a policy for research and technology, as we reach its ending it is presented as a means to deal with social challenges such as climate change and poverty (Chou, 2014). At this time, the application of ERA focuses on six priorities: 1. More effective national research systems 2. Optimal transnational cooperation and competition, including 'jointly addressing grand challenges' and 'research infrastructures' 3. An open labour market for researchers 4. Gender equality and gender mainstreaming in research 5. Optimal circulation, access to and transfer of scientific knowledge, including 'knowledge circulation' and 'open access' 6. International cooperation (Commission of the European Communities, 2018).

countries. Additionally, with funding from the FPs, new institutions were formed in the research sector.[7] Lastly, in the context of the ERA, the "Ljubljana Process" was adopted with the aim of establishing a more effective system of government, on the basis of collaboration between the Commission and the member states[8] (Daimer et al., 2011).

To sum up, in the context of the ERA both basic and applied research is funded. Furthermore, next to the "old" funding tools (the FPs, COST, Eureka, and also the Structural Funds), other, new ones were also formed (EIT, ERA-net, Joint Programming, ERC, ETP, JTI), which favour excellence, coordination, and also the involvement of bodies and actors beyond research; as a result, the ERA encompasses and mobilises different bodies and actors at various levels: ministries, national research bodies, universities, companies, research bodies, etc (Daimer et al., 2011; Stamelos & Vasilopoulos, 2013).

It becomes clear that through the formulation of the ERA, the EU rose to be one of the basic players both at the level of formulation and at the level of research policy exercise in the member states of the Union. Powers and responsibilities related to the exercise of research policy in Europe were developed, at the same time, in European institutions and institutional bodies that may develop relatively autonomous action, far from the respective national bodies and institutions (Curtin & Egeberg, 2008). More specifically, through the formation and exercise of the FPs, the European Commission's Directorate-General (DG) *Research* made itself a major funding body of research in Europe. In the same manner, it managed to strengthen the creation and development of international networks of researchers, interest groups at the subnational level, national research councils, industry and business, in a field, research, which is considered to be of low political involvement[9] (Fumasoli et al., 2015). It formed, namely, a field that could facilitate the undertaking of research activities by research bodies at the subnational level. This means that the relationship of the Union with the member states as regards the sectors of government and formation of the research policy is not limited to or by the national

[7] The main priority of the European Research Council (ERC) is the funding of basic research. The European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT) has as its mission the creation of Communities of Knowledge and Innovation in order to capitalise on the innovative dynamic of the actors within and beyond the EU, the already existing research structures of the EU (CERN, EYRATOM, ESA, etc.). Finally, the FPs of the Community for Competitiveness and Innovation amplify eco-innovation actions, provide support services and facilitate access to funding for companies in the region of the Community (Daimer et al., 2011; Stamelos & Vasilopoulos, 2013).

[8] According to the ERA Progress Report of 2018 (p. 4), progress on ERA implementation has been slowing and that major disparities still exist between countries, or are growing in part. These trends call for a renewed commitment to (i) further strengthening shared efforts at all levels; (ii) reforming national research and innovation systems; and (iii) realising a well-functioning ERA. The Commission has anticipated this need by proposing a number of programmes for the next financing period 2021–2027: these include regional funds, a European reform delivery tool and the EU's next research and innovation (R&I) framework programme – Horizon Europe. The latter includes a dedicated pillar to help strengthen the ERA (Commission of the European Communities, 2018).

[9] The cases where the conversation relates to the budget or the decisions for the obligations of the states that derive from their participation in the research programmes are exempted.

ministries, but is extended to the funding bodies and the research organisations to a much more significant degree than could be claimed 10 years ago.

On the other hand, the states have to adopt new roles, such as interconnecting the European goals and their subsequent funding with national strategies, goals and tools and facilitating the involvement and participation of the national bodies for research and innovation in the European R&D programmes. However, in the context of the ERA, the increase of participation in programmes constitutes only one dimension, but not the only important one; the representation in the fields of decision making and also the ability of national governments to coordinate their research bodies and interest groups (universities, research and private bodies and organisations) in order to be able to affect the research agenda of the union is another very important dimension that concerns the new roles that national states are called to adopt (Daimer et al., 2011). However, two issues are significant and should be taken into account regarding the new roles of the states in the context of the ERA: (a) what Moravscik (1998, in Schimmelfennig et al., 2015, p. 773) calls *asymmetric interdependence*, describing a common characteristic of negotiations within the EU where different states possess differentiated negotiation power and therefore different abilities, and, in the end, gains at the end of a negotiation,[10] and (b) the geographical field of exercise of the research policy of the Union grew as states joined the EU; as a result, within the ERA there were, by definition, weak national research systems with limited, among others,[11] negotiation capabilities (Fumasoli et al., 2015). One could, namely, claim, in this context, that within the ERA there are states that have limited or no capabilities, compared to others, to affect, even if they wish to, the research agenda, and are therefore limited to the role of consumer of the research policy being exercised.

Basic Aggregates for Greece

For most of the first decade of the twenty-first century, Greece had one of the fastest growing economies in the Eurozone. However, this growth was mainly based on internal consumption, public and private, on the influx of funds by the European structural funds and on the growth of sectors such as the navy and tourism (GSRT, 2014).[12]

The recent economic recession, during the 2nd decade of the twenty-first century, affected Greece's GDP considerably more than the GDP of the 27 member

[10] This fact however does not affect the result of the negotiation since all states benefit in the end.

[11] The differences on the level of absorption of European (research) funds due to the heterogeneity between states are characteristic: Four big EU countries – Germany, the UK, France and Italy – have absorbed more than 90%, while less than 10% is shared between the rest of the countries (Fumasoli et al., 2015). Greece ranks 11th, having absorbed 2.5% of the available funds (NDC, 2016b).

[12] General Secretariat for Research and Technology.

states (EU27). The next chart shows the changes in the Greek GDP compared to the EU27 GDP, from 2008 to 2019 (https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tec00115/default/line?lang= en, accessed in 20.12.2020) (Chart 2.1).

It seems that the effect of the financial crisis in Greece was formidable, with 2011 being the tipping point. Since then, Greek GDP has been gradually approaching the EU27 average. In 2019, it was actually found to be above the European average.

The financial crisis and the multi-year recession, which continued until approximately 2017, accelerated the deindustrialisation process of the economy, with negative consequences for competitiveness, aggregates and occupation. Indicatively, the comparative depiction of unemployment and of the GDP is demonstrated in the next chart -2009 is the base year (%) (OECD, 2016) (Chart 2.2).

In this context it appears that due, mainly, to the financial crisis Greece's position with regard to innovation, research and the business maturity was burdened. Greece, in 2014, is second to last out of 148 economies,[13] as regards its macroeconomic environment. Moreover, it possesses one of the lowest positions as regards the effectiveness of the trade (purchasing of goods), of occupation, of growth of the financial markets, and of institutions.

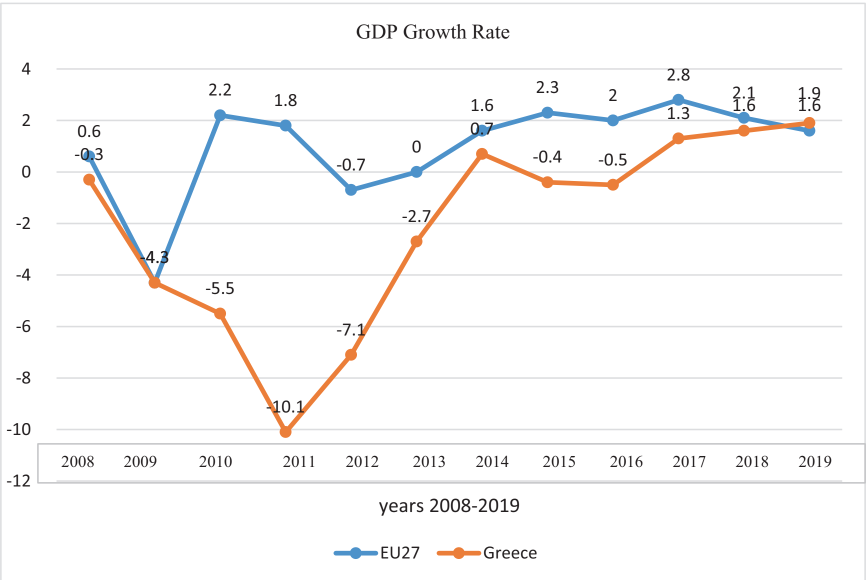
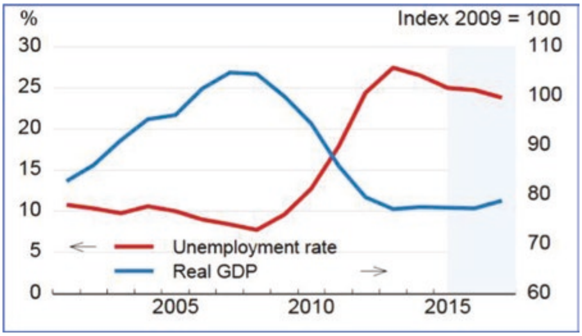


Chart 2.1 Changes in the GDP: Greece and EU27. (Source Eurostat Database – European Statistical Recovery Dashboard)

[13] According to the Global Competitiveness Index of the World Economic Forum.

Chart 2.2 Greece – Unemployment and changes in GDP. (Source: OECD, 2016)



Additionally, one realises the difficulty, as in the country there is a high percentage of very small family businesses, with low productivity, technological advancement and innovation use. Even in fields where the country has a competitive advantage (e.g. agri-food and tourism), a large part of the participating entrepreneurs is involved only occasionally, without it being a main business activity for them. More specifically, according to a report by the European Commission,[14] the small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) cover 99.6% of the total business activity in Greece, while they employ 85.0% of the country's workforce (GSRT, 2014).

A first observation is deemed appropriate: By this general description of the Greek "scene", it appears there is an significant gap in the fields of funding chosen at a European, supra-national, level -focus on specialisation, innovation, production of applied research in specialised areas of work- and in the needs of the Greek job market and economy.

Greece in the ERA: Research, Development and Innovation

In 2014, a year when Greece's economy was already in the midst of the financial crisis, Greece performed under the EU average, according to the composite indicator of technological development and innovation (see the next chart) (Chart 2.3).

In most of the individual innovation indicators, Greece performed below the EU average, especially in those relating to R&D and innovation expenses, in patent applications, in venture capital investments and in the doctoral candidates from countries outside the EU. Greece performed above the EU average in international scientific publications, in sales from innovations and in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) with marketing and/or organisation innovations. Even though there were certain powerful advantages in research and innovation, they had not been utilised to the degree that structural weaknesses of the economy could have been overcome and the research activity would have been incorporated in the

[14] European Commission, Enterprise and Industry 2013 SBE Fact Sheet.

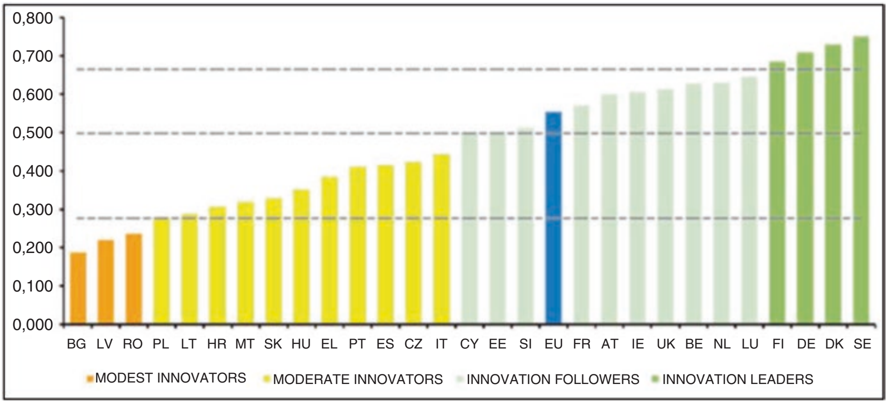


Chart 2.3 European countries according to the indicator of technological development and innovation. (Source: European Commission, 2014)

production processes, improving the entire country's picture, in comparison to the performance of the other EU countries (European Commission, 2014). On the contrary, the reduction of public expenses, through the regulatory budget, also affected the regular funding for research, development and innovation activities -in higher education, for example, while in 2009 the final government appropriations were over €1.5B, in 2015, they were reduced to less than €900M (National Documentation Centre, 2016).[15]

Concerning the structure of the research and innovation system, the role of the state appears to be dominant, mainly, when it comes to conditions for carrying out R&D –in higher education institutions and public research centres– despite the reductions in financing conditions (NDC, 2015). The contribution of the business enterprise sector in the total national R&D spending traditionally falls short compared to other countries, suggesting either the ineffective utilisation of research results by the real economy and production or the inconsistency of the research results being produced with the needs of the Greek job market. Indicatively, in 2014 the spending of Greek businesses amounted to 0.28% of the GDP, with the European average being around 1.3% of the GDP (NDC, 2016).

Government Policies Regarding Research, Development and Innovation: HEIs

In 2013 a total of €1,426.7M were spent on R&D and Innovation in Greece. In the Higher Education Sector (HES), expenses were €533.8M, in the Business Enterprise Sector (BES) €497.1M, in the Government Sector (GOV) €383.1M and in the

[15] Later: NDC.

Private Nonprofit Sector (PNP) €12.7M.[16] As regards the funding by the NSRF 2007–2013, the country's business, education and research bodies carried out research totalling €631M, participating in research programmes funded by the GSRT, from which €129M comprised state funding. The biggest part of the expenditure on research (approximately 25%) got channelled into projects on ICT. Approximately 18% of the research expenditure related to health projects and the rest to projects on the fields of agriculture, fishing, animal husbandry, food and biotechnology, projects about advanced materials, nano-technology, nano-sciences and microelectronics, energy projects, projects related to the environment, followed by projects belonging to other sectors (GSRT, 2014).

As regards the ratio of research staff to the entire workforce, in the midst of the financial crisis, it appeared to be lower than the EU27 average. Moreover, an important part of the scientists and the specialised research staff of Greece, during this period, migrated abroad, resulting in the constant increase of the brain-drain phenomenon. According to Lambrianidis (2013), 74.0% of immigrants held a postgraduate degree, while 51.0% held a doctorate as well. 41.0% of them had studied in one of the best 100 universities in the world, while 40.0% worked in universities/research centres and R&D and Innovation departments of multinational corporations.

According to the statistics published by the National Documentation Centre, 2 years later, in 2016, the percentage of R&D expenditure by the GDP, namely the "R&D Intensity" indicator,[17] increased to 0.99%, continuing the upward trajectory of recent years.[18] Specifically, in 2016 the R&D expenditure reached €1733.1M, exhibiting a rise of €29.3M compared to 2015 (Innovation, Research & Technology, 2019). From the presentation of the data, it seems that state funding remained the biggest source of R&D funding for 2016 with €737.1M and a share of 42.5% of the total, and simultaneously there was also an increase in funding from the business enterprise sector, which financed, with €691M (39.9%), the R&D activities in the country. The European Union constituted the third source of funding, increased in recent years, due to the implementation of the Horizon 2020 programme. In 2016, the EU funded research projects in all fields with €207.6M (12.0%), a fact which demonstrates the high competitiveness of Greek bodies. At this point, a comment is necessary in order to understand and interpret the above data regarding government funding for R&D in Greece. Initially, as will be shown next, a great part of the government funding for R&D relates to the payroll of the Teaching and Research Staff of HEIs. Moreover, in the statistics the funding through the NSRF is calculated as

[16] Eurostat.

[17] The now "well-known" indicator that is calculated by the R&D statistics, as the percentage (%) of R&D expenditure by the GDP, is the "R&D Intensity" that reflects the goal of the EU2020 strategy for the achievement of R&D investments at a 3% of the GDP of the European Union. It is one of the nine headline indicators used to observe the EU2020 strategy's progress.

[18] In 2015, the indicator was 0.97%, in 2014 0.84%, in 2013, last year of the 7th FP, 0.8%, in 2012 0.69% and in 2011 0.67%, showing constant growth on one hand, but always being under the community average, which ranges between 2.01% and 2.03% for the same period (Mavrogianni, 2019).

government funding. However, taking into account the percentage of national participation in the co-financing of activities through the NSRF, one could deem that it is mostly European funding. The two observations change the initial picture.

As the Greek economy gradually makes an effort and takes steps to exit the economic recession,[19] it is interesting to also observe the sources of funding for R&D for the next period until the present day.

Thus, in 2018 the largest sum channelled to the R&D funding, €926.23M (42.6% of the total), originated from business. However, the largest part of this sum, €855.10M (namely 92.3%) was invested in R&D carried out in the same businesses.[20] The state constituted the second source of funding for R&D -€883.33M (40.6% of the total). It comprises the regulatory budget, the national leg of the Public Investment Programme and the NSRF 2014–2020, which significantly increased funding for research in 2018. Specifically, the funding of R&D expenses by the NSRF reached €149.80M in 2018, an increase of 107.0% in comparison to 2017, and comprised all sectors: business (€58.72M), the higher education sector (€45.69M), the government (€44.25M) and private, non-profit institutions (€1.14M). Following the official statistics, the European Union constituted the third source of R&D funding, €222.45M (10.2% of the total), (Innovation, Research & Technology, 2019). However, official statistics tend to increase the government funding against European funding, as has already been mentioned.

As for the comparison between Greece and the rest of the EU states for 2018, Greece lies at 20th place among the 28 EU states (in 2017 it was in 22nd place), remaining in the group of member states with mediocre performance in innovation, and under the European average[21] (NDC, 2019). Lastly, examining the entire 2011–2018 period, Greece shows a constant upward trend, with the Summary Innovation Index[22] rising from 61 in 2011, to 82 in 2018. During this time, Greece presents the second-best performance in the EU when it comes to the improvement of innovation, with an increase of 20.2%, while the European improvement average lies to 8.8% (NDC, 2019). As for the universities and their role in innovation, the indicator "Population with higher education degrees", an indicator which is included in the "Human resources" dimension, Greece's performance also surpasses the EU

[19] This comment corresponds to the period before the appearance of the pandemic, which has also halted, cancelled (?), this effort.

[20] The development appears to be connected on the one hand with the increase in taxation during the 10-year period of the financial crisis in an effort by the government to generate funds, and on the other hand with the tax relief given to research and innovation expenses. Although it is a positive development, its results are not yet known.

[21] According to the EIS (European Innovation Scoreboard) 2020 report, Greece lies again in 20th place among the 27 EU states (it is the first report published after Brexit).

[22] The overall performance of each country's innovation system in a given period of time is been summarised in a composite indicator, the Summary Innovation Index. The methodology for calculating the Summary Innovation Index distinguishes between eight different steps. For a presentation of the methodology calculating the Summary Innovation Index you could indicatively see: European Commission (2019). European Innovation Scoreboard 2019. Methodology Report. Belgium: European Commission.

average significantly.[23] On the other hand, the indicator “Attracting foreign students for doctoral studies” is the lowest of all.[24]

In 2019, the expenditure indicator “R&D intensity” is at 1.27%, 1.21% in 2018, showcasing an increase by 0.06 percentage points.[25] Specifically, for the higher education sector (HES) in 2019 the total R&D expenditure amounts to €716.55M, displaying an increase of 15.8% compared to 2018. This increase was the highest compared to the rest of the sectors.[26] According to the report by the National Documentation Centre (NDC, 2020a) regarding the main sources of R&D funding by sector for the implementation of projects, it appears that in 2019:

- 83.6% (€896.78M) of the R&D expenditure of the Business Enterprise Sector (BES) was funded by own capital.
- 80.6% (€424.65M) of the R&D expenditure of the Government Sector (GOV) was funded by the state (58.5% regulatory budget, 12.0% NSRF, 10.1% other state sources).
- 65.9% (€472.31M) of the R&D expenditure of the Higher Education Sector (HES) was funded by the state (50.3% regulatory budget, 9.6% NSRF, 6.0% other state sources).
- 58.3% (€11.52M) of the R&D expenditure of the Private Non-Profit Institutions Sector (PNP) was funded through own funds.
- The overall picture of R&D funding for the year 2019 and the individual sectors for the implementation of funding is shown in the next table (Table 2.1).

Two points seem to be important for R&D funding in the HES and for understanding the real picture in this sector in Greece.

- The funding amounts of the regulatory budget include the funding for the Teaching and Research Staff payroll (salary cost for Teaching and Research Staff). Therefore, the €360.54M do not correspond to amounts used directly for R&D.
- The second point relates to the R&D funding through the NSRF. In the official statistical analysis this funding is included as part of the funding of the GOV sector. However, taking into account the low % of participation of our country in the co-financing of the NSRF, it would be reasonable to consider them as “community” funding too.[27]

[23] In the scoreboard the specific indicator is dark green, which means that the normalized performance in 2018 relative to that of the EU in 2018 is above 120%.

[24] In the scoreboard the specific indicator is orange, which means that the normalized performance in 2018 relative to that of the EU in 2018 is below 50%. To be exact, the indicator is at 5.9%.

[25] https://www.statistics.gr/documents/20181/0690736b-bcaf-0c15-dbd3-d2e49d3cca6d, accessed in 20.12.2020.

[26] Business Enterprise Sector (BES) (+2.3%), Government Sector (GOV) (+8.0%), Private Non-Profit Institutions Sector (PNP) (−14.6%).

[27] Hence the choice of this particular colour.

Table 2.1 R&D funding in 2019 and subsectors for the implementation of relevant projects

Total R&D funding (in million euros) 2019		Individual sectors of R&D funding (in million euros) 2019			
		Business Enterprise Sector (BES)	Higher Education Sector (HES)	Government Sector (GOV)	Private Non-Profit Institutions (PNP)
Business Enterprise Sector (BES)	972.61	896.78	56.35	17.24	2.24
Regulatory budget	668.61		360.54	308.07	0.00
NSRF	182.72	49.92	68.75	63.21	0.84
Other state sources	98.25	1.13	43.02	53.37	0.73
Higher Education Sector (HES)	50.99	0.24	50.52	0.16	0.07
Private Non-Profit Institutions (PNP)	14.18	0.29	0.57	1.80	11.52
European Commission	269.75	81.27	114.61	70.62	3.25
Other foreign sources	79.47	43.59	22.19	12.59	1.10
Total	2336.58	1073.22	716.55	527.06	19.75

Based on the above remarks, we could claim that the funding solely for R&D activities in the HES is at least: €356,01M.[28] Following our analysis, the funding that the HEIs are responsible for handling, on their own initiative, is related to:

- the direct or indirect funding from the European Union,
- the funding by other foreign bodies, and
- the bodies that are related to the HES.

The total of this funding is €256.07M, namely, the research funding the HEIs are responsible for handling corresponds to approximately 72% of the research funding in Greece in the HES sector in 2019. An important issue emerges, at this point: If the largest part of the funding in the HES sector originates from the European level, then the HEIs have no choice but to follow the priorities and the policy goals that have been adopted in the context of European research policy. To what extent though do these priorities correspond to the national production and job market needs? Moreover, how autonomous could any HEIs research strategy be?

[28] This amount results from the subtraction of the funding of the regulatory budget from the total funding.

The Institutional Level: HEIs and Academics' Perceptions Regarding Research in Greece

In the previous sections, we described the government policy for research. Hence, in this section, we are going to focus on the university and we will present: a. the basic characteristics of the strategy for research that Greek universities have adopted, b. the views of academics on the research being carried out in Greece, and c. the characteristics of the personnel associated with R&D in Greece.

The external evaluation by the Hellenic Quality Assurance Agency (HQA) – now Hellenic Quality Assurance and Accreditation Agency – constituted the final phase of the process for Quality Assurance in Higher Education and aimed to evaluate Universities on their overall function, the strategy, the goals, the structures, the processes, the regulations, the central information systems, their services and their strategy for research. In the context of its mission regarding the high-quality assurance in Higher Education in Greece, the HQA conducted the external evaluation of all HEIs in the country (22 Universities and 14 TEIs), between October 2015 and July 2016 (HQA, 2016).

As it emerges from the synthetic study of the evaluations, the majority of the country's HEIs received a 'Positive' evaluation or a 'Worthy of Merit' evaluation and only two HEIs received a 'Partially Positive' evaluation. Among the characteristics that were evaluated positively as regards research in Greek universities were the following:

- Clear research strategy (NKUA, AUT, DUT, Ionian University, AUEB, University of Crete, Panteion University, Harokopio University).
- Collaborations –cross-disciplinary research (AUT, AUA, DUT, University of Ioannina)
- Funding and subsidies both by national resources and the EU (AUA, University of Thessaly, University of Ioannina, University of Peloponnese)
- Connection of research to the local community – business and the local authorities (DUT, AUEB, University of the Aegean, University of Ioannina, Harokopio University)
- Strong research activity (NKUA, NTUA, University of Patras, Panteion University), based mostly on individual initiatives of Teaching and Research Staff (HOU, University of Western Macedonia, University of Patras, University of Piraeus)
- An effort to improve the research infrastructure (HOU).

Academics, on their part, underlined the absence of explicit institutional policies regarding, especially, internationalised research. They laid emphasis on the fact that universities do not seem to communicate their research strategies adequately, being neither recognised as such nor having the desirable impact on the conducted research. Thus, the internationalisation of research in the Greek university is based on the academics' individual initiatives either in the form of scientific publications in international scientific journals or in the form of participation in student exchange programmes, laboratory collaborations and undertaking and realisation of research projects. They also argue that each department alone is responsible for collaborating with corresponding departments and funding the postgraduate students who will take part in the research and disseminate the results of their research. They emphasise that each department adopts its own path regarding the internationalisation of research, based on its collaborations. On this basis, they also recognise the important role of the EU in research: the EU is considered to be an important factor in the internationalisation of research, because, according to the academics, it is in a position to strengthen the collaboration between universities, fund scientific programmes and favour student exchanges within the Union. Thus, the internationalised research in Greece follows the international and mainly the European priorities, since there is no clear Greek equivalent. Subsequently, the effect of the research conducted by the universities to the local community and its needs is also considered to be meagre, although significant efforts are being made to enhance it (Mavrogianni, 2019).

Research Staff and PhD Holders in Greece: Analysis, Characteristics, Priorities

We will now focus on the staff working on R&D projects which is recorded through full time equivalent positions (FTE) of the entire staff and researchers.[29]

Based on the data from the recent report by the National Documentation Centre, the entire R&D staff in Greece in 2019 amounts to 54.833 FTE, showing an increase of 6.9% compared to 2018. An increase is also shown in the researcher category, which in 2019 amounted to 40.084 FTE, showing a 9.3% increase compared to 2018 (NDC, 2020a). In the next Table the full picture is depicted regarding full time R&D positions in Greece, as well as the comparison with 2018 (Table 2.2).

As regards the staff connected to R&D in Greece, in the Higher Education Sector (HES), the presence and production of PhD holders from the HEIs should also be analysed. To this end, in the next subsection we are going to use the most recent report by the NDC on PhD holders who graduated in 2019.

According to a study[30] that was carried out in Greece in 2013 on people up to 70 years old who lived in Greece and graduated with a PhD in the period 1990–2013,

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[29] Researchers: Scientists whose professional activities aim at the conception and creation of new knowledge. They implement R&D and improve or develop concepts, theories, models, techniques, methods and tools, software or operational methods. Those preparing a doctoral thesis are also considered to be researchers.

Other R&D staff: Staff that takes part in R&D activities, carrying out scientific and technical duties, usually under the guidance of researchers (e.g. technicians, developers, manufacturers, staff that collects bibliographical material, carries out statistical studies and interviews, etc.), as well as staff that carries out various activities that are directly connected with R&D projects and are necessary for their completion (e.g. legal support, workers, secretaries or other administrative staff).

[30] The study was implemented in the context of the global study "International Survey on Careers of Doctorate Holders – CDH" which is coordinated by the OECD and aims to catalogue and analyse the career and mobility of PhD holders internationally (Mavrogianni, 2019).

Table 2.2 Full time positions for R&D in Greece 2019 and 2018

Implementation Sector R&D	Researchers	% Change from 2018	Total R&D staff	% Change from 2018
Business Enterprise Sector (BES)	10,252	+2.1%	14,232	+2.1%
Government Sector (GOV)	8220	+5.8%	13,865	+3.9%
Higher Education Sector (HES)	21,319	+14.7%	26,278	+12.2%
Private Non-Profit Institutions (PNP)	293	+0.7%	457	−17.5%
Total number of positions for 2019	40,084		54,832	

the number of PhD holders in Greece was at the 11th position among 24 countries, while it was in the 9th position based on the number of PhD holders per 1000 people of the working population. As regards the countries where the PhD was obtained, the majority of PhD holders, at 86.2%, studied at a Greek university. Regarding the scientific fields[31] chosen for a doctoral thesis, it is proven that the field "Medicine and Health Sciences" is the most popular, at 26.7%, followed by Sciences, Social Sciences, Engineering and Technological Sciences, Humanities, and lastly Agricultural Sciences.[32] As regards the source of funding for the doctoral studies, personal savings and family support were the main resource that doctoral students relied on. Finally, the average age for obtaining a PhD in Greece was 38, but the age differed based on gender and scientific field (NDC, 2015).

In 2019 there were 1685 new PhD holders from Greek HEIs. The development of the number of new PhD holders from Greek HEIs in the period 2005–2019 is reflected in the following chart (NDC, 2020b). The most productive year was the one at the beginning of the financial crisis (2009), while next there was a decrease with occasional notable fluctuations (Chart 2.4).

As regards the distribution of scientific specialization of the new PhD holders of the GHEIs between the 6 main scientific fields of the Frascati classification, most of the theses were in Medicine and Health Sciences (28.5%), followed by Sciences (24.6%) and Social Sciences (22.4%). Lower percentages were observed in

[31] The thematic categorisation of doctoral theses in scientific areas is carried out based on the reviewed Frascati classification in six main scientific fields and 42 subcategories. See http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/science-and-technology/frascati-manual-2015_9789264239012-en, accessed in 20.12.2020. Guidelines for Collecting and Reporting Data on Research and Experimental Development, The Measurement of Scientific, Technological and Innovation Activities, OECD Publishing, Paris.

[32] Often, a doctoral thesis corresponds to more than one scientific area. For this reason, for the classification of doctoral theses in scientific fields the "whole counting" technique is followed, namely each doctoral thesis is counted once for each scientific field to which it corresponds. It is obvious that in this way the total number of doctoral theses, as it results from the sum of the theses in each scientific field, is higher than the real number of theses (or, in the case of an illustration with percentages, the sum adds up to more than 100%).

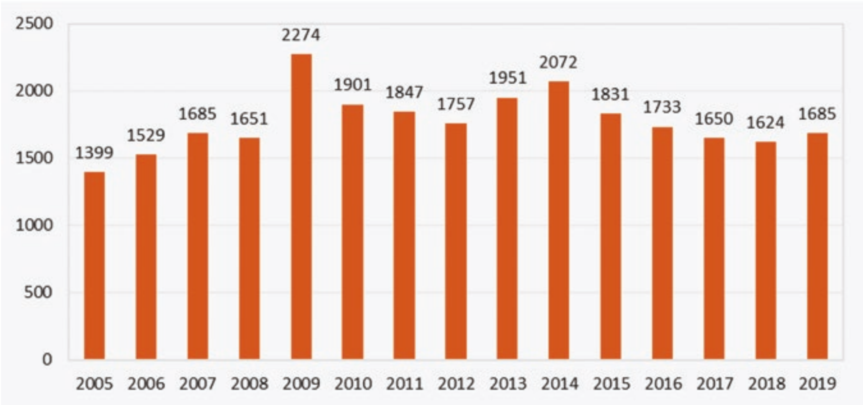

Chart 2.4 Number of new PhD holders 2005–2019. (Source: *National Documentation Centre*, 2020b)

Engineering and Technological Sciences (16.1%), Humanities (13.5%) and Agricultural Sciences (2.9%) (NDC, 2020b). The distribution as regards the subfields for 2019 and for a percentage higher than 5% is presented in the next table (Table 2.3).

It is also worth noting that, when it comes to funding sources, the main one was own capital (savings and family support at 38.7%) and the second source was some form of scholarship from a Greek institution (33.1%). As for PhD holders' mobility, it appears that 275 of the 2019 PhD holders (18.2%) stayed abroad for the duration of their studies for reasons other than tourism. Out of 275 PhD holders, 56.0% stayed abroad for less than a year. 63.6% (namely 175 PhD holders) stayed for reasons solely related to their doctoral thesis (NDC, 2020b), namely as regards the mobility of all 2019 PhD holders, 10.4% moved abroad, even for a short period of time, for reasons relating to their doctoral studies (Mavrogianni, 2019).

Finally, let it be noted that the main work receptor for PhD holders are HEIs. Indeed, in 2019, compared to the full-time researcher positions, from a total of 40,084 positions, 21,319 belonged to the HES sector, namely 53.2% of all positions (see also Table 2.2).[33] This picture also justifies the country's high performance in publications as far as the hire and development of university staff is based on scientific publications. Additionally, the political expansion of the HEIs network

[33] Let one more contradiction be noted. Even though research funding is increased (especially from the private sector), the number of researchers working in the BES sector (see Table 2.2) does not rise accordingly. This is possibly related to a policy of restriction of salary costs by businesses, which offer fewer jobs and lower salaries. If this is true, then on the one hand it feeds the brain drain phenomenon, and on the other hand it renders the prospect of high specialisation through research unattractive.

Table 2.3 Percentage (>5%) of PhDs completed in 2019 and scientific subfields

Scientific fields	Percentage (%)
Health Sciences	12.5
Clinical Medicine	11.3
Education	7.7
Economics and Business Administration	6.0
Biological Sciences	5.4
Computer Science & Informatics	5.2
Chemistry	5.1

(Kavasakalis, 2016), which Community funds contributed to in the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s, gave new PhD holders good prospects. In order to complete the puzzle, let it be noted that the HEIs staff mobility towards business and vice versa is incredibly low (Sachini et al., 2016).

Conclusion

Greece, even if it attempted to create some research centres relatively quickly as a state, did not have a research policy until too late. The complete, traditional picture, is one of a country which, on the one hand, educates and caters for researchers in international laboratories and research organisations, and on the other hand consumes the results of international research.

Its admission into the EU created new standards and brought it to the centre of institutions and processes with which it was not familiar. However, it tried to adjust and benefit. Even though Greece is not a policy production country and it rather consumes policy decisions (here regarding research), it has benefited from its participation. Nonetheless, today there are still some issues that raise questions and showcase contradictions. Two examples will be mentioned.

The Greek economy depends on small and very small (family) businesses. The countries that produce (research) policy are countries with large and very large businesses[34] which promote specialisation and therefore the intensity of research activities, aiming at constant innovation which is transformed into a commercial product. In this context, and taking into account the weakness of Greek research funding, the country depends more and more on European funding, which is naturally based on

[34] The truth is that there are small and very small businesses everywhere. However, those businesses that possess the funds to interfere and affect decisions are the large and very large businesses that can act and deliver at a multilevel and complex lobbying both at a national and at a Community level. Additionally, national interests are multiple and diverging, while the bigger and/or wealthier countries have a more powerful presence either way, even more so because they are usually the ones that contribute the most to the research budget (André, 2006 :142).

European priorities. In addition to that, HEIs are the main research bodies in Greece. Taking into account the reduction of their financing from state funds, because of the financial crisis (Chrisomallidis, 2013), and the need to support and maintain their research groups, the challenge consists in turning towards European funding and being involved in successful research partnerships. The analysis of the data shows that Greek HEIs do not do badly. Nonetheless, it is not certain that the research being produced is connected to Greek reality and its particular needs. On the other hand, it is necessary for the survival or research structures and groups. In this way though, there is a break between the need for research activities and the utility value of the research results. In other words, finding funding for research becomes an end in itself (Mavrogianni, 2019).[35]

This is where the second issue stems from as well. Greek HEIs operate traditionally in a particularly centralised context where the state does not permit a great degree of autonomy. Thus, HEIs are organised and operate based on this context. The development of an institutional strategic plan for research independently of state considerations is not obvious. Between a centralised policy which exists more or less due to inaction and the need to find alternative sources of funding, HEIs are pushed both towards drastic internal changes and towards international partnerships. These two elements have not yet found a coordinated gait. Moreover, HEIs are impelled to develop strategies for greater connection with regional and local needs in the context of their third mission. Essentially, the search for alternative sources of funding requires deep internal reforms in HEIs, which it is not certain HEIs and the Greek state may yet handle, by creating the appropriate institutional framework (Kladis, 2012, Stamelos & Kavasakalis, 2015). As regards the development of research in Greek universities, another condition seems to apply as well. Through both the synthetic analysis of the Institutional external evaluations, and the depiction of academics' perceptions, the Institution and the academics play a particular role in the promotion of research in Greece. It appears that the development of internationalised research and innovation in Greek universities does not originate from the application of strategic planning at Institution and/or Department level, but mainly from the action of individual teams of academics and researchers who take action by activating their individual collaboration networks.

In conclusion, the Greek University is at the crossroads: a. in a suffocating institutional framework, it must search for alternative sources of funding at a local, regional, national, European and international levels and, b. it must be able to leverage extra gains from the utilisation of its research activity -a challenging task given the contradictions of the different targeting levels.

[35] The previous analysis illustrates problems related to the Greek context. On the other hand, under a European lens, the same analysis demonstrates the achievement of the European goals, as the funding promotes the priorities of the European research policy.

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Chapter 3
Internationalisation at Home: Critical Analysis of Challenges, Tensions and Obstacles in Finnish Higher Education

Leasa Weimer and Charles Mathies

Abstract This chapter critically examines the development of internationalisation at home in Finland. Internationalisation at home aims to intentionally develop the international and intercultural competencies of student's who do not participate in international mobility. In 2018, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) commissioned the Finnish Institute for Educational Research to investigate the extent to which internationalisation at home had been addressed, adopted and implemented across Finnish higher education institutions (HEIs) and research institutes. The final report illuminated a fragmented approach to internationalisation at home and at the same time exposed limitations and challenges to implementation. This chapter explores why the implementation of internationalisation at home was disjointed, by analysing national policy, institutional practices and human experiences. Agency theory is used to explain the implications of the alignment and misalignment of interests, activities, and incentives between the MoEC and Finnish HEIs. At the individual level, academic tribes and territories is used to explain academics' behaviours towards the implementation of internationalisation at home practices in academic spaces.

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated how interconnected the world has become and the importance of knowledge exchange across borders in seeking solutions for global challenges. Higher education is a major stakeholder in preparing students with international, intercultural and global skills (Knight, 2004) to work across borders, with a diversity of cultures, and while possessing an overall global awareness. Over 15 years ago, Jane Knight (2004, p.11) defined higher education

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internationalisation as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education". Since then, international student mobility has taken centre stage. While the internationalisation of higher education is much more than just students' moving across borders, it is an important manifestation of how higher education has become more international (Caruso & de Wit, 2015). In fact, it is one of the foundations of higher education internationalisation, as it is tangible and easily recognized and understood (Rumbley, 2012). However, only a small number of students participate in mobility. Internationalisation at home, as a concept, aims to provide international and intercultural experiences for all non-mobile students to develop competences in these areas.

This chapter further analyses the findings of a 2018 Ministry-commissioned study in Finland on the state of internationalisation at home practices. We critically analyse the limitations and challenges of internationalisation at home implementation efforts in Finland, including how misalignment between national policy and institutional practices slows down and fragments the approach. First, the European and Finnish context provides background information to frame how internationalisation at home, over the past 20 years, was conceived, developed and defined. Then, the findings of the Ministry-commissioned study are highlighted with special emphasis on the implementation challenges identified. The research design for this chapter, including the research questions, sets the stage for an analysis of how national steering mechanisms, institutional choices, and individual academics promote and/or constrain the implementation of internationalisation at home practices. This fragmented approach results in unequal opportunities for students to experience and develop from internationalisation at home.

Background/Context

Internationalisation at home, as a concept and practice, was created and developed in Europe. In the early 2000s, a group of higher education practitioners identified a need to intentionally develop the international, intercultural and global skills of domestic European students (Crowther et al., 2000). With demographic changes in European cities, European students needed to develop skills to interact with immigrants in the classroom (Nilsson, 2003). Likewise, there was growing awareness that the ERASMUS program afforded only a small number of European students the opportunity to study in another European university (Wächter, 2003).

Since then, several regional and national initiatives focused on internationalisation at home as a way for European domestic students to gain intercultural and international skills for the global labour market (Weimer, 2020). In 2013, the European Union's strategy for higher education, *European Higher Education in the World*, included a key priority focused on internationalisation at home: "Higher education policies must increasingly focus on the integration of a global dimension in the design and content of all curricula and teaching/learning processes" (European

Commission, 2013, p. 6). In 2014, a two-part study, conducted in the Netherlands, found that internationalisation at home lagged behind national policy ambitions (van Gaalen et al., 2014a, b). In 2017, the German Rectors' Conference adopted a recommendation to integrate an international dimension into all curricula (German Rectors' Conference, 2017a, b).

In 2017, the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) published an internationalisation strategy, *Policies to Promote Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and Research 2017–2025*. The policy included an objective for all higher education graduates to develop international competences: "Students graduating from Finnish higher education institutions should have the ability and willingness to be involved in international, multicultural environments and understand diversity, global challenges and the principles of a sustainable society. Mobility and international perspectives should be incorporated as natural elements of students' studies and the work of staff" (MoEC, 2017, 3). Traditionally, since 1992 when Finland commenced participation in ERASMUS, the higher education internationalisation strategies in Finland have focused mainly on international mobility (Laitinen, 2015). Finland's government has enacted numerous policies aimed to attract, retain, and integrate international students into Finland (Jokila et al., 2019) and multiple efforts have been made to encourage Finnish students to participate in ERASMUS exchanges. However, since 2017, the number of domestic Finnish students participating in international student mobility has decreased every year (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2019). In 2019, only 2.7% (7893 students) of the 297,000+ students in Finnish HEIs participated in mobility (over 3 months) outside Finland. Since international mobility only serves a small portion of the domestic Finnish student population, there was a need to look within the national borders for alternative approaches to pursuing this policy objective.

In 2018, the MoEC commissioned the Finnish Institute for Educational Research to investigate the state of internationalisation at home in Finnish HEIs and research institutes. The study (Weimer et al., 2019; Weimer, 2020), conducted in the spring of 2019, explored two stated aims:

1. What is the development of international/intercultural competencies of those who do not actively participate in international mobility?
2. What is the role of foreign students and staff members in internationalisation at home practices?

In addition, the study identified the most interesting potentials, utility and unique forms and critically examined the relevance, limitations and challenges of internationalisation at home in Finland. The final report (Weimer et al., 2019) highlighted findings related to the two stated aims and exposed limitations and challenges of implementing internationalisation at home.

Internationalisation at Home Concept

This MoEC-commissioned study (Weimer et al., 2019) drew from the definitions and conceptualisation of internationalisation at home that has developed over the past 20 years (see history of conceptual development: Weimer, 2020). Internationalisation at home is defined as "the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments" (Beelen & Jones, 2015, 69).

While there is no "recognized strategy, formula or approach to internationalisation at home" (Robson et al., 2018, 20), central elements of operationalising it have been identified. Jones and Reiffenrath (2018) lists common practices:

Offers all students global perspectives in their programme of study;

Internationalisation at home elements are systematically integrated into compulsory curriculum;

International and/or intercultural perspectives are included in learning out-comes;

Classroom diversity is integrated into learning;

Opportunities for informal co-curricular activities to engage with international perspectives (both on campus and in the local community);

Opportunities for international virtual mobility;

Purposeful engagement of and with international students;

All staff (including international officers, teachers, administrative staff, and university leadership) support internationalisation at home practices

Definition of 'Internationalisation at Home' Designed for Ministry Project

Based on literature in the field, the following definition was designed and used for the Ministry project (Weimer et al., 2019) and used in the survey to explain the 'internationalisation at home' concept:
The proponents of 'internationalisation at home' define this idea or concept as: the international/intercultural dimensions, processes and actions implemented across higher education (teaching/learning, research, societal engagement and the management of higher education missions) contributing to the development of international/intercultural competencies for all students and personnel. Internationalisation at home particularly focuses on students and personnel in academic communities who have not participated in mobility programmes, international or interculturally-focused degree programmes or other forms of conventional or traditional internationalisation.

Findings and Recommendations of MoEC Report

Overall, the study exposed a fragmented approach to internationalisation at home in Finland with several challenges, tensions and obstacles identified and at the same time recommended a more comprehensive approach (Weimer et al., 2019). The concept of internationalisation at home was known and understood by international officers, the individuals responsible for driving the institutional internationalisation efforts, but the concept was widely unfamiliar among academics directing the activities within the academic programming. Over half of the survey respondents perceived internationalisation at home as important, however a quarter (~25%) of international officers and academics and 42% of student union representatives responded that internationalisation at home is important in some areas but not in all. This finding demonstrates the fragmented nature of the current state of internationalisation at home; as some identified promising practices were provided but "most often lack[ed] strategic or coherent insights, resulting in unequal opportunities for all students to develop international/intercultural skills" (Weimer, 2020, 50). The respondents had an unclear perception of the role international students played in internationalisation at home due largely to the segregation of domestic and international students in degree programs and courses. On the other hand, respondents had an easier time identifying the role of international teaching staff because of the unique, cultural pedagogical styles they brought to the classroom experience. Many respondents assumed that internationalisation at home was occurring in academic spaces (degree programs, courses, classrooms) where English was the medium of instruction and where international students and staff were present.

The findings spotlighted the need for a more comprehensive approach, from the national to institutional to teaching staff to student. The report offered several recommendations at all of these levels to further the advancement of the concept and practice in Finland (see Weimer et al., 2019).

Research Design

This chapter critically analyses the approach to internationalisation at home in Finland and teases out the challenges, tensions and obstacles constraining a more comprehensive approach. The main finding from the study (Weimer et al., 2019) suggested a fragmented approach to internationalisation at home that led to challenges in implementation. This chapter explores the factors at three levels (national, institutional, and individual – academics) that led to a fragmented approach to implementation. The real experiences of students were not in the scope of the Finnish study and therefore not included in this analysis. Specific research questions for this study include:

1. What national steering mechanisms (funding, policy and regulatory framework) promote or constrain internationalisation at home efforts in Finnish higher education?
2. What ability do institutions have to promote or constrain the implementation of internationalisation at home?
3. At the individual level, how do academics promote or inhibit internationalisation at home?

The first research question examines internationalisation indicators within the national funding formal and institutional performance agreements. Specifically, the use of agency theory explains how HEIs have the space or ability to enact internationalisation at home activities in the Finnish context. Agency theory also elucidates the implementation tensions between the national policy and institutional practices. The second research question explores the HEI choices that directly impact the implementation of internationalisation at home at the institutional level. Finally, the third research question considers the human dimension of how academics experience (promoting or constraining) internationalisation at home practices in their curriculum and pedagogy. This section brings in theoretical insights from Trowler et al. (2012) on academic tribes and territories in the twenty-first century to explain the academic resistance. Overall, the analysis spotlights how a lack of shared understanding, and unquestioned assumptions serve as fundamental challenges, tensions and obstacles for Finnish HEIs to fully integrate internationalisation at home efforts.

This chapter uses the raw data and findings from the study (Weimer et al., 2019) as a basis for its critical analysis. The research design of the 2019 Finnish study provides a robust mixed-methods approach that elicited a variety of perspectives representative of the diverse Finnish higher education landscape. Data were collected using an online survey (889 respondents) and targeted, semi-structured interviews (28 respondents). Based on the literature in the field, survey questions were designed. Survey data shed light on the current state of internationalisation at home practices and policies as well as provided a better understanding of how academics, international officers, student union representatives and research institute leaders perceived the concept and practice. For the interviews, a multiple-case study design (Yin, 2014) was employed. Three HEIs/consortium were chosen based on an analytically-driven purposeful selection (see Hoffman et al., 2008, 2013, 2016) and interviews were conducted with key stakeholders: Finnish and international academics as well as heads and administrative staff of internationalisation offices.

Findings/Analysis

National Policy: Regulatory Challenges, Tensions and Obstacles

A major obstacle to the adoption and implementation of internationalisation at home in Finland is the operationalisation of national policy. In many ways, the Finnish model of internationalisation at home presents a textbook example of the challenges of adopting and implementing internationalisation policies. To examine the Finnish situation, we use agency theory to explore the assumptions that lie beneath the expected causal chains linking system level incentives and HEI performance.

Agency Theory

Agency theory, also known as the principal agent or principal agency theory model, provides a theoretical lens to understand the implications of the alignment and misalignment of interests, activities, and incentives between the MoEC and HEIs. Agency theory assumes that once a principal, for this study a governing body (MoEC), delegates authority to an agent, an HEI, it has difficulty controlling them because agents (HEIs) have differing goals and better information of their capacities and activities (Kivistö & Zalyevska, 2015). The key question in this theoretical framework: how an agent (HEI) is empowered to fulfil the needs of the principal (MoEC) while constraining the agent (HEI) from avoiding their responsibilities (Kivistö & Zalyevska, 2015)?

Burton Clark (1972, 1998, 2004a, b) argues, with a sizeable amount of empirical evidence, that HEIs have the ability to enact agency defined as the capacity to act independently and make their own choices. By contrast, structure is typically seen as the factors of influence that determine or limit the amount of agency an organisation can enact. For a deeper discussion on the tensions between agency and structure, see Heugens and Landers (2009) and Fumasoli and Stensaker (2013).

Clark (2004b) proposes that most HEIs do not often use, or fully use their agency but do allow inter-organisational processes to shape their final choices. The framing of the interplay between agency and structure is not just a dichotomous one of 'either or' but includes questions of legitimacy and rationality. A number of higher education organisational studies (see Fumasoli & Stensaker, 2013 for an overview of numerous studies) critique this interplay through DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) isomorphism lens, which suggests organisational practices, beliefs, and norms influence the structural formation of an organisation and the rationality of its choices. For most HEIs, their behaviour, or choices, are a result of their understanding of environmental events through its own structures and beliefs of their allowed agency. In many ways, an organisation has no other way of processing information but through its structure and its relation to its environment. This is how it frames its rationality and the imaginary of its available choices, thus an HEI has difficulty objectively screening or observing its environment.

Agency theory has two fundamental assumptions, the existence of informational asymmetries and goal conflicts (Eisenhardt, 1989; Kivistö & Zalyevska, 2015; Lane & Kivistö, 2008; Moe, 1984). Informational asymmetry refers to agents (HEIs) possess better information on its capacity to meet expectations assigned by the principal (MoEC) while goal conflict are the differences, or conflict, in principal's (MoEC) and agent's (HEI) desires and interests (Kivistö & Zalyevska, 2015). Together, these two assumptions establish the agency problem, the possibility of opportunistic behaviour on the agent's (HEIs) part that goes against the principal's (MoEC) interests (Kivistö & Zalyevska, 2015). Post-contractually (in the Finnish case the performance agreements between MoEC and HEIs serve as the contract), the primary question is: how the principal (MoEC) is able make the agent (HEI) behave according to the principal's (MoEC) goals (Kivistö & Zalyevska, 2015). Often this is through the principal's (MoEC) monitoring and rewarding the agent's (HEI) activities. The outcome-based contracts (performance agreements in the Finnish case) rewards produced outcomes, which incentivises the agent (HEI) to pursue the goals of the contractual agreements. Operationalising this for this study suggests when a HEI does not align its activities with the external funding mechanisms it will not perform well in meeting the external criteria. In this (Finnish) case, as detailed below in national funding mechanism section, this means an HEI not performing well in meeting external criteria, or a governing body's (MoEC) goals, it will not receive funding as outlined in a performance funding model and performance contracts. This incentivises HEIs to perform the activities outlined in the funding mechanism and performance contracts to its best of its abilities and ignore, or not perform, the activities excluded from the funding mechanism and the performance contracts.

National Funding Mechanism

Finland has used a form of performance based funding system in its higher education system since the 1990s (Kivistö et al., 2017; Koivisto, 2018) and since 2013, Finland has predominately used performance based funding as its core funding model (de Boer et al., 2015). Finnish HEIs sign performance agreements with the MoEC to meet specific targets within the various categories of the performance funding models. These performance agreements run co-currently to the length of the performance funding model (4 years) and essentially serve as a contract for funding between Finnish HEIs and the MoEC. Finland operates two distinct funding formulas, one for universities and another for universities of applied sciences. In universities of applied sciences, 95% of core funding allocations is via performance indicators while for universities, it covers more than three-fourths (76%). The allocation of the remaining amount of funding (5% for universities of applied sciences, 24% for universities) in the core funding formulas are for specified national strategic initiatives or national duties such as the National Library of Finland or teaching training schools. The core funding from MoEC covers approximately two-thirds (64%) of universities' budgets (de Boer et al., 2015) while for university of applied sciences it covers between 75% to 90% (Koivisto, 2018), depending on the HEI.

Performance based funding systems can be defined as an allocation mechanism with the amount of funding is directly linked, via a formula, to the outputs (i.e. achievements) of institutions as reflected by performance indicators (Jongbloed & Vossensteyn, 2001). Most performance indicators relate to teaching and research outputs measuring progress towards or completion of performance goals (Kivistö & Kohtamäki, 2016). Governing bodies use performance based funding as a tool to increase institutional awareness and incentivise progress towards targeted policy objectives (e.g. accountability; Kivistö et al., 2017). The main rationale for using performance based funding is to improve institutional performance, as defined by performance indicators. This is grounded in the belief performance based funding incentivises institutions to target and maintain high levels of specific performance in exchange for funding (Dougherty & Reddy, 2011; Kivistö et al., 2017). By having incentives that reward or punish institutions according to actual performance,

performance based funding aims to influence institutional behaviours towards a governing body's specific interests (Kivistö & Kohtamäki, 2016; Kivistö et al., 2017).

For both funding formulas, there are set categories assigned a proportion of the total funding to be allocated. Essentially, within each category Finnish universities and universities of applied sciences compete against one another in a zero-sum game for funding (Mathies et al., 2020). For 2021, MoEC allocated €1.893 Billion for universities and €897 Million for universities of applied sciences in its core funding for distribution via its performance based funding (Prime Minister's Office, 2020). This means that for every 1% of performance funding allocated in a category is worth roughly €18.93 Million for universities and €8.97 Million for universities of applied sciences. As an example, the number of bachelor degree graduates is category within both performance funding formulas. For universities, it accounts for 11% of the funding model (MoEC, 2021a) or roughly €208 Million, while universities of applied science it is 56% of the funding model or roughly €502 Million (MoEC, 2021b).

MoEC sets the performance funding formula for 4 years and since 2013, it has tweaked them for universities and university of applied sciences both times (2017, 2021) upon its renewal. In the 2013 and 2017 performance funding models, internationalisation had its own distinct categories of student mobility (to and from Finland), teacher and expert mobility, master's degree awarded to foreign nationals, and number of international teaching and research personnel. In each of these categories, universities and universities of applied sciences had specific performance targets, dictated in performance agreements with MoEC, which provides the amount of funding allocated to each HEI. In 2021, MoEC changed the way it funds internationalisation in Finnish higher education by removing all internationalisation categories and folding them into their national strategic initiatives. In the 2017 models (used to allocate funding for the years 2017 to 2020), 5% of the universities and 3% universities of applied sciences funding was allocated via internationalisation categories. If the 2017 model was used to allocate internationalisation activities for 2021 (with the 2021 budgeted amount), it would have equated to roughly €94.65 million for universities and €26.91 million respectively. The actual amount of funding allocated in 2021 for internationalisation activities, which were now folded into the national strategic initiatives, was €40 million for universities and €6.5 million for universities of applied sciences respectively; a significant drop in funding for internationalisation activities for both segments of Finnish higher education.

Interplay Between National and Institutional Levels: Lack of Agency and Incentives for Internationalisation at Home

There are two main takeaways in this analysis of the challenges and tensions of operationalising internationalisation at home in Finland at the national policy level. First, there are no national incentives for Finnish HEIs to undertake internationalisation at home, as it has no direct funding attached to it. A participant in the Finnish study (Weimer et al., 2019) clearly articulates this position

> …it's all about the new funding model from the government and we do not have resources for that [internationalisation at home]. Nowhere is it mentioned. If international activities don't count in the new funding model, it's very easy for management to see that as, 'okay, let's put a halt to that activity.' (UAS instructor, Humanities)

Internationalisation at home, as a distinct funding category, was not included in any of the three (2013, 2017, 2021) performance funding models for Finland for both universities and universities of applied sciences. The funding formula and associated institutional performance agreements are the main steering instruments of HEIs in Finland. While MoEC has the official steering role for higher education in Finland, EDUFI, the Finnish national agency for education, also provides support to Finnish HEIs for development of national policies. Both MoEC and EDUFI have actively promoted internationalisation at home as a key activity in the internationalisation of Finnish higher education long before these funding models existed. For example, the previous MoEC (2009) 'Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions 2009–2015' included a proposal for institutions to "incorporate a module supporting internationalisation at all the degree levels offered,"; however, since institutions had autonomy in developing academic programme content and curriculum, these strategies were simply taken as suggestions (Laitinen, 2015, 87). This example highlights the informational steering and the lack of inclusion in the performance funding models making it a challenge for Finnish HEIs to prioritise and comprehensively engage in internationalisation at home. In many ways it sends a clear message to Finnish HEIs what are the prioritised internationalisation activities, such as student and staff mobility, which are included in the funding formula, while others, like internationalisation at home, are not. This exemplifies a well-known national policy tension that while more comprehensive ideals are voiced in informational steering, the actual incentives provided are limited in scope. "Although the politically correct perception is that internationalisation should address all students and not the small group that can afford it and/or is interested in it, the priority is still on outgoing student mobility" (de Wit & Beelen, 2014). For the Finnish case it means that although the ideals of internationalisation at home exist in national policy discourse (MoEC, 2009, 2017), the incentives focus elsewhere – primarily on international mobility.

A second conclusion is Finnish HEIs appear to be losing what agency they had with internationalisation activities. This appears in two ways. First, the change of funding for international activities from specifically funded categories within the performance funding formula to now being part of the national strategic initiatives represents a change in Finnish HEIs' autonomy in how they can spend internationalisation funding. While a few of the previous specified internationalisation categories were folded into other distinct categories in the new (2021) funding formula (e.g., previously international masters graduates was its own separate category but now are included in the overall masters graduates category), most were moved under the national strategic initiatives. With performance funding allocations, Finnish HEIs receive a lump sum of money based on their performance, in relation to their performance contract with the MoEC, within the specified categories. Afterwards, the HEI management is relatively free to decide how and where they spend the funding they receive. They have a fair bit of discretion to allocate internally the funding they receive from the MoEC from each of these specific categories. However, funding received under national strategic initiatives is very explicit in terms of which activities receive funding and how they are measured. Moving the internationalisation activities under national strategic initiatives essentially dictates, via earmarks, how Finnish internationalisation activities generate funds from the MoEC. In many ways, this switch constrains and narrowly defines Finnish HEI internationalisation activities to a small number of activities. As such, there is limited space, or incentive, for an HEI to engage in internationalisation activities outside the ones defined under the national strategic initiatives linked to funding.

This moving of internationalisation activities to national strategic initiatives also creates a second form of loss of agency with the appearance of a significant reduction in funding. As shown previously, the movement of internationalisation activities from specified categories within the performance funding formula to activities under national strategic initiatives suggests the actual funding realized for internationalisation is significantly less than it would been under the previous two (2013 and 2017) funding formulas. While the amount of funding (€40 million a year for universities and €6.5 million a year for universities of applied science) is not pocket change, this is the total amount of funding for internationalisation activities split among the Finnish HEIs (13 universities and 22 universities of applied science). This large reduction of funding suggests internationalising Finnish higher education is not as high priority for its governing agency, MoEC, as it was previously.

Institutional Level: Operationalisation Challenges, Tensions and Obstacles

The institutional level implementation of internationalisation at home is influenced by two factors: (1) national level steering and (2) institutional choices. As discussed in the previous section, while the national level steering mechanisms (policy, funding and regulatory framework) do not incentivise or directly encourage internationalisation at home, there is an expectation that Finnish HEIs have a strategic approach to their planning of internationalisation activities and these should follow the general guidelines of the national internationalisation strategy (Välimaa & Weimer, 2014). This is normal practice in Finnish higher education where MoEC creates the overarching strategic vision and there is an expectation that HEIs find their place within the national strategy (Välimaa & Weimer, 2014).

Thus, Finnish HEIs can choose to use their agency to implement policies, practices and programs at the institutional level to support or constrain internationalisation at home. Several Finnish HEIs do fund and promote internationalisation at home practices from their internal sources. This is in line with Knight's (2004, 6) claim that "…it is usually at the individual, institutional level that the real process of internationalization is taking place." In the Finnish study (Weimer et al., 2019), one of the critiques of institutional practice focused on the separation of international and domestic students in the curriculum.

Segregation of International/Domestic Students

One missed opportunity often identified in internationalisation efforts is the lack of integration of international and domestic students in the classroom. Saarinen (2012) found that with the increase of international degree programmes in Finland, the programmes were overwhelmingly offered in English as the medium of instruction. While the initial goal of the international degree programmes included internationalisation at home and mixing Finnish domestic students with international students, it ended up that most of students who enrolled in the international degree programmes were international students (Saarinen, 2012).

Even when there is integration of domestic and international students in classrooms, Harrison (2015) argues that domestic students resist international classrooms because of language barriers and a fear of miscommunication. This often leads to segregation between domestic and international students not only within individual classrooms, but also within degree programmes. This is the case in Finland as one academic staff respondent (Weimer et al., 2019) explains this "students of the English curriculum are separate from other students and aren't integrated or utilised in internationalising other students." This suggests the segregation of international and domestic students in Finland contributes to the fragmented approach of internationalisation at home being realised within Finnish HEIs.

From a wider perspective, an international officer comments that there is a lack of understanding about the value-added of an international community:

> We have some international staff here and a lot of international students because it's a famous exchange destination. But, I don't think that we have identified the value of that [international staff and students], and understand what it brings to us. (International officer)

This suggests Finnish HEIs have difficulties in bringing the domestic and international communities together in a meaningful way, partly because the value of international students and staff is not fully discussed or understood. This lack of attention or concern contributes to the fragmented approach of internationalisation at home efforts, leading to unequal opportunities for domestic students to develop their international, intercultural and global skills.

Individual Level: Lack of Shared Understanding

At the individual level, academics are fundamental actors in realising the goals of internationalisation at home (Green & Whitsed, 2015). An internationalised curriculum, by definition, illuminates the important role that academics play in the process: "…incorporation of international, intercultural and/or global dimensions into the content of the curriculum as well as the learning outcomes, assessment tasks, teaching methods, and support services of a programme of studies" (Leask, 2015,). "Faculty ownership is key to its success" (Agnew & Kahn, 2015, 36). The findings (Weimer et al., 2019) showed that a majority of academic respondents lacked an overall shared understanding of and commitment to internationalisation at home practices.

Unfamiliarity with the Concept

Internationalisation at home, as a concept, was designed by a group of European university practitioners deeply embedded in international engagement at their respective institutions and within the EAIE community. They co-created a vision for what internationalisation at home could and should be in the future. Two decades later, the concept has wide acceptance with the practitioners in Europe who are invested in furthering the internationalisation of higher education. However, the concept is not without critique (Beelen & Jones, 2015). The concept has been criticised for addressing the 'how', the instrumental, rather than the 'why', the aims and benefits. Whitsed and Green (2013) critique the concept as focusing on activities rather than outcomes and indicators. Also, within the Finnish case (Weimer et al., 2019), there was a clear difference between the HEI actors who were familiar with and understood the concept of internationalisation at home and those who were unfamiliar with it.

This is especially problematic because the major stakeholders, teachers, implicated in operationalising internationalisation at home within the curriculum and classroom were largely unfamiliar with the concept (Weimer et al., 2019). This exemplifies what Buckner and Stein (2019) argue: frequently higher education actors are being asked to engage with internationalisation in their HEI, but have little understanding of what internationalisation is, should, or could be. Interview respondents in the Finnish case (Weimer et al., 2019) were asked, "What do you know about internationalisation at home?" Several academics were candid about their lack of knowledge about the concept:

> I don't know anything about internationalisation at home specifically. I can speculate based on what I think it would mean but I haven't heard the term before you brought it up. (Professor, Humanities and Social Sciences)

> I saw it when we had the survey so that's when I read about it. That was the first time I've ever heard the term (University Teacher, Humanities).

While the academic respondents demonstrated unfamiliarity with internationalisation at home, the participants responsible for institutional international efforts (international officers) demonstrated a thorough knowledge and understanding of the concept. Since practitioners in European international higher education created the concept, this finding is not surprising. This, however, is a major obstacle to a more comprehensive approach to internationalisation at home; more resources are needed for educating and training the actors who play a significant role in implementing these practices into the curriculum and classroom. Robson et al. (2018) contend that professional development opportunities are essential to supporting culturally sensitive pedagogies and internationalised curriculum.

Even if academics were educated about the concept, there are additional challenges to widespread uptake of the practices. For starters, the concept is "abstract" and "ideological" without a clear path for implementation:

> The concept is all very well, but how do I get started? I understand the idea but I can't see what's behind it. I can't find a direction. It's all too abstract, ideological even. It doesn't take you anywhere. (Green & Whitsed, 2015, 3)

Then, there are tensions of priority, commitment and access to internationalisation at home developments. Academics have competing priorities that they must balance when developing curriculum and pedagogy. One academic mentioned how internationalisation at home was rarely discussed among colleagues, thus sending a message that it was not a priority. "… it's a term that pops up every once in a while, but we've never consciously discussed it" (University teacher, Business). Since academics have a level of autonomy in developing curriculum and pedagogy, academics must also share a level of commitment to internationalisation at home for it be fully realised. This finding fits Harrison's (2015) argument that the relative levels of commitment from teaching staff results in unequal distribution of internationalisation at home practices. Additionally, access to developments in internationalising the curriculum and classroom are unequal by discipline (Harrison, 2015). When it comes to commitment by academic staff, the Finnish survey results (Weimer et al., 2019) show that 60% of international officers ranked the 'limited interest of academic personnel' as the top challenge in advancing internationalisation at home.

Unquestioned Assumption: Internationalisation at Home Is Organically Occurring in Academic Fields That Are International

The assumption that students are developing their international, intercultural and global skills simply because the content/literature in the coursework is international and/or the field is considered to be international remains an obstacle. In the survey data, a Postdoctoral Researcher in Atmospheric Sciences explains their limited interest in internationalisation at home because their field is international, "The research field and unit are so international that there is no need for artificial 'superstructured' internationalisation." This same sentiment was shared by several academics who responded to the survey. When asked "what internationalisation at home practices and support structures does your department/unit currently employ?", some academics commented that their discipline was inherently international.

> The whole field of science (statistics) is basically international, so it is quite impossible to distinguish what would not be intercultural. (Professor, Math and Statistics)

> Research in the field of chemistry is basically truly international. Mobility, research visits, etc. are encouraged. However, I do not really understand what an 'intercultural perspective' could mean. For example, in chemistry teaching – with molecules when there was no culture. (Assistant Professor, Chemistry)

Using international content is one variable in an internationalised curriculum, but what is missing in these responses is the recognition that international content is accompanied by a culturally sensitive pedagogy. A culturally sensitive pedagogy focuses on the means that teachers use to deliver an internationalised curriculum with the aim of creating an environment for reflection and understanding for cultural differences (Harrison, 2015).

These responses also highlight a form of resistance, by individual academics in specific disciplines, to further internationalise their curriculum, learning outcomes or teaching methods. Research shows that the commitment to reforming curriculum that aligns with internationalisation efforts is embraced by some disciplines (primarily soft pure disciplines such as humanities and applied disciplines), while other disciplines (hard pure disciplines such as science and maths) resist it (Clifford, 2012). Becher (1989) described academics as belonging to tribes and territories with distinctive cultures, values and norms that form around disciplines. According to the discipline, academics are socialized into their academic roles, embodying unique epistemic and pedagogical beliefs and practices (Becher, 1989). Subsequent work suggests that the strength and influence of disciplinary borders are becoming more fluid (Becher & Trowler, 2001) and depends on the context of practice and the "demands of multiple competing imperatives" (Trowler et al., 2012, 257). The 'internationalisation imperative' (Buckner & Stein, 2019) can be considered one of the forces conditioning academic practice. For academics to embody internationalisation at home practices they "merge their disciplinary and professional objectives and means of analysis with global perspectives, skills, attitudes, and knowledge" (Agnew & Kahn, 2015, 37). Teaching with international material is not sufficient. "An important part of the process of internationalization of the curriculum is to think beyond dominant paradigms, to explore emerging paradigms, and imagine new possibilities and new ways of thinking and doing" (Leask, 2012, 3). This 'new way' of developing curriculum, pedagogy and teaching may put academics on the defensive, as it counters the way they were socialized in their academic role and more generally in their discipline. For some academics, international initiatives, such as internationalisation at home, feels like "nonsense" as this respondent explains:

> Internationalisation at home sounds like nonsense that the university administration has come up with in order to employ itself and provide extra work for academic staff. In our current strategy there are more important priorities for which attention, working time and energy should be targeted. (Professor, Education)

Unquestioned Assumption: Internationalisation at Home Means Teaching in English

Beelen and Jones (2018) pinpoint one challenge to implementing internationalisation at home is the misconception that 'internationalisation at home means teaching in English', which was evident in the Finnish case study (Weimer et al., 2019). In internationalisation efforts in Finland, English has become the lingua franca; it is more as a tool, rather than a mediator (Saarinen, 2012). When the Finnish respondents (Weimer et al., 2019) described their internationalisation at home practices, many defined it with English academic activities. Particularly, academic respondents talked about their English degree programs, teaching in English and using English material (literature and research) in the curriculum. Yet, respondents rarely explained how culturally sensitive pedagogy was used in English language academic spaces with the aim to intentionally develop students' international and intercultural skills. The clear assumption was that English academic spaces were a proxy for internationalisation at home. Here an academic staff member problematises this idea of teaching internationally/interculturally, when in their eyes they are already doing it by teaching international students in an English academic space:

> What does it mean to teach mathematics/physics internationally/interculturally? In any case, the material is 90% English and the Master's degree is lectured in 100% English. Of course, there are plenty of foreign students participating. (Professor, Physics)

Unquestioned Assumptions: Internationalisation at Home Means International Students and Staff

Another assumption revealed in the Finnish study (Weimer et al., 2019) is the idea that 'internationalisation at home means international students and staff'. When academic staff were asked to describe a policy or practice that supports internationalisation at home, they often mentioned the presence of international staff and students in their department/unit. Yet, there was no explanation of how an international community, formed with international and domestic students and staff, contributes to the development of international and intercultural development for all students. The assumption was that it just did. Research shows that contact alone, between international and local community members, however, does not guarantee intercultural learning and international connectivity (Agnew & Kahn, 2015). One Finnish international academic staff member, in Humanities, explains how the existence of international students and staff adds to internationalisation at home efforts, "I am not aware of any explicit participation, but in my opinion the fact that they (we) are there contributes to internationalisation at home."

The unquestioned assumptions create an imaginary for many actors that internationalisation at home is already occurring. Combined with the unfamiliarity of the concept by many Finnish academics paints a clear picture of the lack of a shared understanding of internationalisation at home. As such, this lack of shared understanding creates tension points of what international activities are occurring and if there is reason to 'do more' to mediate intercultural learning.

Conclusion

In Finland, demographic changes continue to bring more diversity to the society and labour market. Globally, Finland is engaged in a multipolar, global higher education community and international labour market (Weimer et al., 2019). The COVID-19 pandemic has further exemplified Finland's interdependence on regional and international relations. Underlying this wider context, before the pandemic, the number of Finnish students participating in international mobility was already low (2.7%). With the evolution of the pandemic, there is continued uncertainty surrounding the future of international travel and border closures, which magnifies the need to incorporate a global dimension into domestic student experiences. For these reasons, developing the international, intercultural and global skills of all domestic students has value.

However, as this chapter shows, implementing internationalisation at home takes great effort, and is not without several challenging factors, at the national, institutional, and individual level. The analysis shows that, in the Finnish case, there are no incentives (funding) at the national level resulting in a fragmented approach at the institutional level, coupled with a lack of shared understanding and unquestioned assumptions from the academics who are the primary actors in embedding internationalisation at home practices in the academic space. The disjointed approach leads to unequal opportunities for domestic students to develop their international, intercultural and global skills.

The result of this analysis suggests MoEC not just advocate for Finnish HEIs to adopt internationalisation efforts, but also to provide clear incentives for them to do so. As shown, the informational steering and advocacy is not enough; there needs to be incentives for HEIs to undertake international initiatives such as internationalisation at home. By providing clear incentives, they could influence HEI's responses, and thus support a more comprehensive and less fragmented approach to internationalisation at home efforts.

Of course, internationalisation at home does not exist in a vacuum, it's part of the wider context of internationalisation of higher education. There is an increasing call from researchers in the field for critical reflection to question the 'internationalization imperative' (Buckner & Stein, 2019; Hoffman et al., 2020). For Buckner and Stein (2019) they view the overarching 'internationalisation imperative' as primarily focused on technical implementation resulting in a conceptually vague notion of 'international' which avoids ethical and political dimensions of international engagement. Focusing in on the internationalisation efforts in Finland, "it is far easier to argue we, in Finland's higher education system, have 1 year of experience with internationalization – repeated 20 times – than to argue we have 20 years of experience with engaging and refining internationalization geared toward the most acute social challenges faced by Finland's (higher) education system and wider society" (Hoffman et al., 2020, 208). As internationalisation at home continues to develop both conceptually and at the local level in Finland, it's essential that it's not approached or taken as a prescriptive quick-fix, but rather advances in an ethical and socially responsible way according to the needs of the local and global context.

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Chapter 4
The State and Its Role in the Internationalisation Process of Higher Education in Argentina and the Reaction to COVID-19

Marcelo Rabossi, Ariadna Guaglianone, and Alex Markman

Abstract The internationalisation of higher education is a growing phenomenon of great interest not only to universities but also to nations and governments. Developed nations are the main receptors of international students and researchers. As a matter of fact, 80% of all enrollees around the globe migrate from peripheral countries to industrialized centers to continue their education. In the case of Argentina, only 1% of all non-local students chose the country as an academic destination and over 90% of that group comes from Latin America. Thus, it can be said that in terms of internationalisation, Argentina and the region, reproduce themselves under a pattern of endogamy. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the policies implemented by the Argentine State to develop and strengthen the internationalisation of higher education in the country. In order to do this, several interviews were conducted with key actors at different public organizations. A documentary analysis of public reports complements primary sources of information. A description of the response given by universities and the State to internationalisation processes in the face of COVID-19 is also provided.

Keywords Internationalisation · Higher education · Public policy · Argentina · COVID-19

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Introduction

The growing globalization which pervades the different aspects of human life, ranging from individual and personal to economic and social ones, has also reached universities. Within this new logic, local policies cease to be solely domestic and adopt a global and comprehensive perspective. As a result of pressures that make universities more competitive, and which arise not only from the national market but from international strains, the change in the customs and behaviours of higher education institutions becomes evident. Therefore, their purposes are not only to enrol more and better international students or to enter into cooperation agreements between universities from different countries but to gradually internationalize their institutional profile so as to gain a privileged position in the academic race.

The internationalisation of higher education arises as an inevitable trend for countries in their pursuit of economic competitiveness within a framework of productive globalization. Since knowledge is not a compartmentalized, isolated process, government policies aimed at strengthening the links between nations according to a global strategic vision, among other aspects, become of paramount importance. Even though internationalisation poses opportunities for growth and improvement for universities and countries, it also presents public policy challenges related to the coordination, expansion, and evolution of the university market from a global perspective. In this respect, the role of governments has proved to be vital when it comes to developing and fostering the internationalisation of their higher education institutions. Their participation is key to bringing closer the local and the global components, thus leading to either a weaker or a stronger integration between local universities and those in the rest of the world (Sariolghalam, 1993).

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the government policies implemented by the Argentine State to develop and strengthen the internationalisation of higher education in the country. Primary and secondary sources have been used to gather information. In the first case, in-depth interviews were conducted with institutional actors associated with the internationalisation policies developed by state entities such as the Secretariat of University Policies (SPU, as per the acronym in Spanish), the Secretariat of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation of the Ministry of Science and Technology (SCTeIP, as per the acronym in Spanish), the Department of Scientific and Technological Development of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET, as per the acronym in Spanish), and the Study Buenos Aires program (SBA), in charge of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires. The secondary sources include a documentary analysis of public education and science and technology entity reports.

In the first part of the chapter, a framework is defined to help determine what is understood by "internationalisation" and the role played by Latin America in a globalized higher education market. In the second part, the Argentinean university system is described and the degree of internationalisation of the sector is quantified. Then, the opinion of different actors is analysed to better understand the policies adopted by different state agencies to further strengthen the link between the

Argentinean university sector and its peers in the rest of the world. After that, a description of the response to COVID-19's impact given by universities and the State in relation to internationalisation processes is provided. The chapter ends with conclusions and discussions about the strengths and the weaknesses of the policies adopted by the four public entities to foster internationalisation in the country.

Internationalisation: Concepts and Characteristics

The internationalisation of higher education is one of the many aspects of the globalization processes that involve the movement of people and the transfer of goods and services among countries. Although the term is contemporary, globalization is not a new phenomenon. Between the first civilizations that inhabited Europe, Africa and Asia and up to around the seventeenth century, a phenomenon known as "archaic globalization" (Martell, 2010) took place. During this period, countries started a gradual process of interaction through which they exchanged and shared ideas and social rules. Merchants also negotiated goods and services within a world market that was starting to become interconnected through a rationale similar to the one in existence nowadays, though on a much smaller scale.

One special feature of globalization has been turning markets into highly competitive spaces, not only on a local but also on a global scale. In a world where interactions accelerate and consumer demands change faster all the time, the main focus lies in the quality of the product or service offered. This particularity, which aims to attain a position of preference within the global world, forces companies and institutions to be innovative in the offer of goods and services (Aryanto & Fransiska, 2012). According to these dynamics, universities assume the role of becoming repositories of ideas and generators of knowledge on a universal scale. However, this "mandate" has not that sufficiently exploited (Mowery et al., 2001). Indeed, economic competitiveness largely relies on the innovations generated at higher education institutions and as such, the role of governments becomes fundamental to commercialize academic products at a global level (Lindholm Dahlstrand, 2008; Lofsten & Lindelof, 2001). Therefore, for governments and universities to form a beneficial partnership, policies must be consistent, long-term and financed according to the potentiality of the results sought (Narayan, 2012).

From a political-economic point of view, the importance of having more international students is on the strategic agenda of most governments. It is estimated that through the payment of tuition fees and indirect expenses, the global international higher education market involves an annual turnover of around USD 300,000 million (Rabossi, 2020). From a financial perspective, many countries with capacity to attract a large number of students from beyond their frontiers, strategically apply a dual policy as regards the collection of fees. Thus, those coming from other nations have to pay two or three times as much as local ones. Therefore, higher education exports generate a significant financial flow for those countries that have made a gradually stronger move to internationalize their classrooms. Also, in some countries like Estonia, Finland and Norway, the proportion of international versus local students is considered an indicator for allocating the public budget (UNESCO, 2020a). In the case of Argentina, even though there are no accurate estimates as to the revenues generated by higher education exports, the City of Buenos Aires (CABA, as per the acronym in Spanish) has become a mecca within the region. Every year, around 80,000 foreign students arrive in CABA, a figure that includes those enrolling in short-term, extracurricular courses. Considering that international students attract the visit of family and friends, in 2017 these service exports generated for the city, both directly and indirectly, a revenue equivalent to USD 581 million (Curcio & Luna, 2020). The coordination between the universities and the government, the latter through its program "Study Buenos Aires" (SBA), has played a significant role to facilitate the incorporation of foreign students to the city's academic supply.

It stands clear that, in higher education internationalisation processes, the markets, the state and the institutions play similar roles to the ones proposed by Clark (1983) in his coordination triangle. Based on the identification and classification established by Yip (1992) for the factors that have led to the increasing globalization of nations, their industries and their companies, Rama (2017) transfers this model to the educational field. He mentions the same three actors – the markets, requiring global certifications and seeking higher quality offers than those locally available; the States, which apply government policies to promote a wider trade opening and which endorse global quality standard certifications; and the universities, which seek to stand out by offering new academic programs and access to technologies not available at a local level. Moreover, the reduction of costs for connections among countries and the development of new information and communication technologies (NICT) facilitate remote integration among nations.

The logic that characterizes these interactive dynamics between universities, the State and the markets in Latin America is of an insular type, with a model of self-replication, lacking substantial contact with countries beyond the region. In fact, about 80% of the foreign students in Latin America come from within the region, and as little as 2.2% of international students choose to pursue their higher education in this area of the world. On the other hand, only five out of 100 students studying in other parts of the world come from Latin America. This represents one of the lowest transfer rates globally. These characteristics reveal a low-level internationalisation model with regional endogamic traits. It may be speculated that, in part, these characteristics are the consequence of the difficulty that institutions have to attract Asian youngsters, a collective that makes up approximately 40% of all international students. Additionally, there is relatively low mobility within the region. In fact, less than one out of 100 students chooses to enrol in a foreign university (UNESCO-UIS, 2015).

From a temporal perspective, since the '90s a series of initiatives to liaise Latin American universities with foreign counterparts have been implemented. However, these have been the result of individual institutional efforts rather than part of a comprehensive and strategic action plan developed as a State policy (de Wit et al., 2005). Currently, a growth in collaborations between universities in the region with peers around the world, as well as the increased involvement of governments to promote it may be observed. However, a series of organizational obstacles hinder a more forceful dynamic of the process of internationalisation. These institutional or internal barriers include scarce funding to promote these activities, low foreign-language proficiency by students and faculty, and limited information about international opportunities. Additionally, universities in Latin America identify a few external obstacles that challenge the possibility of a greater degree of openness to the world. Among these are scarcity of public funding, lack of national policies to promote internationalisation, and difficulties in the recognition of local curricula at foreign universities (Gacel-Ávila & Rodríguez-Rodríguez, 2018).

In short, the degree of internationalisation of Latin American universities is still low, both in quantitative terms as well as in relation to the level of geographic diversification of its students. This situation is not only observable in reference to its North American and Western European peers, whose institutions are chosen by almost 56% of international students, but also in regards to sub-Saharan Africa, for example, which hosts 3% of all foreign enrolments (UNESCO-UIS, 2015).

The Argentinean University System. Basic Features

One of the distinctive characteristics of Argentinean universities starting from the University Reform that took place in the city of Cordoba in 1918, is their form of government.[1] Although the professional profile prevailed to train the graduate to meet labour market requirements, scientific and technological initiatives were also developed. After periods of crisis during which universities were intervened both by civil and military governments, the '80s and the '90s showed significant changes. Among them, the steady growth of the demand resulted in the doubling of the number of students at state-run universities during the period of 1983–1990, which clashed with budget restrictions (Rabossi et al., 2021). Additionally, new educational systems associated with distance and hybrid learning came into being within the framework of a process of institutional diversification, as a result of the advent of a variety of graduate programs. In the '90s, structural changes related to program and institution evaluation policies took place. New public budget allocation systems and funding sources (equitable cost recovery) were proposed. The Higher Education Act of 1995 (LES, as per the acronym in Spanish) introduced significant regulatory changes which, based on the creation of the National University Assessment and Accreditation Committee in 1996 (CONEAU, as per the acronym in Spanish), resulted in systematic policies for institutional assessments and undergraduate and graduate course accreditation (De Vincenzi, 2009).

[1] The system of government established by the bylaws of 1883 granted the control of colleges to graduates who formed part of the academies. They formed those bodies, enrolled themselves, held their positions for life, and appointed their own members.

The system is characterized by the integration of two subsystems – non-university tertiary and university. The former is composed of two large networks of institutions: professors training and technical-professional training colleges. These are attended by 962,493students (67% in state-run institutes) distributed among 2280 institutions (Argentina.gob.ar, 2018). This sector concentrates almost 33% of total higher education demand. State-run institutes are created, authorized and funded at a provincial level. The university subsystem has a little more than two million students (21% in the private sector) and includes 131 universities and university institutes (61 state-run, 64 privately-held, and 6 provincial ones). Established through the enactment of a National Congress Act, except for those which were created before the constitution of the State itself (as is the case of Universidad Nacional de Córdoba and Universidad de Buenos Aires), state-run universities and university institutes are funded by the National State and are considered autonomous legal entities. Provincial universities are founded by provincial legislatures and created in response to local demands, according to provincial educational needs. The province is responsible for funding, supervising and auditing those institutions. In the case of privately-held universities, the National Ministry of Education and CONEAU are the entities responsible for authorizing their opening and operation (Rabossi & Guaglianone, 2020).

In Argentina education is considered a public good. Therefore, free education in the public sub-system is a right all the way from kindergarten to undergraduate studies, both for local and international students. While the private sub-system and all graduate programs taught in the country have academic fees, due to the repeated cycles of the devaluation of the Argentine currency, educational costs are very affordable in relation to those of other countries in the region. Moreover, since many public universities have practically no admissions requirements and there are no specific entrance quotas per discipline, anyone who has completed secondary studies can virtually start studying at the public sub-system. These features may work as a powerful mechanism to attract international students. The private sub-system, on the other hand, has somewhat more stringent entrance requirements, often reflected in entrance examinations or preparation courses.

Internationalisation of Argentinean Higher Education in Numbers[2]

Educational internationalisation follows three patterns in the country. First, most incoming international students undertake short programs, known as "faculty-led" or "customized programs." The second position is occupied by "exchange programs,"

[2] Information obtained from the latest yearbook (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019) prepared by the Department of University Information (DNPeIU, as per the acronym in Spanish) reporting to the Secretariat of University Policies of the Ministry of Education. Previous year books did not include international student numbers.

consisting of studying subjects during one semester, or 1 year, within a degree program at a university in another country, which are then validated in the home institution. This is the modality in which most Argentinean students go abroad. Finally, there are students who pursue full undergraduate or graduate programs overseas.

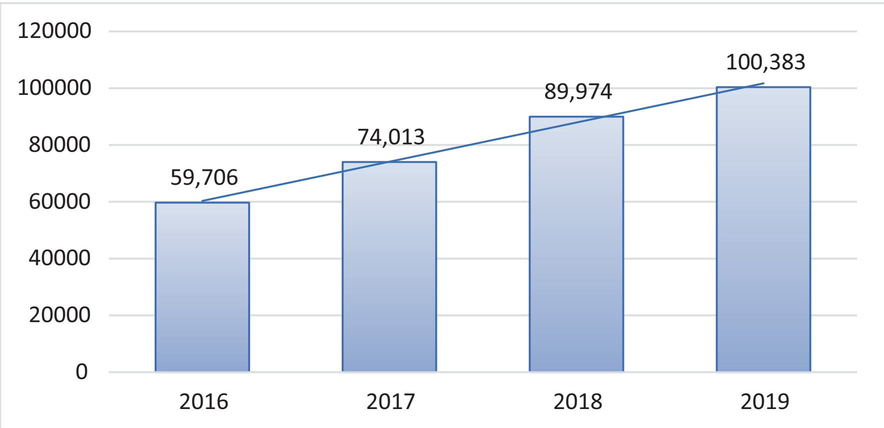
Over the last years, Argentina has witnessed a considerable increase of international students, which has made the country a net exporter of higher education services (Rabossi & Guaglianone, 2020). Graph 4.1 shows this tendency for the period 2016–2019 (the latest available data).

While in 2016 there were almost 60,000 international undergraduate and graduate students, in 2019 the number exceeded 100,000, a 68% growth in just 3 years. Nonetheless, the proportion of non-locals in relation to that in countries with a higher capacity to attract international students, such as Australia and the United Kingdom, continues to be low (4% of the system). However, this figure is in alignment with that in the rest of the region.

A particular trait during the period under analysis is the relative growth that took place in public institutions in relation to that in its private counterparts. While 70% of international students chose national institutions for their university studies in 2016, 3 years later that number grew to almost 77% (see Graph 4.2).

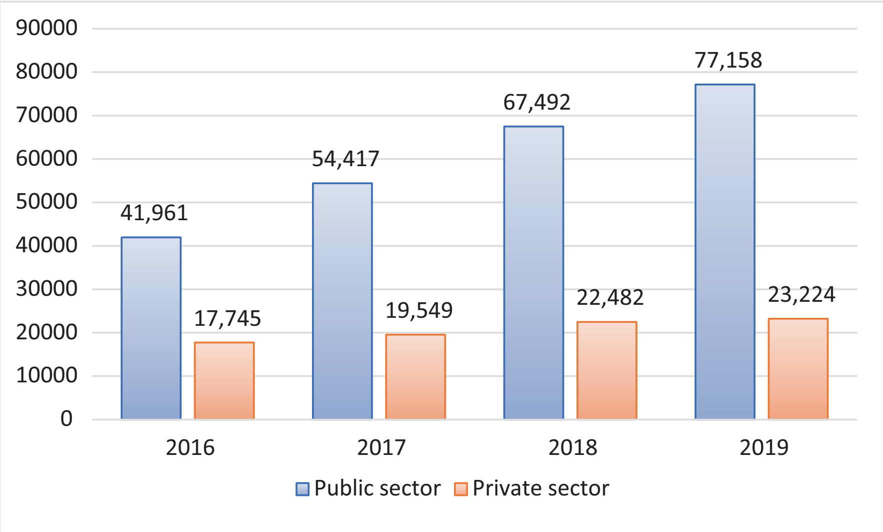
A differentiation between undergraduate and graduate student groups evidences paramount intersectoral growth dissimilarities. Graph 4.3 shows that at the undergraduate level, students at the public sector grew 70% while the increment in its private counterpart was less than half of it (25%).

At the graduate level, growth over the analyzed period has been significant (see Graph 4.4). Indeed, the number of students multiplied by more than three, increasing from 4,304 in 2016 to 13,260 in 2019. Just like at the undergraduate level, growth in the public sector was significantly larger than in the private sphere (369%



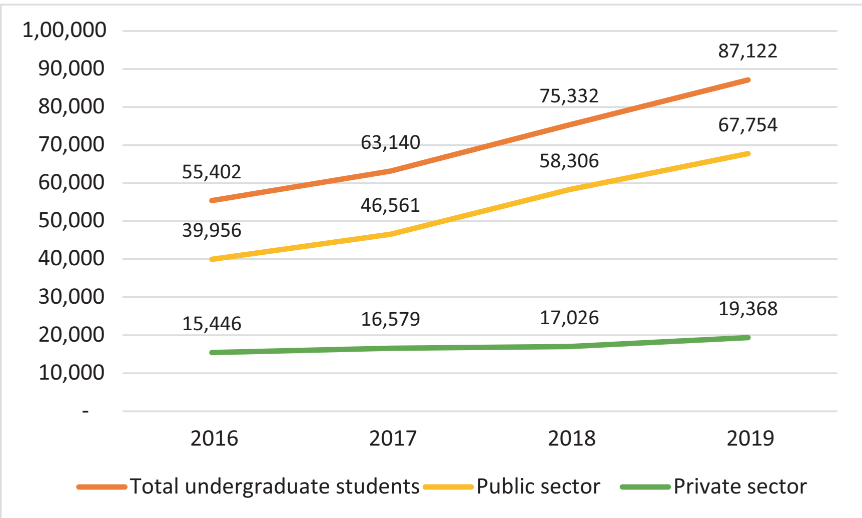
Source: SPU (2016 – 2019)

Graph 4.1 International undergraduate and graduate students at Argentine universities (2016–2019). (Source: SPU (2016–2019))



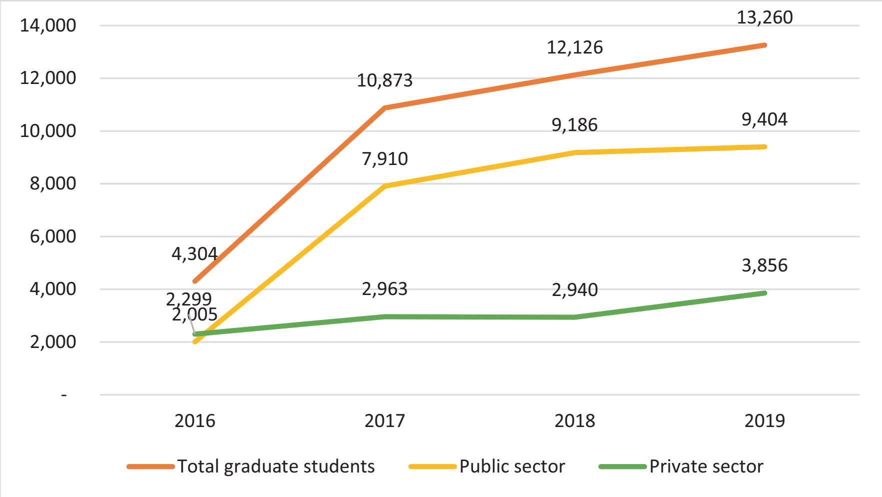
Source: SPU (2016 – 2019)

Graph 4.2 International undergraduate and graduate students at Argentine universities by sector (2016–2019). (Source: SPU (2016–2019))



Source: SPU (2016 – 2019)

Graph 4.3 International undergraduate students by sector (2016–2019). (Source: SPU (2016–2019))



Source: SPU (2016 –2019)

Graph 4.4 International graduate students in Argentine universities by sector (2016–2019). (Source: SPU (2016–2019))

versus 68%). In relation to the total number of graduate students in the system, in 2019 international students represented almost 11%, a very significant value in global terms.

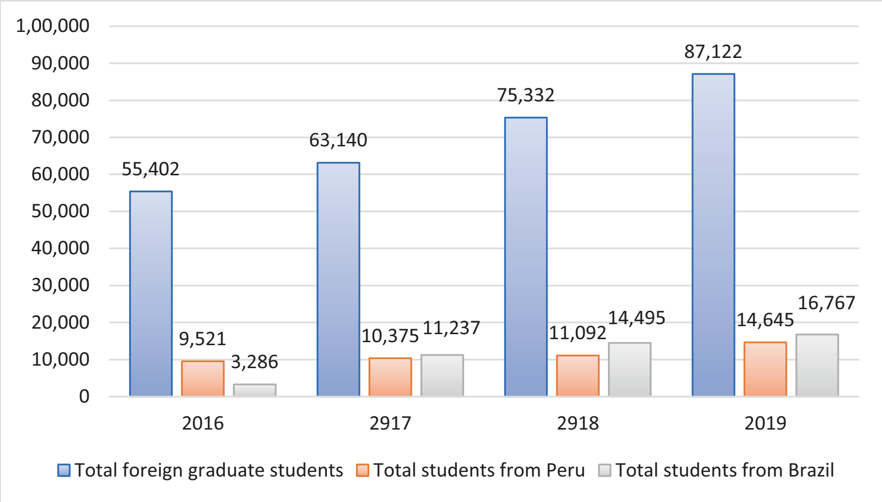
During the analyzed period (2016–2019), the majority of the students came from the American continent (95%), followed by Europe (4%) and an almost non-existent incidence from the rest of the world. At the undergraduate level, Brazil and Peru contributed the largest number of students. The percentage growth of students coming from Brazil is worth noting, as it reached a 410% increase during the period under analysis. Graph 4.5 shows this particularity.

Graduate students came mostly from Colombia and Ecuador making up almost one for every two students, followed by Brazil (see Graph 4.6). The first two nations showed significant percentage increases during the period 2016–2019, which amounted to a 250% growth in the first case and 354% in the second.

At this point it is worth mentioning that according to QS Best Student Cities 2019, which ranks the best destinations for students, the city of Buenos Aires was acknowledged as the top-ranked Spanish-speaking city for its capability to offer university education in a friendly and welcoming environment (Guaglianone & Rabossi, 2018).

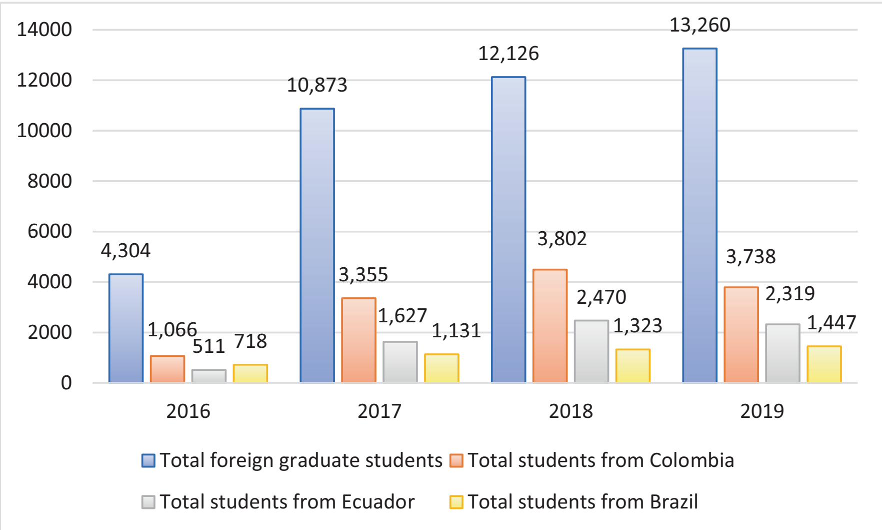
Regarding the number of Argentine students who pursue partial or full-degrees overseas, the data available is somewhat old, dating from 2015.[3] At that time, 0.3% of students went to other countries for their higher education. This universe was considerably less than that of other nations in the region such as Brazil (0.7%),

[3] UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS).



Source: SPU (2016 – 2019)

Graph 4.5 International undergraduate students at Argentine universities by country of origin (2016–2019). (Source: SPU (2016–2019))



Source: SPU (2016 –2019)

Graph 4.6 International graduate students in Argentine universities by country of origin (2016–2019). (Source: SPU (2016–2019))

Colombia, Chile or Mexico (Monroy, 2018). A more updated representation of outgoing mobilities was documented as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic by the National Ministry of Education. In an effort to map students, professors and researchers stranded overseas, they identified 1,914 cases. While this number would come up to approximately 0.08% of the current university student population, since there is no distinction between students, researchers and professors nor between those pursuing partial or full degree programs, it can only be considered as a limited reference. However and in order to arrive to a more reliable figure, a more in-depth study is required.

The weakness of the Argentine currency in relation to that of most other countries makes overseas academic, living and travel costs very high. This is one of the main causes for the small number of Argentine youngsters studying abroad. The most popular overseas destinations for studies for Argentine students are Spain, France, Germany, the United States, and, increasingly, Australia. Since a whopping 97.2% of Argentines are of European (mostly of Spanish and Italian descent) and Mestizo (mixed European and Amerindian ancestry) (CIA World Factbook, 2021), double citizenships enable a number of Argentines to access affordable studies in Europe. Economic crises and political instability are and have often been catalysts for increasing numbers of students wanting to pursue education programs -mainly graduate- abroad in hopes of being able to establish in the host country for good.

Internationalisation Policies in Argentina. Key Process Players

The steady support that was provided by European countries, mainly Spain, and by international funding entities during the ’90s, was key to the first student exchange programs developed in Latin America. In the region, higher education internationalisation strategies were mostly strengthened at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In Argentina, overseas higher education collaboration processes are mainly articulated with those of the countries in the region, where state agencies play a fundamental role.

We identified four key public organisms in charge of promoting cooperation and internationalisation processes in higher education in Argentina: the Secretariat of University Policies (SPU), which reports to the National Ministry of Education; the National Department of Interinstitutional Cooperation and Integration of the Ministry of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation (DNCeII, as per the acronym in Spanish); the International Cooperation Area of the Department of Scientific and Technological Development of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET); and the recently created Study Buenos Aires (SBA) program, led by the General Secretariat of International Relations of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires.

To better understand the strategies adopted to strengthen the position of Argentina in a globalized higher education map, below is an analysis of the policies implemented by the mentioned state agencies from the perspective of their top officers, with whom in-depth interviews were conducted. To supplement that information, secondary sources, reports and documents were also analyzed.

Secretariat of University Policies – Ministry of Education

The Secretariat of University Policies, the top agency for university system control and coordination in Argentina, relies on the Higher Education Internationalisation and International Cooperation Program (PIESCI, as per the acronym in Spanish) to develop international cooperation activities, promote Argentinean universities abroad, and articulate Argentinean university system demands and needs in the field of internationalisation.

In general terms, Argentina may be considered as well positioned for the development of this kind of policies even though its internationalisation measures are less aggressive than those of some other countries.

> It could be said that Argentina lags behind in quantitative terms (number of foreign students). However, this is in line with the internationalization strategies developed by the country, based on the strengthening of institutions. Nevertheless, in terms of construction of regional policies in Latin America, Argentina has always been a natural leader in many processes such as student mobility, degree validation, and certification of quality and international processes with a view to regional integration. (Coordinator of the Higher Education Internationalization and International Cooperation Program – CPIESCI)

In questions of the impact of internationalisation policies, the following can be observed:

> In terms of the impact of the Program's policies on institutions, I can say it is high and significant. But this is a perception based on my daily work. We lack impact measurement and assessment devices. After 20 years consolidating and improving internationalization strategies, we are proposing the first five-year evaluation of university internationalization policies and strategies, as well as assessment of the courses of action to follow in the future, for the purpose of developing an analytical view of institutions as regards internationalization. (CPIESCI)

Argentinian university internationalisation according to CPIESCI is mainly based on "institutional strengthening, not on a kind of internationalization that is (solely) concerned with student enrolment." As regards international cooperation programs and projects, the main partners are France, Germany, MERCOSUR and other countries in the region. Student and professors exchange programs are developed and knowledge is generated on a joint basis within the framework of academic networks. In 2017, the policy to position Argentina as an eligible country to undertake undergraduate and graduate courses started to be implemented.

> I'd say that this project was born in 2005, based on the idea of developing a country brand. Efforts are now being made to position Argentina as an academic destination for students from all over the world who want to study in Argentinean universities because of their quality, who want to learn Spanish here because of its local accent, or who want to take advantage of the country's tourist attractions. This has become a priority policy that is being articulated with other agencies and programs such as Study Buenos Aires, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Tourism and, in the short term, with the Ministry of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation and the Ministry of Domestic Affairs. (CPIESCI)

As regards the factors that lead to the development of internationalisation policies, it is worth stressing the harmonious relationship with other Latin American countries among which a broader regional and international integration within the framework of an analogous political context has been encouraged over the last 20 years.

> National executive powers were then working in unison on a regional integration project, and this created a strong stimulus for internationalization policies in Latin America. However, there is not a clear preference for the region at present and, even if policies with MERCOSUR continue to be developed, it is hard to maintain regional public university policies. (CPIESCI)

Another important obstacle to increase internationalisation is the shortage of financing and migration barriers. According to CPIESCI, "it is essential to bring further flexibility to migration procedures for students, both for those who choose to study in Argentina and for Argentineans who seek to study abroad." Finally, another constraint is the language, mainly the lack of programs in English. "Language is a foreign policy matter, a state policy. Language requires an articulation effort between the internationalization policies developed by the State and those of higher education institutions," concluded the Coordinator.

National Department of Institutional Cooperation and Integration – Ministry of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation

The National Department of Institutional Cooperation and Integration takes part in international technical cooperation activities related to science, technology, and productive innovation. It connects the different players of the national scientific-technological system, including academic, small and medium-sized technological business and the State through agencies coordinating similar activities. Its degree of internationalisation through the policies developed by the Ministry of Science and Technology would be perceived as high.

> Even though it is very difficult for us to measure the impact of the activities because we lack information, I could tell you that I perceive it as high based on some (indicators) we have started to record… We also see it in the extent of success of projects and invitations to submit projects. (National Director of Institutional Cooperation and Integration – DiNCeII)

Apart from getting involved in the financial aspects of projects, the area also develops technical activities on a coordinated and articulated basis with other Ministries, including mainly marine science, space and bio-economics programs. It also works with different technical areas which, among other activities, support climate change negotiations through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

> An example of this articulation was our work with Germany. All of us –SCTeIP, SPU and CONICET – interacted with Germany. Since 2017 we have formed a team to coordinate tasks and resources, resulting in more effectiveness in any work we embark on. (DiNCeII)

As regards liaisons with universities, two specific matters arise which are related to the coordination of cooperation efforts. On the one hand, the Secretariat interacts specifically with the staff of universities offering graduate education, even though the core business of these institutions is undergraduate training. On the other hand, according to DiNCeII it is not ideal to interact with universities because this relationship is more effectively established through SPU and CONICET.

Regarding partnerships, policies prioritize those countries from which Argentina can benefit through the transfer of specific knowledge that can be offered by them, working on the basis of three-party agreements involving the participation of SCTeIP, researchers and businessmen.

> We are currently working a lot with the U.S.A., Germany, France, Israel, the U.K., Italy, China, and recently we have made progress with Spain. We continue to work with the EU and Brazil. In some specific areas we are collaborating with Chile, Uruguay, Colombia, South Africa, and Canada. (DiNCeII)

With reference to the factors that stimulate and hinder the development of internationalisation policies, international financing is considered essential to develop and foster internationalisation. Among the obstacles, one of the main ones is the lack of resources, "which are always scarce," (DiNCeII) and another is the researchers' difficulty to understand the guidelines of the internationalisation policy proposed by the Ministry.

DiNCeII claims that it is necessary to create knowledge to transform it into new resources and thus close the knowledge gap among countries.

> If it all comes down to basic knowledge and the publication of papers, we face the problem of who will read them, have the resources to develop, and put them into practice. The (finished) product returns to the country with an added value which, even though it had been planned by us, we were not able to carry out in our country… It is as we were told at school, when we sent the wool to England and, after a year, it returned converted into a piece of clothing… (DiNCeII)

Other problems that arise with the international counterparts are of a cultural nature, mainly related to administrative and bureaucratic matters. In some cases, the obstacle results from linguistic differences among the countries, or from the difficulty to federalize human resources and infrastructure, which concentrate mainly in Buenos Aires.

Department of Scientific and Technological Development – National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET)

CONICET is the main entity devoted to promoting science and technology in Argentina. Created in 1958, it has more than 400 establishments including research centers, laboratories and institutes. Through agreements with international scientific institutions, the international cooperation area funds joint research projects, usually based on bilateral and multilateral arrangements.

In terms of large projects, France and Germany are the main partners for cooperation with Argentina through CONICET. Cooperation with the U.S.A. is also significant. In the case of Spain and Brazil, major partners for Argentina, collaboration has been reduced due to the lack of financing in both countries.

Lately, it has been observed that the generation of agreements with new partners responds to current international strategies in Argentina. In this respect, a change of direction can be noticed at a national political level in favour of establishing relations with Asia Pacific partners. According to the head of the area (RACICONICET), the situation is as follows:

> Lately, and due to reasons of financing and shared scientific interests, we have once again restructured our cooperation links with Japan, China and Korea. We have been working a lot with China. We have quite similar problems (to the ones these countries have). At present, cooperation takes place in specific areas: water management (decisions about its use and quality), certification, pollution. These are problems we all have in common. (RACICONICET)

Broadly speaking, it can be observed that the main areas of development as regards to international scientific cooperation with CONICET are those related to exact sciences, biology, medicine, physics and chemistry. Although CONICET promotes the expansion of all disciplines, including social sciences and humanities, bilateral and multilateral cooperation projects are mainly focused on basic sciences, engineering and medicine. On the other hand, just as there is a focus on certain areas, projects are also concentrated in the hands of the research teams of the largest state-run universities, such as Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA), Universidad de La Plata (UNLP) and Universidad Nacional de Córdoba (UNC), for example. However, the head of the area maintains:

> There are always more candidates from large universities such as UBA, UNLP and UNC. But we also have research teams in (smaller universities such as Universidad Nacional de) Tucumán and (Universidad Nacional de) Río Negro. When projects are selected to be funded, scientific quality is assessed…, but there is always the intention to prioritize (for reasons of equity) a certain geographic and thematic distribution. You will always see researchers from UBA, UNLP and UNC…but this is also because they concentrate most CONICET researchers. (RACICONICET)

Regarding the obstacles for the development of international cooperation, there is also the low availability of financing and the internal lack of articulation among the different players of the macro-system. For this reason, monthly meetings have started to be held between CONICET, SPU and SCTeIP with a view to improving the articulation among the different actors that participate in international cooperation. For the head of the area, one of the problems is that “all of us, SPU, SCTeIP and CONICET, ignore the financing tools available to each agency, and perhaps the same project is being funded more than once.” Synergies and economies of scale are not profited from and expenses are duplicated. “We sometimes ignore that we are carrying out the same program with a partner with whom all of us, CONICET, SCTeIP and SPU, work. As I see it, internal articulation is a challenge that remains to be sorted out.”(RACICONICET).

Another problem is related to the scarce articulation among universities with regards to networking. According to the head of the area, “networking is very popular among researchers, because they are used to working that way since calls for projects establish that kind of methodology, but it is hard to implement at an institutional level.”

Study Buenos Aires – Buenos Aires City Government Program – General Secretariat of International Relations

Study Buenos Aires (SBA) is a program conducted by the Government of the City of Buenos Aires (GCABA) which was started in 2016. It seeks the inclusion and integration of international students in classrooms. It also promotes Argentinean universities abroad, engaging with them in road shows and at different academic fairs, such as the one of the Association of International Educators (NAFSA). The program is important due to the economic impact caused by the arrival of foreign students in the City of Buenos Aires (CABA as per the acronym in Spanish).

> 2017 figures show us a total of around 65,000 visitors for study purposes, mainly in the City, who spent more than 160 million dollars…; but in 2018 there were already around 69,000 who spent 191million dollars. (Also), the arrival of tourists in this segment grew 13% during 2018. (Study Buenos Aires Program Manager – GPSBA)

SBA cooperates with SPU and with the National Ministry of Education in the launch of the “Argentinean brand.” The purpose is both to position the country as a target for foreign students and to simplify migration procedures. For interaction with the university system, SBA works with 25 university institutions from CABA and AMBA,[4] both state-run and privately-held. “We work with universities to improve students’ experience when they are not at university. We do not meddle with the university or get involved in study programs or lessons.” (GPSBA). An issue that prevents the increase in the number of foreign students is the difficulty to expand study programs in foreign languages, mainly in English. According to GPSBA, “the countries that have made progress in attracting international students offer programs in English. If we want to incorporate countries such as Japan or China, English is (almost) the (only) access door.” Another problem that Argentina faces is that:

[4] AMBA is the urban area formed by CABA and 40 municipalities of the Province of Buenos Aires.

> …universities do not view (internationalization) as an opportunity beyond educational quality. For example, a foreign student at a privately-held university generates resources that can then be reinvested for professors 'stays in foreign universities, scholarships for students…that is to say, as an advantage to generate more resources… a virtuous circle that strengthens internationalization policies. (GPSBA)

Internationalisation in the Face of COVID-19: Challenges and Opportunities

On March 11, 2020 the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the outbreak of the new coronavirus a pandemic. All around the globe, governments issued decrees and took measures to face the health emergency. These gradually more stringent regulations resulted in a suspension during March of face-to-face teaching at a world level. According to UNESCO Statistics Institute (2020b), around 1,600 million students from 191 countries were affected by the suspension of face-to-face lessons at different educational levels. This unheard-of situation pushed educational institutions to search for pedagogical, logistical, financial and human solutions of a totally unprecedented complexity.

Data from OECD (UNESCO, 2020a) indicates that when the health emergency was declared a vast majority of the countries were in the middle of their academic terms, with student, professors and researcher movements under way. The cancellation of flights and the closing of frontiers, suddenly adopted almost on a universal basis, forced students, professors and researchers to remain stranded in foreign countries, without the possibility to return home. With almost six million students choosing foreign countries to undertake partial or full studies, this situation implied a large-scale challenge for universities, in particular for International Relations Offices (ORI, as per the acronym in Spanish), which had to undertake a customized effort with each receptive and emissive exchange student to guarantee their physical and emotional welfare. Additionally, although there are no figures to support the extent of these activities, every year there are thousands of professors and researchers who travel to academic or research centers abroad. It was also necessary to coordinate together with the pertinent consular offices the repatriation flights for each of these individuals. Apart from providing logistical and emotional support for students and their parents, ORIs had to find solutions for scholarship beneficiaries who were running out of funds, stranded in a foreign country.

In order to guarantee pedagogical continuity and mitigate the risk of student dropout, governments and higher education institutions implemented different policies and efforts to adapt to the new reality. The speed with which institutions adopted virtual teaching was key to ensure that neither local nor exchange students missed the term. Despite the great efforts made by universities, the urgency to implement virtual teaching during the health crisis prevented it from being endowed with some of the features that characterize high-quality distance education. The new scheme lacked strategic planning and did not rely on professors specially qualified for that purpose, on suitable and accessible platforms, or on tutorial service systems for students. For these reasons, Pedró (2020) called it "emergency distance teaching," drawing a clear distinction between its quality and the one required for it to be optimal.

Apart from the numerous difficulties and challenges posed by the pandemic, this circumstance also brought about some opportunities and positive situations. One of them was the increased cooperation among university partners and professional network or forum members such as FAEI (acronym in Spanish for Argentinean Forum for International Education). New instant communication spaces were generated among these players, such as WhatsApp or social network groups to share the latest developments about restrictions, migration policies and the availability of international transportation. FIESA (acronym in Spanish for Argentinean Higher Education International Fair) transferred part of the activities scheduled for its annual conference to a virtual, free format, and the Higher Education Internationalisation and International Cooperation Program (PIESCI) offered a wide range of free training courses on university internationalisation. The Study Buenos Aires program continued with its intensive policy to position CABA as an educational mecca and worked jointly with city universities to offer a new program of graduate scholarships for Latin American students, with grantees being due to start their studies in Buenos Aires in March 2021.

International professional associations such as NAFSA (Association of International Educators), EAIE (European Association for International Education) and The Forum on Education Abroad, among others, offered webinars and forums to share contributions among colleagues and as free repositories of pedagogical tools and best practices, training sessions and joint spaces for reflection on the future of international education. As important as the generosity with which resources were shared was the relief that these spaces provided to international educators overwhelmed by the personal and professional challenges posed by SARS-CoV-2.

Cooperation also occurred at a public level. PIESCI, led by the Secretariat of University Policies of the National Ministry of Education, acted as a link between universities and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship of Argentina. Together they collected and shared with the different Argentinian embassies and consular offices abroad information on students, professors and researchers who were away from the country. This data was key to prioritize the repatriation of students, lecturers and researchers in critical conditions. To facilitate the return home of international students who were in our country, ORIs also worked in close cooperation with embassies and consular offices.

Another positive aspect of the crisis was the increased cooperation between Argentina and other Latin American higher education institutions. In a region where it has been traditionally difficult to generate student exchanges, the virtual mode facilitated the growth of this kind of activities, aided by the language and the little or no time zone difference between the countries. The adoption of virtual teaching also enabled new or existing cooperation among professors through interaction with lecturers and/or students from other parts of the world. This internationalisation at home, which was catalyzed during the pandemic and will most likely remain, albeit in lesser measure once everything is back to "normal", involved key strategies to democratize the acquisition of intercultural competences in an area characterized by sharp socioeconomic differences.

Additionally, higher education in Argentina was not exempt from the economic impact caused by the pandemic. However, since in the country higher education internationalisation is limited in terms of the proportion of non-local students, the damage caused by the global crisis was smaller than in countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, which attract more than 40% of all foreign students (UNESCO, 2020b) and where universities' revenues can rely up to 50% on the tuition fees that are charged to international students. In Argentina, including even those students who arrived in the country to enrol in courses with duration of up to 2 months, in 2018 universities had 99,271 non-local students (SPU, 2018). Like other similar agencies overseas, Study Buenos Aires adopted in the second year of the pandemic an aggressive strategy to keep positioning the city as a preferred destination for international students. Borders opened in November of 2021 and, while almost at the end of the academic year, with tight travel requirements and with the pandemic still being a threat, international students flocked to the city. Could that be a positive omen of what is to come when "normal" is back?

Conclusions

Higher education internationalisation became an item on the educational policy agenda of Argentina in 2000, within a national and international context that favoured international integration and cooperation. In this respect, it is necessary to underline that, although internationalisation was included in the national policy agenda, it was not universities themselves that sponsored this process. Their actions came in response to opportunities presented by external agencies and institutions.

As has been described, there are in Argentina four key players in higher education internationalisation processes as regards movement of students, faculty members, researchers and scientific knowledge: SPU, SCTeIP, CONICET and, on a regional scale, the SBA program. These are responsible for generating and promoting the internationalisation agenda at a macro-system level. After analyzing their specific roles, a distinction can be made among these players with regard to their features and activities in relation to the different users to whom they are addressed. SPU focuses its work on the link it generates with universities while SCTeIP prioritizes internationalisation through research and development, which enables Argentina to take advantage of technological knowledge transfer. CONICET, in turn, focuses its internationalisation policy on the articulation of scientific projects and products with analogous institutions from other countries. SBA program concentrates its activities on providing support to foreign students and promoting CABA at international fairs, among other purposes.

Although the existence of multiple players could be considered a strength for internationalisation in Argentina, a scarce articulation can be observed in the policies generated at the macro-system level. This trend is reflected by a certain lack of connection between the different players in the academic and scientific field, represented by the universities and government agencies mentioned above, and other state entities such as the Migration Department and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina. The point is that these latter show organizational dynamics and strategic goals that can at times clash with higher education internationalisation processes. As a result of the interviews that were conducted, it was possible to check a growing tendency to revert this situation. Different joint work proposals were observed which aim to articulate the mentioned agencies.

As has been said, the main partners of Argentina in the area of international cooperation are France, Germany, Spain and Latin America, with a strong emphasis on relations with MERCOSUR. In any case, over the last years a certain degree of opening in favour of new partners has been reported, with the strategic view being focused on the European Union (EU) considered as a block and Asia, mainly China. However, a larger cooperation and better articulation with the U.S.A. and the EU has been observed in areas of wider scientific development such as medicine, engineering, and exact and natural sciences.

The main obstacles that hinder a more efficient development of the internationalisation process in Argentina are the scarcity of financing, this was remarked by almost all the interviewed, the insufficient use of English by students and professors, the lack of articulation among macro-system players, and migration requirements that complicate academic mobility. Added to these is the lack of assessment of the impact caused by the policies implemented, which would make it possible to think of strategies to improve international cooperation processes. In any case and along these lines, progress has been made in database creation and data engineering to evaluate the state of the art in the internationalisation activities performed by Argentinean higher education players over the last 20 years.

Although internationalisation policies have been greatly stimulated by the actions generated by SPU, there does not seem to be a formal structure that articulates them efficiently with those performed at universities. As a result, a certain disconnection is perceived between the formulation of principles and the specific processes of higher education internationalisation. On the other hand, the interrelation between the areas that develop internationalisation processes at universities is still relatively weak and this hinders their articulation with government agencies. Broadly speaking, internationalisation offices devote themselves to mobility questions and, within mobility, to offering exchange programs and short-term courses by means of agreements with other institutions. Instead, offering full-degrees is in charge of university admission or promotion areas (Guaglianone & Rabossi, 2018). In this respect, it is worth stressing that most internationalisation experiences on a national scale focus on the more traditional activities, that is, those related to the exchange of students and professors and to management of international projects, mainly oriented to the Latin American area.

In terms of challenges and opportunities for the country for increasing its internationalisation, on the one hand, the adoption of virtual education as a result of the pandemic has enabled a shy growth of collaborative online international learning initiatives. Evidently, the uneven access to proper devices and technologies by all students is a deterrent in making these types of opportunities more wide-spread. Additionally, it has allowed a slight increase of international students taking full executive and continuing education programs in Argentina, while mobility numbers -both incoming and outgoing- have dropped drastically. As indicated earlier, the fact that Spanish continues being the main and almost only language of instruction is an advantage for recruiting Latin American students. However, the limited number of courses in English offered mainly by private universities is also a constraint when positioning the country's academic offer in areas where Spanish is not widely-spoken nor taught.

At a macro-system level, the lack of proper and updated statistics regarding both incoming and outgoing mobilities represents a challenge when designing and implementing adequate public policies for promoting the internationalisation of the Argentine educational system. A rigid academic curriculum, especially in regards to recognition of online studies, is also a hindrance in this regard. Additionally, the country's poor economic and political performance in the latter years does not make good international publicity and, therefore, decrease its attractiveness.

While the country has somewhat of a bipolar relationship with trade agreements such as GATS, which it has adhered to but does not fully implement, other collaboration frameworks such as the now challenged MERCOSUR have made it very simple for international students from member countries to obtain study visas that grant them work benefits both during and after their education.

Argentine borders opened for international students in November of 2021, less than a month before the academic year ended. In spite of tight and often contradictory entry requirements, international students flocked to the country to experience it, albeit for a few weeks. At the time of writing this chapter, the world is seeing a new wave of Omicron, with an unprecedented number of new cases daily and, fortunately, low fatalities. Still, many universities around the globe have announced that the first weeks of their next semester will be taught remotely.

Over these past year and 9 months the Argentine higher education system has been forced to become more agile, flexible and collaborative, especially within the region. Bonds with other Latin American countries have been multiplied and cemented and joint activities in the shape of COIL, seminars, workshops, research, and virtual exchanges have grown significantly. Also, an increase in international students from the region taking remote executive training and full degrees has been reported by public and private institutions. The currency devaluation has made the growing remote offer an attractive alternative. It is yet to be seen whether this trend will continue and if challenges experienced over the past months will lead to significant curricular flexibility. Additionally, it is still unclear whether there will be a major redefinition of the social relevance of academic programs and if the promotional and positioning strategies implemented by Study Buenos Aires will prove successful.

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Chapter 5
Internationalisation of Higher Education in India: Deliberations on the Rationale, Strategies, Readiness and Impact

K. M. Joshi and Kinjal V. Ahir

Abstract India has a historical legacy of being home to some of the world's most renowned centres of knowledge and learning in higher education during ancient times, with manifold international engagements. But the landscape changed drastically over the period of time. At present, India's higher education system is the world's largest in terms of number of institutes and second largest in terms of enrolment after China. Despite this, Indian higher education is struggling to address the issues related to quality, efficiency, and international competitiveness. India has been the second-biggest source for outbound students after China and spends about 15 billion dollars per annum. The inbound students on the other hand are just 4.35% of the total outbound students. India in the recent past has initiated a radical transformation in higher education and established several regulatory incentives to support and mobilize the processes of internationalisation of higher education. The recent National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 advances 'internationalisation of higher education' to promote world-class teaching and research. The Government of India has launched multiple schemes to attract foreign students, faculties and enhance institutional foreign collaborative engagements. The present research also reveals findings of the impact of COVID besides a primary data collection with regard to the selection issues related to the 'why, where, and how' of outbound and inbound students in India.

Keywords India · Internationalisation · Regulations · Students · Faculties · Research · Institutions · COVID pandemic

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Introduction

India has a historical legacy of being home to some of the world's most renowned centres of knowledge and learning during ancient times. It attracted curious minds from across the globe to quench their thirst for knowledge, particularly during the tenth Century BC to the twelfth Century A.D. Among these renowned centres included Takshasila, Nalanda, Vallabhi, and Vikramsila. In these institutes, the administrative, pedagogical, and academic evaluation norms were unlike any existing systems in India or elsewhere. The curious knowledge seekers came from various parts of the world. They congregated to Nalanda from distant countries like Mongolia, China, Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Persia, Turkey, Tibet, Ceylon (currently Sri-Lanka), and Tokhara. Noted Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang quoted that the rejection rate for a student seeking admission through a rigorous process at Nalanda was eighty percent (Apte, n.d.; AICTE, n.d.).

At present, India's higher education system is the world's largest in terms of number of institutes and second largest in terms of enrolment after China (Joshi & Ahir, 2016, 2019). However, with 37.4 million students, the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) is still low at 26.3. The growth of higher education institutions is notable in particular, since the 2000s. Although with the expansion of higher education, the challenges facing Indian higher education are also manifold. The discussions further in the paper focus on analysing the status, reasons, opportunities, and challenges in context of internationalisation of students, teachers, institutions, academic programs, and collaborative research, within the existing regulatory framework of higher education in India. COVID pandemic has caused a major disruption in various aspects of human life, as also in the higher education, and even more to its internationalisation. The chapter attempts to capture the challenges faced and resilience shown by the Indian stakeholders to cope up with this unprecedented situation. Information collected by the authors using primary data collection from selected stakeholders is also presented to understand the 'humane' factors behind the state that is reflected in the data presented in various sections. The last section provides the way forward for Indian higher education to seize the opportunities offered by internationalisation.

Internationalisation of Higher Education in India: Current Scenario

Internationalisation is a broad term encompassing largely two aspects; first, the manner in which global aspects influence higher education in the country, and second, cross-border education that refers to the *"movement of people, knowledge, programs, providers, policies, ideas, curricula, projects, research, services, across national or jurisdictional borders"* (Knight, 2014). Section 2 discusses both of these aspects from the perspective of Indian higher education. A discussion on regulatory provisions is followed by the current status of inbound and outbound movements of students and faculties (referred to as first-generation cross border education by Knight, 2014), programs and institutions (second-generation), and borderless education in India.

Regulatory Provisions in India Related to Internationalisation of Higher Education

India has several regulatory incentives in place to support and mobilize the processes of internationalisation of higher education.

The recent National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 document has an exclusive section on 'internationalisation of higher education' unlike previous policy documents. World reputed institutions, faculties, researchers and students are being attracted explicitly by facilitating the regulatory procedures both for entry and operations. Focus is specifically towards offering subjects through Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs) and collaborations that are unique to India like yoga, Indian music, languages, medicines, arts, history, traditional courses, sophisticated and modern sciences. International research participation in areas of global concerns like climate change, agriculture, and healthcare is solicited in the NEP (NEP, 2020). Although, India's political will and regulatory support as outlined in the NEP are clearly indicative of liberalizing mostly inbound higher education for students and faculties to promote world-class teaching and research referred to as 'internationalisation at home'. Over the years, the policy formulation in this regard has been noticeable in India. However, the implementation of the NEP, 2020 in *true letter and spirit*, will determine its success in the times to come.

National Educational Technology Forum has been set-up and is expected to seek benefits from international educational technology entrepreneurs (NEP, 2020). Such enthusiastic and liberal policy towards internationalisation of higher education in India with appropriate quality-assuring precautions (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, et al., 2001), was much desired and awaited by both Indian and foreign stakeholders alike (British Council, 2014; FICCI, 2014).

One of the most ambitious regulations related to the foreign higher educational institutions in India is the University Grants Commission (UGC Promotion and Maintenance of Standards of Academic Collaborations between Indian and Foreign Educational Institutions) Regulations, 2016. It contains regulations governing the collaboration between Indian and foreign higher education institutions for offering higher education programs leading to the award of degrees. Foreign institutes that have the highest grade in terms of accreditation in their home country can have operative arrangements in India through collaboration with Indian institutes. Academic collaboration programs provide for partial completion of the course on the campus of foreign institutes in its home country, at least for duration of two semesters in the case of undergraduate programs and one semester during post-graduate programs. Certain norms though are restrictive. The program has to be in the regular face-to-face mode and does not permit such provisions for collaboration in distance learning mode. A 'joint degree' is not permitted. The degree is supposed to be provided only under the name and logo of the Indian institute to sustain the degree-awarding authority of the Indian institute. These MoUs require the permission and approval of the UGC. Transcripts need to be signed by the foreign institute awarding the respective credits along with the Indian Institute (UGC notification, 2016). The regulatory restrictions have been imposed to safeguard and assure quality in collaboration between Indian and foreign institutes. UGC Regulations, 2018 specifies the eligibility for recruiting teachers in higher education institutes in India. It has a provision whereby any candidate who has a Ph.D. from foreign institute that was anytime ranked in the top 500 globally reputed rankings namely, QS, Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings and Academic Ranking of World Universities/Shanghai Jiao Tong University Rankings can apply for the post of assistant professor (UGC Regulations, 2018).

The Government of India has launched three specific schemes namely, GIAN, VAJRA, and SPARC to attract foreign faculties in India. 'Global Initiative of Academic Networks' (GIAN) is a scheme to invite foreign faculties to conduct short-term niche courses for 1 or 2 weeks. Obligatory permission to record the entire course content is sought from the foreign faculties before starting the course, which is subsequently submitted to the National Digital Repository. Provision is made for the use of a digital repository for offering credit courses to other students along with the provisions for credit transfers (GIAN, 2021). Visiting Advance Joint Research Faculty Scheme (VAJRA) launched by the Department of Science and Technology (DST), Government of India is a collaborative research initiative between Indian scientists and specifically Non-Resident Indians / Persons of Indian Origin / Overseas Citizens of India to work in an Indian academic and research institute, funded publicly. It is to facilitate joint research collaborations and faculty exchanges for basic Science and Technology projects (VAJRA, 2021). Scheme for Promotion of Academic and Research Collaboration (SPARC) is another initiative by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. SPARC's inception was specifically undertaken to expose Indian researchers to the world-class institutes abroad, over and above the exposure received from foreign faculties visiting India for duration of maximum 8 months (SPARC, 2021). Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) further offers a large number of opportunities to foreign students to pursue higher education in India. Almost all major State and Central higher education institutes collaborate with ICCR for scholarship supported admissions provided to foreign students. Applicants offer three preferences from which they become eligible for admission in any one (ICCR, 2021). Efforts put by ICCR in providing generous fellowships and facilitating inbound students is widely appreciated (Belousova, 2020). While most of these programs are certainly cost-effective in terms of providing access to Indian researchers through inbound foreign experts, such schemes cannot be treated as a substitute for international exposure in international campuses.

Besides, to pursue outbound international research programs, Science and Engineering Research Board (SERB) has several fellowships and programs sponsored by the Government of India through collaborations with 8 institutes of the US, UK, and Canada (SERB, 2021). VAJRA Overseas Visiting Doctoral Fellowship Program has and is further expected to announce more overseas programs for Indian researchers (VAJRA, 2021). Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR), exclusively created in 1969, to motivate social science research, provides support in the form of scholarships for international collaborations to undertake research activities (ICSSR, 2021). However, the rejection rates for the application show that such opportunities do fall short of the growing aspirations of Indian researchers to pursue research abroad. With the *massification* of higher education access, outbound opportunities will have to keep pace with rising demands.

The Government of India's (GoI) initiative to create world-class higher education institutes, referred to as 'Institution of Eminence' (IoE), also has various dimensions of internationalisation. It has provision for hiring faculties with either qualifications or experience from top 500 institutions in world university rankings. Foreign faculties may comprise up to twenty-five percent of its total strength and can be hired on 'tenure/contract basis'. Provision for admission to foreign students in such types of institutes has a capping of thirty percent. Institutes have autonomy for selection of students and deciding the fees to be charged to foreign students. These institutes can also collaborate with foreign institutions that are globally ranked among the top 500 (IoE, 2021). Therefore, it is a multi-focussed effort to provide financial support to selected institutes to facilitate their pursuit of becoming a top-ranking institute in the world. But this financial support is minuscule as compared to most of the funding received by globally highly ranked universities in the world.

In medical education, since March 2002, any Indian citizen who has pursued a primary medical degree from any country other than the US, UK, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, are required to appear for an examination called the 'Foreign Medical Graduate Examination (FMGE)' (NBE, 2021; IAU, 2021; MEA, 2021a). An analysis for the period 2012 to 2018 highlight that out of 97,639 students who appeared for FMGE, only 16 percent students passed the said exam. Majority of students who appear for FMGE have their degrees from China, Russia, and Ukraine. However, the passing percentage for students who graduate from Ukraine (16.27 percent), Russia (14.74 percent) and China (14.34 percent), is very low. Graduates from Mauritius (55.45), UAE (42.21), and Pakistan (30.35) have the highest passing percentage from among those countries with at least more than 50 candidates appearing for FMGE (Rawat, 2019).

India is a founder member of GATT and subsequent WTO. General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), an integral agreement of WTO, emerged in 1995. It deals broadly with 12 internationally traded services including educational services. The aim of GATS is to reduce and eliminate the barriers to free trade in services. Like other services, trade in higher education services is allowed under four modes (Tilak, 2011). At present, India allows trade in education services in accordance with provisions in GATS. Mode 1: movement of programs as facilitated by MOOCs, Mode 2: movement of inbound and outbound students, Mode 3: movement of reputed higher education institutes from foreign countries to India (if they appear in top 100 in world university rankings, although in the form of collaborations with Indian partners) and from India to foreign countries if granted the status of Institute of Eminence (IoE), and Mode 4: Movement of foreign teachers in India, through several initiatives like GIAN, SPARC, SERB, VAJRA, etc. although for short term and movement of Indian teachers to foreign institutes supported through several financial support programs . The Indian approach to internationally open higher education services under GATS is largely in accordance with the precautionary provisions suggested in the '*Joint Declaration on Higher Education and the General Agreement on Trade in Services*' signed by four signatories from the US, Canada, and Europe (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, et al., 2001). Accordingly, like these countries, India too has acted in such a way that fulfilment of the obligation towards GATS does not come at the cost of safeguarding the national interest.

Internationalisation of Higher Education Students to and from India

The largest movement of all stakeholders associated with higher education is that of students. In the following discussion, the number of inbound and outbound students, and factors affecting their choices has been enumerated.

Inbound Students

A total of 47,427 foreign students from 164 countries were studying in India during 2018–19 as shown in Fig. 5.1. The cost of pursuing higher education in India is relatively much lesser than developed countries. The inbound students comprised only 0.13 percent of the total students enrolled in Indian higher education. (Raman, 2019). The number of male and female students was 32,398 and 15,029 respectively.

Since 2010–11, the largest proportion of the inbound students in India came from the neighbouring countries, African countries, and Middle-east countries. India observed a 72.27 percent surge in the total inbound students during the period 2010–11 to 2018–19. As shown in Fig. 5.2, Nepal (27.88 percent of total inbound students in India), Afghanistan (9.82 percent), Bangladesh (4.38 percent), Sudan (4.02 percent), Bhutan (3.82 percent), Nigeria (3.4 percent), US (3.2 percent), Yemen (3.16 percent), Sri Lanka (2.64 percent), and Iran (2.38 percent) were the top ten countries from where the foreign students came to India during 2018–19. These top ten countries counted up for 30,204 (63.69 percent) of total inbound students in India during 2018–19.

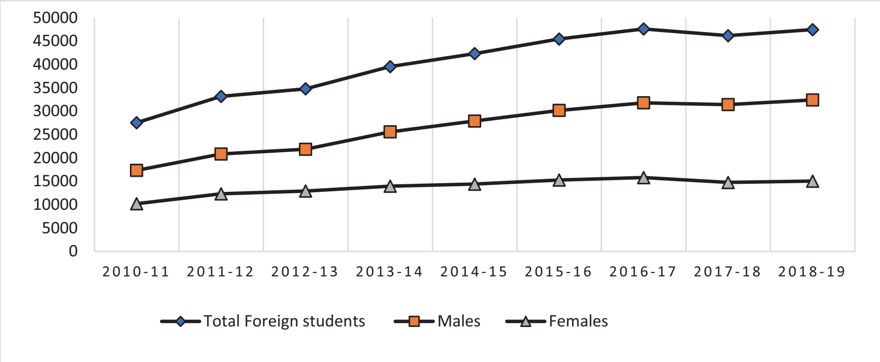

Fig. 5.1 Total foreign students in India, male and female during 2010–11 to 2018–19. (Erstwhile MHRD, multiple years)

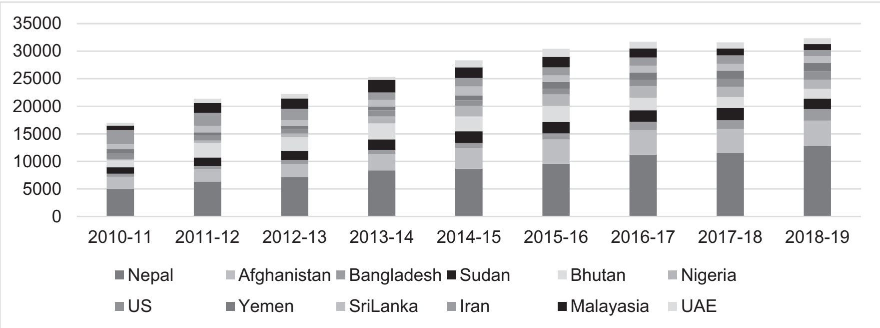

Fig 5.2 Countries from where most inbound foreign students arrived in India during 2010–11 to 2018–19. (Erstwhile MHRD, multiple years)

Country-wise disaggregated data for 2018–19 depicts that the maximum number of students enrolled in India for undergraduate studies arrived from Nepal, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Bangladesh. Similarly for the post-graduate programs the majority of students came from Afghanistan, Nepal, and Iran. But in Ph.D. program, the largest segment of students came from Ethiopia, Yemen, and Iran. Many inbound students in India are from countries that are facing military conflicts (Belousova, 2020). The inbound students also represent countries that have low economic growth or poor-quality higher education, especially skills-based higher education (Yeravdekar & Tiwari, 2014). The reasons for pursuing higher education in India include comparatively better job prospects after pursuing higher education, the relative low cost of education, programs in English, homogeneous colonial experience, democratic ecology of India, and India's international diplomatic ties. It is observed that foreign students who pursue higher education in India hold esteemed positions in corporate and government sector in their home countries. This further enhances the brand and image of higher education in India. It is also largely acknowledged that India has contributed substantially in capacity building in these countries in the fields of engineering and management (Yeravdekar & Tiwari, 2014).

In contrast, it is notable that during 2018–19, the absolute number of students in Ph.D. program from countries belonging to the global 'North' likes the US, UK, Canada, Australia was highly under-represented with only twenty students (MHRD, 2019). However, the growing role of the entrepreneurial private sector in higher education in India has coincided with the 'multinationalism of higher education' to bridge the gap between global 'North and South' (Altbach, 1999 as cited in Yeravdekar & Tiwari, 2014).

Historically, a greater number of foreign students pursued undergraduate courses in India, as compared to post-graduate courses or Ph.D. courses. About 73 percent of the total inbound students pursued undergraduate courses in India in 2018–19, followed by 16.15 percent in post-graduate courses, and a very small percent of students enrolled (3.31 percent) in Ph.D. program as depicted in Fig. 5.3.

Synonymous with the global trend and the trend in higher education in India, the gap between the number of inbound female and male students enrolled in STEM subjects existed. The STEM subjects had higher number of males. In contrast, in the Bachelor of Arts program, the number of foreign inbound female students exceeded inbound male students from countries like the US, UK, Canada, Singapore, Switzerland, Australia, Russian Federation, Brazil, Spain, Belgium, Portugal etc. India has set a target to attract about 5,00,000 students by 2024, which is almost ten times more than those enrolled in 2018–19 (Varghese, 2020). A study (Qamar & Bhalla, 2017) discussed the facilities provided by Indian higher education institutes to the inbound foreign students and the challenges the institutes faced in terms of facilitating access for foreign students on their campuses. They found that most of the campuses they surveyed had an advisor office devoted to foreign students, had a single-window admission process system, residential facilities for foreign students or hostels, additional infrastructural facilities like air-conditioning, internet, etc. A few of them also marketed their programs internationally, designed specific courses

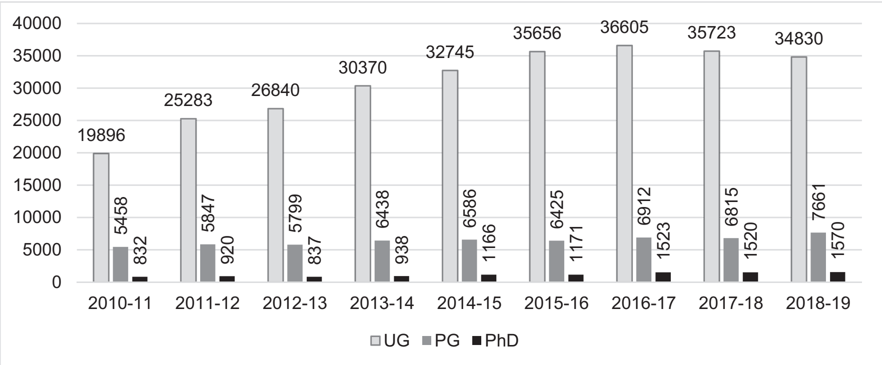

Fig. 5.3 Foreign students enrolled in India in various programs during 2010–11 to 2018–19. (Erstwhile MHRD, multiple years)

for international students, appointed professional consultants for recruiting international students, and offered scholarships/fellowships to international students. Other facilities like having an overseas education centre, orientation programs, processing immigration formalities, additional support for academic performance, were also provided by some institutes.

The fees charged to foreign students are higher than those charged to domestic students in Indian higher education institutes unless scholarship or fellowships like those provided by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR) are awarded. Challenges faced by Indian higher education institutes in terms of attracting inbound students, in order of severity included, dearth of applications from foreign students, issues related to recognition of international qualifications, medium of instruction, difficulties in obtaining a visa for foreign students, location of the university, lack of support from regulatory bodies, and restrictions by regulatory bodies (Qamar & Bhalla, 2017).

Outbound Students

India is the second-biggest source of outbound students after China. One of the most influencing factors attracting Indian students abroad has been the 'work-permit visas' offered by countries like the USA, UK, Australia, and Canada during and after studies (Varghese, 2020). According to MEA (2018), 7,52,725 Indian students were studying abroad as in 2018. Of these about 28.13 percent students went to the US (2,11,703), 16.47 percent to Canada (1,24,000), 11.57 percent to Australia (87,115), 9.4 percent to Saudi Arabia (70,800) and 6.64 percent to UAE (50,000). Collectively these five countries attracted 72.21 percent of the total Indian students studying abroad in 2018. Students from India went to ninety different countries. As of July 2019, the MEA mentions that 1.01 million Indian students were pursuing higher education abroad (MEA, 2021c). Most of the outbound students from India pursued STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) courses and postgraduate programmes (Powar, 2014; FICCI, 2014). According to an estimate, Indian students spend approximately $ 15 billion abroad to pursue higher education (Sahoo & Khan, 2020).

Factors like the affordability of pursuing higher education, prospects for future career, and teaching based on experiential learning affect the decisions to pursue higher education from abroad. The safety of students is also an influential factor while selecting a destination for pursuing higher education, especially among parents (iecabroad, 2021).

Internationalisation of Faculties of Higher Education

Few public and private higher education institutes in India hire either foreign faculties or foreign trained-Indian faculties, with mostly Ph.D. degrees or post-doctoral research from abroad. IBS was one of the first institutes to hire foreign faculties and received appreciations for consecutive quality enhancement, which was to a certain extent attributed to the presence of foreign faculties on campus. Pushkar (2018) highlights the benefits of hiring foreign-trained faculties or faculties with foreign passports. As Indian higher education institutes compete fiercely to find a position in the top-ranking institutes of the world, the proportion of foreign faculties and students are the criteria that award some points. The presence of such faculties facilitates in imbibing superior research culture through research output and publications. Efforts are being put to liberalize norms to permit foreign faculties and foreign-trained Indian faculties on Indian campuses promptly and with ease. Several initiatives like GIAN, SPARC, SERB, OBREAL, MIELES, DIESSEL, and ICSSR are facilitating and sponsoring the movement of foreign faculties to India and Indian faculties abroad. Despite these initiatives, it is difficult to attract foreign faculties to India due to huge disparities in pay structures of faculties between western countries and India (Raman, 2019).

Internationalisation of Programs and Institutions of Higher Education

Consistently dismal performances by Indian higher education institutes in world university rankings such as THE, QS and ARWU raise serious concerns regarding the lack of global recognition of Indian higher education institutes (British Council, 2014; FICCI, 2014; Joshi & Ahir, 2016, 2017, 2019; Joshi et al., 2018). Amidst such a scenario, the internationalisation of programs and institutes can be advantageous. It offers tremendous opportunities for the foreign stakeholders desirous to establish their presence in India (British Council, 2014).

International collaborations between Indian and foreign higher education institutes can prove mutually rewarding in terms of enabling curriculum and pedagogy with global considerations. The international exposure to students by enhancing their foreign experience and networking for future job-market are likely to be the chief benefits of this collaboration. Besides this, the gains also include international exposure to teachers by gaining an access to international academics, prevention of the brain-drain, access to world-class teaching-learning infrastructure and technology, and brand enhancement (Sheorey, 2019).

The National Education Policy 2020 encourages the internationalisation of higher education in India. Its implementation has already been manifested in the form of various collaborations with the EU, through programs like Horizon Europe (2021–2027) that succeeded Horizon 2020, besides European Research Council

(ERC) funded projects, OBREAL global observatory and individual research collaborations amongst European and Indian scientists. Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) funded researchers' collaboration with ERC, the opening of an Indian chapter of OBREAL global observatory, EU funded MIELES project and DIESSEL project are some of the collaborative efforts between European and Indian institutes (Sharma, 2020b). Along with this about 18 higher education branch campuses were operational abroad by reputed Indian higher education institutes like BITS, Manipal, Amity, and IIT Delhi (FICCI, 2014).

Students exchange programs enabled by MoUs between Indian and foreign higher education institutes compensate for studying an entire program abroad at a much lesser cost while giving a similar exposure, although for a shorter duration. It helps students' network better with fellow students from other countries, and academics. This increases their acceptance in the job market where multinational corporations appreciate such real-life exposure of stay in a foreign country (Raman, 2019).

Internationalisation of Research (in terms of collaboration) in Higher Education Institutes

Figure 5.4 shows the ratio of the total number of Indian research documents published during respective years and having affiliation from more than one country. The documents having foreign collaborations ranged from 15 percent to 20 percent of the total research documents for India since 1996 (Scimago, 2021).

Doctoral and Post-doctoral fellowships further attract inbound and outbound faculties to collaborate in international research projects both within and outside India. It is also commonly observed that Indian faculties serve as mentors to foreign knowledge seekers as well as seek guidance as students from foreign mentors. Internationalisation of higher education through research collaboration, institutional collaboration, and faculty collaboration is already happening in a major way through schemes like GIAN, VAJRA, SPARC, SERB, ICCR, ICSSR, OBREAL, MIELES, DIESSEL, etc.

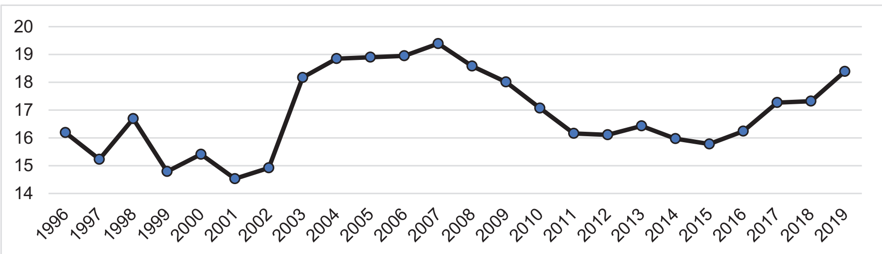

Fig 5.4 Percentage of total published documents having foreign affiliation. (Scimago, 2021)

Borderless Education and the Dissolving Geographical Boundaries

'Borderless education' (Knight, 2014) induced knowledge dissemination knows no geographical boundaries or political/diplomatic boundaries. Knowledge seeking for learners has become transnational and borderless and is just a click away. Online courses are available in various modes and for different durations. The most important aspect of online courses is that it offers the learner tremendous flexibility for learning and evaluation, anytime, anywhere, and at any pace. Online courses save a lot of expenditures by not requiring physical presence to pursue a course. However, developing countries like India face certain hurdles like the lack of flawless electricity, internet access, and peripheral devices including mobiles and computers. The digital divide and the emanating disadvantages actually lessen and distort opportunities for access.

Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) that supersedes geographical boundaries attracted the highest number of students from India in 2020 and half of them were under the age of 20. MOOCs fill the skill gap between educational institutes and employment avenues with ever-changing and evolving new job requirements. Such a gap particularly exists in the manufacturing sector. The evolution of 'nano degrees' (lasting about 4 months with about 10 h per week) and 'micro-master degrees' (about a semester equivalent) have also attracted clients like Amazon and Google. MOOCs with a reach out to more than 110 million people in a decade have democratized higher education with increased opportunities of access (Impey, n.d.; Rindlisbacher, 2020). According to an estimate (Rindlisbacher, 2020), Yale university's course namely, 'The science of well-being' was the most sought after, attracting about 20 percent of 11.7 million new enrolments during pandemic. MOOCs offer great prospects for international collaborations (British Council, 2014; Varghese, 2020). India's Open and Distance learning institute Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) also offers 59 programmes in 19 overseas centres in UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Mauritius, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Kenya, Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan. It also offers 193 programmes to foreign students residing in India (IGNOU, 2021).

COVID-19 and Its Impact on Internationalisation of Higher Education in India

COVID pandemic engulfed and disrupted all the countries in the world. The first positive case in India was reported on 30 January 2020, about a month after China informed WHO on 31 December 2019 regarding the pandemic (Andrews et al., 2020). As was the case across most of the sectors of the economy, higher education in India also witnessed a mix of opportunities and challenges exposed by the unprecedented situation. As institutions were left with fewer choices, processes like admissions, teaching, assessment and evaluation shifted to either online mode or with minimal contact-based offline operations. A shift to online mode posed challenges for all stakeholders including administrative staff, teachers, and students. This also resulted in the 'digital divide'. Those with a lack of infrastructural facilities and training were left out, while the rest of the system kept moving forward gradually. Digital resources and operational technologies being largely available only in English, the language barrier was another challenge for those pursuing higher education in vernacular or Hindi language. Gender disadvantage explicitly brought to the fore-front, the fact that females' education is less prioritized amidst patriarchal social norms (Maini, 2020).

On the other hand, as online teaching and learning became the default option, it dissolved the physical boundaries of the countries. This form of option existed even before the pandemic situation. But its wider adaptation and acceptance emerged explicitly and predominantly due to lockdown (internationalisation 'at-home'). Higher education is believed to be counter-cyclical. Many people lost jobs during pandemic and subsequently a segment of them enrolled in higher education in view of lesser opportunity cost. To understand these dynamics in the context of India the following sections describe the impact of COVID-19 on those pursuing or willing to pursue higher education abroad.

Impact of COVID-19 on Higher Education in India and Its Implications on Internationalisation of Higher Education in India

India imposed a nationwide lockdown on March 25, 2020, which was extended till 08 June 2020. It was one of the longest lockdowns that any country had imposed. Only essential services movement was permitted. Lockdowns were permitted to be eased, as per the local conditions, but the opening of educational institutes was not permitted. University Grants Commission (UGC), the higher education regulatory body issued guidelines to open universities on November 5, 2020 with strict adherence to Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) and in a phased manner to assure the safety of students. State governments and heads of the institutes were given the autonomy to streamline students' return to campuses. However, after much deliberations and debates, crucial entrance exams like the JEE, NEET entrance exams were conducted with several precautionary measures (The Wire, 2020).

Analogous to the world scenario, the government funding prioritized health sectors and other support programs like mid-day meal in India. Consecutively, higher education public funding faced a resource crunch, in terms of funding research programs and hiring faculties. A series of approvals and disapprovals in hiring faculties in Central Universities in India, elicited before the pandemic was due to lack of financial resources (Mohanty, 2020; Nanda, 2020; Sharma, 2020a). Private funding felt the heat the most, since user-charges or tuition-dependent financing in these institutes were disrupted, as also due to the poor state of the economy. Students' demands for refunds either due to cancellation of admissions or non-participation in examinations increased the pressure further on these institutes (Martin & Furiv, 2020).

The universities and colleges have opened while adhering to Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) as suggested by the government. In spite of this, lesser than permitted number of students attend the classes. Students and their parents are still apprehensive about sending students back to campuses, due to fear of infection either in school or during transit (Khan et al., 2020).

The pandemic situation has resulted in the evolution of newer courses related to disaster management, sustainability, etc. (Belousova, 2020). Both Indian and foreign online courses/MOOCs witnessed an astronomical upsurge in admissions in India as in other countries, with lockdowns restricting movements outside the home. MOOC courses offered by Coursera show a year-on-year jump of 640 percent (1.6 to 10.3 million). Udemy, 400 percent between February and March 2020. Most of these courses were freely available and many of them were offered by highly reputed institutional partners like Yale, Harvard, Stanford, and John Hopkins. These university partners in turn received 6 to 15 percent of the gross revenues from organizations like Coursera.

Impact of COVID-19 on Indian Stakeholders Associated with Higher Education Abroad Before Pandemic Arrival in India

Indian students abroad got stranded due to COVID-19 situation in several countries like the US, the UK, Italy, Philippines, China, Iran, Malaysia, Canada etc. Worried parents and fearful students wanted to return to India amidst travel bans and lockdowns imposed in several countries. The tension of being infected by COVID-19 in a foreign land created a lot of anxiety among students. Many struggled to manage visa extensions, travel arrangements, safe accommodation, COVID-19 free certificates, and letters from Indian high commissions in respective countries to board flights (Niazi, 2020a, 2020b). The Ministry of External Affairs of India, along with the support from host countries put sincere efforts into evacuating international students. Host countries offered food, accommodation, advice, funding, and guidance in the meantime (Hindustan Times, 2020; MEA, 2021b).

However, students who were studying abroad before the pandemic and returned back to their home country are also going through a lot of hardships. The priority of countries and institutions are health-related safety, which has created unprecedented uncertainties for students. They face dilemmas regarding the continuance of scholarships, opportunities for practical exposure both in terms of lab-based learning, practical training, international networking, and their expectations to apply for a work visa after pursuing higher education (Leung, 2021; Canton, 2020; Sharma, 2021).

Impact of COVID-19 on Indian Stake-Holders Desirous to Associate with Higher Education Abroad

In India, schools and colleges went into a complete lockdown with movements restricted on campuses for the safety of all concerned stakeholders, especially students since March 25, 2020. Therefore, examinations could not be conducted. Similarly, all the exams associated with studying abroad and the offices associated with related documentation and procedures were closed (Niazi, 2020b). The goals of Indian students to pursue higher education abroad got disrupted due to pandemic, although not much as per the predictions (Belousova, 2020).

It was expected that students may postpone instead of cancelling their plans to study abroad. Many may change destination countries on the basis of their information of how the country treated students during COVID-19. Others may continue to look at the long-term career opportunities offered by destination countries considering pandemic situations as temporary. Apprehensions regarding online education can also be detrimental and are associated with fees expected to be paid in the context of lack of opportunity of international exposure (Niazi, 2020b). Options of Indian institutes having collaborations with foreign institutes to pursue at least some credits in foreign institutes may also be explored (Manipal, 2020).

India is the second-largest source for outbound students in foreign countries after China. The hostile global attitude towards China may change the dynamics for Indian students willing to study abroad (Joshi, 2020). Further, the US trade war before the pandemic and increased scrutiny of the suspected ties of Chinese students with the Chinese regime seemingly perilous for the US has left prospective Chinese students in the US to reconsider their decisions (Anderson, 2020; Feng, 2020a; Feng, 2020b). With these developments post-pandemic, Indian students are certainly an attractive market even for countries like the US and the UK. The financial resources starved international universities may see it as an opportunity amidst crisis. Demographics in terms of a big population and a larger proportion of the Indian population being young makes India appealing enough not to be ignored (British Council, 2014). Mutton (2020) suggests that the US higher education institutes may have to put specialized efforts to attract Indian students, while Indian students' proportion in the US showed a decline in 2019–20, even before the pandemic. Foreign countries competing for Indian students will have to put more effort into attracting them (Pitman, 2020; Niazi, 2020b). Few institutes in the UK have announced relaxations in admission criteria (Niazi, 2020a, b).

A prediction suggests that in a post-pandemic situation, 'internationalisation at home' is more likely to be seen, duly supported by digital platforms' evolution and expansion (Belousova, 2020). This scenario may evolve massively, amidst growing fears by students and parents due to uncertainties associated with studying or working abroad that got highlighted during the pandemic, growing hostility in international diplomatic ties between countries, depleting economic conditions of stakeholders, and international job scenarios amidst pandemic (Niazi, 2020b).

Choices, Reasons and Perceptions of Indian Students Desirous to Pursue Higher Education Abroad

The COVID pandemic affected the socio-economic, psychological, political, diplomatic, and various other spheres of human life. Impact on higher education and particularly internationalisation of higher education was no exception. An attempt was made to comprehend first-hand experience of the circumstances faced by the students in India who were desirous to pursue higher education abroad before and during the pandemic. Other stakeholders were also interviewed including university officials dealing with foreign students, those offering visa consultancies, GRE/IELTS coaching classes etc. to comprehend their experiences.

A primary data collection was undertaken to understand the choices made by the students. Snowball sampling method was used. The survey included choices of the country or countries, the institutes and courses that an Indian student might be willing to pursue abroad, the reasons thereby, their expectation of the duration within which they would be able to recover the cost incurred in pursuing higher education from abroad and whether they wished to return back to India after pursuing higher education from abroad. A questionnaire of five-point Likert scale along with open-ended questions was shared using google form during the month of January 2021.

A total of 47 responses were received, of which 32 were males and 15 were females. The respondents belonged to the age group ranging from 16 years to 42 years.

Choices, Rationale and Perceptions of Students Desirous to Study Abroad

Respondents were asked the reasons for their choice to pursue higher education from abroad. As shown in Fig. 5.5, one of the most common reasons cited was that 'pursuing higher education abroad increased the prospects of a better career'. However, a non-conventional reason that 'higher education abroad facilitates adaptability towards socio-economic, cultural and linguistic diversity that further helps in preparing for twenty-frst-century jobs' was also highly considered. The next important reason to pursue higher education abroad suggested that 'pursuing higher education abroad will help them to settle abroad'. About 58 percent 'strongly agreed' and 'agreed' with the statement that 'higher education abroad was better than that in

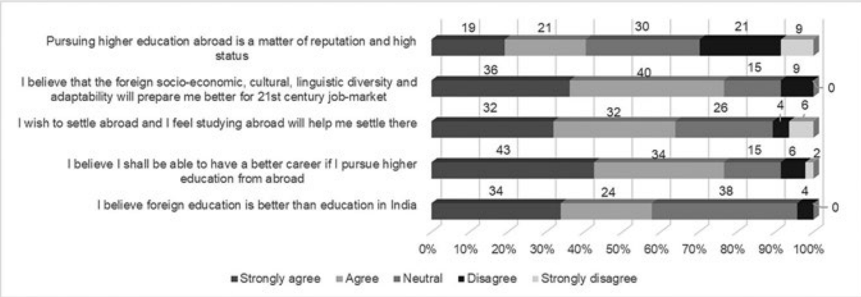

Fig 5.5 Percentage of responses by the respondents to the question: 'Why do you wish to pursue higher education abroad and not in India?'. (Based on primary data collection by authors)

India'. Finally, the reason to pursue higher education with the least score of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' was the statement that 'pursuing higher education was a matter of reputation and status'. It clearly depicts that rather than external endorsements, it is the expectation of having individualized experiences that influenced the choices to pursue higher education abroad. Further, an open-ended question was asked to the respondents to mention any other reason that influenced their choices to pursue higher education from abroad and not from India. The responses received included reasons like, the specialized program was only offered abroad, knowledge generation and up-gradation were praiseworthy in foreign institutes, foreign institutes offered and permitted greater flexibility in choices of the subject in a program, foreign institutes offered more opportunities to enhance skills through practical exposure and market need-based training, innovation induced environment facilitated by academic leadership abroad, quality of education offered abroad, and that none of the Indian institutes ranked in top 100 in world university rankings. Along with better future career prospects, better exposure and better lifestyle abroad were also cited as reasons to pursue higher education abroad. One respondent also mentioned that it was the wish of the family that he should pursue higher education abroad.

On being asked to mention the countries they wish to pursue higher education, the responses were dominated by the preference towards, the USA, UK, and Canada. Other countries of preference included France, Ireland, Australia, Turkey, Germany, Italy, Singapore, Finland, and South Korea.

When asked for the reason for the choice of a particular country, respondents suggested three prominent factors while choosing a particular country, namely, 'country was safe for foreign students', 'country offered opportunities to pursue a career during and after completion of higher education', and that 'country had greater adaptability towards diverse culture, traditions, language, religion and other socio-cultural aspects' as shown in Fig. 5.6. Another reason was 'the ease of getting a student visa and with lesser formalities'. Surprisingly though against the contemporary belief that Indians are economical, 'low cost of living in the country chosen to pursue higher education' was found to be the least influential factor. Over and above the reasons discussed so far, when asked an open-ended question for the

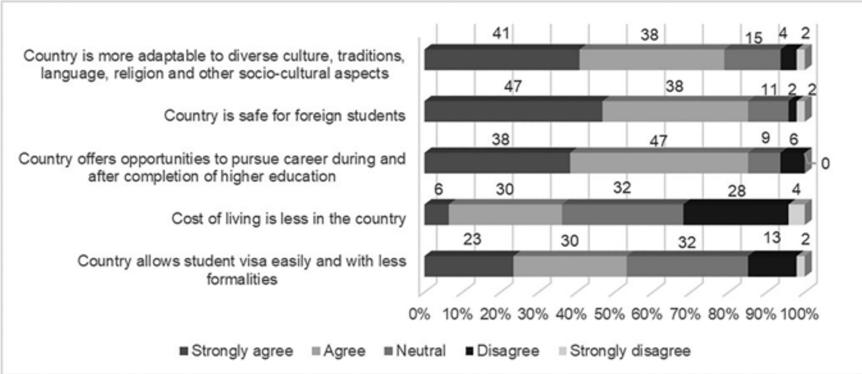

Fig 5.6 Percentage of responses by the respondents to the question: 'Reasons to choose a particular country to pursue higher education'. (Based on primary data collection by authors)

reason to choose a particular country to pursue higher education, respondents additionally suggested certain specific reasons. Better educational infrastructural facilities like libraries, internet, computers, prospects of getting citizenship of the country chosen, and availability of scholarships were mentioned. Two peculiar responses included that a respondent's brother was working in the chosen country, and another one was a special appreciation for the culture of South Korea that the respondent wanted to adopt. A student pursuing studies of the German language, wanted to learn the localized day-to-day language and accent, and hence wanted to pursue further higher education in Germany.

Out of 47 respondents, only 26 had a unique choice of the institute. Other respondents were either not sure about the choice of the institute or had narrowed down alternatives ranging from two institutes to six institutes to choose from, at a later stage. The influential reasons for the choice of an institute to pursue higher education abroad included, 'institute was able to attract talented students from various countries', 'institute had a well-established collaboration with the industry', 'institute offered good knowledge, skills, and attitude grooming', 'institute had good teachers', and that 'institute offered good placements and career prospects' as depicted in Fig. 5.7. Reinstating the perceptions previously discussed, the least influential factor was that 'the institute offered fellowships and scholarships to cover a large part of the cost of pursuing higher education'. Additional responses received suggested other reasons besides those discussed above while choosing an institute included, 'an urban location', 'a particular institute was renowned for the course that the respondent wanted to pursue', and 'high reputation of the institute'.

As compared to the choice of the institute, the choices of the courses to be pursued abroad were specifically identified by the respondents. It was also observed that many courses were very peculiar, non-traditional in the Indian higher education scenario. Course choices were largely analogous to the reasons mentioned above to pursue higher education abroad, that the courses offered were specifically the ones that the respondents wanted to pursue, and were largely offered abroad. On

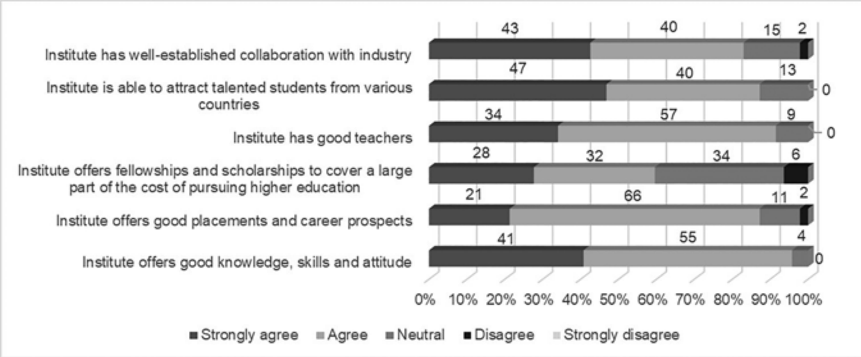

Fig 5.7 Percentage of responses by the respondents to the question: 'Reasons to choose a particular institute to pursue higher education'. (Based on primary data collection by authors)

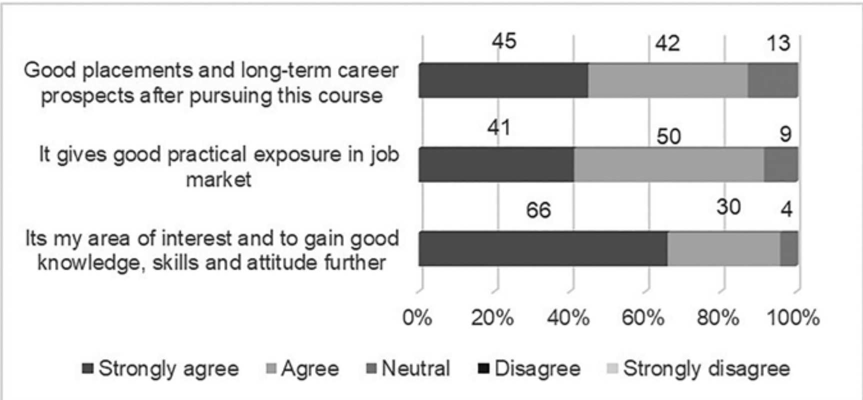

Fig 5.8 Percentage of responses by the respondents to the question: 'Reasons to choose a particular course to pursue higher education'. (Based on primary data collection by authors)

inquiring the reasons for the choice of a particular course, the prominent reason was found to be that 'the course was of the interest of the respondent and the respondent wanted to enhance knowledge, skills and attitude further' as shown in Fig. 5.8. Other reasons for the choice of a specific course included, that 'the course offered good practical exposure in the job market' and that 'the course offered good placements and long-term career prospects after pursuing the preferred course'. Notably though, for none of the three reasons discussed above, the respondents showed a disagreement. The choice of a particular course was mostly influenced by the fact that the respondents' prior knowledge was in the same field. For at least two respondents the reason was the passion towards the course that was the driving force for the preference of the chosen course.

Respondents were asked regarding their preference for a place of work, after pursuing higher education. As is generally believed, most of the students responded that they would like to work in the same country from where they pursued higher education as shown in Fig. 5.9. It is analogous to the previously discussed reason for the choice of a particular country mentioning that the country offered opportunities to work during after the completion of higher education. Respondents also expressed willingness to work in any foreign country. It was suggested that the cost of pursuing higher education could be more quickly recovered by working abroad than in India. It was also believed that work experience in a foreign country can later attract greater rewards while seeking a job in India too. Many respondents also suggested that while they had lesser responsibilities to stay closer to the parents as far as the parents can take care of themselves, they expressed desire to continue to work in foreign countries. At a later stage when the parents need them closer with growing age, they may return back with enough savings. Surprisingly, almost half of the respondents showed a willingness to return back to India after pursuing education from abroad. Perhaps, it is likely to emanate from the opportunities offered by the relatively stronger economic sentiments in India, comparable to or even greater than in many developed countries.

Respondents mentioned certain challenges that they faced while applying abroad like lack of information regarding procedures and the processes, preparation for entrance exams, lack of opportunities to develop a suitable curriculum vitae, competitive admissions, visa approvals, lapse of foreign university deadlines due to delays resulting from COVID, finding accommodation and arrangements, the financial liability of international education, accessing funds from banks, currency differentials, weather conditions, cultural and language differences, family bonds and other emotional support systems, feeling of being a foreigner, and gender-based

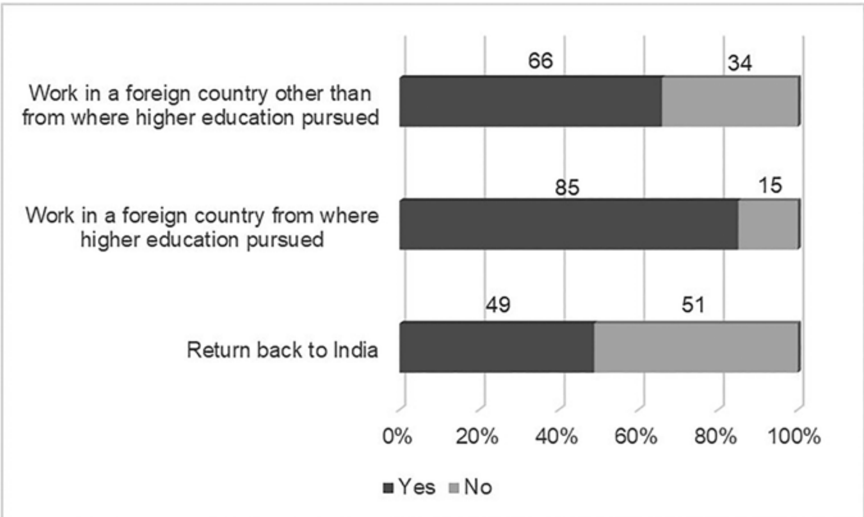

Fig 5.9 Percentage of responses by the respondents to the question: 'After the completion of the course, where would you like to settle?'. (Based on primary data collection by authors)

hesitation of the family against female students willing to pursue higher education from abroad.

Return on investment like in any other investment can be a detrimental factor while making a decision regarding pursuing higher education from abroad. Having completed studies, if the rewards for pursuing higher education are greater in the job market, the duration of cost recovery would be lesser. Respondents suggested a range from 1 year to 8 years as the duration within which they were expecting to recover the cost that they would incur while pursuing higher education from abroad.

The above observations were from the survey of students desirous to pursue higher education from a foreign country. While these opinions of students are individualistic and are based on their individual opinions, a need was felt to interact with people involved with many such prospective students to understand the overall trend of outbound students' choices. Accordingly, two trainers-cum-consultants assisting students to pursue higher education from abroad were interviewed. The excerpts from their observations are cited further. One of the trainers was providing training for the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) for more than 2 years in Pune. She suggested that mostly the upper-middle-class children were ambitious to pursue higher education from abroad. She suggested that an education loan required ranged from INR 1.8 to 2.0 million and a course in masters' degree may require up to INR 6.0 million. She cited that in many cases, the parents even mortgaged their land or house in banks to secure a loan their child's education abroad. The courses preferred to be pursued from abroad were largely related to IT, Big-data, automation, data-sciences, etc. In her opinion, the candidates planning to pursue a job had a preference to stay in the country that they had studied in, whereas those willing to start-up their own business were keen on returning back. Her most important belief was that exploring different cultures and people teaches the most important life skills required in any profession. Even during COVID times, she said about 85 students could successfully get admission in foreign institutes. One of the most profound observations that she cited was that it's only when a student goes to a different foreign culture, one realises the identity of their own culture, by experiencing distinguishing aspects of the two cultures. It is in this sense that a student who pursues higher education from abroad is able to comprehend the uniqueness in self-identity and its place amidst respectful diversity. To quote – "It's only when one goes to a foreign land that one recognizes one's Indian-ness".

The other trainer was located in a rather small town in the Western State of Gujarat, but the town was home to a large number of Indian Diaspora. He too largely highlighted similar observations as discussed above. In addition, he mentioned that preparing Statement of Purpose (SoPs) was a crucial task, and many students accessed the services of the experts in framing their SoPs too. It may have been the case since the town was largely dominated by vernacular language speaking people, unlike Pune. He mentioned that seeking admission is only half of the struggle; the other half is getting a visa. He also mentioned that the fees for students willing to pursue higher education from abroad are likely to be double as compared to their counterparts from the same country. One of the very interesting and peculiar observation made by him was the case of a person who had lost his job during the pandemic. That person found it to be more lucrative to pursue higher education abroad and earn a fellowship, instead of searching for a job during the financial crisis resulting from the COVID situation. This case exactly exemplified the concept that higher education is counter-cyclical, i.e. if the economy is in depression, more people choose to pursue higher education since the opportunity cost is lower, particularly for the age cohort of higher education.

Experiences, and Challenges for Inbound Students and Responses by Higher Education System in India

While due to pandemic it was difficult to trace foreign students in India, a public university officer-in-charge for foreign students was interviewed to understand the challenges and opportunities of the inbound students in India. He mentioned that the admissions in the university largely happened through two means, viz., the Indian Council of Cultural Research (ICCR) and their home country or prior institute-funded admission. Admissions through ICCR are largely facilitated for the ease of visa formalities involving the Indian embassy. Those seeking admission independently have to pursue the regulatory procedures by themselves. Students suggest three institutes of their choice to ICCR and they are offered admission in one of them. He reiterated the sentiments highlighted in the secondary data sources, that most students coming from Middle-East and Africa preferred higher education in India as compared to that in their own country due to India's relative superiority. But he mentioned that unlike outbound students from India, inbound students do not have aspirations to stay in India to work, since Indian regulations are not very accommodating, except for citizens from Nepal. He mentioned that there was no gender bias leaning in favour of males in terms of enrolment by foreign students. A Fee charged to foreign students is between one and a half to two times as compared to their Indian counterparts. The university provides special accommodation in the staff quarters, unlike that for domestic students. This solved one of the very big challenges of craving to cook and eat non-vegetarian food, faced by foreign students particularly in a strongly vegetarian state like Gujarat. Some students, he stated, also developed a taste of Indian vegetarian food. The language barrier was largely resolved within duration of 6 months of stay with locals. Most of the inbound students faced difficulties as they were not proficient in English language. While most of the students return back highly satisfied to their home country, he cited two cases where the student had come with the assumption that he would be treated as a privileged student since he was a foreigner. As the expectation was not fulfilled, he left without completing the course. In contrast, as also suggested by Yeravdekar and Tiwari, most of these students return back to their home countries, with tremendous pride and respect for Indian higher education institutes. The interviewee specifically cited two such examples, whereby one of the alumni later became a Vice-Chancellor in his home country Yemen. A student from Iraq had planned to organize teacher training for his institute as a part of knowledge enhancement training through experts from India, as he was convinced of the quality of knowledge imparted. During COVID, Afghanistan students left for their country and pursued online learning and evaluation, students from other countries remained stranded in India, although with all normally available facilities, as their exams were pending.

Foreign institutional collaborations and admissions were observed to be more aggressively pursued by private higher education institutes in India. Public institutes were either able to effortlessly attract foreign students due to high brand value or others were passive recipients of foreign students although with a willingness to teach them equally well. Efforts put by public universities included attracting foreign students through presentations in Indian embassies abroad and by participating in education fairs. In contrast, private institutes successfully reached out to foreign students and institutes for research collaboration and funding by their physical presence in foreign countries, as and when required. Digital perseverance by private institutes was also observed.

Conclusion

The international dimension of higher education has been a central issue of discussion in India for the last two decades. The policymakers have made attempts to address the various dimensions of internationalisation of higher education through both informal and legal frameworks. Despite all these measures, outbound mobility remains the prominent feature of the internationalisation of higher education. India's readiness to engage internationally requires many actions. In view of a large system, internationalisation will take place in phases. The institutions will have to develop the ability to engage through translational education and collaborative research. All this can happen only when the institutions deliver quality education and research. India may start the process of competence enhancement for selected institutions to transform them into world-class institutions. The quality delivery will automatically attract international institutions to engage for exchange, collaboration, and joint programs. These steps will enhance India's ability to attract and retain talent, by seeking and offering international collaboration in collective global efforts to improve human welfare and nature's sustainability.

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Part II
The Institutional Strategic Treatment of Internationalisation

Chapter 6
Regional Universities Around the World: An Analysis of Single Campus, Multi-campus and Virtual Models

Jane Knight and You Zhang

Abstract Regional universities at the supra-national level have been a fascinating development in the internationalisation of higher education, but largely an ignored one. A regional university, defined as a higher education institution founded, funded and governed by a group of countries located in the same region, challenges the notion that universities are national entities. They also reflect a growing trend towards the regionalization of higher education and the reality that international academic mobility includes people, programs, providers and policies moving across borders. This chapter focuses on the results of an exploratory study that identified and analysed common and different characteristics of ten regional universities located in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Europe. The regional universities were founded, governed, and funded by a group of countries, and in some cases other actors like international organizations. However, different rationales motivated the establishment of the regional universities. A typology based on whether the regional university (RU) was a single campus, a multi-campus institution or a virtual university was developed and used to undertake a comparative analysis. The chapter examines the major differences among the three types of regional universities in terms of key factors such as rationales, enrolments, academic programs, funding schemes and governance; it then identifies critical areas for further research. Given that it is an understudied topic, it is important to understand the phenomenon more deeply and distinguish regional universities from other types of international higher education strategies, such as international joint universities, international branch campuses and franchise arrangements. The discussion ends with a call for more attention and research on the contribution that regional universities make to regionalization of higher education and to international academic mobility.

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Introduction

Institutions of higher education, whether they are public or private, are typically understood to be entities related to the nation state, especially in the context of nation building. This implies that national policies and regulations normally guide the development and operation of universities. Yet, the changing landscape of international higher education and the current increase in the regionalization of higher education is challenging this notion. Regional universities are both 'influenced by' and 'influencing' these two trends.

The first trend is the increasing emphasis on the regionalization of higher education whether it be the establishment of regional universities; new programs to increase student and faculty mobility within a region; the development of region wide policies such as quality assurance and accreditation frameworks; the creation of new regional higher education associations and networks; or the establishment of regional higher education databases on specific disciplines or for PhD theses. These initiatives enable greater higher education collaboration, access and capacity building among countries in a specified region (Knight & Woldegiorgis, 2017).

A key feature of regionalization is that it is limited to a region whether that region is defined in geographic, cultural, political or even trade terms. Interesting to note are the different interpretations and permutations of the concept of region. Frequently used terms include regionalism, "regionalness", regionality, regionalization, regional integration, inter-regional cooperation… to name a few (Hettne, 2005; Terada, 2003; Robertson, 2016). It is clear that region constitutes the root concept, and the suffixes introduce subtle and nuanced differences in meaning. For example, the suffix 'ism' relates more to an ideology or set of beliefs, "isation" focuses on the process of change or becoming, and 'ness' reflects a quality. An examination of these terms related to the higher education sector leads to differentiating three aspects or approaches: (1) the impact of regionalism on higher education; (2) the regionalization of higher education; and (3) higher education as an instrument for regional integration (Knight, 2016). Most relevant to this discussion are the second and third points.

'The regionalization of higher education' introduces the process of intentionally building connections and relationships among countries, systems and higher education actors in a region. The regional university is an example of this and represents a proactive strategy of higher education and related actors. This approach is contrary to the 'impact of regionalism on higher education' which involves higher education having less agency and being more reactive to other political or economic aspects of regionalization. The third approach 'higher education as a tool for regional integration' takes a more tactical approach to how higher education can be used to achieve regional integration (Knight, 2017). This also relates to regional universities as meeting the needs of the region and helping to develop a stronger sense of regional identity is a driving rationale for regional universities.

The second trend focuses on the changing landscape of international academic mobility. It is no longer only students and scholars who are moving across jurisdictional borders to complete their studies and conduct research. In addition to people mobility, there is significant growth in the mobility of programs, providers, policies and projects. For instance, higher education institutions are establishing international branch campuses, virtual campuses, and franchise programs abroad (Kuroda et al., 2010; Wilkins, 2016). This type of academic mobility involves a parent university owning and operating satellite operations in different countries. Another type of international program and provider mobility involves more collaborative arrangements between sending and host countries and includes the establishment of international joint universities. These are stand-alone institutions independent of their founding partner universities but still regulated by the policies and regulations of the host and partner country (Knight & Simpson, 2021).

Regional universities represent another distinctive type of collaborative initiative in international academic mobility as they involve multiple governments cooperating to establish a new institution serving students in a particular region and responding to regional needs and priorities. While regional universities may not be a new development, they are definitely an understudied phenomenon and one which combines student mobility as well as program and provider mobility. The purpose of this chapter is to closely examine the key characteristics of regional institutions to focus more attention on this important mode of international academic cooperation and to consider how it contributes to the regionalization of higher education.

For the purposes of this chapter, a regional university can be described as 'an institution of higher education which involves a group of countries in a designated region that collaborate to establish a university offering degree and pre-degree courses, conducting research and serving the needs of the region'. While regional universities can be single, multi-campus or virtual institutions, a defining feature is that they are not regulated or funded by one host government. Instead, they are governed, funded and have their qualifications recognized by a group of countries geographically, culturally or politically identified as a region. The definition of a regional university is elaborated below, but it is important to emphasize that the regional university is understood to be at the supra-national level meaning that regional university systems within a country are not included in this analysis.

Objectives and Information Sources

The objectives of this chapter are threefold. Given that very little research exists on regional universities, the first objective is to identify and examine the key characteristics of regional universities located in major regions of the world. The second is to present a proposed typology to compare the driving rationales, governance, funding, student enrolment, languages of instruction or operation, and academic offerings of these universities in an effort to gain a deeper understanding of why and how these universities have been developed over several decades. The third objective is to identify key issues which deserve further attention and advocate for more research on these rather unique forms of international academic collaboration given the increased attention being given to the regionalization of higher education and international academic mobility. This is an exploratory study of an understudied phenomenon aimed at developing a classification system of the different models of regional universities. It is not driven by a hypothesis nor does it aim to theorize about regional universities.

Important to note are the information sources which have informed this research. A comprehensive search in higher education scholarly data bases such as ERIC, ProQuest and Google Scholar revealed that there is very little written on the topic of supra-national regional universities. The most frequent type of references are case studies of an individual regional university (Ait Si Mhamed, 2012; Green, 2016; Payne, 1980) rather than any kind of comparative or trend analysis. Gathering recent and reliable data on such key factors as enrolment numbers, financing, research publications and origin of students and faculty was a major challenge. For the data gathering phase, university websites, annual reports prepared by the university, and the International Association of Universities directory were the primary documents used. This required direct communication with the university which yielded mixed results, often disappointing. Thus, the robustness and comparability of the data was jeopardized. This meant that only those factors for which there was solid data were included in the development of a typology. The most challenging task was finding comparable enrolment data for a common time frame and so descriptive terms such as low, medium and high had to be used for enrolment ranges.

The outline of the chapter is as follows. The next section provides a proposed working definition of a regional university and presents the international program and provider mobility (IPPM) framework in order to highlight how regional universities differ from international joint universities and international branch campuses. Section "Identification and overview of regional universities around the world" identifies and provides basic information on the ten institutions which align with the working definition of regional universities and were included in the study. This exploratory study identified and used different aspects of regional universities to analyse the differences and similarities among them. Section "Proposed typology for regional universities" identifies and describes these key characteristics and elaborates on those elements which were used to develop the typology. Section "Comparative analysis of regional universities" provides the detailed analysis using the typology and discusses the most interesting and important findings. The final section of the chapter focuses on issues that merit further research and calls for more attention to be given to studying regionalization of higher education in general and regional universities in particular.

Differentiating Regional Universities from Other Types of International Higher Education Institutions

The generic working definition of a regional university that has been developed for the purposes of this study is as follows: 'A higher education institution founded, funded and/or governed by a group of countries located in a supra-national region.' Important to note is that region is modified by supranational so as to distinguish these institutions from sub-national regional university systems. Furthermore, the term region is not defined in geographic, cultural or economic terms so as to allow for inclusiveness. It is noted, however, that most of the names of regional universities do include a geographic descriptor i.e., University of the South Pacific, The University of the West Indies, Pan African University, University of Central Asia.

The proposed working definition is meant to provide the meaning of the key concepts only and is different from a description and a typology which are other terms used in this chapter. A description provides elaboration on some of the key concepts used in the definition. For instance, factors such as rationales, strategies, key actors, and benefits can be used in a description but not in a definition as these factors are often dependent on context and differ accordingly. A typology is used to classify and compare information and thus differs from a definition and description.

As noted in the introduction there are interesting new developments in international academic mobility and in particular the establishment of international universities and thus it is important to differentiate these from regional universities. The International Program and Provider Mobility Framework (IPPM) (Knight & McNamara, 2017) as presented in Table 6.1 provides a helpful set of descriptions of international joint universities, international branch campuses, double/joint degree programs and distance education providers. The following discussion will highlight the differences and similarities between these initiatives and regional universities.

A fundamental feature of regional universities is that they are a collaborative initiative among a group of countries located in a region. While international joint universities are also collaborative initiatives, they are usually founded by two or three partner universities which are not necessarily located in the same region and secondly, are normally registered and regulated by the policies of the host country. Furthermore, the curriculum and accreditation of the programs offered by the international joint university usually relates to those provided by the two founding universities. This is not necessarily the case for a regional university. These three features distinguish international joint universities from regional universities (Table 6.2). Table 6.1 shows that as of 2021, there are 22 international joint universities operating around the world and that only six have partners in the same region. Of the 22 international joint universities, 21 are bilateral in nature which distinguishes them from regional universities which are founded and governed by a larger group of countries all located in the same region. Interesting to note is that 16 of the 21 international joint universities are hosted by countries in Asia whereas only four of the ten regional universities are located in Asia as illustrated in Table 6.4.

Table 6.1 The IPPM classification framework

Two major approaches to IPPM provision Independent and collaborative	
Independent provision The foreign sending HEI/provider is primarily responsible for the design, delivery and external quality assurance of their academic programs and qualifications being offered in another country.	Collaborative provision A foreign sending HEI/provider and host country HEI/provider work together on the design, delivery and/or external quality assurance of the academic programs.
Six Categories of IPPM	
1. Franchise programs **Description:** The foreign sending HEI/provider has primary responsibility for the design, delivery and external quality assurance of academic programs offered in host country. The qualification is awarded by sending HEI. Face to face, distance and blended education can be used.	4. Partnership programs **Description**: Academic programs in host country/ies are jointly designed, delivered and quality assured through collaboration between host and sending country partners. The qualification/s can be awarded by either or both host and sending country HEIs in the form of single, joint or double/multiple degrees. Face to face, distance and blended education can be used.
2. International Branch Campus **Description:** A satellite bricks and mortar campus established by foreign sending HEI in host country. Sending parent institution provides curriculum, external quality assurance, and awards the qualification. Face to face, distance and blended education can be used.	5. International Joint University **Description**: A HEI co-founded and established in host country involving both local and foreign sending HEI/ providers who collaborate on academic program development and delivery. Qualifications can be awarded by either or both host and sending country HEIs. Face to face, distance and blended education can be used.
3. Self-study Distance Education **Description:** Foreign sending distance education provider offers academic programs directly to host country students. No local academic support available. Qualification, curriculum and external quality assurance offered by foreign sending HEI.	6. Distance Education with Local Academic Partner **Description:** A foreign distance education HEI/provider offers programs to host country students in collaboration with a local academic partner. Curriculum can be jointly developed, and the qualification awarded by foreign HEI or by both partners. External quality assurance provided by foreign sending HEI/provider or both partners.

Source. Knight and McNamara (2017)

International branch campuses are described in Table 6.1 as satellite bricks and mortar operations, owned and operated by a parent university located in a different country. They are normally dependent on the parent university for curriculum, qualifications and other aspects of design and delivery of programs. Regional universities are not owned by a foreign parent university but interestingly have satellite operations in some of the founding member countries. This can be confusing as regional universities, especially those that are single campus based, are not classified as international branch campuses as they do not have a parent institution. However, regional universities that are multi-campus institutions do have satellite operations in other countries and can thus be described as having international branch campuses. This distinguishing feature is elaborated on in section "Proposed typology for regional universities" which discusses the typology.

Table 6.2 List of international joint universities in the world

Host country	Foreign partner country										Total
	Germany	Japan	United Kingdom	United States	Hong Kong	China	France	Russia	Israel	European Union (German lead)	
China			2	2	3			1	1		9
Vietnam	1	1					1				3
Egypt	1	1									2
Malaysia		1									1
Indonesia										1	1
Mongolia	1										1
Kazakhstan	1										1
Singapore[a]				1		1					1
Jordan	1										1
Oman	1										1
Turkey	1										1
Total	7	3	2	3	3	1		1	1	1	22

Source. Knight and Simpson (2021)
[a] Tri-country partnership

A review of the literature reveals that there are national universities, such as the 'Federal University for Latin American Integration' located in Brazil, which identify themselves as regional serving institutions in terms of trying to meet regional development priorities, enhance student access and develop network-based research projects/joint programs with other universities in the region (Motter & Gandin, 2016), but these are different from regional universities. The key factor at play is that they are national universities, both private and public, but they are not founded, funded and governed by a group of countries located in the same region. Lastly, the research has found that many national open and virtual universities, such as the Open University of the United Kingdom, serve international students around the world, but there is only one known regional university which is virtual – the African Virtual University.

Identification and Overview of Regional Universities Around the World

The previous section has provided a generic working definition of regional universities and has noted similar and different features which distinguish them from other types of international higher education institutions such as international joint universities, international branch campuses, and virtual universities. Table 6.3 lists the ten regional universities that align with the proposed definition of a regional university and were thus included in this study. It also provides essential information such as location, founding year, and participating countries/institutions. Interesting to note is that Africa and Asia-Pacific both host four regional universities each while Europe and the Caribbean host one each. It was surprizing to note that the first two regional universities were founded in 1948 (The University of the West Indies) and 1957 (Asian Institute of Technology). The last two were founded in the first two decades of the twenty-first century – the University of Central Asia in 2010 and the Pan African University in 2011. This spans six decades and differs significantly from the founding dates of international joint universities which span fourteen years from 2004 to 2018 (Knight & Simpson, 2021).

Proposed Typology for Regional Universities

A review of the literature was conducted to identify key characteristics of international collaborative universities that are relevant to understanding the phenomenon of regional universities. Fifteen factors were identified and researched for the analysis and comparison of regional universities. They include the following: founding year, location(s) of campus, founders, owners or participating countries; rationales, governance model, funding sources, fields of study, level of program of study, total

Table 6.3 Regional universities according to region of the world

University	Founding year	Location(s) of campuses	Participating countries
Africa			
Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI)	1979	Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Eswatini, Mozambique, Seychelles	10 countries in eastern and southern Africa
École Supérieure Multinationale des Télécommunications (ESMT)	1981	Senegal	7 countries in west Africa
African Virtual University (AVU)	1997	Kenya, Senegal (management offices)	19 countries in Africa
Pan African University (PAU)	2011	Kenya, Nigeria, Cameroon, Algeria, South Africa	5 universities in 5 countries in Africa
Asia Pacific			
Asian Institute of Technology (AIT)	1957	Thailand, Vietnam	17 countries in Asia and 2 countries external to the region
University of the South Pacific (USP)	1968	14 locations in 12 countries in the South Pacific [a]	12 countries in the South Pacific
University of Central Asia (UCA)	2000	Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan	4 countries in Asia
South Asian University (SAU)	2010	India	10 countries in South Asia
Caribbean			
The University of the West Indies (UWI)	1948	Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Antigua & Bermuda. One open campus serving 16 countries and territories in the Caribbean [b]	17 Caribbean countries and territories
Europe			
European University Institute (EUI)	1972	Italy	23 countries in Europe

Source. University websites and annual reports; see References for URLs of the 10 regional universities

[a]The 12 countries include: Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Samoa

[b]The 16 countries and territories include: Anguilla, Antigua & Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, Trinidad & Tobago, Turks & Caicos

student enrolment, country origin of students, engagement with regional organizations, accreditation system, liaison with industry, professional associations and other regional actors; number of faculty, and language of instruction or operation.

As already noted, it was challenging to get comparable and reliable data across the ten institutions to undertake a rigorous analysis of these 15 key characteristics.

Therefore, only those factors which allowed for a robust analysis were included. They included the following eight factors:

Founding year represents the year when the university was founded as indicated in the universities' reports or on their official websites. It is important to note that the year founded may be different from the year when the university started to operate and enrol students. This may have implications for student enrolment numbers, in particular for younger regional universities.

Location(s) of campus indicates in which countries and region the campus/es are located. It was surprizing to find that several of the universities had multiple campuses as shown in Table 6.3. This is especially true for regional universities founded by a group of small states with low populations and spread over a large geographical area. Satellite (branch) campuses offer both face-to-face programs as well as distance learning.

Rationales refer to universities' objectives or key missions as articulated in their official documents or websites. This factor is important as mission statements reveal why the regional university was established and dictate its priorities and programs. To respect the differences across the ten institutions, it was necessary to categorize the rationales into four major groups and then prioritize them according to the importance each university attributed to each group. The prioritization was based on an inductive review of the documents and was triangulated between the two researchers but not with the universities themselves. Thus, the prioritization should be considered as indicative only. The four categories of rationales are as follows:

Human resource development (HRD) indicated a clear emphasis on providing access for students and developing the skill and knowledge of graduates in specific fields or professions.

Research and Development (R&D) indicated the importance of developing the necessary expertise and infrastructure to conduct research (primarily applied research) which was relevant to the needs of the region.

Capacity Building (CB) of the higher education system indicated the need to improve and build capacity of higher education at institutional, national and regional levels.

Regional Development (RegDev) indicated a strong emphasis on the universities' role in enhancing regional development, integration and identity.

Governance model refers to the highest policy oriented decision-making body of the university, usually called a university council or governing board. The diversity of the governance models was expressed in terms of different types of members on the governing board. To capture the differences and provide the relative importance of specific actors, five different types of actors were identified and used in the analysis. The different actors/members of the governing board primarily consisted of representatives of (1) national member governments, (2) international organizations such as United Nations agencies or foundations, (3) regional organizations, (4) the private sector, and (5) institutional stakeholders, whether internal to the institution such as faculty members or representatives from external institutional partners.

Funding sources refers to the composition of the universities' major funding sources and included national governments, international organizations, regional organizations, private sector, and higher education institutions including external institutions and internal institutional income. The funding sources aligned closely with the members of the governing board. Again, the analysis evaluated the emphasis given to each type of funding source.

Student enrolment refers to numbers of students enrolled in study programs. Unfortunately, it was impossible to get comparable enrolment data for the same time period across the ten institutions. However, the range of enrolments was so broad (from 196 to 49,380) that it was important to find a system to highlight the differences. Therefore, three categories were created to give an impressionistic view of enrolment numbers. The categories are (1) low: under 2000, (2) medium: between 2000 and 5000, and (3) high: between 18,000 and 50,000. Enrolment data from 2017 to 2020 was available for eight of the ten institutions, leaving two outliers one of which was in category one (under 2000) and one was in category two (2000–5000).

Level of program of study refers to the type of credential that was provided on completion of the program of study. The four categories used were: (1) pre-degree which included diploma or certificate programs, (2) bachelors, (3) masters, and (4) doctorate.

Language refers to the teaching and operating language of the regional university.

There was not sufficient and comparable information available on the other seven factors and thus they were not included in the development of the typology but are discussed in section six. The comparative analysis of the ten regional universities based on these eight factors revealed that the most important differentiating feature was the number and location of the campus/es. Thus, the typology was based on three different models of regional universities: single campus university, multi-campus university, and virtual university. Table 6.4 provides the framework for the analysis of regional universities identifying the names and founding years of the universities, and the number of campuses in each category of the typology.

Table 6.4 Typology of regional universities according to number of campuses

Model	Name of university	Founding year	Number of campus
Single campus	European University Institute (EUI)	1972	1
	École Supérieure Multinationale des Télécommunications (ESMT)	1981	1
	South Asian University (SAU)	2010	1
Multiple campus	The University of the West Indies (UWI)	1948	4 + 16 (OC[a])
	Asian Institute of Technology (AIT)	1957	2
	University of South Pacific (USP)	1968	14
	The Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI)	1979	10
	University Central Asia (UCA)	2000	4
	Pan African University (PAU)	2011	12
Virtual	African Virtual University (AVU)	1997	2 (offices)

Authors

[a]*OC* Open Campus

Comparative Analysis of Regional Universities

This section presents the analysis of the potential relationships between the three models of regional universities and their main characteristics which were discussed in the previous section. Table 6.5 provides brief highlights of the major findings for these factors which are then discussed in greater detail to explain the links with the typology.

Table 6.5 Highlights of comparative analysis using the typology

	Model		
Key factors	Single campus	Multi-campus	Virtual
Number of Regional Universities	3	6	1
Rationales	Equal emphasis on HRD R&D RegDev (No HE CB)	Major emphasis on RegDev HRD Secondary emphasis on R&D HE CB	Equal emphasis on all four rationales
Main funding sources	Member national governments Regional organizations	HEI income Member national governments International organizations	Regional organizations International organizations
Main members on governing council	Member national governments	Member national governments Internal HEI stakeholders International organizations	Member institutions
Total enrolment	Low (Less than 2000)	Medium & High[a] Medium (2000–5000): 2 Regional universities High (More than 18,000): 3 Regional universities	Medium
Main Program Offer	Masters PhD programs	Pre-degree Bachelors'[b]	Pre-degree

See section "Proposed typology for regional universities" for elaboration on each factor; *HRD* Human resource development, *R&D* Research and Development, *RegDev* Regional Development, *HE CB* Higher education capacity building, *HEI* Higher education institutions.
Source. Authors
[a]Pan African University is an exception with low enrolments
[b]Pan African University is an exception as it offers Masters' and PhD only

Founding Dates

The founding dates of regional universities (see Table 6.4) was one of the unexpected findings of the analysis as it was expected that the development of regional universities was a trend of the last two decades. Instead, the founding dates ranged from 1948 to 2011 and the majority (seven) were established prior to 2000, leaving only three developed in the last two decades. This is in stark contrast to the establishment dates for international joint universities which ranged from 2004 to 2018. In the absence of hard data, one can speculate that providing access to education was a top priority in the early years especially for the large number of small states involved in the development of the University of the West Indies (1948) and the University of South Pacific (1968) (Martin & Bray, 2011). The Pan African University (2011) is the most recent regional university. It has a rather unique model of operation which involves developing regional coverage by collaborating with existing universities in the major regions of Africa. Each Pan African University satellite centre focuses on graduate education and research in specialized fields of study. It was surprizing that the African Virtual University which was founded in 1997 has relatively low enrolments but this is due to their operation model of supporting online education through partner universities (African Virtual University, 2015).

Language of Instruction

Another interesting and somewhat unforeseen finding was that nine of the universities operate in English. French is the operating language for École Supérieure Multinationale des Télécommunications (ESMT) as it is located in Senegal and its participating countries are from Francophone Africa. The University of Central Asia is an interesting case. It makes providing access to higher education for students located in mountainous areas a top priority and therefore offers short term programs for these students in their local languages through the decentralized campuses of the university. However, their undergraduate programs are offered in English (University of Central Asia, 2019). The African Virtual University is another potential exception since it operates in African countries where French, Portuguese and English are the official languages (African Virtual University, 2015).

Rationales

Understanding the driving rationales or objectives for the establishment of these regional universities was of particular interest as it was important to determine whether the contribution to regional development, integration and identity was a top priority. Table 6.5 shows that multi-campus models attributed the highest priority to regional development. For example, the Asian Institute of Technology (AIT) explicitly states that its mission is to "to develop highly qualified and committed professionals who will play a leading role in the sustainable development of the region" (Asian Institute of Technology, 2021). All three models identified human resource development as an important priority. For example, South Asian University (SAU) states on their website that they aim to "provide liberal and humane education to the brightest and the most dedicated students of South Asia so that a new class of quality leadership is nurtured" (South Asian University, 2021). Not surprisingly, those universities that highlighted research and development in their mission statements were those that concentrated on offering graduate level programs and these were single campus universities. The European University Institute (EUI) is an example of such an institution, only offering masters and doctoral degrees with a strong focus on research (European University Institute, 2020a).

While both the single campus and multi-campus institutions identified regional development, integration and identity as one of the two top driving rationales, more longitudinal and comprehensive information is needed to conclude that there is a significant correlation. Of interest is that capacity building of the higher education sector was of lower importance to multi-campus institutions and not mentioned at all in the mission statements of the single campus regional universities. This is another interesting finding that merits further investigation.

Governance and Funding

The system of governance and funding models were closely aligned to the type of university. This makes sense as those that provide major funding generally have a strong interest in accountability and would be invited to join governing boards. An interesting finding is that single campus regional universities are primarily funded and governed by government representatives from participating countries. For instance, the European University Institute has around 40% of its funding from its participating countries, while the European Union (EU) contributes around 23%, in addition to EU funded research projects (European University Institute 2020a). In addition, the European University Institute is governed by the High Council which consists exclusively of representatives from its current 23 participating countries in Europe (European University Institute, 2020b). Similarly, South Asian University, another single campus institution, receives 55% of its funding from members states of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) according to the latest data in 2018 and its governing board consists of two representatives from each of the SAARC member states (South Asian University, 2018).

The funding and governance models of multi-campus regional universities differ from those of the single campus model. They have a more diversified set of funders including member national governments, international organizations such as UN agencies or foundations and private companies; they also depend more on the income that is generated by the institution through tuition fees and research or consulting contracts. For instance, 43% of the funding of Asian Institute of Technology comes from student tuition, 42% of its funding comes from the Asian Institute of Technology generated funding and 12% comes from various donors (Asian Institute of Technology, 2020). In terms of the governance of multi-campus institutions, the University of Central Asia (UCA) is a good example of having multi-stakeholders on its governing board as it consists of government representatives from Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and the Kyrgyz Republic; representatives from the Khorog State University, University of Bern, and Simon Fraser University; the UCA Rector; and representatives from international organizations such as the Aga Khan Development Network and the International Food Policy and Research Institute (University of Central Asia, 2021).

The one virtual model, the African Virtual University, is distinct in its governance and funding. It is solely governed by its member institutions and is funded mainly by regional organizations such as the African Development Bank and international organizations such as UNESCO and the International Council for Distance Education, to name a few (African Virtual University, 2015).

Enrolments and Program Offerings

An examination of the relationship between total enrolments and the level of programs and credentials offered by regional universities provides some interesting insights which definitely merit further examination. The analysis shows that single campus regional universities offer more graduate programs and degrees and also have lower enrolment rates. For example, both the European University Institute (EUI) and Pan African University (PAU) only offer graduate degrees and their enrolment is in the low category (less than 2000). The École Supérieure Multinationale des Télécommunications (ESMT) is an exception in that it offers short courses, bachelors' and masters' degrees, but its enrolment is still in the low category (École Supérieure Multinationale des Télécommunications, 2021; International Association of Universities, 2013).

On the other hand, and not surprisingly, the multi-campus regional universities have larger enrolment numbers. They primarily offer undergraduate programs and multiple short pre-degree or certificate courses. For example, the University of the South Pacific (USP) enrolled more than 30,000 students in 2018, with 37% in pre-degree programs, 53% in bachelors' programs, and only 10% in graduate programs (University of the South Pacific, 2019). The one exception to this is the Pan African University which is multi-campus but only offers graduate programs and also has a low enrolment (Pan African University, 2020).

The virtual university is again distinct in its enrolment and program offerings. Its primary mandate is to assist its member institutions in their program offerings, but it has already started to consider offering degrees (African Virtual University, 2015).

There are, however, significant information barriers to a better understanding of the African Virtual University's current status, and thus this is an important area for further investigation.

In summary, the analysis using the typology of single campus, multiple campus and virtual regional universities illustrates three interesting correlations. (1) There appears to be a direct relationship between type of university, the size of enrolment and program offerings with single campus having lower enrolments and primarily offering graduate level programs while multi-campus institutions have higher enrolments and generally offer undergraduate and pre-degree programs. (2) The funding and governance models differ between single and multiple campus institution. The single campus tends to be primarily funded and governed by the member national governments while multi-campus institutions have a diversity of funders as well as multiple stakeholders involved in the governing board. (3) The top two rationales for both single and multi-campus models relate to regional development and human resource development. However, the virtual university and multi-campus institutions also include capacity building for the higher education sector as an additional objective. This differs from single campus institutions which note research as their third priority. Important to note is that there was no direct relationship found connecting the founding date of the university, the region in which it was located, or the language of instruction or operation.

Issues for Further Research and Reflection

An unexpected finding of the study was that in spite of the growing trends towards increased regionalization of higher education, there is a serious lack of research and literature which addresses the phenomenon of regional universities and there is no definition that is non-context based. Less than ten scholarly references (as opposed to grey literature such as newspaper articles, government reports, websites and blogs) were identified. The most recent was a case study on The University of the West Indies (Green, 2016). Therefore, this section focuses on identifying critical issues that merit further investigation particularly in relation to the two major trends identified in the introduction – the regionalization of higher education and the changing landscape of international academic mobility.

Thus, there are significant questions related to regionalization and regional universities. Given that several of them have been operating for more than two decades, what is their perspective on the contribution they have made to the economic and social/cultural development of their region, as well as its human resources? How do regional universities engage with regional associations in general and with higher education policy and professional networks in particular? To what extent have regional universities developed collaborative programs and joint research projects with other universities and are the partner institutions internal or external to the region? What are the current motivations for national governments to support regional universities and do they differ across regions or by model of the regional university? What do students' perceive as the benefits of a regional university and why do students choose a regional university over a national university located in their home country? What are the perceptions of external stakeholders, such as the private sector, government officials, higher education policy makers, on the role and contribution of regional universities? How the regional universities relate to national higher education regulation? Do the research activities and outputs of those regional universities oriented to graduate level education and research align with regional development priorities? Are the goals of the regional university closely linked with the stated goals of the region as identified by regional funders and regional based political actors? In terms of knowledge diplomacy, what role do regional universities play in strengthening international relations among the countries in the region? In short, what motivates the development of regional universities, what contribution have they made to regional development, and why do students choose them over other alternatives.

There are many topics to investigate in terms of international academic mobility – including student, faculty, program and provider mobility. For instance, how do enrolments differ between a single campus model versus a multi-campus model in terms of students' country of origin and does this impact migration flows within the region? Do host country students dominate enrolments at branch campuses of multi-campus regional universities? There is some evidence that regional universities are offering programs and qualifications provided by national universities located in the region or elsewhere, but no detailed information exists. Thus, how common is it for regional universities to offer franchise, 2 plus 2, and joint/double degree programs and what is the accreditation and quality assurance process with respect to this type of program mobility. Are professional programs such as medicine, architecture or engineering programs which usually require national certification offered by regional universities? Given that 70% of the regional universities are multi-campus institutions, what are the governance, management, accreditation, funding arrangements with branch campuses or satellite partners and do these differ from international branch campuses established by single national universities? What is the country origin of the faculty members and management staff of regional universities? Do host country academics predominate and what is the percentage of faculty members originating from countries outside the region or who have had attained their terminal degree internal or external to the region? What impact has COVID-19 had on regional universities teaching/learning modes, research and enrolments?

The comparison of regional universities with international joint universities has the potential to yield new insights into current and future trends. As noted, international joint universities are a more recent phenomenon than regional universities and there are more of them. Why is this the case and what is the future of regional universities? Are the major reasons related to student issues such as access, reputation, program offerings, scholarship availability and/or other influences such as regulatory, governance, funding, political issues? How do host and partner countries perceive the benefits and risks associated with regional universities as compared to international joint universities?

The issues which have been identified relate to two current trends in the broad and complex topic of the internationalisation of higher education. There are additional areas of research that focus more on the establishment, primary functions (teaching, research and service) and operation of regional universities. To date, only two case studies of regional universities have been published in English. In-depth case studies of regional higher education institutions would make possible interesting comparisons to various national universities and international joint universities in the same region. As this study only identified ten regional universities, further investigation using the proposed definition and typology, would help to determine whether there are other supra-national regional universities and broaden the base for comparative research.

It can be said that this study raises more questions than answers. Nevertheless, it has revealed some unexpected and interesting insights. It has also confirmed that regional universities are an understudied topic. More research based on robust, reliable and comparable information is called for on the issues identified in this section and other factors related to the history of regional universities and their place in the current changing world of increased regionalization, internationalisation and globalization. Scholars, policy makers, graduate students and experts from higher education, in collaboration with colleagues from other fields of study, are encouraged to undertake further research and reflection on the role and contribution of regional universities to the increasing regionalization of higher education and the changing world of international academic mobility.

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Chapter 7
Internationalisation of Finnish Higher Education as a Policy Driver in a Merger Process: Towards Competition, Collaboration, or Sustainability?

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Abstract This chapter aims to investigate internationalisation strategies and the ensuing identities of universities in a merger process. It focuses on examining how the approaches to institutional merger and internationalisation are intertwined in the Tampere case. Specifically, it investigates how mergers are justified by internationalisation in an institutional perspective, and how the national discourses on internationalisation are transferred to the merger process and used as arguments for mergers. The research questions are addressed by the conceptual frameworks of internationalisation discourses and merger in higher education institutions that are useful for understanding the complex interaction between merger and internationalisation. Empirically, the study is based on qualitative documents. Our data consist of documents on the institutional level, as well as national strategies and agreement documents of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture. To understand the role of internationalisation discourses in a merger process, we analyse the national internationalisation strategies, as well as documents related to the internationalisation of the newly merged Tampere University. Based on our findings, the predominant discourse was that of competition, while the discourse of collaboration seems to be relatively weak. The discourse of sustainable internationalisation remained on a rather general level, thereby offering no concrete justification for the merger, but rather appearing like greenwashing or window dressing.

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Introduction

For the last two decades, internationalisation has been one of the main aims of Finnish higher education policy (Välimaa et al., 2014). Internationalisation is integrated into national higher education policies and the missions and goals of higher education institutions. Thus, it is also topical in the restructuring of the organisational landscape of Finnish higher education, where mergers are used as policy instruments for transforming the system and in meeting higher education policy goals (Pinheiro et al., 2016; Geschwind, 2018). Creating larger institutions through mergers is seen as a prerequisite to being international and competitive in the global higher education market. The Ministry of Education and Culture has strongly supported the mergers even though they may be considered voluntary and institutionally initiated (Skodvin, 1999; Harman & Harman, 2003; Cai et al., 2012; de Boer et al., 2016). The instrumental goals of mergers have generally been the professionalisation of higher education, and economics of scale. However, we argue that the more substantial aims of merger processes have been those that foster the international and national competitiveness of universities: internationalisation, global academic excellence, and prestige, as well as increased cross-disciplinarity of merged institutions (Tienari et al., 2016; Vellamo et al., 2020). Mergers are considered to stimulate change in national university systems and enhance institutional rankings (Docampo et al., 2015; Ripoll-Soler & de Miguel-Molina, 2019).

In this chapter, we explore the case of the Tampere merger, the internationalisation strategy of the new Tampere University and the ensuing identity as an international higher education institution that is being created in the process. Our case is the merger of two Finnish universities, the University of Tampere, (UTA) and Tampere University of Technology (TUT). We approach internationalisation as a top-down implementation process of higher education policy at institutional level, in the case of the merger resulting in the formation of the new Tampere University in 2019. Our focus is on how *mergers* are justified by internationalisation from an institutional perspective. We are interested in the way in which national internationalisation discourses are used as a driver for the merger process. We focus on the different internationalisation discourses of competitiveness, collaboration, and sustainability and examine the political, financial, academic, and cultural aspects of the merger. In addition, we include critical approaches on internationalisation: greenwashing, academic tourism and corporate university developments where internationalisation is a means to other ends.

Our data consist of documents at the institutional level, as well as national strategies of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture. To understand the role of internationalisation discourses in a merger process, we analyse and compare the national internalisation strategies, as well as documents related to the internationalisation of the newly merged Tampere University. Our research question is: *How are* *national internationalisation discourses transferred to the merger process and how are they used as arguments for the merger?*

Discourses and Aspects of Internationalisation in Higher Education

Internationalisation has been an integral part of higher education since antiquity, but the notion of internationalisation dates from the 1990s (Jones & de Wit, 2017) and has been defined, as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of education" (Knight, 2003, 2). The concept of globalisation has been associated with higher education somewhat later and connected to both economic and cultural globalisation (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). Globalisation may be defined as a set of processes of cross-border flows of capital, people, and ideas as well as the ascendance of a post-Fordist production model, which has transformed social, political, cultural, and economic relations worldwide (Kauppinen & Cantwell, 2014, 138).

It is difficult to form an exhaustive list of the different aspects of internationalisation, as internationalisation has permeated the whole of higher education and it is not only a separate strategy. The motivations for internationalisation vary between institutions, countries, and historically. Internationalisation may be classified into four distinct but connected aspects: academic, social/cultural, political, and economic (de Wit, 1999). Academic aspects are those of quality and international standards, but they can also be associated with excellence and rankings. The social or cultural aspect is linked with national culture and language on the one hand, and with the globalisation effect and hegemony of English on the other, but also including the understanding of other cultures and languages. The political aspect is often associated with national policy but also with international influences.

The internationalisation of higher education based on its different missions, education, research and societal impact is manifested differently. Internationalisation of education has been extended from mobility to an experience, including curriculum and internationalisation at home, different transnational forms of education, strategic education partnerships and global recruitment of both students and academics (Jones & de Wit, 2017; Weimer, 2020). Research has gained eminence in internationalisation discourses as more attention is being paid to rankings, which are mainly based on research indicators (Woldegiyorgis et al., 2018). International research collaboration is also found to increase productivity, quality, and dissemination of research results. The premises for international research and the opportunities for funding vary between institutions, disciplines and individuals. The third mission of higher education, entailing community outreach, social responsibility, social engagement, and concepts such as service learning, is generally not associated with internationalisation. The third mission may even be considered to be competing for resources with internationalisation, and the social engagement of internationalisation has been limited (Brandenburg et al., 2019).

Internationalisation has originally been defined into two somewhat competing and contradictory discourses, those of collaboration and competition. Collaboration stresses the positive aspects associated with international partnerships, complementarity, knowledge sharing and the possibility to solve global challenges together. From a social aspect, collaborative internationalisation would increase understanding of others and valuing multiculturalism in society. It has been claimed that particularly the political, cultural, and academic aspects are based on an ethos of cooperation (Perez-Encinas 2018), whereas the economic aspect is based on an ethos of competition (Knight, 2003; Kauko & Medveva, 2016).

The impact of globalisation and marketisation on higher education has had a fundamental effect on what is considered internationalisation and the emphasis on the competition discourse (Lewin-Jones, 2019). The economic aspect is closely linked with the idea of internationalisation as competition and with national competitiveness in the global markets, as well as with the commodification of education and the possibility for institutions to produce revenue from education export and tuition fees, and education is also seen as an investment for the individual. From a social and cultural perspective internationalisation may even entail cultural hegemony over others and often the competition may be framed in geopolitical confrontations between Anglo-American, European or Asian higher education systems. Competition for academic excellence and success in rankings is the main aim for competitive internationalisation. The goal may be reached through recruitment of best international scholars.

Alongside these two more traditional discourses of internationalisation, an emerging discourse of sustainability and global impact has proliferated recently (de Wit & Deca, 2020). This approach can better incorporate the third mission, including global social responsibility, ecological concerns, and equality. In this collaborative approach there is an additional focus on sustainability and a global commitment and on reciprocal transformative cultural exchange. Internationalisation is seen as more inclusive considering refugees and vulnerable groups and including more accessible forms such as online and internationalisation at home.

At the same time, more critical voices on internationalisation, its definitions, policies, and activities are also emerging. International mobility has been criticised as international academic tourism where students can be considered as visitors to the destination countries and mobility is based on the attraction of travelling. Thus, personal and non-academic interest override learning and academic aims and students become consumers of travel services. (Cerdeira Bento, 2014; Martínez-Roget & Rodríguez, 2021).

From the point of view of sustainability, internationalisation should acknowledge the environmental effects of mobility, such as carbon offset of flights, but also the aspects of equality and diversity which are tightly associated with sustainability (Lozano et al., 2015). The ecological effects of internationalisation are often not considered, or they are dismissed with symbolic declarations and forms of greenwashing. There has also been criticism of greenwashing and window dressing, acting to gain benefits of green positioning without behaving accordingly (Cislak et al., 2021), where some of the shortcomings of internationalisation have seemingly been addressed, but the main agenda is representing one's own activities in a positive light. The corporate university developments have also harnessed internationalisation as a means to ends where international activities enhance rankings, competitiveness and financial gains of the institutions. International environmental sustainability has been included in the higher education rankings which makes (sustainable) internationalisation even more closely tied to the world-class university ideal (Lozano et al., 2015).

Buckner and Stein (2020) challenge the consensus on internationalisation and reveal that there is a hegemonic discourse in defining its content and deeming internationalisation as necessary and desirable. They also disclose that internationalisation is reduced to nationalities and to a dichotomy between "domestic" and "international," ignoring intersecting differences within and between these groups, while at the same time disregarding cultural power, geopolitics, and privilege. When "international" is defined as "abroad" or "foreign," as opposed to "local" or "national," there is an implicit reductive and homogenising assumption about these identities. There is a Western dominance in defining internationalisation and engaging in it. National and institutional strategies and policies overemphasise internationalisation above other policies irrespective that some internationalisation policies and activities can even be outright harmful. By criticising and pointing out the main pitfalls of the contemporary internationalisation discourse, Buckner and Stein (2020) also implicitly frame the aspects of an ideal inclusive and equitable international higher education. However, even when acknowledging these negative sides of internationalisation, is it possible to engage in internationalisation in a conscientiously inclusive, equal, equitable and sustainable way?

To summarise, there are three main discourses of higher education internationalisation, those of collaboration, competition and sustainability and an additional approach criticising internationalisation. In addition, four aspects of internationalisation, academic, social/cultural, political, and economic, can all be found in the discourses, but manifested in different ways. These discourses and aspects are examined in more detail in the tables discussing the national (Table 7.1) and institutional (Table 7.3) internationalisation strategies.

Higher Education Internationalisation Policies in Finland

In the following, we examine the Finnish higher education internationalisation strategies in the past decade, to decipher what aspects have been prominent and to see what kinds of policy shifts can be identified by comparing the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture's internationalisation strategies of 2009–2015 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009)[1] and of 2017–2025 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016) in a matrix of the different aspects (academic, social/cultural, political and economic) and the internationalisation discourses (collaboration, competition and sustainability).

In the early 2000s, international publishing and visibility of Finnish research had increased, student and teacher mobilities were on the rise, and the interest of foreign students towards Finnish higher education was ascending. However, the level of internationalisation was still not sufficient from the Ministry's perspective. The main aspects in the strategy were increasing the internationalisation of higher education communities to create a more multicultural society, to increase the quality and attractiveness of Finnish higher education, to ramp up knowledge export and to promote global responsibility. Goals were set for augmenting the number of foreign students and researchers, as well as foreign investment in research and development (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

In the *2009–2015 internationalisation strategy*, internationalisation was linked with the structural development of higher education, with institutional mergers as the main instrument defined as follows: structural development of higher education by restructuring universities, creating a national innovation strategy and national research infrastructure policy, and introduction of the four-tier researcher career (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

It is noteworthy that universities, as opposed to universities of applied sciences, were determined to have a different role in internationalisation from the onset. Universities were given the freedom to select their own strategic fields and disciplines in which they focus their internationalisation efforts and to choose their own international partners (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

The idea of global competition in higher education and research, which affects the competitiveness of the whole nation, emerged as one of the main justifications for internationalisation in the 2008–2015 strategy. The European context was the main reference point, and the USA the main competitor, but emerging economies such as China and India were also mentioned as new contestants. International rankings were named as the main indicator for international success (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

The idea of education as an exported commodity was also introduced in this strategy, and tuition fees for international students were brought up, however, the focus was on educational export rather than on fee-based education in Finland

[1] The Ministry of of Education was became "Ministry of Education and Culture in 2010, one year after the *Interntationalisation Strategy 2009–2015* was published".

(Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009). Marketisation of higher education is a global phenomenon, but the Finnish higher education system experienced this shift later than many other countries. The introduction of tuition fees to non-EU/EEA students came about as late as in 2017—in the period of the next strategy.

The 2017–2025 strategy, titled *Better Together for a Better World*, would, judging by its name, seem to take a more collaborative approach to internationalisation. However, the strategy does not differ markedly from the previous: international attractiveness is mentioned first, but otherwise similar themes are presented. The strategy stresses competition for excellence, profiling, high-quality in education and research, defining internationalisation as the key to these qualities and at the same time giving the "freedom" or responsibility for internationalisation to institutions (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016). The newer strategy offers very few concrete tools or implementation instructions to higher education institutions and the tone of voice seems to shift the responsibility for internationalisation even more to the institutions themselves. The strategy uses words such as "highest level", "competitive", "most effective", "top-level" and "world class" in relation to higher education, research and universities (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016, 6–7), however, these words are not defined in any way, and it is left to the readers to interpret and to define how to accomplish these qualities.

In the new strategy, education and research are linked to national wellbeing, economy, and competitiveness. As part of the commodification of education, the aim is to turn education into a marketable product. In the education market, competition is said to be "fierce, especially among the degree programmes". To tackle this point, there is a plan to "establish a company to accelerate investments and the pace of product development in Finnish education exports." (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016, 10). The company would engage in national level efforts and in establishing a country brand, whereas universities benefitting from these centralised efforts would still compete with each other in the market. According to the strategy, reforms and legislative changes have been made to *allow* more freedom for institutions to engage in education export. This view stresses the idea that institutions would have been pushing for educational export, rather that it being an aim set by national policy. This contrasts with the general response of Finnish higher education institutions, as they have expressed doubts in the education export policies (Cai et al., 2012; Juusola, 2020).

There is only some mention of global responsibility and of solving global issues including statements, such as "Genuinely international higher education communities", (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016, 2) which could be interpreted as inclusive. The statement that "We Finns must be prepared to educate and train others from all parts of the globe and to create first-class expertise" (ibid., 3) may be considered as inclusive and welcoming, or as positioning Finnish higher education up-scale in the global ranking or even a statement of cultural hegemony. Later, it becomes evident that education offered to people from all parts of the globe mainly refers to education export or to fee-paying students.

The main aspects of different internationalisation discourses in these two strategies are summarised in Table 7.1, showing the similarities and differences between the two strategies.

Table 7.1 Summary of the Ministry of Education and Culture Internationalisation Strategies 2009–2015 and 2017–2025

Aspect of internationalisation (de Wit, 1999)	Internationalisation as collaboration (Perez-Encinas, 2018)	Internationalisation as competition (Knight, 2003; Kauko & Medvedeva, 2016)	Responsible internationalisation as sustainability and global impact (de Wit & Deca, 2020; Buckner & Stein, 2020)
Academic	Internationalisation as (proof of) quality of education and research. (Strategy 09–15)	International rankings as indicator of success. Competing for foreign students and researchers. (Strategy 09–15)	Not mentioned. (Strategy 09–15)
	Internationalisation as (proof of) quality of education. Networking for research and education. (Strategy 17–25)	Competition in education as "fierce". Focus on leading-edge research fields to gain global prominence. Good reputation of Finnish education. (Strategy 17–25)	Sharing Finnish knowledge. Offering education for students from all parts of the globe. Graduates understand diversity, global challenges, and principles of sustainable society. (Strategy 17–25)
Social/Cultural	Creating a more multicultural society. Internationalisation as valuable in itself. (Shared) European context as the main reference point (Bologna process). (Strategy 09–15)	European higher education competing against USA and emerging economies (Strategy 09–15)	Promoting global responsibility. (Strategy 09–15)
	Internationalisation at home. Education and research linked to national wellbeing. Cooperation in education, research and innovation with United States, China, India, Japan, countries of Southeast Asia, southern/western Africa, Latin American countries, and Russia. (Strategy 17–25)	Heightened competition with other higher education institutions nationally and globally. Alliances. (Strategy 17–25)	Genuinely international higher education communities. Diversity. Global community as the context. Linguistically and culturally rich society. (Strategy 17–25)

(continued)

Table 7.1 (continued)

Aspect of internationalisation (de Wit, 1999)	Internationalisation as collaboration (Perez-Encinas, 2018)	Internationalisation as competition (Knight, 2003; Kauko & Medvedeva, 2016)	Responsible internationalisation as sustainability and global impact (de Wit & Deca, 2020; Buckner & Stein, 2020)
Political	The Bologna process as a political context. (Strategy 09–15)	National policies for innovation and research infrastructure. Higher education mergers and restructuring for internationalisation. (Strategy 09–15)	Not mentioned. (Strategy 09–15)
	Regional and national (innovation and economic) policies as drivers. (Strategy 17–25)	National competitiveness. Research is invigorated with new national policy instruments (the flagship programme). Institutional policies in profiling. (Strategy 17–25)	Enhancing the competence of Finland and each partner country both jointly and individually to create benefits for both. Dialogue between the EU and third countries and regions. (Strategy 17–25)
Economic	Collaboration with industry in networks. Attracting foreign investments (in research). (Strategy 09–15)	Education export. Introduction of tuition fees and education as commodity. (Strategy 09–15)	Knowledge export. (Strategy 09–15)
	Networking of institutions, industry, and funding bodies for research excellence. Cooperation with regional, national, and international stakeholders. (Strategy 17–25)	Education as exportable commodity, tuition fees, education export, education and research linked to national economic competitiveness. Turning education into product and marketing, it. Building the education brand. (Strategy 17–25)	Not mentioned. (Strategy 17-25)

It may be said that responsible internationalisation has become an emergent discourse in the latter internationalisation strategy, but it is still the weakest discourse as aspects related to the discourses of both collaboration and competition are mentioned more often. The competition discourse is the most prevalent one and has gained even more prominence in the latter strategy. From a critical approach it seems that even though there are aspects of sustainable internationalisation, internationalisation is not critically examined but taken as granted and viewed mainly from the Finish national point of view increasing the national and institutional competitiveness.

Higher Education Merger Policies in Finland

The Tampere merger cannot be seen independently of the trajectories of the earlier mergers that have taken place in Finland in terms of the national and international discourses. At the national level, two principal factors can be detected: economic and political. The economic factors can also be seen from two overlapping perspectives. First, the funding situations of the Finnish higher education institutions, and second, the perceived role Tampere University could play in the Finnish science and higher education policy (Cremonini et al., 2020).

The Finnish higher education system is a binary system, with a university sector that emphasises research, and a polytechnic sector that focuses on teaching. Currently (year 2022), the Finnish higher education system has 13 universities and 22 universities of applied sciences, altogether enrolling more than 300,000 students for a population of around 5.5 million. Even though the Finnish higher education system is perceived to be quality, the system remains expensive, fragmented, and lacks competitiveness. Cognisant of these shortcomings, the Finnish government has shifted its attention from expanding the higher education system to "strengthening, profiling and concentrating the operations into larger operational units" (Ursin, 2017) in a bid to enhance the responsive capacities of Finnish universities to global challenges and to improve their competitiveness in the global higher education arena (Aarrevaara & Dobson, 2016; Ursin, 2017; Cremonini et al., 2020). This is also a transformation from vertical to horizontal diversity (Aarrevaara & Dobson, 2016). The global trend towards larger, competitive units paved the way for universities to engage in developing their profile and strategies through wider institutional cooperation and mergers (Tirronen & Nokkala, 2009; Melin, 2015).

There is no straightforward evidence to suggest that university mergers in Finland are the direct responses of universities to government policy directives and pressures. However, it seems that growing recognition of the two actors for the emerging dynamics and development in national and international higher education, and the necessity of a strategic response to position the Finnish higher education institutions as key players in the field, might have decisive roles in the move to mergers. On the one hand, the Finnish government has emphasised efficiency and effectiveness in the performance of universities, and responsiveness to national economic and social developments; on the other hand, there have been signs of an ever-decreasing public funding allocated for higher education institutions, which limits the efficiency and effectiveness of universities. The push for efficiency and effectiveness while decreasing public funding sends a clear signal to Finnish universities to engage in radical reorganisation processes, in which mergers are seen as a tool for economies of scale.

It is also important to recognise the fact that Finnish universities' engagement in mergers seems to be inspired by the increasing need for higher impact and international visibility. These two views are not mutually exclusive, in the sense that the economies of scale created through mergers would increase the financial capacity of universities, which in turn results in the enhanced performance of universities. Considering the increasing rate of university mergers in the past decade, the current mergers could be explained as a logical extension of the series of reforms initiated since the mid-2000s and of the new Universities Act of 2010 and its implementations (Välimaa et al., 2014; Aarrevaara & Dobson, 2016). Mergers that took place after the 2010 Universities Act exhibited elements of radical shift from the "egalitarian and regional policy principle" (Välimaa, 2012, 31) to the "notion of national and global university competition" (Cremonini et al., 2020), and towards a more vertically differentiated approach and the increasing quest for a world-class university, such as, for example, the creation of Aalto University (OECD, 2017).

The University of Tampere (UTA), Tampere University of Technology (TUT) and Tampere University of Applied Sciences (Tampereen Ammattikorkeakoulu [TAMK]) merged in 2019 to form a new university consortium called Tampere Universities. In practice, the two universities (i.e., UTA and TUT) merged into Tampere University and became TAMK's largest shareholder. The voluntary merger process was carried out with staunch support from the Ministry of Education and Culture. Based on the findings of Cremonini et al. (2020), the merger showed elements of regional competition between big universities in Finland. The assumption was that the Tampere merger would create one of the largest universities in Finland, which would play a key role in the science and higher education policy framework of the Finnish market, with significant economic power and voice contributing to a comparative advantage in pursuing its missions. In other words, the Tampere University merger strategy could be interpreted through the prism of Finland's "regional politics" (Cremonini et al., 2020) as a response to Tampere's perceived declining power in shaping Finnish science policy.

However, moving towards the internationalisation discourse, the impetus for the Tampere University merger also stems from two forces: the need to respond to global challenges, and to engage in global competition in higher education. First, the increasing need for responsiveness to societal problems is manifested through the new university's focus on multidisciplinary research, and its reorganisation of academic units—especially between technology, health, and society—is considered necessary (Vellamo et al.,2019). Second, the global competitiveness dimension of the merger is shaped in such a way that it strives for internationalisation, improvement of quality, an increase in competitiveness, clarification of profiles, enhancement of activities in order to cut down overlapping teaching, standardising of practices, and an increase in flexibility. The later aspect of internationalisation matches the earlier Finnish internationalisation strategy (2009–2015) view on mergers as a means for creating stronger, high-quality, and profiled higher education institutions that are more versatile (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

Towards a More International Tampere University: Merger as a Tool for Internationalisation

The Aalto merger set the stage for creating world-class innovation university climbing the global higher education rankings (Aula & Tienari, 2011; Ripoll-Soller & de Miguel-Molina, 2019). The Tampere merger has been, from the onset, similarly a tool for the internationalisation of the university. In the Finnish context, mergers are a mechanism for increasing global competitiveness and go hand in hand with other higher education legal reforms aimed at increasing competitiveness (Ministry of Education and Culture 2018, 33).

The relation between the merger and the institution's internationalisation aims may be examined in the merger documents (for a list of the documents see Analysed Material). Already in the very early stages of the process, internationalisation was mentioned in the report by Stig Gustavsson commissioned in 2014, in which he emphasised the critical mass needed for the university to become internationally recognised (Gustavsson, 2014). The merger was presented as a prerequisite for internationalisation and recognition also in an early SWOT analysis of the Tampere merger plan (Tampere3, 2015 appendix 2). The size of the university was mentioned as pivotal for increasing its international importance and for ensuring its potential to become world-class. Size has become a mantra in the merger genre, explaining how internationalisation and recognition are gained. However, in the merger documents, there is no detailed explanation for how size ensures global success, albeit true to some extent that institutional size can predict ranking (McAleer et al., 2019). In particular, the number of full-time equivalent students and the percentage of international students improve an institution's ranking in many score tables; similarly, a higher number of academics could increase the rate of scientific publication. However, some researchers argue that there is no direct relationship between the size of an institution and its scientific productivity (Kyvik, 1995; Ripol-Soller & de Miguel-Molina, 2019). Therefore, size does not seem to be an overarching solution to reach world-class status.

Several different indicators are relevant for rankings, and research is usually deemed the most important one, not only by the universities themselves but also by peers (Altbach, 2015). Ranking positions and becoming world-class emphasise the discourse of competition in internationalisation, but there are also possible linkages between collaboration and improved ranking. Rankings are important as institutional peers consider the university's rank prior to entering a discussion about collaboration, and rankings affect other's willingness to partner with the institution (Hazelkorn, 2007).

Even if it is not completely evident through which means mergers increase universities' ranking, there is research to back up the expectation that mergers may increase institutional ranking. In a study of ARWU-ranked universities, Ripol-Soller and de Miguel-Molina (2019) found that all the studied universities except Aalto saw rankings as the main rationale for the merger, and almost all were able to improve their ranking through merger, including Aalto. The improved position might not be a direct result solely of the merger, but higher rank may have required substantial reorganisation of activities, applying best practices and in many cases increased funding (Ripol-Soller & de Miguel-Molina, 2019).

Many universities also want to assert the status of world-class university even if they have no real evidence to back up their claim (Huisman, 2008; Ripol-Soller & de Miguel-Molina, 2019). Altbach (2015) has criticised the concept of world-class university, as the term is used very loosely to depict all kinds of institutions in varied higher education systems globally. In his attempt to define the elusive concept of the world-class university, Altbach claimed that well-established elite institutions in Anglo-American countries prevail in rankings, and for others to reach a similar status, time, money, good leadership, and sheer luck are required (2015, 6). Other aspects in becoming world-class included attracting the best academics with good working conditions and salaries, usually in the form of tenure as well as ensuring academic freedom (Altbach, 2015).

It may well be asked, what is the actual level of international recognition at which the Tampere merger set the bar? The national benchmark mentioned in the Tampere merger documents is Aalto University (Tampere University, 2019a), whereas the international benchmarks included top-100 international university, Lund University (Gustavsson, 2014). It could be said that these benchmarks may display an aspect of mimetic convergence, an aim to imitate more successful competitors (Aniluoto, 2020). In the Tampere merger planning documents (Tampere3, 2015a) , it is stated that Tampere would aim to become one of the three internationally important universities in Finland (the first two being the University of Helsinki and Aalto University). However, even for large wealthy nations, the possible or even desirable number of world-class universities is one or two. For other countries, a world-class university is beyond the ability of the nation to support (Altbach, 2015). Similarly, Urbanovic and Wilkins (2013) consider it an insurmountable challenge for small countries in which both the quantity and quality of higher education on an international scale are harder to reach, even through mergers.

There have been two somewhat contradictory discourses in the Tampere merger, one highlighting the multidisciplinarity of the new university as key to international success, and the other insisting on choosing profile areas in which to succeed in international rankings. It is very unlikely that a university could excel in all aspects, and many institutions have focused on a narrower specialised field and on building world-class departments, institutes, or schools (Altbach, 2015). Institutional divergence may occur as universities specialise and form unique research profiles in order to succeed in the rankings in their own 'niche' (Aniluoto, 2020, 35).

High-ranked institutions specialising in a particular field usually still simultaneously provide students with educational opportunities in a wide range of disciplines and interdisciplinary programmes (Altbach, 2015). The global and local may be connected by selecting fields that are of special relevance to the national or regional economy. In the Tampere merger process, a strong regional aspect has been prominent, and the new university consortium has been considered as serving the needs of local industry. It may be questioned whether the policies for regional service and international excellence are antithetical and mutually exclusive, or if they can be consolidated. In a survey conducted by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 33% of university board members considered regional aspects irrelevant for a university aiming to become internationally recognised (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2018, 61).

In the Tampere case, the selected three profile areas of technology, health and society still seem too wide to become international research spearheads. The possibility of reaching a top-notch position in a specialised field was introduced in the merger documents, allowing Tampere to take a nationally leading position in certain profile areas: "By 2030, the new university formed by the Tampere3 community will be an internationally renowned university that is the most influential in Finland scientifically and societally in the areas determined by the university's profile" (Tampere3, 2017).

To summarise the discussion, the main rationalisation on the advantages of internationalisation in the Tampere merger documents is based on a competitiveness reached through stature; the size of the university increases international competitiveness and attractiveness, and the development of profiling areas and new multidisciplinary research (and teaching) will boost academic excellence and attract students. Collaboration and international visibility will be fostered, as the more highly ranked Tampere University would be more appealing as a partner.

A More Competitive, Collaborative and Sustainable New University? The Tampere University Action Plan for Internationalisation

In the following, we will look more closely at the aspect of merger as a tool in internationalisation, and the other related aspects and discourses of internationalisation in the Tampere University *Action Plan for Internationalisation* (Tampere University, 2020). To plan the internationalisation strategy of the merged university in 2019, a working group was established by the president consisting of academic members from both merged universities leadership, including deans and the directors of education, research, innovation, brand development, HR experts, and professors. The working group was supported by a series of pop-up cafés and consultative interviews of internal stakeholders. Thus, the development of internationalisation plan was directly connected to participatory identity work of university and aimed towards the creation of shared ownership and inclusive view on internationalisation. The participatory process was seen as a way to build shared identity, strengthen cross-disciplinary collaboration, increase internal communication on partnerships and networks as well as connect multidisciplinary programmes to profiling areas and increase joint marketing (Tampere University, 2019b).

The *Action Plan for Internationalisation*, *supporting the accomplishment of the University's Strategy for 2030*, is built on four major pillars: *active collaborative partnership, global community, being an international forerunner in research, and an attractive study destination and digital campus* (see Table 7.2.) The notion of an active collaboration partner seems to be guided by the university's motto "Human potential unlimited", in a bid to contribute to sustainable global development that aims to tackle climate change, preserve the natural environment, and improve the well-being and sustainability of societies (Tampere University, 2020).

In collaborative partnerships, Tampere University aims to enhance its international relations through partnerships and networks and promote its research and education internationally. The Action Plan specifically targets building a future European University through the ECIU European university project, an initiative mentioned as an alliance networks of excellence by de Wit and Deca (2020). In addition, Tampere University strengthens other international networks and sets a five-year development programme on international collaboration and partnerships, to cement its place as a leading research university internationally. There is both "coverage" and "profiling" as it is stated that there will be "region-specific development plans with priority areas" and "strategic partners" (Tampere University, 2020).

Table 7.2 A four pillars for internationalisation in the *Action Plan for Internationalisation* (Tampere University 2020)

Pillars	Description
Active collaboration partner	Our university is an active and well-known collaboration partner and a contributor to global sustainable development. We boost our international collaboration through partnerships and networks and promote our research and education internationally.
Global community	We are a global community with shared values and identity. Our people and culture are inherently international, and we provide a variety of opportunities for academic mobility. We invest in international recruitment of best talents, e.g., by setting up a competitive international recruitment strategy, by utilising the tenure track model, and launching a Tampere Fellowship programme, and we use English as a medium of our everyday operations.
International Forerunner in Research	We are an international forerunner in multi- and transdisciplinary research and acclaimed for work on open science. Our researchers are active on international academic forums and attract international funding. This is facilitated by international university networks and a five-year development programme on international collaboration partnerships.
Attractive study destination	Our university is an attractive study destination and a digital campus, where we support virtual learning in global context. Internationalisation is an integral part of all our degree programmes and implemented in personal study plans. We focus on providing international degree students and students with immigrant backgrounds support for integration and a path for employment.

Profiling is also done through the policy instrument mentioned in the national strategy—the flagship programme for research. The aim is to have collaboration in research and education with "top international universities." It is evident from the strategy that the main aim of Tampere University is to collaborate with prestigious universities. By stating this, it is positioning itself as one of those top-notch universities or aiming to gain status through collaboration. In many instances, it also seems that cooperation is a way to boost Tampere University or to gain direct benefits, such as funding. Cooperation with assumedly less prestigious institutions or countries not deemed strategic, is only touched upon in the mention of capacity building. What could count as global responsibility, such as capacity building projects and hosting Scholars at Risk, is harnessed to the service of the Tampere University brand when the reason for such activities is to "brand our university as a contributor to global sustainable development." (Tampere University, 2020). It effectively undermines the global responsibility aspect, if the main reason for such activities is in branding Tampere University, in which case global responsibility becomes merely a means to become top echelon university and enforces a view of corporate university development of internationalisation.

As an international forerunner in research, the university focuses its efforts on the values and identity of the global community through comprehensive academic mobility and a competitive international recruitment strategy. By utilising the tenure track model, launching a Tampere Fellowship programme, and using English as a medium of everyday operations, the university attracts international academics. Academic excellence may be achieved through competitive international recruitment of the best talent and utilising tenure track models adopted from prestigious Anglo-American universities and recently implemented in most Finnish universities (Tampere University, 2020).

Aiming to create an attractive study destination and digital campus, internationalisation is seen as an integral part of all degree programmes, and it is implemented in personal study plans. By integrating internationalisation in pedagogy, the university provides support for integration and a path for employment to international degree students and students with immigrant backgrounds (Tampere University, 2020). Attractiveness is seen as important in the education market, but education is not presented as a commodity quite as strongly as in the national strategies. Institutional reactions to the marketisation of education vary, but Finnish higher education institutions do lack the experience in marketing, and there is reluctance especially among academics in seeing education as a commodity. This also has disciplinary differences, as some degrees are easier to market and have greater global demand. Similar findings have been made by Kauko and Medvedeva (2016, 105) in their analysis of the internationalisation strategies of Finnish universities, as the authors "could not identify an overarching theme combining internationalisation with marketisation in the university strategies at the policy-making level."

Education as a commodity is manifested in the plans for "financially sustainable transnational education", where the expectation is that each faculty could find lucrative fields in which to sell education. In research, there are also aims for financial gains, in more actively applying for international research grants, particularly in cooperation with international research consortia, which are considered a medium for securing more funding (Tampere University, 2020). There is also mention of global responsibility linked to education, which is not exactly spelled out, but—as it is mentioned within the context of talent attraction and contrasted against market logic—it can be interpreted as providing education opportunities to academically talented international students and to minorities or individuals in vulnerable positions. A strategic scholarship system is identified as key for addressing the topic (Tampere University, 2020). However, at least in 2021, the aim of Tampere University was to lower the percentage of tuition fee-waiver scholarships in all international degree programmes and to have more fee-paying students. Even if the *Action Plan for Internationalisation* contrasts tuition fees and global responsibility, other institutional policies have a different approach. Again, the commodification of internationalisation enforces the corporate university aspect.

The third pillar states: "Interdisciplinarity, principles of the open science and diverse global aspects are supported by the universities in order to support the solving of the challenges of sustainability," and furthermore, "Universities include the responsibility, particularly global responsibility to the sustainable education, research and their own activity in a stronger manner" (Tampere University, 2020; cf. UNIFI, 2020). In the Tampere University Action Plan for Internationalisation, the aspect of sustainability is related to global collaboration; describing the university "participating actively in capacity-building projects, acting as a host institution for Scholars at Risk and branding our university as a contributor to global sustainable development" (Tampere University, 2020). In addition, the multi- and transdisciplinary collaboration and impact can be considered a cross-cutting theme, enabling solution seeking to the big global challenges, i.e., to environmental issues, including sustainable development. The aspects of environmental sustainability have also been alluded to in the Tampere University plans on reducing campus facilities (mainly working spaces), although this has received criticism on masking financial cost savings with environmentalism (c.f. Melles, 2020). There is similar criticism levelled at university leaders that environmental declarations are mere greenwash if the strategy declarations are not converted to accountable targets and actions. Signing declarations is a popular and potentially indicative strategy of commitment but in reality, has only limited or no significance as many sustainability declarations are aspirational and non-binding (Bekessy et al., 2007; Lozano et al., 2015; Melles, 2020).

To sum up, internationalisation is presented as a strategic process led by the organisation's leaders, with defined responsibilities and close ties to other strategies and plans. The *Action Plan for Internationalisation* talks about branding the university, its education, research and services to international scholars and students. It seems that internationalisation is predominantly about brand and thus part of the competition discourse mainly as well as a representation of the corporate university developments. The aspects and discourses of internationalisation in the Tampere University *Action Plan for Internationalisation* are summarised in the following table (Table 7.3).

The *Action Plan for Internationalisation* remains on a relatively superficial level, but the predominant discourse is that of competition. Somewhat surprisingly, the discourse of collaboration is relatively weak. The discourse of sustainable internationalisation also remains on a general level with vague references to global sustainable development and capacity building but is manifested in other statements and strategies (such as Scholars at Risk or the national UNIFI sustainability goals). However, they may also be considered as more like unbinding statements.

Table 7.3 Summary of the aspects and discourses of internationalisation in the *Action Plan for Internationalisation* (Tampere University, 2020)

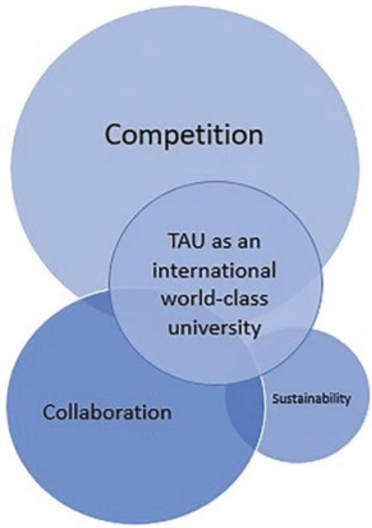
Aspect of internationalisation (de Wit, 1999)	Internationalisation as collaboration (Perez-Encinas, 2018)	Internationalisation as competition (Knight, 2003; Kauko & Medvedeva, 2016)	Responsible internationalisation as sustainability and global impact (de Wit & Deca, 2020; Buckner & Stein, 2020)
Academic	International partnerships for education and research.	"International forerunner in multi- and transdisciplinary research." Profiling (flagships and centres of excellence). "International recruitment of best talents."	Not mentioned.
Social/Cultural	"Active and well-known partner", partnerships and networks as the main way of internationalisation.	Branding of education and research partnerships and networks as a means for gains in internationalisation.	"Contributor to global sustainable development." "Global community."
Political	Not mentioned.	Local and national policies to increase attractiveness of the city and the university and labour policies. University has global impact.	European Universities Initiative (EIU). Capacity building.
Economic	Not mentioned.	"Financially sustainable transnational education." Active application for international grants.	Not mentioned

The merger is not mentioned in the *Action Plan for Internationalisation*, and we may ask whether this merely reflects changes in the Ministry's internationalisation strategies, or whether the topic of merger still plays a role in the development of internationalisation in the new Tampere University. The *Action Plan for Internationalisation* and the justifications for the merger are parallel: competition for becoming more internationally visible and recognised. Competition is the dominant discourse in the aims of the merger, as well. What could be assumed as the aims of the merger are transferred to the aims of the merged university.

The main arguments for internationalisation in the merger documents of size, profiling areas and multidisciplinary research, surprisingly have not been carried over to the *Action Plan for Internationalisation*. Academic excellence and attracting international academics are points of convergence in both the merger aims and the *Action Plan for Internationalisation*; the merger aims to attract these groups with profiled research and multidisciplinarity, whereas the Internationalisation plan offers services in English, facilities, and an internationally recognised tenure track model. However, the *Action Plan for Internationalisation* sees students also as a potential source of revenue in the form of tuition fees. Whereas being able to attract internationally acclaimed scholars, the ranking of the university could be increased.

The following figure summarises the weight of the different discourses in the *Action Plan for Internationalisation* and places Tampere University as and international world-class university based on global competition between institutions and through strategic collaboration with renowned international partners (Fig. 7.1).

Fig. 7.1 Internationalisation discourses in Tampere University



Conclusion

By utilising the Tampere University merger process as a case example, the objective of this chapter has been to discuss how mergers are justified by internationalisation in an institutional perspective, and how the national discourses on internationalisation are transferred to the merger process and used as arguments for mergers.

Contrary to expectations based on world-class university discourses, mergers are not explicitly presented in the internationalisation strategies of the Ministry as a means by which to transform universities into more international institutions. However, this does not mean that there would not be any benefits resulting from mergers to support a greater level of internationalisation. Stronger orientation to internationalisation may well be a result of, rather than the cause for merger. The discourse of internationalisation as competition seems to shape higher education reforms in Finland and mergers are presented as a prerequisite for entering the global higher education race.

We discovered that the predominant discourse in the case of Tampere University, was that of competition, while the discourse of collaboration seems to be relatively weak. The discourse of sustainable internationalisation remained on a rather general level, thereby offering no concrete justification for the merger, but rather appearing like window dressing.

When comparing the Ministry's strategies (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009, 2016) and the Tampere University *Action Plan for Internationalisation* (Tampere University, 2020), it can be concluded that they have very little in common. One explanation for this could be that the strategies serve different purpose: the Ministry's strategies are more about proclaiming the distinctiveness of the Finnish higher education system and setting the direction for areas of improvement for the future, whereas the Tampere University *Action Plan for Internationalisation* is more about establishing the newly formed university to be more well-known internationally. Another interpretation could be that the University did not want or did not even understand how to align its strategy with that of the national level. This would then question the meaningfulness and importance of national-level internationalisation strategies from the perspective of institutions.

What can be said about the main rationale for implementing the Tampere University merger from the political, financial, academic, and cultural aspects? Clearly, for the Ministry, mergers were supported to a large extent due to political factors. International trends in higher education policy point towards the larger size of institutions, backed by assumptions related to a higher level of international visibility (bigger institutions draw more students, staff, and produce more teaching and research outputs). From the institutional perspective, academic and financial rationales seem to matter most. Academic aspects include expected positive synergies with collaborating researchers, and a larger educational impact due to more efficient coordination. Financial aspects include assumptions based on improvements in economies of scale (greater efficiency) in both teaching and research (the cost side of) activities, and better possibilities with which to attract the most talented students, more research funding, and other third-party sources of funding (the revenue side). As a whole, having different rationales on the system and institutional levels does not necessarily make the rationales mutually conflicting, but rather, mutually reinforcing. Larger size and visibility are expected to create a positive halo effect on institutional prestige, which then can yield benefits for both the academic and financial aspects.

Our case offers perspectives that are not entirely in line with the assumptions derived from the theoretical base. We assumed that the emerging discourse of sustainability would have been more visible in the actual Internationalisation plan (Tampere University, 2020). However, it is more present in other (loosely) related documents and activities although it often remains on a declaration level and possibly being more a form of greenwashing and window dressing than truly sustainable internationalisation. Furthermore, competition is an all-encompassing discourse in the institutional and structural contexts, and it is often interpreted as a discourse that opposes academic rationale while supporting the financial and political agenda. However, it has a strong academic rationale. Internationalisation is argued from the perspective of collaboration and global impact; however, it is mainly related to institutional and international competitiveness. Apparently theoretical models are useful for drawing attention for different aspects of internationalisation discourses, but in in practise, the complexity and overlapping nature of goals and processes of internationalisation goals escape simplicity of the ideal type models.

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Chapter 8
University Internationalisation: The Impact of the COVID Experience in a Global-South University

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Abstract For many years, the international dimension was not focused on Brazilian higher education. Following the same path, USP, despite its position as one of the leading national flagship universities, paid little attention to internationalisation until the beginning of the XXI century. This change in perspective was mainly motivated by its inclusion in international rankings and the pressure of other globalisation dynamics. Recently, forced by the limitations in physical mobility imposed by the pandemic, the University has worked on converting its main mechanisms devoted to internationalisation to meet these new requirements: as further internationalisation does not involve the physical mobility of students or researchers, it started to rely on the production of more shared research, inside more closely integrated global networks, and exchanging knowledge through digital platforms. While, in many aspects, this experience opened a window of opportunity for the University, it also has a dark side since it could deepen inequalities among the student body.

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic changed the internationalisation dynamics of universities around the world. These changes vary according to the logic and socio-political organisation in which the institution was previously inserted. For some, the

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pandemic presented opened a window of opportunity for reinforcing the university position in the global academic landscape. Others found themselves excluded from these opportunities, leading to a deepening of structural inequalities in higher education systems and institutions.

In this chapter, we present the case of the University of São Paulo (USP), a research-intensive flagship university in Brazil, and the rationale behind its internationalisation, leading to the latest developments during the pandemic.

For many years, the international dimension was not a focus for Brazilian higher education. Following the same path, USP, despite its position as one of the leading national flagship universities, paid little attention to internationalisation until the beginning of the XXI century. This change in perspective was mainly motivated by its inclusion in international rankings and the pressure of other globalisation dynamics. Recently, forced by the limitations in physical mobility imposed by the pandemic, the University has worked on converting its main mechanisms devoted to internationalisation to meet these new requirements: as further internationalisation does not involve physical mobility of students or researchers, it started to rely on the production of more shared research, inside more closely integrated global networks, and exchanging knowledge through digital platforms.

To find evidence supporting our arguments, we relied on qualitative-based merged methods focusing on the emergence of initiatives and internationalisation policies in the global south, analysing the University of São Paulo's experience and also considering the Brazilian context. We supported our analysis with a combination of four strategies and data collection: a literature review, documentary research, online data analysis, and semi-structured interviews with the current and previous directors of the university's international office. All data collection is based on the experience of the authors in the field. Empirical Research Design (ERD) is a research strategy that improves the methodological and analytical framework using evidence of experiences and empirical validation of relevant cases (Mills et al., 2010). Due to the coronavirus disease outbreak in 2019 (COVID-19), the ERD for this paper took place virtually in Brazil, and the collection of primary and secondary data was conducted between February and April 2021.

The first section develops a brief overview of the higher education policies and the changing locus of policies for internationalisation inside this policy field in Brazil. The section aims to show the main logics and policy instruments elected by policymakers, universities and the academic community to promote and support internationalisation. The main objective is to place USP within the national context of higher education (HE) internationalisation policies. The second section focuses on USP's experience as a global south research-intensive university, presenting the main factors responsible for changing the centrality of internationalisation inside the institution's priorities and the instruments adopted for supporting internationalisation. Finally, the last section explores the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the University's approach to internationalisation.

A Brief Overview of Brazilian Higher Education Policies and the Position Occupied by the Policies for Internationalisation

Starting in the 1960s, Brazil made significant efforts to build an extensive, diversified higher education system, with a few highly research-intensive universities (public and private). The most conspicuous characteristic of this effort is the growth of a particular institutional niche where research and high-level training occur postgraduate programs—at the master's and doctoral level (Balbachevsky & Schwartzman, 2010). Postgraduate study was originally hosted inside institutions driven by a logic focused on undergraduate teaching. Thus, modern postgraduate education grew as a quasi-independent layer inside the universities' pre-existing institutional architecture, which was centred on undergraduate level training.

Since its inception in the 1960s, the policies supporting research and graduate education also incorporated an international dimension that was entirely absent in undergraduate (bachelor level) education policies. Offering scholarships for candidates looking for advanced training abroad was always a mandatory component of the programmes and instruments supporting graduate education and research.

However, the unidirectional design of these earlier attempts to build connections between the domestic and international academic community is notable. The primary rationale was to send bright local minds to be trained abroad. Attracting students and academics from abroad to be qualified or to work in Brazilian universities was not one of the goals acknowledged by these policies. At its inception, graduate education was thought to be an asset directed to attend to the needs of Brazilians. Indeed, there has always been a degree of uneasiness with the idea of international students replacing national candidates (Balbachevsky, 2004). The only exception to this perspective comes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which, in the late 1960s, launched two programs designed to attract foreign students to Brazilian public universities as a tool for promoting Brazil among the political elites in other countries (Ferreira & Oliveira, 2020).

At the end of the 1980s, policymakers and the academic community converged in recognizing that the Brazilian graduate layer was large enough (and with enough quality) to answer the country's demand for higher-level training. The new rationale was to prioritise training in domestic programs up to the PhD level and concentrate on offering scholarships for study abroad at post-doctoral training (Matos and Velloso, 2002). To avoid complete endogamy, the federal agencies started to offer what were locally known as "sandwich scholarships", supporting small internships abroad for students already enrolled in well-evaluated domestic graduate programs.

Up until the launch of the Science Without Borders Program (SwB) in 2011, the country had no experience of programs supporting international mobility outwards at the bachelor level. Even today, the dominant rationale at bachelor level training emphasises the importance of attending domestic programs. Not only was there no support for international mobility at this level, but the Universities resisted the idea of recognising teaching input from abroad. This resistance was a bottleneck even in the SwB experience (Pereira, 2013). Thus, it is unsurprising that internationalisation was not a theme that regularly appeared on the agenda of Brazilian higher education for any stakeholders until the end of the 2000s. A survey conducted in 2007 with a representative sample of the Brazilian academic profession found out that even inside the more research-oriented universities, only a minority of the academics (29.9%) sustained an active international profile, cooperating in international research networks and publishing abroad (Schwartzman & Balbachevsky, 2014).

This scenario started to change at the end of the first decade of the new century. Several dynamics were the main drivers for this change. The first was the pressures international rankings put on the best Brazilian universities (Righetti, 2018). When these universities improved their positions in some of the rankings, internationalisation became more salient in the minds of senior administration. Compared to other indicators used by the rankings, such as average citation rate, internationalisation was more easily attainable in the short term. It also had the advantage of being a multiplier for other indicators heavily used in rankings, such as international reputation, citation impact and research productivity (Marcovitch & Axel-Berg, 2019).

At that time, there was growing demand for short term enrolment at the postgraduate and undergraduate level from international students, particularly those coming from Europe supported by the ERASMUS MUNDUS Program. There were lower costs associated with initiatives that would give these students a friendlier reception.

The second drive for changing universities' view of internationalisation was a process of social learning. The growing number of contacts Brazilian university leaders and policymakers had with the international community of researchers and practitioners in the HE field, through international meetings, seminars, and other forums, contributed to raise their awareness of internationalisation.

Last but not least, there is the impact of the Program Science Without Borders by itself. The literature acknowledges many faults in the design of the Program. However, its size, the nationwide coverage, and the fact that the Program, for the first time, targeted undergraduate students were reasons enough to change the landscape of internationalisation policies. The Program mobilised all universities, some of them did not even have an office for international affairs. In large research-intensive universities, the Program's opportunities intensified internal awareness of internationalisation issues. Initiatives directed to reinforcing the institution's ability to support internationalisation, improving the quality of the available information regarding the institution's profile, offering sources of information related to international cooperation for the institution's community, and launching institution's level programs supporting academics and students' mobility became usual among these universities. In the following section, we will examine the experience of one of these large, research-intensive universities, the University of São Paulo, considered the best University in Brazil, the largest producer of knowledge and among the two best known universities in Latin America.

The University of São Paulo's Experience

The University of São Paulo is a large research-intensive university in São Paulo (USP), the wealthiest state of the Brazilian Federation. USP is maintained by the state government from a proportion of its sales tax. It was founded in 1934, and since then, the University has relied on solid support among the regional elites. Its structure has always been that of a research-intensive institution. Today, the University has 11 campuses situated in different cities and regions of São Paulo. There are 97,325 students enrolled,[1] of which 30.1% are enrolled in master's and doctoral programs. In 2020, the University granted 2862 PhDs. These numbers are even more significant because of the high quality of the University graduate education. In Brazil, all graduate programs are submitted to a strict peer review evaluation carried out by a federal agency, the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES). Besides its leading position in the country's postgraduate education, the University is also home to some of its most prestigious professional faculties, and Brazil's largest medical complex. The University is also responsible for some of the most important museums in the country.

A fixed fraction of the state's revenue is the primary source of university funding—it is the most significant recipient of the country's public resources for funding research, both at the federal and state level. The University's academic staff comprises 5386 academics, the vast majority of them holding a full-time contract (87.96%) and 99.44% holding at least a PhD degree.

The Birth of a New Policy Area Inside University of São Paulo: Internationalisation

Despite its size, local relevance, and high academic profile, the University of São Paulo remained a relatively inward-looking institution until the 2010s. Even if many of its academics were trained abroad and a significant number sustained stable and active connections with peers abroad, the University's share in international academic mobility was meagre, and the University itself was relatively unknown internationally (Schwartzman, 2007).

From this initially insular and disinterested stance towards international comparisons, USP's interest in internationalisation was unusually piqued in 2011. In that year, USP entered the top 200 institutions worldwide in the Times Higher Education ranking (Righetti, 2018).

Up to the beginning of 2011, rankings were not relevant for USP's administration and internal policies. No rankings were of specific interest to Brazilian higher

[1] Data on USP from http://www.usp.br/internationaloffice/index.php/usp-em-numeros/. Data on University of California from https://accountability.universityofcalifornia.edu/2018. Both accessed on 13 April, 2020.

education. The commercial interest logic of the Times Higher Education does not specifically dialogue with Brazilian public higher education. In comparison, the elite geopolitical competition that influences indicator choice in the ARWU follows a logic that does not conform to the prevailing interests of Brazilian higher education in the 2000s, which was more interested in building an internal, national research base. Rankings were easy enough for USP to ignore in their initial years. The University enjoyed a traditional dominance of public and scientific life in Brazil as one of the leading national flagship universities, and their position was largely unchallenged (Douglass, 2016). It, therefore, had little to gain and much to lose from highlighting international comparisons over which they had little control and which had yet to spark much public interest.

However, being placed among the top 200 universities was enough to raise the attention of the university's high administration. Prior to this moment, rankings represented an exposure to risk without much prospect of success. However, when the university entered the elite grouping it felt able to compete. Thus, being included among the top universities has provided some of the initial impetus for a change in the university's internationalisation strategy.

Still, this sole move is not enough to entirely explain the massive shift in attention that took place in that decade. If the rankings issue could be reduced to the provision of positive headlines to the non-academic press, this would explain an initial uptake in interest, followed by ignoring negative headlines. If this were the sole reason, rankings would have remained the preserve of university communications offices and would not have impacted internationalisation and research strategy.The change from national interests to international dominance was described by Pusser and Marginson (2013) using a power framework derived from Steven Lukes (2005). This framework describes well how rankings came to influence Brazilian higher education. On Lukes' tripartite conception, the situation described above translates to his first dimension of power – rankings display intentionality on the part of state or commercial actors.

Institutional Building and Internationalisation at USP: The Pre-conditions for Internationalisation at a Distance

Thus, it was only in 2010, when the University was, for the first time, ranked in the top 150 by the Shanghai Jiao Tong Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU), that the University's high administration fully realised the relevance of internationalisation for the University's affairs. Before that, the departments, laboratories and academics adopted individual initiatives in the area. The central administration had just one office – the CCINT (Portuguese acronym for Commission for International Cooperation) for dealing with international affairs. It worked with a small budget, mainly offering seed money for support initiatives proposed by academics individually, helping academics and students with the procedures for issuing needed visas for travelling abroad and offering some assistance with accommodation for visitors.

The first move in this area was the upgrade of the locus in charge of International cooperation inside the university organisational chart. The Rector made a significant reform in the University's organogram by creating an Executive Vice-Chancellor for International (VRERI), linked to the Rector's Cabinet. The VRERI worked as a regulatory body and aimed to promote better integration of the many dimensions of internationalisation, encompassing teaching, research, outreach activities and administrative services (Tanque & Morilas, 2013). The VRERI also operated with a substantially enlarged budget supporting the goals of mapping, coordinating, and supporting international collaboration initiatives. Under VRERI, the University sought, for the first time, to explore alternatives for supporting inbound global mobility by actively prospecting partners interested in sending students and academics for exchange programmes.

In 2013 the VRERI was reconfigured as a university agency: the USP Agency of National and International Cooperation (AUCANI) (Madruga, 2014). AUCANI is responsible for "assisting the University Rector in the national and international academic relations of the University'' and "assisting the University's central bodies and units in national and international academic cooperation". To achieve these goals, AUCANI has three boards: international academic relations, national academic relations, and academic mobility. The English version of the website stresses that the Agency has three critical activities: to provide counselling and assistance for international students; to advise USP graduates and undergraduates on matters related to foreign study programmes and applications; and to manage the international academic agreements of USP.

To develop its activities, AUCANI works together with commissions and committees organised inside each of the University's units (faculties, schools, institutes and museums) to support the unit-level initiatives for national and international cooperation. While giving capillarity to AUCANI's goals, this design also preserves the autonomy and initiative of each unit, which is a core goal of the University's main governance. According to the former head of AUCANI, the tensions arising from the need for a degree of centralization in decisions and the autonomy of units inside the University are among the main issues that first appeared when VRERI, first, and AUCANI afterwards, started its operation.

AUCANI created a new integrative framework for all these aspects that were, afterwards, understood as the University's international relations (and not something affecting each of the University's local, small research groups). According to USP's internationalisation policy, AUCANI adopts six general guidelines related to: increasing mobility (of students, staff, and researchers), definition of strategic partners, signing of double degrees agreements, enhancement of USP's international visibility, strengthening collaboration networks, and expansion of the international experience at home.

Since its inception, the new agency launched a number of programs for expanding and supporting university internationalisation. These actions are consistently related with the two main categories of internationalisation created by Knight (2004): "Internationalisation at Home" (IaH) and "Internationalisation Abroad" (IA). While IA stresses the movement of students, staff and researchers across national borders, the IaH relates to the integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the domestic environment.

Among the most important are the Academic Reception Office, the USP friends, and the Language Education Programme at USP. The Academic Reception Office welcomes international (and national) delegations visiting the University of São Paulo and face-to-face assistance for undergraduate and graduate students, staff members, and professors from other countries. Also focusing on assisting student mobility, the USP iFriends focuses on connecting students from USP with international students, aiming to help them during their arrival in Brazil. Whilst the exchange student receives support to better adapt to Brazil and the University of São Paulo. The USP student can practice other languages, create networks, and help the University in its internationalisation at home.

With the main objective of developing student's language skills, enabling their participation in various international academic opportunities, AUCANI created the Language Education Programme at USP. The programme is promoted in partnership with the Postgraduate Program "Linguistic and Literary Studies English" from the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences (FFLCH). While providing language training for undergraduate students, it allows cross-cultural training for graduate students at USP. Therefore, AUCANI used the knowledge produced inside the University to enhance the language performance of its students, researchers, and staff.

AUCANI's efforts in organising mobility opportunities for students, professors and staff is equally noteworthy, providing access to platforms, funding calls, and other important information - like those related to the credit transfer and grade equivalency, an essential practical part of mobility handled by each of the University's units. AUCANI's website organises and displays the main information related to internationalisation, keeping all the international calls and agreements open to the public search.

It is possible to see a clear alignment between AUCANI's policy guidelines and mechanisms and the priorities of local academic leaders. Ramos (2018), for example, surveyed Postgraduate Programmes Coordinators from those programs CAPES evaluate as high academic quality. The research focused on establishing how these coordinators frame and value internationalisation by asking them to list pertinent keywords linked to these goals freely. Ramos then summarised the findings into 14 categories, organized into five main elements of internationalisation:

1. Mechanisms and strategies: international mobility, international scientific cooperation, international networks and collaboration, curriculum internationalisation, international engagement in science policy/governance;
2. Enabling factors: institutional, organisational and administrative support;
3. Access to resources: sharing of cutting-edge research facilities and technology, international funding;
4. Academic output: international publications, international co-authorships, attendance to international scientific meetings and conferences; and
5. Desirable outcomes: global competence development and scientific capital accumulation.

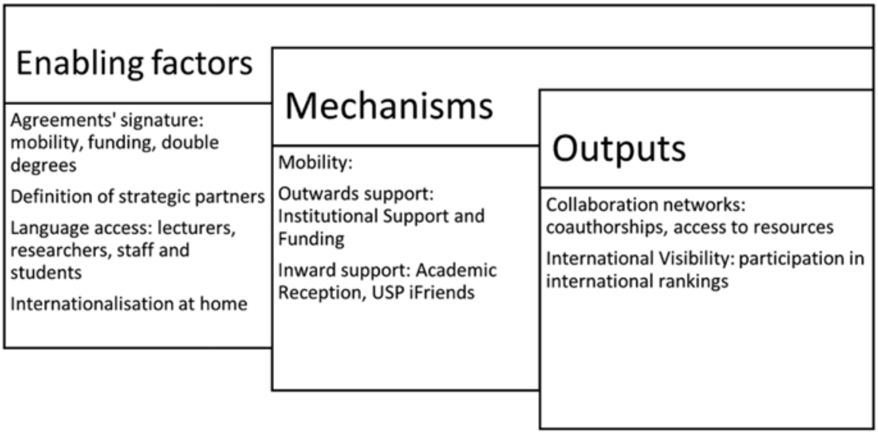

Fig. 8.1 AUCANI's main policy guidelines and programmes as enabling factors, mechanisms, and outputs. (Source: Authors)

AUCANI's policies, listed above, indicate that the Agency focused on supporting, coordinating and strengthening initiatives for internationalisation taken by the local working groups organised inside each of the University's units. Figure 8.1 contains the main policy guidelines and programmes created by AUCANI in three main categories adapted from Ramos' (2018) division as enabling factors, mechanisms, and outputs (encompassing the elements described by Ramos in items 3, 4 and 5):

As an agency, AUCANI's objectives focus on supporting collaboration, still greatly dependent on bottom up initiatives: research teams, postgraduate programs and even individuals. However, the presence and programs coming from AUCANI make a difference in these dynamics. AUCANI supports these initiatives and, most importantly, creates a nurturing environment, connecting different initiatives, giving continuity to them, and supporting their development.

It is true that those actions taken by USP's internationalisation agency mainly focused on either the "Internationalisation at Home" (IaH) or the "Internationalisation Abroad" (IA). However, when the pandemic hitted the university, they created a critical mass of internationalisation to efficiently enable what Mittelmeier et al. (2021) defined as "Internationalisation at a Distance": technology-enabled learning across geographic boundaries, therefore, internationally, while students and researchers simultaneously remain at "home".

The pandemic created a critical situation forcing academics and students to experience with new technologies which permitted not only the learning experience *stricto sensu*, but also spread the culture and possibilities of synchronous collaboration tools. When the university's campus closed students academics and staff quickly learned to navigate with the new technologies. As the learning curve steeped up, academics started mobilising the contacts and links forged in the previous years in order to enrich the university's virtual life, creating new opportunities for the university community to experience international life from their home. The accelerated advances in internet based technologies and their availability in the context created by the pandemic scenario, combined with the previous solid investment on IA and IaH gave a window of opportunity to USP to thrive in IaD, and even expand and deepen some activities.

The Impact of the COVID Experience

When the University of São Paulo suspended all campus activity on March 14 2020, this necessarily entailed the drastic change of almost every aspect of university life and practice. The first and most obvious way the University's activity changed was in the suspension of classroom teaching and routine laboratory work. These decisions directly affected international mobility, outbound and inbound. As elsewhere, the period between March and April 2020 was a time of profound emergency, when the focus of AUCANI's personnel was almost entirely committed to helping repatriate USP's students and academics abroad, while also helping visiting foreign students and academics to return to their homes. AUCANI worked with other university branches to locate, support and help these students and academics.

However, in a presentation given on February 24 2021, the Rector of USP at the time, Vahan Agopyan, already referred to the growth of a new form of internationalisation in reaction to the pandemic (Agopyan, 2021). According to him, the new internationalisation does not involve the physical mobility of students or researchers, but comes from the production of more shared research between partners inside the country, but also more closely integrated into global networks, and having peers from abroad to share knowledge with local audiences through digital platforms. From the measures we have selected here, there is some evidence to support this vision, but it should also be tempered with an awareness of new disparities emerging and the retrenchment of old ones.

The new, deterritorialized internationalisation has removed a good part of the financial barriers to accessing international scholars and events. For example, for a Brazilian scholar during the pandemic, it was possible, with some organisation, to attend a conference in Asia in the early morning, present a conference paper in Europe in the afternoon, and attend a webinar in California in the evening. To those with social capital and English proficiency, the pandemic has opened up opportunities to connect with researchers worldwide and access cutting edge research in a pace and intensity that was not available before.

As with teaching, for some students, remote learning has been a great opportunity, but in another sense, it has increased and deepened the exclusion of students who already faced some key disparities compared to their more privileged peers. Where it has become more common to attend international events online, more international authorities are invited to present and teach courses because of easier access. New internationalisation has also affected what was previously an external operation for the University to the inside. With the University's closure, some students (both at postgraduate and undergraduate level) used the opportunity to enrich their curricula by attending disciplines offered by institutions abroad. Even if the number of students with these experiences is still small, they are pushing for updates in the University's old framework of curriculum design.

In Brazil, the one crucial dimension considered in curriculum evaluation is the length of time students spend in in-class learning activities. This dimension is still central to the way curricula are designed inside the University. These are the most heavily weighted criteria through which disciplines attended in other institutions are evaluated in credit recognition processes. Thus, the new experiences opened by the pandemic crisis created unexpected pressures for the University to update its framework when finally recognizing credits from other institutions. Professor Valmor Tricoli, AUCANI president, referred to these experiences in the interview he gave to this study. He described the demands coming from students and also from academics developing collaborative programs with colleagues abroad. In his evaluation, these experiences could substantially impact modernisation of the framework for curriculum design at the University (Tricoli, 2021).

To a certain degree, therefore the pandemic in fact opened a window of opportunity for academics and students regarding their alternatives for interacting with international peers. Even if it is not possible to assess the magnitude of these processes, anecdotal information coming from different parts of the university converge to provide a dynamic picture where academics mobilised their academic networks to bring international peers to participate in online activities, be it in class activities or in seminars and workshops. The national and international community were intensely mobilised, and took part in many daily academic activities, as never before. This move helped to merge local and global networks and may even help to improve the university's name and global reputation.

The Dark Face of Remote Internationalisation: Deepening Inequalities

Despite these positive dynamics, one should not lose sight of some problematic dynamics associated with deepening previous inequalities. Across the world, maintaining equal access to learning without a physical classroom proved challenging for universities. Students without adequate study conditions, without technology and connectivity, with disabilities and impairments, have all struggled with educational attainment over the pandemic year. Brazil is a country with extremely high levels of socioeconomic inequality, high levels of poverty and social exclusion.

Until recently, the majority of the public university student population were drawn from the socioeconomic elite. In 2017, Resolution no.7373 of the University established an affirmative action policy aimed at reversing this domination by the economic elites by reserving 40% of places at the undergraduate level for candidates from the public school system, with a further 37.5% of these places to be reserved for black, mixed heritage and indigenous candidates to address the severe racial imbalances in the upper reaches of Brazilian society. Taking on many students from non-traditional backgrounds has proven a difficult but necessary challenge for the University. A vital tool in this change, still in progress in the University, is use of university facilities as a leveller. Face to face access to teaching staff, reliable internet and computer terminalsnaccess, and library facilities have proven vital in providing equal access to knowledge for the university community.

Once this opportunity was removed during the pandemic, study became difficult or impossible for many students at the onset of the pandemic - many lacked access to the Internet at home or live in family residences that are not conducive to study. The new internationalisation has had a similar effect. It is fundamental for improving social inclusion in the future to understand the contours of new inequalities being created by these exceptional circumstances and to formulate effective policy in response.

One of the most significant practical markers of social inequality within the University is the English language. Because foreign language teaching in public schools is inadequate and access to high-quality teaching provision is either prohibitively expensive or simply unavailable for people from lower-income backgrounds, English language proficiency is a significant difference between social classes in Brazil. In an international research-intensive university, this is a source of tension between the need to participate in global research networks and access the latest scholarship and the duty to provide a socially inclusive and representative learning environment. These two aims are not incommensurable in normal times, but they require a massive and sustained effort to reconcile.

Often in the adversarial nature of negotiation in the University's councils, the argument is reduced to either insisting that the English language not be used in the classroom or on reading lists or for the students to close this gap themselves. Since its inception, AUCANI has offered a top-rated program of good-quality online English and Spanish courses, both for students, academics, and the university non-academic staff. While these tools are instrumental, they have had a limited impact - because they depend on the availability and interest of the learners, and because they only reach those that are already part of the University's community.

Because foreign language proficiency is socially determined, it can be seen as the result of structural inequality. And yet, it is a necessary skill for Brazilian students to acquire to pursue an academic or professional career. Therefore, it is neither a question of raw ability that the University can insist that students acquire as a condition of entering the University nor is it a social issue that the University can factor out of the curriculum to increase social inclusion.

New internationalisation is at risk of creating new, or emphasising existing inequalities in study opportunities among the student body. It also risks doing the same at an institutional level. In their analysis of the 200 universities listed on the Folha domestic university ranking Righetti and Gamba (2019) identified just 18 universities that could be considered research intensive in Brazil. Of these 18, USP is by a distance the largest producer of knowledge and the university with the highest number of international relationships by virtue of its size. Behind these 18, there are an additional 43 institutions who are moderately research intensive, with lower levels of publication, international insertion and profile. The rest are a mixture of hyper-regional, local and teaching focused institutions.

As we mentioned earlier, a key component in USP's ability to transition to IaD is the critical mass of international experiences and relationships allied to a long experience of internationalisation policy making and coordination. Other institutions in the global south lack this international experience, and so their ability to attract foreign colleagues for events and provide opportunities for greater integration is much lower than USP's. The removal of financial and geographical barriers to internationalisation means that it is more accessible to those with academic social capital, but not for those institutions without well established relationships and processes.

Shifting Behaviour Patterns in Internationalisation of Research During the COVID-19 Pandemic

The changes to internationalisation processes caused by the pandemic have also had an impact on research. The role of preprints during the pandemic has proved critical in the timely sharing of information and contributed to the development of knowledge and sharing of data by overcoming the time barriers associated with peer review (Fraser et al., 2021). While the publication preprints have proliferated in recent years (Lin, 2018), they have been massively propelled by the pandemic. Because of the direct route to publication, preprints are also the best impression of research currently being conducted during the pandemic.

Much of this growth has been in clinical and biological sciences, where the need to share new discoveries in a timely fashion has been vital for communication during the pandemic. However, this growth has not just been in biological sciences and pandemic-related areas but across computer sciences, economics, political sciences, biological sciences, and physics.

Care does need to be taken with using preprints to conclude the whole of the University's research activity – although their use has expanded hugely during the pandemic, they still represent a small portion of the University's output. We cannot state with certainty that these conclusions will hold for all areas of knowledge. They should be seen as indicative rather than conclusive.

Before the pandemic, the University published a significant number of preprints with international museums and cultural institutions. These publications disappeared altogether in 2020–2021. This is unsurprising given the number of such institutions that have been closed for extended periods of time but points to an active area of research that will require initiatives to restart in the post-pandemic era (Table 8.1).

In the table above, we have ordered the data by the number of articles increasing between the years immediately prior to the pandemic (2018–2019) and the pandemic years (2020–2021 inclusive). The trend here is clear – a significant increase in collaboration with institutions in Brazil, large gains in collaboration with

Table 8.1 Preprint co authorships with the University of São Paulo during the COVID-19 pandemic

Name	Publications	Citations	Citations (mean)	Change 2018/19–2020/21
Brazil[a]	465	896	1.53	+294
United States	246	587	2.39	+98
United Kingdom	124	404	3.26	+36
Australia	58	103	1.78	+26
Spain	53	238	4.49	+21
Netherlands	48	130	2.71	+20
Sweden	37	137	3.7	+17
Germany	70	73	1.04	+14
Portugal	33	187	5.67	+13
Peru	17	20	1.18	+12
Italy	39	88	2.26	+8
Switzerland	30	83	2.77	+7
Colombia	16	9	0.56	+7

Exported on February 12, 2021. Criteria: Publication Year is 2019 or 2018; or Publication year is 2020 or 2021; Research Organization is University of S√£o Paulo; Publication Type is Preprint
[a]Figure represents Brazilian institutions other than USP. The total number of preprints published by USP is 783.

anglophone countries and much more modest gains in collaboration with mainland Europe and negligible increases. The major gains in publication relationships are dominated by Anglophone, traditionally large knowledge producers and institutions in developed European countries who have long standing relationships with the University. Increases in regional collaboration, collaboration with developing countries and with Asian countries has barely increased at all.

There are a number of factors that can explain this tendency. Among them include a tendency to fall back on long established relationships in times of uncertainty, greater capacity to transition to fully online research among more established institutions, the difficulty of the university mediating and incentivising weaker relationships in internationalisation at distance. These numbers can be interpreted for USP as a retrenchment of old patterns of collaboration. The transition to digital collaboration in research networks has predominantly favoured established connections and with developed countries. The transition to networks where research is conducted remotely does not seem to have opened up new avenues of research for USP. Instead, collaboration has moved to a pattern closer to that of the past, focused on national and regional cooperation, and dependency on the few countries at the centre of the global research network. Interaction with emerging research centres in Asia, Eastern Europe and Africa has been limited.

The other measure we took to assess the change in internationalisation tendencies during the early pandemic is in the number of grants awarded to the University by the São Paulo state research foundation (FAPESP). The periods compared are pre-pandemic (2018–2019) and pandemic (2020–2021).

During this period, the number of grants registered on the Dimensions database has increased by 535 (see table below).The main tendency to observe is that the increase in co-authored grants with FAPESP have predominantly increased between USP and universities in Anglophone countries – the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Canada and New Zealand, on the other hand, have decreased their interaction with the university considerably. Otherwise, the largest gains in collaboration have been with Brazilian and Latin American institutions. Collaboration with Asian countries other than China has declined significantly, and collaborative projects with African, Eastern European and Middle Eastern nations have all but disappeared. There is a notable increase in activity with the Netherlands and Norway, but projects with Northern European countries have declined in relation to anglophone countries (Table 8.2).

These two partial indicators together suggest a change in the direction of internationalisation at the University, in part imposed by the realities of carrying out research during the pandemic. Where there was a tendency towards greater diversification of research partners and greater penetration into less traditional research centres prior to the pandemic, the early signs suggest a retreat towards the University's more traditional partners in the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as a greatly increased regional collaboration.

This early reading of USP's research interaction during the pandemic suggests several dynamics. First, the emergence of preprints as a relevant measure of the University's activity, and a general increase in research productivity despite the interruptions of the past year. While the volume of research may not have been affected, some of the effects on the collaborative network that the University has have been dramatic. If this tendency is repeated in other leading universities, the

Table 8.2 University of São Paulo approved grants from FAPESP with other applicants – change from 2018–2019 to 2020–2021

Country	Number of projects awarded 2018- Number of projects awarded 2021
Brazil	+535
United States	+78
United Kingdom	+60
Latin America	+39
Netherlands	+30
China, India and South Africa	+24
Australia	+12
Northern Europe	−2
Africa	−5
New Zealand	−12
Canada	−30
Asia	−42
Eastern Europe	−51

Source: Dimensions.ai Exported on February 12, 2021. Criteria: Publication Year is 2019 or 2018; or Publication year is 2020 or 2021; Research Organization is University of S√£o Paulo; Funding Organization is FAPESP; Publication Type is Grant reliance on ICTs and existing research links will produce a clear Matthew effect[2] (Merton, 1968).

Participation in this new international research landscape requires greater capacity in ICTs, and also an established academic network that the university community is already engaged in. While this has led to access and new opportunities for flagship institutions, such as USP, it does seem to mean that other institutions with less experience of internationalisation are at risk of being shut out of this arrangement. There is a risk, therefore, that this internationalisation could become a regressive tendency. Leading institutions in the global south work in greater intensity with institutions in the global north, while smaller institutions struggle for recognition and participation, and south-south collaboration, something that has grown rapidly over the past decade through concerted efforts between institutions, becomes less common.

Final Remarks

At the beginning of the new century, Brazilian universities, including the University of São Paulo, approached the issue of internationalisation with extreme caution. Coming from a successful past experience centred in developing a strongly internally oriented research and postgraduate system, these institutions lack experience, knowhow and resources for launching encompassing programs of university internationalisation. For some voices inside the University the very idea of accepting foreign students was suspicious, because it could breach a core issue of public universities' social contract with the society as a whole, since the main task of these institutions should be to provide learning opportunities that would qualify the high-level human resources the country needed to develop.

Therefore, Brazilian universities were mostly unknown abroad and poorly prepared to receive foreign visitors, academics or students. This scenario changed drastically after the first decade of the new century. New institutional branches were established with a clear focus on expanding opportunities for internationalisation, supporting inbound and outbound mobility, teaching and research collaboration, and designing and implementing more clear strategic steps toward reinforcing the University's presence in the global networks of learning and research.

[2] The Mathew effect was first described by Merton (1968). The concept refers to the dynamics in science policies that end in concentrating resources in the hands of the research teams holding more reputation, expanding their influence in the field's research agenda. While this dynamic has relevant positive effects on the field's quality and level of productivity, it also has relevant side effects that are less positive. Among them, the conservative research agenda, and a very steep career path for young researchers. This effect also reinforces tendencies for underrepresentation of minorities inside the research community.

These dynamics were accelerated by the 2020/2021 pandemic. The move to online teaching had severe consequences, deepening inequalities created by differences in terms of social class, ethnic and gender.

However, when one considers the University as a whole, the positive consequences were numerous and had impact over several dimensions of the university life: it opened new opportunities for collaboration in research, public policy in sense-making initiatives.

The deterritorialized internationalisation exposed staff, students and academics to interactions coming from different parts of the world, and, more importantly, IT and the resources for Internet became an intrinsic part of the university daily life. And some of these experiences have far-reaching potential by challenging some ingrained patterns of organisation of the University.

The dark side of these dynamics comes from the lack of a well-developed policy to guide and support the use of these opportunities. With the lack of enough guidance and strategic management of these opportunities, the general dynamic tends to emphasise old patterns of collaboration. In the absence of external intervention, a strong "Matthew effect" installed and reinforced the areas and teams that were already better connected with the world wide web of knowledge, leaving others behind.

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Chapter 9
Institutional Strategic Treatment of Internationalisation in Flanders

Kurt De Wit and Bruno Broucker

Introduction

In Flanders, as in many other higher education systems, the government attaches quite some importance to internationalisation of higher education, even though its policy seems to be mostly focused on student mobility (De Wit et al., 2019; Broucker & De Wit, 2016). Most higher education institutions in Flanders too have an internationalisation strategy and stress their international aspirations. But often their actual policies are aimed as well at enhancing student mobility in particular. Some higher education institutions, however, have an internationalisation strategy as an overall aim of the institution, as will be showcased in the case studies in this chapter. This raises questions about the nature of the internationalisation policy of certain higher education institutions, and its rationale: Is it in line with the policy at the system level, does it go beyond it, or is it different altogether? And why have these institutions chosen to go down the route they have stipulated, and what does this mean for their actual internationalisation policies and practices?

In this chapter, we focus on two case studies of higher education institutions that are good examples of the strategic treatment of internationalisation, namely the Institute of Tropical Medicine and KU Leuven. The two institutions are very different in type (a specialized institute and a traditional university) and have different relationships with their respective stakeholders. Both, however, see internationalisation as an integral part of their institutional strategy, as can be witnessed in their mission statements, in their strategic plans, in the international partnerships and networks they establish, and in the policy options they take regarding their students

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and alumni. By looking into official documents of both institutions relating to these themes, and making use of the first-hand knowledge of both authors, the two cases are constructed to give an insight in the institutional policy and practices on internationalisation in these two exemplary cases and the reasons why internationalisation was included as a key part of their institutional strategy. In the conclusion and discussion the main findings about the internationalisation policies and practices of both institutions are highlighted, and are interpreted in relation to the question what internationalisation can mean for higher education institutions and how this can be researched in other cases.

Institute of Tropical Medicine

Background

The Institute of Tropical Medicine (hereafter: ITM) was established in Belgium as a training institute in 1906 with the vision of enhancing global health through fostering scientific progress as a motor of societal development. ITM received the legal status of a foundation of public utility, in accordance with the Law of 27 June 1921 on non-profit organisations, international non-profit organisations and foundations. Its mandate is to carry out all initiatives and activities to achieve its intended purpose: ITM's mission is laid down in its statutes and the Flemish Higher Education Codex: *To conduct and promote scientific research, professional and academic education as well as scientific and community services in the field of tropical diseases and global healthcare, with special attention to low and middle income countries.*

The main areas of activity are based on the three different academic pillars of research, education, and service delivery. The pillar of service delivery entails aspects such as institutional cooperation (mainly with partners in low and middle income countries), providing medical services, or laboratory work. The institutional cooperation is a fundamental part of ITM's engagement in the Belgian development cooperation. ITM's core activities are organised in three different scientific departments, i.e. the Department of Biomedical Sciences, the Department of Clinical Sciences, and the Department of Public Health. Over the years, ITM has evolved to be a modern higher education institute conducting science and education, with a reputation that is respected globally for its commitment to improving health, especially in lower resourced settings and vulnerable populations.

ITM is not a 'regular' higher education institute as the Flemish universities or the university colleges. First, while the universities and university colleges are constituted as 'ex officio registered institutions', ITM falls under the category of '*other* officially registered institutions', which implies that in general it is treated as universities, but within specified boundaries: ITM's scientific niche is specified and it only offers post-graduate education, from short courses to postgraduate master programmes, postgraduate certificate courses, and PhD programmes (though it does not deliver PhD degrees itself).

Second, ITM's legal assignments are set out in legislation both at the Flemish level and at the federal (Belgian) level, and pertains not only to higher education but also to science and innovation policy, development cooperation, and non-governmental cooperation (Flemish decrees of 18 May 1999 and 6 July 2009, federal law of 19 March 2013, federal ministerial and royal decrees of 31 August 1998, 11 September 2016 and 11 September 2017). In reality this means that to implement its activities, ITM has several management agreements with various Flemish and federal ministries. The core funding comes from the (Flemish) Ministry of Education, while additional programmatic funding comes from the (Flemish) Ministry of Science and Innovation, the Belgian and/or Flemish Ministries of Public Health, and the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Internationalisation

Important to note is that, because of its institutional mission and scientific niche, ITM can be perceived as international *by nature*. To some extent, it is primarily because of its international nature and mission, that ITM exists. Over the years the position of ITM in the international scene has often been renewed or rediscussed. Until the 1980s, the target group for ITM's postgraduate courses offered in Belgium consisted primarily of development workers for the Belgian Development Cooperation or NGOs, training and preparing them for their missions in the Global South. With the increasing need for own veterinary and medical personnel in low and middle income countries, often after their newly-gained independence, ITM began to develop a new concept not just to transfer knowledge to the Global South, but to foster international exchange through the creation of international master's courses in Public Health and Tropical Veterinary Medicine in 1964. In the late 2000s, the reform process "ITM2020+" was initiated. It formed an important cornerstone to shape the future strategic orientation of ITM and its educational activities in reaction to a rapidly changing global context with redefined "North-South relations, academic duties and health policies." Regarding ITM's educational activities, the reform process emphasized the need for a strong research focus, content specificity, a clearly defined niche, global relevance, flexibility of curricula, an approach stimulating the autonomy of students, and the use of ICT for blended learning. In fact, it can be stated that the educational activities of ITM, its scientific research and its service delivery have always been derived from her international character and the identified global needs – be it in the field of education, of (international) public health, or of service delivery.

Internationalisation Strategy and Policy

From the above, it is clear that the international strategy and policy are in fact *by definition* part of ITM's overall policy and strategy. As a result, one could argue that ITM *does not 'do'* international activities, but that throughout its activities it basically '*is'* international *by nature.* This goes beyond the aspirations of the Flemish higher education system regarding internationalisation, and is distinct from other higher education institutions who develop a separate internationalisation strategy as part of their institutional policy. For ITM, the opposite is true: derived from its international focus and target audience, an institutional mission, vision and policy cannot be other than international. That is in fact the *rationale* of ITM's internationalisation policy: it is not a policy on its own, it is a fundamental – almost existential – piece of its organisational being. As a result, the recently renewed institutional policy plan (2020–2024) is engrained with ITM's international character. Among other things, the plan specifies concrete strategic and operational objectives that have internationalisation as their core principle.

Three of the four main strategic operational objectives are the following:

- "***SO1*** *– To build on our reputation and expertise to expand to new health challenges using novel approaches of cooperation and scientific research.*
- ***SO2*** *– To thrive as an open and global campus for students, teachers, alumni, professionals and researchers with a flexible teaching approach.*
- ***SO3*** *– To forge and strengthen synergistic partnerships through which we widen the impact of our unique expertise and knowledge and thus further enforce our academic reputation.*"

From those strategic objectives, in fact three core pillars in internationalisation can be derived. First, ITM's scientific niche is to address health challenges worldwide. As stated, this implies that ITM's educational, scientific, and service delivery activities cannot be other than international. Second, and deduced from its niche, ITM aims to be an open and global campus for international and national students. The international population at ITM is in reality not an 'add-on' to the national population, as sometimes is seen in other higher education institutions. At ITM the population simply is international. This brings a different perspective on the notion of international mobility: while in other institutions or at the system level international mobility is often seen as an added value to the activities of the institution, or an enriching learning experience for some students, at ITM the mobility is in fact the core pillar of its activities. Third, international partnerships are key for the three academic activities of ITM, and in fact form an important backbone for ITMs activities.

The educational vision – renewed in 2019 – also specifies the international nature of its educational activities: *"It is ITM's ambition to be a* ***global open campus*** *that offers science-driven and societally relevant postgraduate training, in the field of tropical medicine and international public health. Studying at ITM means benefitting from a setting where* ***international*** *students, alumni and staff co-develop participatory learning, enriched by academic, professional and socio-cultural diversity.*

Highly motivated students, eager to ***contribute to societal development****, are coached towards scientific discovery and the application of acquired competencies in* ***their respective contexts****. Teaching and learning methods at ITM are adapted to the needs and expectations of the students: flexible and blended learning,* ***international mobility*** *and tailored student support are at the heart of ITM's educational vision. With this approach, ITM together with its* ***worldwide alumni****, aims at playing a prominent role in tropical medicine and public health science and practice."*

In line with that vision, among others, the following objectives, linked to internationalisation, are specified:

- "*To further increase the diversity of teaching and educational staff.*
- *To develop a new language policy to optimise access for non-native English students.*
- *To strengthen national (through credit exchange with universities and similar research institutes) and international collaboration (through the development of joint educational initiatives).*
- *To consolidate ITM's global alumni network.*

At the same time, ITM specifies her will to **strengthen her position at the national and the international level:** the course programme of ITM is well-know and appreciated internationally. The Postgraduate Certificate in Tropical Medicine and International Health, mainly targeting students from within the European Economic Area (EEA), is a reference for those interested in a broader perspective on health and healthcare in the world. The master programmes are mainly but not exclusively targeting professionals from low and middle income countries, who pursue a career in international or global health. The high ongoing impact of ITM's education is reflected in the many alumni who have become leaders of international and national research and policy institutes in their home countries. To further nurture the internationalisation of education, the consolidation of the alumni network and the collaboration with Flemish and international higher education institutions, key activities for ITM are the joint development and exchange of short courses, including mobility of staff and students.

An International Student Target Audience

As can be derived from ITM's organizational identity and policy (including her strategic objectives), it is clear that the target audience is obviously international. In 2020, three different master's programmes are offered at ITM, namely the Master (MSc) in Public Health (MPH), the Master (MSc) in Tropical Animal Health (MSTAH), and the newly launched Master of Tropical Medicine (MTM). In total, around 1200 students were enrolled in either the MPH or the MSTAH between 2008 and 2019. Data for the newly launched MTM is not yet available. All master's programmes are designed for and aim to strengthen international knowledge exchange. Every year, more than 500 postgraduate students, including researchers, medical doctors, nurses and other health professionals, follow advanced (blended) courses at

ITM. The student population is highly international: for master students the majority comes from outside of Europe; in 2018–2019 the population originated from 28 different countries. The short course students originated in that same year from 49 different countries.

The **postgraduate courses** offered at ITM are 'extended' short courses with at least 20 ECTS to be obtained and the attainment of a postgraduate certificate. A postgraduate course can be a combination of several short courses and is organised in an interdisciplinary manner. Currently, ITM offers two different postgraduate courses: The Postgraduate Certificate in Tropical Medicine and International Health (TMIH) in English and the Tropical Medicine for Bachelors in Nursing and Midwifery (TMED) in English and French. Between 2008 and 2019, around 800 students attended the postgraduate course for doctors, while around 900 students attended the postgraduate course for nurses. These formats mainly attract students from Belgium who want to study tropical medicine and international health and are interested in an exchange to the Global South, with 1000 students having come from Belgium.

At least 50% of them are international students. Yearly about 110 early stage researchers are working on their PhD at ITM. The PhD programme for students from low and middle income countries is based on the 'sandwich' concept which entails periods of mobility from their local research institutes to Belgium or elsewhere in the European Union.

International Cooperation

International cooperation is embedded in ITM's overall policy. ITM focuses on the regions where tropical diseases occur, through about 20 institutional collaborations in partner countries in Africa, Asia and South-America. These collaborations allow an interdisciplinary approach and institution-wide involvement of ITM staff. ITM has strong international bonds and is (founding) member of many EU and international strategic networks, especially tropEd, the international network for higher education in international/global health, providing postgraduate opportunities for education and training contributing to sustainable development. The innovative approach is based on mobility of students, credit recognition through tropEd accredited courses, the exchange of experiences in different disciplines, and the establishment of a common standard in education and training.

In the ITM Policy Plan 2020–2024, strategic priorities are to further strengthen and expand collaborations with partner countries worldwide and to invest in partnerships for excellence and innovation at the regional, national and European level. Remark that this is also an interesting aspect of ITM's policy: while international collaboration with partners is in fact obvious, it has been stipulated that further investment in national and European collaboration is needed. Here again, while many institutions start from the national context and then reach outward, it seems as if ITM first reached to other continents, and now is increasing its network by including more national and European partnerships.

Cooperation and exchange of good practices and expertise with higher education partners worldwide is being enhanced under ITM's 'Alliance for Education in Tropical Medicine and International Public Health' (the 'Alliance') and through the consolidation of the ITM Alumni Network. The 'Alliance', supported by the Belgian Directorate General for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid (DGD), is ITM's framework for internationalisation and strategic integration of existing and new national and international collaborations in the field of education. It is a platform for collaborative initiatives including staff and student mobility, joint educational initiatives (curriculum development and joint courses), and exchange on management and quality assurance in higher education. The Alliance framework serves to promote new educational initiatives and collaborations between ITM and both new and existing global partners in higher education: country programme partners, low and middle income country partners, tropEd partners (institutions for higher education based both in low and middle income countries and high income countries, and new global higher education stakeholders/providers (based in low, middle and high income countries. Three types of initiatives are organised under the alliance: (1) joint development of new educational initiatives; (2) staff and student mobility initiatives; (3) decentralization/delocalization of existing ITM courses, based on a concrete demand and need of partner institutions and adapted to the local reality.

Alumni Policy

The ITM Alumni network brings together students, alumni, and staff members living and working around the world. It seeks to facilitate scientific knowledge and information sharing and networking, strengthen career development of students and alumni, generate interdisciplinary and cross-regional collaboration, develop mentorship opportunities, as well as enable lifelong relationships with ITM. For this purpose, ITM launched an online alumni platform in January 2020 to offer the possibility for exchange. Through this platform, students, alumni, and staff announce webinars, conferences, and colloquia, share sector related opportunities, and have the possibility to pitch projects. ITM provides travel grants for alumni from low or middle income countries to present their research findings at international scientific conferences, to attend alumni meetings and profit from social networking and thematic inputs. With support of the Belgian Development Cooperation (DGD), alumni meetings have been organised both within and outside the context of pre-defined scientific conferences like the ITM Colloquium,, the European Congress on Tropical Medicine and International Health (ECTMIH) or the International Conference on AIDS and STIs in Africa (ICASA).

The international ITM alumni community is a diverse network composed of nearly 10.000 former students with around 4000 national and international alumni currently registered in the alumni database. At least 50% of them are international students. The Alumni Network is yearly increasing by around 500 national and international master, postgraduate, short course and PhD students including researchers, medical doctors, nurses, and other health professionals. In September 2014, a cohesive alumni strategy for alumni networking and support was developed at ITM. In March 2018, the Education Office was installed with the appointment of an education officer and a, internationalisation/alumni officer. This is interesting, as this reflects – again – the international character of ITM: alumni and internationalisation are not seen as complete distinct policies. In fact, because of the international nature of the institute, both are linked to each other: the alumni policy cannot be other than international, and the international policy cannot be detached from the alumni policy. This in fact highlights how much internationalisation is engrained throughout ITM's activities. As stated above, ITM does not *do* internationalisation activities or does not *have* an internationalisation policy as such – it simply *is* international because of its history, its mission and vision, its scientific niche, and its social role in the world.

In that line of thought, the strengthening of the alumni policy and strategy was one of the priorities for 2018 in the Education Office's operational plan 2018–2020. The defined strategic objectives of the alumni policy can be grouped around 3 main clusters: (a) sharing scientific knowledge and contributing to skills/career development; (b) strengthening and promoting ITM's educational offer; (c) enhancing social networking to trigger synergies, collaborations and lifelong relationships.

Inclusive Education

ITM is committed to guarantee access to its education for its target groups. The inclusion of students from disadvantaged economic backgrounds is being enabled by a scholarship programme, coordinated by ITM, funded by the Belgian Development Cooperation (DGD). A reviewed tuition fee policy with differential fees for students from within and from outside the European Economic Area (EEA) since 2020 facilitates access of EEA students as they rarely have access to scholarships (as opposed to students from low and middle income countries). As ITM is an open and global campus welcoming yearly more than 500 students from around the globe, intercultural competences and communication skills workshops are embedded in the curriculum of Master degrees and postgraduate certificate programmes. Technology Enhanced Learning (TEL) coordinators and IT staff support digital skills development for teaching and learning for lecturers and students. ITM specifically focuses on digital skills in the fields of healthcare, public health and biomedical sciences. Those investments are particularly relevant when working internationally.

KU Leuven

Background

The history of KU Leuven dates back to its foundation in 1425 as the Catholic University of Leuven, but the university as it is known today was established in 1968, after the 'old' university was split in a Dutch-speaking university (now KU Leuven), and a French-speaking university (now Université Catholique de Louvain). The 'new' university adopted an international focus, especially in its scientific research, and this international profile was gradually expanded to include all aspects of the institution. Currently, KU Leuven has about 60.000 students, of which one fifth are international students. KU Leuven is a comprehensive university consisting of 15 faculties, with study programmes being offered in 10 cities, and including 92 master's programmes in English. KU Leuven is ranked 45th in the Times Higher Education World University Ranking (2021) and 84th in the QS World University Rankings 2021 (QS Quacquarelli Symonds Limited 2020). It tops the Reuters' list of Europe's Most Innovative Universities (2019).

Within the higher education system of Flanders, KU Leuven is one of the 'ex officio registered' higher education institutions, meaning that it is fully subject to the legislation regarding higher education, as codified in the so-called Codex Higher Education (adopted 11 October 2013, last changed at the time of writing 30 December 2020). This legislation defines the mission of universities as consisting of providing higher education, conducting scientific research, and delivering social and scientific services and knowledge transfer for social and economic innovation. Being an ex officio registered HEI has as a consequence that KU Leuven receives its basic funding from the Flemish Ministry of Education. Student intake, the number of degrees awarded, and research output are key parameters in the funding model.

In its mission statement (as updated in 2012), KU Leuven stresses its position as an independent university, regardless of its recognition (and funding) by the Flemish Government and its ties with the Catholic tradition. In line with the Codex Higher Education, it defines its mission as providing students with an academic education based on high-level scientific research in order to prepare them for their social responsibility.

KU Leuven considers itself to be a research-intensive, internationally oriented university doing both fundamental and applied research, with a strong interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary focus and pursuing international excellence. It emphasizes its ties with its (international) research partners, with the university hospitals, and with the universities of applied sciences with which it is associated. The KU Leuven Association is a cooperation agreement between KU Leuven and five universities of applied sciences, together accounting for more than 40% of the total student population in higher education in Flanders (AHOVOKS, 2020).

According to its mission statement, KU Leuven wants to stimulate individual initiative and critical reflection, in a culture of consultation, cooperation, solidarity, and academic freedom. It wants to proactively engage with diversity, to participate actively in social debate, and to transfer its knowledge to society, thereby paying attention to its most vulnerable members.

Internationalisation Policy

From its history and its mission statement it is clear that KU Leuven strives to be an international institution. In the current strategic plan, 'On Crossroads', this is voiced as the ambition to become 'truly international': "*the transition from a national university with a global reputation to a truly international university, in the North and in the South.*". This ambition is stated in the strategic plan as one of five long-term projects, next to future-oriented education, going digital, interdisciplinarity, and sustainability. This ambition is not intended to deny the regional role the university has in Flanders and Belgium and its adherence to the Flemish regulator and funder, but, according to the strategic plan, is to "*convince the Flemish, Belgian and European policy-makers of the substantial contribution that an international university in the heart of Europe makes to the socio-economic development of the region*".

For KU Leuven, an important message is that a strong focus on internationalisation is important because it is part of the mission statement and the core values of the institution, but that it is also a benefit for Flanders as a whole. KU Leuven was for instance involved in two studies commissioned by the Flemish Interuniversity Council, that show that there is a clear economic impact of universities, and there are economic benefits as well of internationalisation in particular, for instance relating to student contributions, and a graduate premium (BIGGAR Economics, 2017; De Witte et al., 2020). For KU Leuven, loosening language regulations and embracing the international are not choices against national policies, but constitute opportunities for both the institution and the higher education system as a whole.

This stance of KU Leuven exemplifies how the university relates to the Flemish government's policies on internationalisation. For KU Leuven the Flemish policies are a starting point in two senses. First, the focus on mobility that is apparent in these policies (as mentioned in the introduction) is taken as the first objective to adhere to. Second, Flemish policies are built upon and expanded upon, thus defining a broader vision on internationalisation that serves the purposes of the institution. The goals that are set out by the mission statement, such as striving for a more diverse and equitable society, are not limited to the national context and the university strives to live up to its values also in an international context. Next to this, there are also more worldly goals pursued by the university: attracting more international students for instance can increase income; cooperating internationally can expand funding opportunities; participating in networks can increase the visibility and status of the university. Generating and increasing resources, both in economic terms and in social and cultural terms is the way in which KU Leuven wants to position itself in an environment where higher education institutions have to 'cope with multiple pressures' (Teixeira et al., 2019) and have to find a way to balance these pressures in order to sustain themselves into the future.

The strategy to become 'truly international' was proposed by the new rector and Executive Board who took office in 2017, after consultation of the Academic Council, university-wide advisory boards (such as the Research Council), faculty deans and department heads, and a number of other stakeholder groups (e.g. the Works council). Although it was a new strategic plan, meant to run over a longer period of time than the office term of the Executive Board (which is 4 years), it also built upon a longer tradition of positioning the university as an international university.

The strategic plan aimed to "*give purpose and direction*" to the further development of the whole university, but it acknowledged at the same time that, at a comprehensive university, "*not every aspect or proposal will be to the liking of every single faculty, department or staff category*". It did however put forward the intention to enter into a dialogue with the faculties and departments, thereby emphasizing the necessity of mutual trust between the Executive Board and the entities of the university. The intention was to achieve a close connection between the university-wide strategic policy framework on the one hand and the faculty and departmental policy plans on the other. An evaluation will be carried out at the end of the four-year term of the Executive Board, bearing in mind that the COVID-19 pandemic has meant a setback for some of the formulated ambitions.

What does it mean then, to be 'truly international'? KU Leuven defines this as an aim to have "*an explicitly international dimension in its research and educational policy*". In the concrete, this entails recruiting more international students, allowing national students to have an international experience, and being a destination of first choice for international researchers. Within this framework, taking an active part in international networks takes a prime place, as does university development cooperation with a view on building academic capacity in the global South. Respect, openness, and cooperation are key values that should be the basis for a mentality in which thinking and acting internationally become self-evident. It is recognised by KU Leuven that arriving at such a mentality can be a slow process, but to take steps in that direction, in the strategic plan a number of concrete actions are defined, which are described in the following paragraphs. Notwithstanding the long-term nature of this objective, it seems that KU Leuven is moving in that direction, as it was acknowledged as one of the top 50 'most international universities in the world' by Times Higher Education, based on data collected for the Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2021, more in particular the international student score, the international staff score, the international co-authorship score, and international reputation metrics (Times Higher Education, 2021a, b).

An International Student Body

The first action defined by the strategic plan is the recruitment of international students. An evident action in itself, and not particularly a new one (for KU Leuven nor for other institutions). But the challenge is how to bring international students and national students together in international classrooms, and this at all ISCED levels offered by the university (levels 6, 7, and 8). Added value is expected if and when a genuine interaction can be achieved between these two groups of students, because it would provide opportunities to learn about, and to learn from, diversity. The recruitment of international students is however hindered by the language policies in Flanders, which limit the number of course programmes that may be offered in English, especially at the undergraduate level. Therefore, KU Leuven seeks other ways to strengthen recruitment, such as improving marketing and positioning, streamlining the admission policy, and developing a larger digital offer (MOOCs, MicroMasters, …).

As already mentioned above, about 12.000 of 60.000 of KU Leuven's students are international students, originating from more than 150 countries. The percentage of international students is, however, different at every ISCED level. At ISCED level 6, i.e. bachelor programmes, the proportion of international students is lower than 10% and, due to the proximity and the language similarity, one third of these students are from the Netherlands. At ISCED level 7 (master programmes) the percentage increases to about 20%. At the PhD level (ISCED level 8), half of students at KU Leuven are international students. Therefore, KU Leuven insists that growth is still possible, even if Flemish language policies would not be altered in the near future. At the same time, as shown above, its message towards the Flemish Government is that a choice for internationalisation is not a choice against catering for national students, and that both can be achieved at the same time.

International Cooperation

International cooperation is a key element in the university's strategic plan. The focus is on concluding exchange agreements, developing strategic partnerships, and participating actively in university networks. A Council for International Policy is established to advise the university board and to coordinate actions, which are envisaged to take place at both the university-wide level and at the level of faculties or departments.

Next to recruiting international students, for its national students KU Leuven aims at a growing participation in exchange programmes and, to that end, an increase in the possibilities for exchange. It wants to offer a sufficient number of English-language courses in order to make it possible to establish reciprocal exchange partnerships, and to build and expand a network of exchange partners, both university-wide partnerships and field-specific partnerships. It also aims at increasing less traditional forms of offering an international experience to students, for example work placements in international organisations (of which there are plenty in Brussels, where KU Leuven has a campus), and providing funding for short-time mobility opportunities.

The goal to establish partnerships is not only defined for the specific purpose of exchanges (of students and of staff), but aims wider at active collaboration in education and research, e.g. to make available funding for joint PhD scholarships. More than 2200 partnership agreements are already concluded at the level of the faculties, and about 60 on the level of the university. However, the university's aim is to critically assess all these partnerships. As the university's position in the rankings has increased in recent years, it now wants more agreements to be concluded with partners that are also higher in the rankings. Priority partners would then be institutions that score high on parameters of excellence and expertise and with which KU Leuven has a high number of joint publications or other forms of cooperation. With these priority partners, in-depth rather than wide-ranging cooperation should be the goal.

Regarding university-wide partnerships, KU Leuven is actively involved in a number of international networks. It is a founding member of the League of European Research Universities (LERU), an association of 23 research-intensive universities across Europe that promotes basic research especially at the European policy level. KU Leuven is a founding member as well of the Coimbra Group that assembles 39 well-established European universities with a view on advocating a high standard in the basic mission of universities (teaching, research, service to society). Recently, KU Leuven has joined Universitas 21, a global network of 27 research-intensive universities that connects institutional leadership, as well as Europaeum, an association of 17 European universities aimed at bringing together students and staff. KU Leuven also participates in the Venice International University, a consortium of 18 universities worldwide that jointly develop programmes at a common campus in Venice. And last but not least, KU Leuven has established, together with 7 European universities, a transnational university alliance as a response to the 'European Universities Initiative' of the European Union. This so-called 'European university' has been created under the name of 'UNA Europa'. UNA Europa aims at collaboration in five focus areas: cultural heritage, data science and artificial intelligence, European Studies, health, and sustainability.

KU Leuven aims at recruiting more international professors and researchers. The rationale behind this goal is described in the strategic plan with a quote from an article in The Economist summarizing studies on the benefits for science of the international mobility of academics: "an open door for eggheads" turns out, according to these studies, to be beneficial for both institutions and countries. At the same time, KU Leuven feels hampered by Flemish policy in this regard. With language regulations and wage limitations in place, attracting (top) staff from abroad is far from self-evident. One of the challenges is to create an attractive and welcoming environment.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that KU Leuven, in accordance with a policy agreed at the level of the Flemish Interuniversity Council (VLIR), has installed a human rights assessment for international partnerships. For every international agreement in the context of education, research, or service to society it will be checked, on the basis of UN conventions, whether the partner is directly involved in violations of human rights, or whether the activities intended in the agreement could lead directly or indirectly to violations of human rights. A negative assessment will lead to the agreement being rejected.

Development Cooperation

Development cooperation takes a special place at KU Leuven as a part of international cooperation. It is seen (and has been seen for many years) as a necessity, given the mission statement of the university, as explained in the strategic plan 'On Crossroads': "*The mission statement compels us to turn our attention to the most vulnerable members of society – including those in the South – into actual university-oriented commitment*". But next to this basis in the mission statement, the university is also convinced that development cooperation delivers return on investment in the home countries. Therefore, overseen by an Interfaculty Council for Development Cooperation, the university aims at a credible and committed approach, viewing development cooperation as an integral part of education and research, rather than as an isolated topic. The university's policy is focused on capacity-building in the South, both with regard to individual academics and the capacity of whole institutions. It aims to establish full-fledged partnerships for long-term cooperation, with a view on the realisation of the SDGs relevant to the South. Concrete actions are for instance more project funding and scholarships, including PhD scholarships for researchers from the South, and cooperation projects among students (e.g. regarding irrigation or the role of soil in the ecosystem). These actions span across more than twenty partner countries and involve more than 1000 staff members of KU Leuven.

An important source of funding for these activities is VLIR-UOS, a cooperation platform of Flemish higher education institutions (note: not including ITM) that is part of the Flemish Interuniversity Council (VLIR) and that gets its funding from the Belgian Directorate General for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid (DGD). VLIR-UOS aims to facilitate and promote partnerships between higher education institutions in Flanders and in the Global South.

Alumni Policy

As a large, comprehensive institution, KU Leuven has of course a large alumni base. It amounts to some 300.000 alumni, distributed among 56 alumni associations that are organised according to discipline (e.g. social sciences), theme (e.g. alumni working on the European Union), or region (e.g. alumni living in the western province of Flanders). These associations are all non-profit organisations. The university has a dedicated office at the university-wide level, KU Leuven Alumni, that has concluded partnerships with the alumni associations and their umbrella organisation, Alumni Lovanienses. The purpose of these partnerships is to strengthen the link between the university and its alumni by providing opportunities for the alumni such as lecture series, travel offerings, job vacancies, or newsletters. Regarding international alumni in particular, since 2013 KU Leuven has taken the path of establishing ‘alumni chapters’. Based on voluntary engagement of alumni, the university supports the setting up of a chapter (establishing a steering committee, organising events with speakers from KU Leuven, …). It now has thirteen international alumni chapters in twelve countries: Brazil, China, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Thailand, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Vietnam. These chapters develop or support initiatives that enable alumni in a country or region to connect with each other in informal networks. These chapters also play a role for the university, because they are called upon to help with, for instance, student recruitment (e.g. education fairs), academic diplomacy, or establishing cooperation with local partners. In short, the chapters and their members function as ambassadors for the university.

Inclusive Education

It was already mentioned above that the mission of KU Leuven includes giving attention to the most vulnerable members of society. This translates into a commitment towards development cooperation, but also into a more general attention to interculturality and diversity. The diversity policy is built on three key concepts: safety, respect, and inclusiveness. Safety stands for providing an open climate in which everyone can feel free from harassment, stigmatisation, hate, power abuse, racism, or discrimination. Respect means treating each student and each staff member in an appreciative and respectful way. Inclusiveness connotates that every person should be able to feel at home, regardless of their background.

The university has a specific policy plan for diversity policy, and has established a Diversity Council and a dedicated office at the university-wide level, the Diversity Policy Office, that promotes an inclusive culture, strives for a diverse student population, and helps students and staff from diverse backgrounds to achieve their full potential. The university also has a network of diversity teams operating in all faculties and offices, that is, small teams of staff members which are given the assignment to further the implementation of the diversity policy in their faculty or office. Diversity is broadly defined and includes topics such as gender, migration background, socio-economic background, disability, religion, and LGBTQI. Given the breadth of this definition, concrete action points as defined by the policy plan for diversity are numerous and varied, and range from tailor-made coaching (e.g. a buddy programme for incoming students), adapting administrative processes (e.g. using inclusive language, improving digital accessibility), and a diversity check in recruitment procedures (e.g. training around bias), to the inclusion of developing intercultural competences in curricula, organising training and offering educational materials (e.g. the Erasmus+ TICKET project), and setting up awareness-raising activities around cultural, national and religious holidays celebrated by students and staff of the university. To make sure that the diversity policy cannot be limited to good intentions, actual progress is measured by developing indicators for each action point, and reporting back to the Diversity Council.

Conclusion and Discussion

The two cases described in this chapter concern two very different higher education institutions: a small, highly specialised institute (ITM) on the one hand, a big, traditional (comprehensive) university (KU Leuven) on the other. They are both based in Flanders, but their political and legal context differs too: the university is strongly and clearly embedded in the Flemish legislation concerning 'regular' higher education institutions, the institute is embedded in both Flemish and Belgian legislation pertaining not only to higher education but also to science and innovation, public health, and foreign affairs. A further difference is the student population aimed at: the specialised institute primarily targets a non-national audience, whereas the traditional university caters for a large base of national students. This difference in the target student population is a consequence of the way in which the role and position of each institution is defined on the system level (ex officio registered institution vs. other officially registered institutions).

In a way, it could therefore be argued that both cases are on the opposite sides of what a higher education institution can look like. However, what they have in common is their strong international focus. For ITM, this is part of its DNA: from the outset is has been set up as an institution with an international and global outreach, and internationalisation permeates other policy domains such as alumni policy, staff policy, or education policy. For KU Leuven, an international focus has always been present, but more recently it has embarked on a path to become 'truly international', that is, to view internationalisation no longer as an add-on to regular activities, but to incorporate it in the regular functioning of the university.

The different context in which they operate notwithstanding, the cases show that both institutions have a number of common elements in their recent institution-wide internationalisation policy:

- a worldwide reach, but with priority areas and partners, in order to arrive at in-depth cooperation;
- a self-evident relationship with the Global South;
- inclusion, interculturality, and diversity as obvious key values;

- use of technology with a view on flexibility of the education offer provided, to reach new audiences, also in low and middle income countries;
- promotion of student mobility (both incoming and outgoing);
- an ambition to have an open, global campus;
- strengthening of the alumni network;
- the importance of partnerships/cooperation agreements with (priority) global partners.

These elements are not unique to these two cases. But taken as a whole, it can be argued that these common elements point to a good practice example of how internationalisation can be an integrated part of a higher education institution. The model of a 'truly international' higher education institution that emerges is that of an institution that reaches out to the whole world, including the Global South; that respects cultural differences and promotes interaction between cultures; that actively reaches out to audiences and potential partners around the world, also in low and middle income countries; and that establishes sustainable, in-depth relationships and partnerships globally.

In addition, institutions take up this model regardless of the different context in which they operate and the difference in kind of higher education institution they constitute. The two cases show the level of ambition of the institutions as to what it means to be an international institution, and this somewhat regardless of the system's level of ambition. At the system level, the Flemish Government *in general* currently still aims mainly at student mobility, and this is of course important for both institutions as well, but the institutions themselves see internationalisation as something much broader, and for ITM *in particular* the different governments in Belgium recognize the focus on the global that was engrained in its mission right from the start and is self-evident for this institution. At the start of 2021, the Flemish Government has however taken the initiative to bring together all stakeholders in internationalisation, in order to write up a new action plan, updating and broadening the 'Brains on the move' action plan of 2013 (Departement Onderwijs en Vorming, 2013). This new action plan will probably be more in line with the higher education institutions' policies and include not only (physical) mobility and exchange, but also virtual and blended mobility, and other forms of internationalisation (issues that are already present in the two present cases).

In this respect, it makes sense to take the discussion regarding internationalisation a step further: one could question whether it still makes sense to see internationalisation as one of the activities of higher education institutions. As many policy domains are becoming more and more international (economy, health, ecology, labour market, transport…), internationalisation becomes a transversal policy domain in itself: it becomes hard to imagine higher education institutions without an international component in their research activities, or in their educational activities – even though the size of that component can differ from institution to institution, from research domain to research domain, or from educational activity to educational activity. Notwithstanding these possible differences, it is hard to question its presence and its multidimensional composition. What KU Leuven is making explicit, i.e. *becoming truly international,* is merely a confirmation of what the institution has been doing for years. The absence of an *explicit and separate* internationalisation policy at ITM, but the presence of the international dimension *in all other* policy domains, is in fact even one step beyond: it is seeing internationalisation as an obvious and logical piece of its organisational DNA; ITM is not *becoming* truly international; it already *is* and *always has been* truly international– and was recognised by the different governments for its international focus To some extent one could argue that ITM has been a forerunner within the Flemish HE landscape and that other institutions are now catching up on this overall and comprehensive international strategy. This probably signifies the next step in the debate about internationalisation: it will be not any more about the necessity of internationalisation or its characteristics; it will be more and more about its presence and level within other policy domains. From that perspective one could question whether modern higher education institutions can be other than international. In other words, a higher education institution that wants to be excellent and reputable in the future, will have no other option than to adopt the model of an international higher education institution as proposed here, and will have to do so regardless of its specific context or constitution. Obviously this process of internationalisation is driven by large societal forces such as globalisation, migration and digitalisation.

To conclude this chapter, it is useful to present some suggestions for further research, that could fuel further reflections, on the academic level as well as on the policy level. Despite the ample research that has been done on internationalisation, there seems to be some key questions that should receive some (renewed) attention. First, it would be interesting to further study the *organisational* position of internationalisation within higher education. To some extent it seems logical to see all higher education as international by nature, but on the other hand internationalisation is not per se self-evident on all different aspects. For example, it is known that some higher education institutions focus more on the direct social and economic needs in their geographical perimeter. Internationalisation for them is more an instrument that could increase their direct social impact. For others internationalisation is a key element to increase research expertise and educational collaboration in certain scientific niches. This *organisational* position of internationalisation would be worthwhile to investigate: what is the *role* of internationalisation within the vision and mission of certain institutions? Can categorisations of institutions be made that would explain a certain position towards internationalisation (for instance, an instrumental viewpoint vs. an existential organisational piece)? Can these categories explain the extent and speed in which (categories of) institutions are moving towards the proposed model? The common elements we identified in the two cases can be instrumental in this respect, as they point out the changes that should be the focus of further research.

At the same time, it would be worthwhile to discuss and investigate where and to whom internationalisation is beneficial, on several levels: societal, institutional and individual. While internationalisation is in some cases needed to train and educate professionals abroad for the benefit of the domestic society and labour market, internationalisation in other cases is more a luxury that allows the possibility to gain new and fresh insights. Identifying the benefits, or the perceived lack thereof, of internationalisation, can help explain why some (categories or even systems of) higher education institutions are moving towards the model or not.

Second, and linked to the first, a question arises about the concept of internationalisation itself: while internationalisation is in fact an umbrella concept, it contains many different aspects – such as mobility, credit exchange, virtual mobility, joint programmes, or international exchange. From that perspective internationalisation can be seen as a range of options regarding to which institutions (and maybe even higher education systems) can position themselves. But that also means that institutions and systems define what internationalisation is differently, as well as what it should do, and what value is attached to it. Studying further the broad concept of internationalisation in an international study would be beneficial for researchers and policymakers to avoid confusion, misconceptions and too hasty conclusions about internationalisation itself. In this respect our model can help to come to a common understanding of what 'true' internationalisation can mean.

A third key question has to do with the governance of internationalisation: how do institutions embed internationalisation? How much is it present in governing bodies, in representative boards, in the institutional context? It seems logical that – for internationalisation to be successful – there is a need to have it embedded within the organisational structure of institutions, and within its culture. On the one hand, this in itself is a challenge, given the regulatory frameworks wherein higher education resides and that are not always particularly favourable to internationalisation. But on the other hand, it should be more self-evident in the future, as our cases show, that to *have* an internationalisation strategy means to *become* international in all institutional domains.

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Part III
Humans on the Move – Or Not: Brain Networking, Provider Mobility, Private Benefits and Social Losses

Chapter 10
National Strategies of Internationalisation: The Case of Hungary

Tamás Kozma and István Polónyi

Abstract The aim of this paper is to highlight the internationalisation process and its contradictions in the higher education system of Hungary. First, it reviews the statistics of higher education internationalisation in Hungary. Second, it presents the government strategy of internationalisation and how the institutions implement that strategy. Third, it looks at the human side of internationalisation and the impact of the pandemic. The conclusion is that internationalisation in Hungary's higher education is going on, but controversially - like in other Central and Eastern European systems. The chapter provides an insight into the internationalisation of higher education in Hungary.

Hungarian Higher Education Since 2010

The higher education system and policy has undergone a radical transformation after the 2010 parliamentary election in Hungary. A new conservative government took office shaping the public policies, including the policies of education. Some of the consequences are:

1. *The Gross Enrolment Ratio has been shrinking since 2007, and the rate of decline has been steeper since 2012, under the rule of the conservative government.*

   The curve (Fig. 10.1). representing the Hungarian population aged 18–22 clearly indicates that up until 2011 the drop of the Gross Enrolment Ratio was due to demography. After 2011, however – with the conservative government in office – the drop has been significantly greater than the shrinkage of the population.

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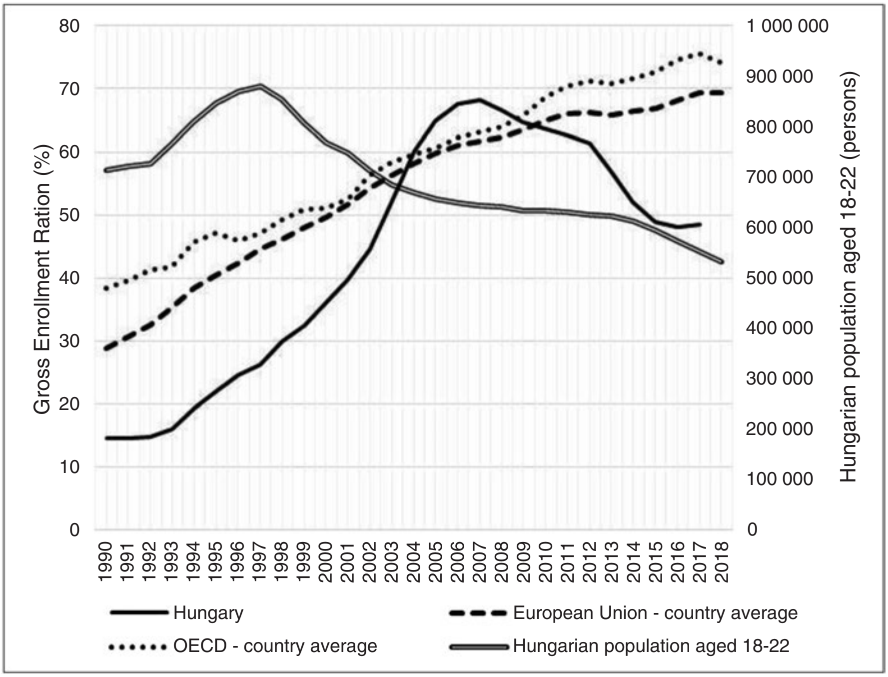

Fig. 10.1 Hungarian population aged 18–22 and higher education Gross Enrolment Ratio compared to OECD and EU Gross Enrolment Ratio averages, 1990–2018. (Source: Created by the authors based on World Bank data)

2. *Changes in higher education policy have been mainly driven by the intent of centralisation and elitisation.*

   E.g.: funding measures severely curtailed state funding of state-run institutions. As a result, in international comparison, the conditions of higher education in Hungary lag far behind (Fig. 10.2).

3. *The internationalisation of Hungarian higher education is predominantly shaped by government control. Hungarian higher education institutions don't perform too well in the various global academic rankings– at least not up to educational policy expectations.*

   Looking at different rankings, the best Hungarian university is ranked around 500 in all of them, and there are about six Hungarian universities that are ranked at all (Eötvös Loránd University, University of Szeged, University of Debrecen, University of Pécs, Semmelweis University, and Budapest University of Technology and Economics).[1] (Polónyi, 2017) Moreover,

[1] Some rankings also include Corvinus University of Budapest and Szent István University, as well as Central European University, which has, unfortunately, moved out of Hungary by today. But the

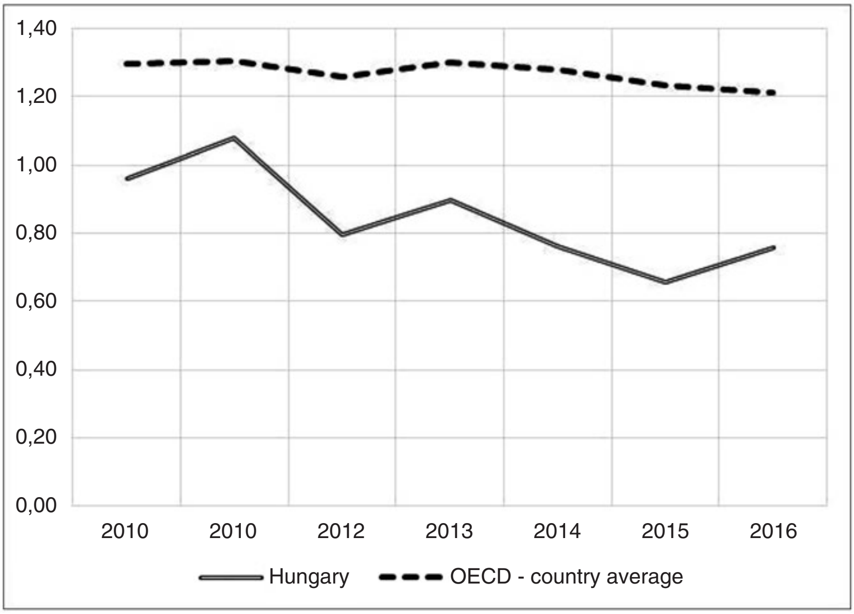

Fig. 10.2 Government expenditure on tertiary education as a percentage of the GDP (%). (http://data.uis.unesco.org/Index.aspx?queryid=120#)

> Hungarian higher education institutions have been slowly slipping downwards in the rankings over the past few years. There are two main reasons for this deteriorating performance. One is the relatively modest level of international publications of academic teaching and research staff. The other reason is the lopsided nature of internationalisation: while there is a dynamic increase in the number of international students in Hungary, the number of international lecturers is practically negligible.

2019–2020 brought a new radical change in Hungarian higher education. Eighty percent of the state-owned institutions changed into organisations owned by public trust foundations. The main idea of those changes was to transfer universities to trustees of politically loyal persons (ministers, civil servants, government executives), while the financial state support of the institutions remained or even increased. Trustees are irreplaceable under the law - and under a new constitutional amendment. The reorganisation of privatised universities would only be possible with a two-third parliamentary majority. The change in university ownerships is essentially a kind of 'political occupation' of the academic sphere.

As a result of the higher education policy that has taken place since 2010, an apparently privatised but essentially politically obsessed higher education has been

great majority of academic rankings include the six universities listed above. As will be shown, these six institutions host almost two-thirds of the international students studying in Hungary.

created in Hungary. It is vital since it means that the internationalisation of Hungarian higher education is still under government control.

Hungary's Standing in Internationalisation, 2020

According to the 2018 UNESCO data, Germany is the biggest host with somewhat over 300,000 international students in 2018 followed by Austria with 75,000. With 32,000 international students hosted in 2018, Hungary is behind Poland, Switzerland and the Czech Republic, but ahead of Romania and Slovakia.

As regards the number of international students per 100,000 inhabitants (Fig. 10.3) Austria is the leader by far (ahead of even the United Kingdom included in the chart for comparison). Austria is followed by Switzerland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. The rate of international students per 100,000 inhabitants in Hungary is similar to the United States, which is also included in Fig. 10.3 for the sake of comparison.

International comparison reveals that Hungary is positioned somewhere midfield among the CEE countries in the statistics expressing internationalisation in terms of the numbers of international students, lagging far behind Austria and Switzerland, and somewhat behind the Czech Republic and Germany. The statistics also indicate international student rates grew more intensively in Hungary after 2015.

In terms of rates of international students by level of training in OECD countries, Hungary in the top tier regarding international students in bachelor and master programmes, and in the middle of the field in terms of PhD programmes.

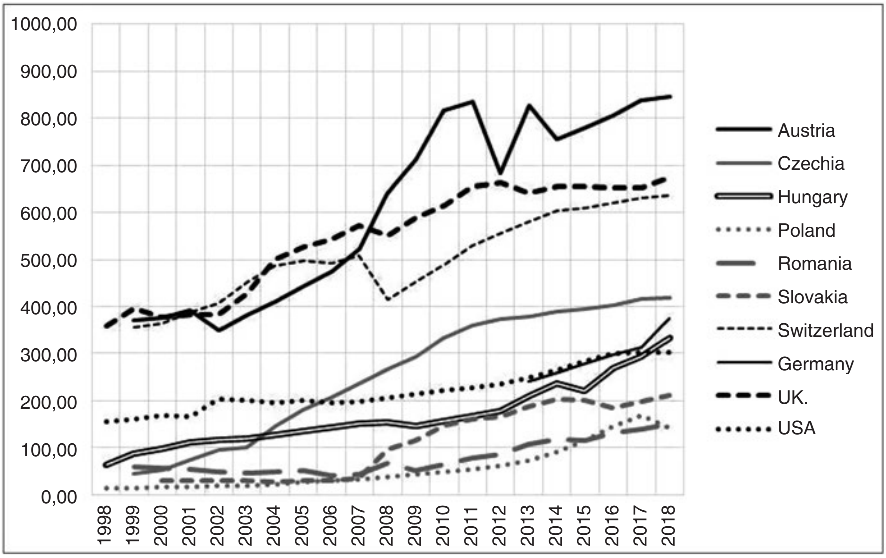

Fig. 10.3 International students per 100,000 inhabitants in CE and CEE countries and in the UK and the USA. (Source: Calculated and created by the authors from the UNESCO database)

In 2018 a little over half of the international students studying in Hungarian higher education came from Europe, and somewhat over a third from Asia (Fig. 10.4). The breakdown by countries of origin shows that the biggest sender is Germany. Slightly over one-fifth of international students come from neighbouring countries with a sizeable Hungarian minority (Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Ukraine). Twenty-seven countries sent more than 300 students each, jointly contributing 80% to the number of international students studying in Hungary (Annex Table 10.3).

The number of Hungarian students studying abroad is considerably less than the number of international students hosted in Hungary. Eighty-five percent of the 12,000 Hungarian tertiary students studying abroad chose eight countries as a destination, of which three (Austria, the United Kingdom and Germany) are the most popular countries, each chosen by a little over 2000 students and contributing 55% to the number of Hungarian students abroad (Annex Table 10.4).

On the whole, the data show that measured by the number of international students, internationalisation in tertiary education has been growing dynamically in Hungary: between 2015 and 2018 the number of international students in Hungary rose by almost 50% (from 22,000 to 32,000). Growth in the number of Hungarian students studying abroad was a considerably more modest 20% (from 10,000 in 2015 to 12,000 in 2018). The figures highlight the fact that the Hungarian government makes much greater efforts to attract international students TO Hungary than to advance the studies abroad of Hungarian students.

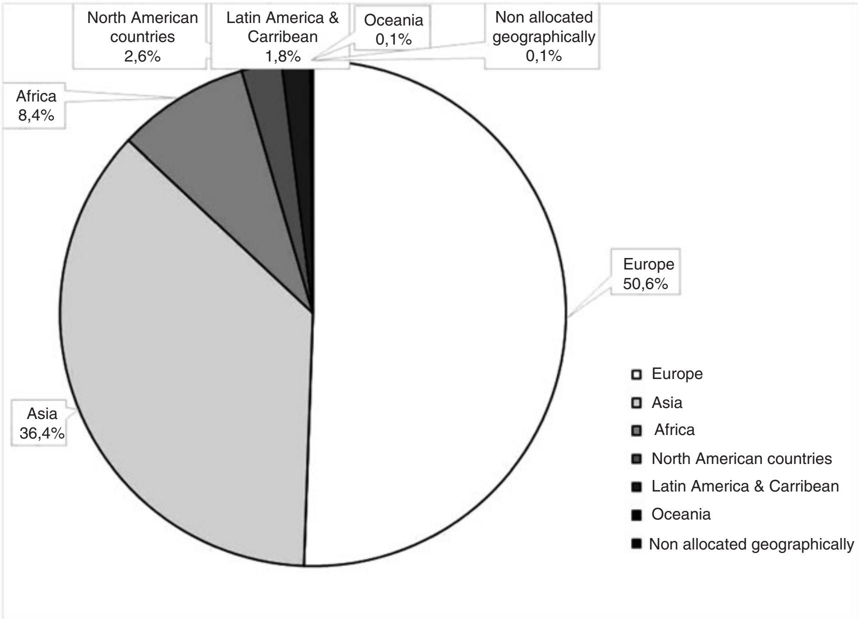

Fig. 10.4 Distribution of international students by continent studying in Hungary

The Internationalisation Policy of the Hungarian Government

The Hungarian government's policy regarding internationalisation is described in some length in the material titled *Shifting of Gears in Higher Education Mid-Term Strategy 2016. Action Plan 2016–2020*. The situational report chapter describes internationalisation as follows:

> In higher education, the pool of potential students diminishing due to downward demographic trends may be offset by increasing internationalisation, attracting more and more international students to our country. Between 2010 and 2015, the number of international students among full-time students grew by 53%; their proportion grew by 4.9 percentage points. In 2015, there were approximately 23 thousand international students, i.e. 12% of the total number of students participating in full-time education, excluding international students participating in PhD and tertiary vocational programmes. According to 2014 data, most of them came from Germany, but relatively many – around one thousand per country of origin – arrived from Brazil, Iran, Norway and Nigeria. (Shifting of Gears, 2016: 13)

The *Strategy* later explains that internationalisation in Hungarian higher education is also necessary because of internationalisation in the Hungarian economy:

> Having regard to a labour market environment where in many cases the owners are foreign and the language of work is a foreign language, it should be encouraged to launch training in foreign languages, which is a prerequisite for the knowledge export performance of Hungarian higher education and for increasing the headcount of international students. (Shifting of Gears, 2016: 24)

As regards Hungarian students studying in tertiary education abroad, the analysis states that in the early 2010s, between 6000 and 8000 Hungarian students studied in bachelor's and master's programs in OECD countries, and the numbers have steadily increased since. The reason stated in the *Strategy* is Hungary's increasingly keen participation in bilateral, international and community programs (Tempus, CEEPUS, Socrates/Erasmus, LLP, Erasmus+, etc.).

The government's strategic goals repeatedly mention internationalisation. According to one, "Objective: With the exception of short-cycle programmes, supporting and tracking the implementation of the legal provision that stipulates the amount of credits for all of the programmes, 10% of which announced in a foreign language." Furthermore, "Launching foreign language programmes. In the international mobility programme with a national reach, partly to be financed from HDOP and CCHOP funds, supporting the participation in the period of studies abroad that lead to credit recognition during the duration of the programme, with special regard to performing to professional practice." (Shifting of Gears, 2016: 25).

Enhancing the international mobility of students and academic and research staff is also identified as an objective, because:

> Increasing foreign language content and intensifying mobility programmes will allow the training of graduates that better adapt to international labour market expectations. A prerequisite for the competitiveness of higher education institutions is to join in the international student, instructor, professional, and research networks. (Shifting of Gears, 2016: 27)

In this context, two measures are formulated:

A) Launching development programmes aimed at improving the internationalisation of higher education institutions, and at increasing the ability to attract international (both European and non-European) students. In order to further break down the obstacles in front of those participating in terms abroad, institutional reduction of the administrational barriers of credit recognition must be encouraged.
B) Encouraging the mobility of students, instructors, researchers primarily by further developing the Campus Mundi and the Stipendium Hungaricum scholarships. Increasing the number of programmes in foreign languages introducing mobility windows in syllabuses. Expanding the scope of international equivalence agreements in order to reduce the administrative burdens of returning home. (Shifting of Gears, 2016: 27)

The *Strategy* specifically discusses medical training. It underscores that with their rates of international students at the faculties of medicine and dentistry between 44% and 54%, the four Hungarian universities of medicine[2] are active participants in the training of physicians in the European Union. It stresses that the Hungarian medical and dental training could become a prominent centre of the EU's supply of professionals in these fields. To this end, the number of international students should be doubled at the three non-Budapest medical universities, while in the case of Budapest, the number should be increased to two and a half times (Shifting of Gears, 2016:67). In order to retain our positions and increase the number of international students,

> 1) education infrastructure, the clinical background and the associated infrastructure must be developed and expanded, 2) in addition to university hospitals (clinics), teaching hospitals must also be more actively involved in education, and, finally, 3) a significant expansion in human resource capacities is necessary to ensure the high-quality of courses offered in foreign languages. To sum up, the required additional capacities need to be provided to maintain the quality of the training courses. (Shifting of Gears, 2016: 68)

The *Strategy* also addresses developments in internationalisation in agricultural and economics fields of study at bachelor and master levels. Another objective related to internationalisation in the government's higher education strategy is

> [to improve] PhD programmes: internationalisation, reinforcing the scientific character, a systematic system of pre- and post-doctoral grants." As it is explained, "High-quality PhD programmes are one of the cornerstones of university research. There is a clear correlation between international recognition and the number of PhD degrees awarded by a university. Large-scale increase of the number and quality of PhD students is a fundamental instrument in improving international competitive positions, if necessary, through the training of international students, too." The measure linked to this goal is "Advancement in international competition. Grants to non-domestic doctorands, students with great talent should be attracted from the Carpathian Basin, and even from further away, and in addition to high-quality English language training they should be involved in intensive research work, too. (Shifting of Gears, 2016: 86–87)

The government's *Strategy* also sets out performance indicators. The number of international students should be increased to 40,000 by 2023. The targeted

[2] Semmelweis University, University of Debrecen, University of Pécs, University of Szeged.

proportion of Hungarian students participating in studies, practice or internship abroad lasting at least 3 months or worth at least 15 credits by 2023 is 20% (Shifting of Gears, 2016: 34).

By contrast, nothing is mentioned about the invitation or employment of international lecturers or programmes promoting their employment.

The *Strategy* emphasises that highly important measures have been taken to promote the international students headcount side of internationalisation. The government has created the scholarship programme Stipendium Hungaricum supporting the studies of international students in Hungary. Founded in 2013, Stipendium Hungaricum was originally intended "to provide priority support to the studies of international students in Hungarian higher education institutions, thereby furthering the implementation (…) of intergovernmental educational agreements and agreements concluded with the ministry responsible for international education." (Section 1 of Government Decree 285/2013 (26 July). In 2019, this was modified, and the goal now is "to provide priority support to international students to study in Hungarian higher education institutions" (Section 1 of Government Decree 351/2019 (23 December). With the scholarship programme, the gate was opened wide for international students intending to pursue studies in Hungary. As set forth in the Operational Regulations of the Stipendium Hungaricum Programme,

> In line with the directives of the European Union and the European Higher Education Area, the education policy objective of the Stipendium Hungaricum programme is to promote the internationalisation and the quality development of Hungarian higher education, to reinforce the international relations of the Hungarian scientific elite, to increase the diversity of Hungarian higher education institutions and to promote a competitive Hungarian higher education in the world. The foreign and economic policy objective of the programme is to establish the personal and professional attachment of international students who graduate in Hungary, to potentially promote that they convey and help the understanding of Hungarian particularities and interests among the elite of their countries, hereby establishing a social capital needed to the development of Hungarian economic relations and to the support of the market access efforts of Hungary in the specific country. It is not a negligible fact that the presence of international students also has a positive impact on the economic development of the specific t own or region. (Stipendium, 2017: 4)

In 2017 the Government spent approximately 43 million euros on Stipendium Hungaricum. Having grown year by year, this amount is expected to be approximately 95 million euros.[3] This is a very significant amount: in 2017 it was 5.7%, and in 2020, approximately 12.7% of the total support allocated to tertiary education by the Hungarian state. It should be added that in 2017 and 2020 the amount of total state support to Hungarian higher education at the current exchange rates of those years was roughly the same, approximately 750 million euros.

It is conspicuous that while on one hand, the Hungarian state tries to limit the number of domestic students in higher education and is rather tight-fisted with

[3] Based on the Act on the Report on the Budget, the 2017 figure is reported as "support received by State higher education institutions in the context of the [Stipendium Hungaricum] programme. The 2020 figure is budgeted under the title Stipendium Hungaricum in the national budget, calculated at the current median euro rate.

support to higher education, on the other hand, it is getting more and more generous when it comes to supporting international students.

In this connection, the government's *Strategy* mentions the Campus Mundi programme providing scholarships to Hungarian students abroad. But the budget of Campus Mundi is a fraction of Stipendium Hungaricum: in the 6-year period from 2016 through 2021, the total budget of Campus Mundi was 9.5 billion forints, or about 30 million euros, one-third of 1 year's Stipendium Hungaricum budget.

The government's efforts related to internationalisation did not include research and development. Expenditure on R & D in Hungarian higher education relative to GDP (GERD performed by higher education as a percentage of GDP) is significantly lower than the OECD average. In 2010, the Hungarian ratio was 23%, while the OECD country average was almost double. In 2018, Hungarian higher education research expenditure accounted for 19% of GDP, and the OECD country average was 44%. These data show the political disinterest of R & D in Hungarian higher education. Simultaneously, there is a separate (and significant) nationwide research network in Hungary, until 2018 under the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, after 2018 under direct government administration.

On the whole, the Hungarian government's internationalisation strategy is rather lopsided. Attracting international students to Hungary is a priority goal furthered by substantial financial resources. At the same time, besides the European Union schemes, Hungarian students' studies abroad are backed by only one very modest domestic support scheme. The same applies to the mobility of Hungarian academic staff: apart from the well-known EU funds and a few more international schemes, there is no additional support. To top it all, promotion of inviting to or employing renowned foreign university teachers in Hungary is not covered by funds or measures.

Internationalisation at the Major Hungarian Universities

Pursuant to the Hungarian Higher Education Act, public higher education institutions perform development tasks within the framework of an institutional development plan (Section 89 (1)). The institutional development plan sets out the ideas related to developments and the exploitation, safeguarding and alienation of assets placed at the higher education institution's disposal by the maintainer, as well as the expected revenues and expenditures (Section 12§(4)).

Plans are drawn up for 5-year periods. They are reviewed by the ministry responsible for maintaining the institution and approved by the institution's senate.[4]

[4] It should be noted that the Act only mandated state higher education institutions to develop a plan. However, but several non-state operated higher education institutions also drafted institutional development plans as this was a precondition in applications for, and access to, state development funds.

According to the Ministry's Guidelines to the plan, "[The] promotion institutional strategic planning is an important element of governance of the higher education sector." Referring to OECD recommendations, the Guidelines affirm that:

> …the National Higher Education Act formulates governance and development policy goals similar to those international efforts.…. [The Higher Education Act] provides that decisions regarding the size, disciplines-related and geographical distribution of capacities of public higher education institutions are the state's competence. The same applies to discontinuation and amalgamation of institutions, and establishment of new institutions. The owner intends to provide a more active support to the development track of public higher education institutions. In addition to a methodological revamping of institutional development plans and technical assistance to their preparation, this will primarily be based on cooperation, which means that the maintainer's [i.e. the state's] representatives will be actively involved in drafting the institutional development plan. (Útmutató, 2012: 3)

The Guidelines offers a detailed description on how to draft plans – essentially following the pattern and structure of classical strategic planning. The institutional development plans reviewed in this paper refer to the 2016–2020 period; hence they are linked to the government's higher education strategy presented above (Shifting of Gears, 2016) and aimed at its practical implementation at an institutional level.

We analysed the development plans of six state-run universities from the aspect of internationalisation. Agglomerating approximately half of the Hungarian and almost two-thirds of international tertiary students in Hungary, the six universities feature in the most important higher education rankings (Table 10.1).

Essentially, each of the institutions puts internationalisation, including advancement in international rankings, in the focus of its development plan. However, the passages on internationalisation mainly address how to "boost the headcount of international students who are able to pay." The approach of universities is slightly different depending on whether the number of their international students is higher or lower. Institutions with fewer international students tend to stress that the basis of internationalisation is an intensive improvement of the linguistic competence of

Table 10.1 Internationalisation at six leading Hungarian public universities: student headcounts (2018)

	Students total (number)	International students (number)	International students (%)
Budapest University of Technology and Economics	21,699	2160	10.0%
Eötvös Loránd University	30,322	3316	10.9%
Semmelweis University	10,945	3450	31.5%
University of Debrecen	26,938	5664	21.0%
University of Pécs	20,082	4032	20.1%
University of Szeged	20,595	3734	18.1%
Six universities combined	130,581	22,356	17.1%
Hungary total	281,461	35,472	12.6%
Six universities/Hungary total	46.4%	63.0%	

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the higher educational database of the Educational Authority academic staff and students and broadening the choice of programmes offered in foreign languages. Conversely, universities with a higher international student headcount also pay attention to infrastructure and human resource development besides the narrower teaching and organisational ramifications of expanding headcount.

In the context of internationalisation, the student-related tasks mentioned most frequently in the development plans of the universities analysed are as follows:

- Accreditation in English of as many programmes as possible;
- Expansion of the choice of programmes offered in English, primarily at master and PhD levels;
- Some universities make efforts to launch programmes in other languages besides English (mainly German and Russian);
- Enhancing the English language skills of lecturers;
- Internationalisation of services offered by the university (e.g. library, residence hall, canteen, etc. services in English);
- Extension of residential infrastructure to accommodate international students;
- Availability of university administration in English; to this end, English language training of admin staff, English "accessibility" of the university (ensuring communication in English at all levels including signs, brochures, publications, information points, porters and security service);
- Improving the informative content of the university web site and availability in English;
- Promotion of international student recruitment and international PR;
- For Hungarian students, internationalisation efforts are deployed in two main directions: increasing the number of courses available in English; and participation in European Union short-term student exchange and mobility programmes (of one or two semesters abroad). Some universities also plan for joint programmes with foreign partner universities in a foreign language.

To train ethnic Hungarian students living in neighbouring countries features as a strategic element at almost all of the universities examined. This takes place either in Hungary or in the form of on-site training across the border in regions with a strong Hungarian population. The university of medicine and health (Semmelweis University), where the headcount of international students is highest, is the only institution contemplating the expansion of its existing training on Central European sites (in Germany and Switzerland).

Another point to be highlighted is that most of the institutional development plans stress the fact that the number of international teaching staff is very low or zero. Every plan underscores the importance of involving foreign academics as visiting professors and lecturers. However, only few plans actually contain invitations of visiting foreign academics, and even those, only for short periods (for a sabbatical year at the most); or the invitation is part of an exchange programme, or is aimed at building a professors' house to host visiting lecturers. None of the institutional development plans envision employing acclaimed academics for longer periods.

The institutional development plans are less specific about the internationalisation of research. The following action plan components can be identified:

- Intensifying activity in international university networks and regional cooperation;
- Developing bilateral relations with foreign institutional partners;
- Supporting domestic and international research workshops in the field of Hungarian studies;
- Setting up a research centre in order to join international research networks;
- Strengthening regional, domestic and international RD&I networking;
- Strengthening personnel requirements of internationalisation: helping academic staff in networking and acquiring international experience;
- Boosting the number of international PhD students;
- Involving international academics as lead professors or readers (of doctoral and habilitation dissertations);
- Expanding the issuance of joint PhD degrees (with foreign partner universities);
- Supporting the participation of academic staff at conferences outside Hungary.

The universities' plans for internationalisation are basically the local "replicas" of the government's strategy, and, therefore, are characterised by the same shortcomings and lop-sidedness. The concepts basically focus on increasing the number of "international students who are able to pay", while Hungarian students' study abroad (along with the permanent employment of foreign lecturers) is of secondary importance. As for the objectives related to the internationalisation of research, specifics are basically given only for the education of PhD students, while the internationalisation aims of international academic research remain mostly at the level of declaration. There are some factors that point out this contradictory situation.

One of them is the changing of higher education R&D resources. The support from the state budget halved between 2011 and 2016, and it reached 0.18% of the 2011 GDP by only 2018. Foreign and corporate funding stagnated between 2010 and 2019, both at deficient levels. The level of foreign financing (0.02%) of GDP shows that domestic higher education has not been able to take advantage of the ERA opportunities. The story of 0.01% of GDP from enterprises - which has decreased so much from 0.03% in 2010 - shows that the R&D cooperation of Hungarian higher education with economic actors is very modest. Moreover, it has a deteriorating tendency.

The other is the constant shrinking of academic autonomy. In 2015, the law established 'universities of applied sciences', and several colleges became universities in an overnight. Furthermore, the universities earlier financed directly by the government turned into non-profit private funding institutions. As a result, the number of public universities has decreased from 19 in 2011 to 13 in 2021, and according to the announced plans, it will decrease to 6 by the end of 2021. Some higher institutions were (or will be) offered to churches. By the end of 2023, there will be no government-supported higher education institutes in Hungary.

The state of Hungarian universities in international rankings has not changed much in the internationalisation efforts. ARWU did not have the first 500 Hungarian universities in 2020 (while there were still 2 in 2015). Hungarian universities are not in the top 500 in the QS ranking either. In THE ranking, one Hungarian university

(Semmelweis University in Budapest) was included in the 500 (401–500), but three institutions also deteriorated from the previous 601–800 in place. After all, the quality of Hungarian higher education, despite the government's ambitious objectives, remained virtually unchanged.

The integration of foreign universities also nicely illustrates the Hungarian government's internationalisation contradictions. Following the expulsion of the Central European University (CEU), the government signed a strategic agreement to establish the Budapest campus of Fudan University (China). While the government talks about a world-class university, it turns out that Fudan University – according to the world rankings – is not a world-class institution. The government subordinates its higher education policy to its other political aspirations (like anti-liberalism and a new pro-China policy).

Further controversial steps are the expulsion of the Central European University, the invitation of the Fudan University of China, and the neglect of the financial support of Hungarian students to study abroad. The losers of this contradictory policy are the growing generation who would study in a fragmented, low-quality higher education. It is the future of the middle-class youth, while their peers from the upper class would find their way to world-class universities outside Hungary.

The Human Dimension of Internationalisation

Sources of Information

Little empirical research has been done, out of which this chapter uses four studies from four universities as a basis, and additional information (Kozma & Polónyi, 2020). Malota (2009) studied international students studying in Hungary in 2009/2010. Kéri (2019) performed qualitative research among international students at the University of Szeged. Pozsgai (2014) examined the staff at the University of Pécs who were in contact with foreign applicants. By contrast, Dusa (2017) involved Hungarian students in her thorough survey. Previously, research mostly focussed on exchange students: their impressions, intentions, assessments and plans (Berács et al., 2009). Currently, the main focus is on international students. This shift can be attributed to the abrupt changes in the last 30 years in the host country (Hungary): partly to its liberation from the Soviet occupation (1989/90) and partly to its accession to the European Union.

Student mobility is interpreted in various frameworks. Some interpret relevant observations as in tourism or analyse them like purchasing behaviours (Pozsgai ibid.). Another possible approach is to analyse the problems of applicants to foreign universities with the epistemological access approach (Morrow, 2009). The decision to apply to a foreign university may also be interpreted as a form of innovation, because innovation, by definition, is an unusual and novel response given to a problematic life situation (Márkus & Kozma, 2019).

How have teachers experienced internationalisation in Hungary's higher education? The studies mentioned above give little information on that, as teachers are normally dealt with as parts of the characteristics of Hungarian institutions. The previous chapters of this paper highlighted that staff mobility is less prevalent in Hungary, which can be attributed partly to the Hungarian academic assessment system and partly to the lack of foreign language skills. Moreover, mention must be made of the fact that the participation of teachers in the internationalisation of higher education can be interpreted in other contexts as well, for instance, in the context of international academic cooperation, international research strategy, Hungary's cultural policy and foreign relations, and so forth. There exists some fragmented experience (but hardly any knowledge) of how people in those fields feel (Berács et al., 2009: 33–38).

Among the many personal impressions and the "human cost" of academic cooperation projects, one period stands clear: the period of liberation (approx.: from 1988 to 1992). After the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet empire, Eastern Europe, for historical reasons, was flooded with cross-border cooperation projects, educational cooperation being an important one of them (Kozma & Tőzsér, 2016). Universities located in the border areas of Hungary and Ukraine, Romania, Croatia launched cooperation projects, where teachers had a key role to play. The cooperation of universities contributed to the evolution of "newborn universities" (Kozma, 2008), that is, universities that came into existence spontaneously, as results of local or regional initiatives, mainly relying on Hungarian teachers and on the support offered by local societies in the border areas. This caused a significant amount extra work for teachers; quite often, they had to commute on a weekly or monthly basis. Visitors and hosts made intense efforts to get to know each other. Commuting teacher received additional income, while their Hungarian universities that managed the branch departments (Gödöllő University of Agriculture, University of Debrecen, University of Pécs, and University of Szeged) had temporary access to extra financial resources. These institutions had two possible fates: after Hungary's accession to the European Union in 2004, they were either able to integrate into the public higher education of their home countries (e.g. J. Selye University, Komarno, Slovakia; Partium Christian University, Oradea, Romania; the Faculty of Economics of the University of Novi Sad, Subotica, Serbia; cf. Takács, 2014), or gradually ceased to exist (e.g. the one-time Business College of Odorheiu Secuiesc, Romania) (Kozma & Pataki, 2011).

In the academic year 2020/21, Hungarian visiting teachers still commute to officially accredited universities. Such positions are important for their holders, especially in the field of teacher training and economics (and formerly in agricultural studies), partly because of the extra income, but much more because of the professional, academic and social reputation they entail. The positions also imply a specific political and cultural commitment, given that such institutions offer, as per the agreements between sending countries and host countries, education for Hungarians residing abroad.

International Students in Hungary

International students studying in Hungary fall into two categories: exchange students and those who intend to graduate here. Exchange students undertake a part of their higher education studies in Hungary and, in most cases, receive grants offered either by the universities that are parties to international agreements (e.g. the Corvinus University of Budapest or the Semmelweis University of Budapest) or by international associations (e.g. AIESEC, *Association Internationale des Étudiants en Sciences Économiques et Commerciales)*. In Hungary, the most representative association is Tempus Public Foundation, which primarily manages EU study grants (the best-known ones being the Erasmus grants in the higher education). Tempus Public Foundation also manages the public (governmental) study grants introduced by the government specifically to encourage international students to graduate in Hungary (or to spend complete study periods in Hungary). The Stipendium Hungaricum Scholarship attracts, above all, those who face subsistence difficulties at home or fail to find study programmes that fall in line with their works or field of interest. (Interviews illustrating our statements and represent students' opinions come from the collection of Kozma & Polónyi, 2020).

> I chose Hungary, because I was looking for opportunities to study abroad and I checked the website of my country responsible to allocate scholarships. I found the possibility to apply and had the requirements, therefore I applied. Besides, the benefits were good for me, otherwise I would not have the opportunity to have this experience of getting education abroad. (Interviews C)

> The scholarship was the main reason, as was the lack of other opportunities to apply for a doctorate, besides the quality of the certificate much better than my country. (Interviews D)

It is the difference between exchange students and those who wish to graduate in Hungary. As a rule, the former spend one or two semesters in Hungary and only if they manage to have their studies in Hungary recognised in their home countries, which is not always easy.

Although the European Union has a credit transfer system, its implementation can be complicated even between universities of the same country, let alone between countries. Therefore, the arrival, general mood, motivation and long-term plans of exchange students are determined, above all, by the administration of their study performance both in their home countries and in the host country. The institution of credit transfer has failed to consolidate since its initiation in 2004. It still has some subjective elements, gives scope to teachers' and student' judgements, and is affected by the preparedness of the administrative staff and by international higher education diplomacy. The process of credit transfer is more successful on study fields where the content of training programmes is defined based on international academic agreements, and the same holds true for university administration of the countries of origin and the destination countries alike (Kozma, 2006). In this respect, Hungary is lagging behind. Therefore, the well-being of participants of exchange programmes are mainly defined by the options for educational tourism (accommodation, transport, the organisation of everyday life, entertainment) rather than by the university itself or by the opportunities for teaching/learning (see: Berács & Malota ibid.).

> My aim was to study abroad in a different academic environment, culture and global awareness rather than getting my PhD. When I realized that I am eligible and have an opportunity to study in Hungary, I started searching to know more about the country. (Interviews A)

Still, one might say that, in general, participants of exchange programmes feel better in Hungary and find it easier to solve their problems than those who arrive with the intention to graduate do.

With a few exceptions, the majority of the latter arrive in Hungary from countries of the third world. The key issue about them is why they choose Hungary. E.g.

> I was looking forward to completing my studies after my master's, 2013. Ph.D. programs in my country stopped due to the political and economic conditions, and there was no hope for opening doctoral programs until I lost hope even though I was one of the first. (Interviews B)

There are various possible ways to interpret their responses. One can either ask them and then process the results with statistical methods (e.g. Malota ibid.) or classify the forces that motivate them as push factors or pull factors. Push factors include the political situation in the home country, unemployment, family background or the lack of study options, while pull factors are the hope of improved livelihood and of residence, the attractiveness of the chosen university and town, a tourist's curiosity etc. (see: Pozsgai, 2014: 98–105).

> I was under pressure not to be accepted into the program because the number of applicants was in the hundreds, and the seats offered by the …central government were 30 seats out of 400 to the … region. (Interviews A)

> My aim was to study abroad in a different academic environment, culture and global awareness rather than getting my PhD. When I realized that I am eligible and have an opportunity to study in Hungary, I started searching to know more about the country. (Interviews C)

Those who study abroad can be regarded as participants in educational and cultural tourism. Their opinions should be studied within that framework, which means that emphasis should shift to tourism-related aspects from those of teaching or learning (pl. Pozsgai ibid.; Berács & Malota ibid.). Yet it is also possible to interpret the results of interviews with foreigners as a reflection of innovations that take place in the life of young (or less young) people while they are graduating abroad (Kéri, 2019).

> From the responses of medical students, we can conclude that their country and school choice were greatly influenced by the fact that education was cheap. It was, therefore, suitable for student life and contributed to the attractiveness of the country and city. Also, the choice of reference groups greatly influenced medical students. Training has a good reputation in their own countries. It considered being easier in Hungary than in their homelands. It also had a positive effect on their choices. Acceptance of the diploma is also important to them, as accepted throughout the European Union. (Kéri ibid. 24)

But, regardless of the mode of interpretation, there is a striking contradiction between the expectations of Hungarian universities and the impressions of international students.

> I would suggest to help academic staff like librarians, secretaries, security guards, etc, to be train in English to communicate with international students. (Interviews D)

Universities assume that the key motivation of international students is to pursue university studies, and everything else is just a bonus. This means that academics and administrators see students as mainly interested in learning, and recognise their other needs only in that context. By contrast, for those who arrive from abroad to spend years in Hungary the focus is on life as a whole, where learning is only one segment, albeit an important one.

> The educational services are good and the coordination department provides their services to the fullest and the staff sometimes does not understand what we want, but it is good and the teachers sometimes their English is not good, but they are relatively understanding, and the Hungarian students do not mix with international students and we are isolated from them, especially now in the quarantine situation, but I am largely satisfied with the services offered by the university and the academic staff. (Interviews A)

The top priority for international students is comfort and cosiness, both at and outside the university. It is followed by shopping and accommodation and then by transport, especially for those living in dormitories located in a town other than the seat of the university (Berács & Malota ibid.).

The contradiction between the expectations of international students and of Hungarian institutions also depends on the hopes entertained by students before their arrival to Hungary ("pull factors").

> I contacted a friend who was already in Hungary to complete his PhD and asked about life here in general, universities, life expenses, culture …etc. His answers were positive and made me more insistent. (Interviews C)

As a rule, students who personally apply mention greater security, a more reliable future, higher living standards and, obviously, the opportunity to study and graduate (Kéri, 2019).

> There are many good impressions of Hungary. Life is peaceful, it is rare to hear about crimes in comparison to many countries. I usually follow the news to know what is going on around me and it also comes from my experience. Its nature is beautiful especially in summer, I love to visit its different regions. Hungary is well known for its historical urban centres and rich culture. What makes me also delighted about studying in Hungary is that there many of its institutions in high ranks and positions. For many including me, Hungary is the gate to visit other countries in the EU in the future. (interviews C)

When they arrive as members of a community (or are sent as per diplomatic agreements), tourism-related goals tend to get more emphasis (Pozsgai ibid). Satisfaction with the circumstances mainly depends on the home country.

> It is a Safe country, has many traditions, folklor, and interesting culture, there is a lot of history, has kind people, i can find variety of international food in any store, Debrecen is a bike city, i love the four seasons, there is a lot of nature and green areas around, people respect rules, the discount in the transportation system. (Interviews B)

Students from relatively developed countries located near Hungary tend to be satisfied with the education but less happy with the circumstances, while applicants from the third world are satisfied with opportunities for education and subsistence alike (Berács et al., 2009).

> …we need to highlight the role of worldwide languages in recruiting students from abroad. The largest number of international students goes to countries where the mother tongue is a widely used language, like English, French, German, Russian or Spanish. English programmes are increasingly common in Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Sweden and other European countries. The exceptions are universities in southern Europe (Spain, Italy, Greece), as well as in Austria and Russia, where we found almost no programmes in English. (De Wit, 2011b cited in Pozsgai, ibid. 23)

In general, international students agree that the site of the university should not be too small, but there is no consensus about what is “big” or “small”. This aspect has not been studied so far, but a large number of focus group interviews and individual interviews show that in Hungary the most popular towns are those with a population of 150,000–300,000 (“cities” or “university towns”).

> I think I love Hungary, especially… with all that it has, people are understanding, but they are afraid of foreigners and do not talk much with them and do not insure you until they know you and the life is quiet and the weather is a little cooler than we are used to and the spirit of help the people is relatively good and the costs are minimal Relatively good, but I am having a lot of difficulty with my younger son’s education because all schools are in Hungarian and there is no government school in English and with my study load, I am now under pressure to do homework with my son, which takes me long hours, good transportation, beautiful scenery, and good medical services as well. (Interviews D)

Albeit Budapest, with its population of almost two million, undoubtedly has the most to offer in terms of education, culture, entertainment, shopping etc., many students who attend various institutions all over the city find it difficult to become a member of a community, which is of paramount importance, especially in the first months and years. Such communities, which may be either relatively closed or open, help students integrate into university while preserving their own identity.

> … the language barrier …breaks communication with locals, people do not help you out if something bad happens like being harassed or lost in the street, not making hungarian friends, commonly find people smoking everywhere, I think it is good, but I would suggest to help academic staff like librarians, secretaries, security guards, etc, to be train in English to communicate with international students. (Interviews A)

> The bad impression for me is that Hungary still is not fully prepared for an international "lifestyle". Still, there is a feeling of insecurity and doubtful about foreigners. I noticed this while talking with some people and read Hungarian pages on Facebook. I think the language barrier, historical events, distorting images by media could be reasons for that. (Interviews D)

The interest of Hungarian universities (especially at a time of a radical reorganisation of higher education management) would be to ensure that as many international students as possible continue their studies in Hungary after graduating from BA study programmes. In case of success, this mainly entails postgraduate (further) studies, which might be interpreted as a kind of “loyalty to the university” (Kéri ibid.). To some extent, loyalty to the university and reliance on one’s own community (preservation of identity) are contradictory, which, obviously, may result in an identity crisis, a popular topic in specialised literature on international students, cf. Dusa ibid. 42–49).

> I was not accepted in the first year. I did not despair and presented the following year and accepted, and It was a good choice after a long wait, but I hesitated a lot because I am married and have a family. The decision to come to Hungary to study was never easy, but my family, mainly my husband, supported me. (Interviews A)

Hungarian Students Abroad

Hungarian students abroad are in a special position for two reasons. The first one concerns the mother tongue. This fact creates a linguistic community for Hungarians, regardless of their citizenship; what is more, the use of Hungarian language at a mother-tongue level is seen as the most reliable sign of a person's origin even if officially it depends on citizenship. The other reason for the special position of Hungarian students lies in their country's history. This means that the parents of today's students normally did not have the opportunity to study abroad or to participate in conferences or other international events abroad, and, therefore, the culture of Hungarian families does not entail foreign study tours as a routine part of life. It is for these two reasons that Hungarian students (who are not necessarily residents of Hungary) must be studied separately in an international context.

> When Hungarian students study abroad, their activity is strongly influenced by state policy, which, in Hungary, is two-faceted. On the one hand, it supports members of Hungarian minority communities in neighbouring countries in studying at Hungarian universities in order to ensure the educational mobility of large or small Hungarian communities residing in Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Serbia and Slovenia. On the other hand, the state policy does not intend to encourage members of Hungarian minority communities to relocate to Hungary. But, as a rule, Hungarian minority students who are citizens of another country apply to Hungarian universities because they do wish to relocate. The tensions generated are easy to see, especially at Hungarian universities located near the state border. (Pécs, Szeged, and Debrecen).

The studies abroad of Hungarian students and the studies of Hungarian students of foreign nationality in Hungary seem to be unrelated, but in fact they *are the two sides of the same coin.* Therefore, students' behaviour, motivations and problems are easiest to study in border areas, where they attend Hungarian or non-Hungarian institutions, or Hungarian institutions in Hungary or Hungarian institutions abroad (Kozma & Pusztai, 2006).

> These students are not entitled to submit applications in the Erasmus scheme, which means that at the national level they are not seen as participants of the internationalisation of higher education, albeit, in fact they are.

Hungarian-speaking students are offered special scholarships by the Hungarian government. Such scholarships are awarded and distributed by Hungarian organisations in the sending country.

> These students do not face linguistic difficulties, find it easier to integrate, and solve their everyday problems faster with the help of those "interpretative communities" they belong to or into which they are gradually integrating (Pusztai, 2011). In most cases, they experience sympathy not only on the part of fellow students and teachers, but also of administrators.

There is a clear correlation between the qualification and income of Hungarian parents and their children's studies abroad. In contrast with the traditional finding of educational research, which claims that the parents' qualification and/or income is directly proportional to their children's studies abroad, the correlation is best represented with a U-shaped curve (Dusa ibid. 101–103, 106–109). That is, among parents of students pursuing studies abroad those with higher-than-average and lower-than-average income are overrepresented, compared to parents with average qualification and income. Therefore, it is not true that only the elite of Hungarian communities pursue further studies abroad. Rather, studying abroad promotes social fairness, which, among others, is a result of state intervention.

The stronger the existing international relations, the easier to study abroad (Dusa ibid. 110–114). The more languages people speak, the easier they decide to pursue studies abroad either individually or in groups. For linguistically isolated people, studies abroad require greater effort, which falls in line with what was said about local ties and the sense of personal identity. The role of small communities (that is, the sense of belonging among individuals from the same region) is of paramount importance for Hungarians, too (Pallay, 2018). Those studying in a foreign country live in a "migration bubble" (Sík, quoted by Dusa ibid. 104–106), where their spatial movements are determined by their networks. Trust capital also has a key role to play (Dusa ibid. 106–109). It is the trust placed in the targeted organisations (universities, residence halls) or in persons (e.g. teachers, administrators, family members, relatives, hosts) by those who decide to study abroad. All of this falls in line with the analyses of the role of trust capital in Hungary (Kováts, 2018).

The Pandemic and Internationalisation

Education Policy Background

The above processes which have taken place in Hungary's higher educational policy can be interpreted from various perspectives. The section below focuses on some key factors of education during the pandemic.

- The rate of students participating in distance education programmes has never exceeded 10%, and, through the elitist efforts of the conservative government, it has radically decreased. (Fig. 10.5)
- In the absence of development resources and given the concepts that pushed distance learning into the background, the rate of distance education students in Hungary was around 2% in the second half of the 2010s (which accounts for

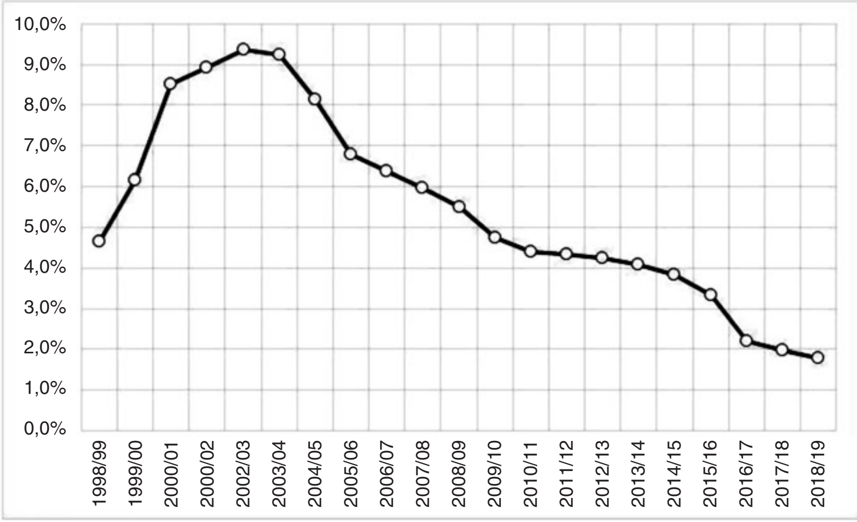

Fig. 10.5 The rate of distance education students. (Source: Calculated and created by the authors from the data of Hungary's Educational Authority)

slightly more than 5000 people). Higher education institutions are not prepared for offering distance education programmes for all students or for a large number of them. In 2020, the equipment, hardware (servers), software, platforms and teaching materials were sufficient for the distance education of not more than a couple of hundred students, even at the biggest universities.

- On top of the inadequate ICT equipment of the universities, teachers were not properly prepared for offering distance education for all students. The auxiliary staff required for distance education is almost completely missing from the Hungarian higher education system.

Out of the 63 higher education institutions of Hungary, 12 have distance education students, whose rate is lower than 2% of the total number of students. Out of the 27 public universities or universities of applied sciences, ten have distance education students. The rate of distance education students exceeds 2% only in four institutions (and exceeds 5% in only two of those four). Out of the 11 non-public universities or universities of applied sciences, one has distance education students, and out of all colleges one does. Yet the rate of distance education students is 40% in the former (Kodolányi János University) and exceeds 60% in the latter (Dennis Gabor College). (Table 10.2).

As clearly shown by the data, distance education is the exception in Hungarian higher education, and neither the institutions nor the teachers (and, most probably, nor the students) are prepared for it.

However, as evidenced by the data of OECD. Stat, almost 97% of the Hungarian population aged 16–24 and with secondary school-level attainment had used a

Table 10.2 Institutions with distance education students, and their students (academic year 2018/2019)

	Number of institutions	Number of institutions with distance education students	Total number of students	Distance education students	(%)
Public universities and universities of applied sciences	27	10	243,479	3292	1.35%
Non-public universities and universities of applied sciences	11	1	27,997	848	3.03%
Public and non-public universities	25	1	9985	719	7.20%
Total	63	12	281,461	4859	1.73%

Source: Calculated by the authors from the data of Hungary's Educational Authority
Note: At the time of writing (end of 2020) the latest data available in the higher education statistics of the Educational Authority were data from 2018/2019. Therefore, the number of public universities, non-public universities and universities of applied sciences does not reflect the impact of the introduction of management by foundations

computer in the previous 12 months in 2017, and somewhat more than 97% used the Internet in 2018.[5]

Compared to the Hungarian public education, Hungarian higher education has been struck by the pandemic less severely. This is due to the fact that the vast majority of students had adequate digital equipment and knowledge. At the same time, the overwhelming majority of higher education institutions were not prepared for mass distance education. Although they were not completely inexperienced at distance education, their hardware and software was far from being adequate for offering mass distance education for all students. The shortcomings in terms of the availability of teaching material processed for distance education were even more severe, and the digital literacy of teachers is highly heterogeneous. Moreover, there was an almost complete lack of auxiliary staff. It was the teachers at IT educational units and the very few ICT staff who made attempts to meet the demands, mainly without success. In summary, education was offered via rather heterogeneous platforms and with highly heterogeneous materials by teachers lacking adequate IT skills. Tests and examinations were performed with assessment methods which were still in their infancy and could hardly prevent cheating.

[5] Data source: OECD.Stat ICT Access and Usage by Households and Individuals: ICT Access and Usage by Individuals https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=ICT_HH2

Education During the Pandemic

The Hungarian higher education came into contact with the pandemic when it turned out that one of the first infected persons in Hungary was an Iranian student of the Semmelweis University (who returned to Hungary from Iran on 22 February 2020). On 4 March, the Prime Minister wrote about two Iranian students, but later, on 8 March the government's coronavirus webpage reported that "there are four Iranian university students among the first infected persons in Hungary.[6]" On 13 March, "the National Directorate-General for Aliens Policing expelled from the territory of Hungary and of the European Union two students of Iranian nationality who have student status in Hungary," on the ground that they had left the hospital rooms assigned to them as quarantine rooms.[7] On 16 March, 13 and then four more Iranian university students were expelled for the same reasons. The government's hastiness is apparent in the fact that their expulsion was withdrawn in July.

As per Section 4 b) of Government Decree 41/2020 (11 March) on the measures to be taken during the state of danger declared for the prevention of the human epidemic endangering life and property and causing massive disease outbreaks, for the elimination of its consequences, and for the protection of the health and lives of Hungarian citizens, students were prohibited from attending higher education institutions. Later, Section 7(1) of Government Decree 168/2020 (30 April) on protective measures stipulates that students were allowed to attend higher education institutions as specified in the rector's decision; entering the dormitories of higher education institutions was prohibited for students.

Some international students decided to travel home, but universities urged them to stay in Hungary for the summer holiday period. During the summer, higher education institutions introduced flexible measures to offer accommodation for their students of foreign nationality. At the beginning of the academic year 2020/2021, most higher education institutions made efforts to test grant holder students returning from home (Sinóros-Szabó, 2020).

In July 2020, the government introduced "only" a state of epidemiological preparedness instead of a state of danger (Government Decree 283/2020 (17 June) introducing a state of epidemiological preparedness).

The government seemed to relax, albeit this moment marked the end of the first wave only, where the largest number of new cases was 210 on 10 April. After a relatively quiet summer, when the daily number of new cases hardly exceeded 20, the number of cases started to increase again in mid-August, reaching 500 at the beginning of September and 1000 in mid-September, to hit 6000 in early December. (Fig. 10.6: When shown on the same graph, the data of the first wave are hardly visible next to those of the second wave).

[6] https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/irani-diakok-fontos-hogy-az-egyetemek-es-hallgatok-betartsak-az-eloirasokat

[7] https://koronavirus.gov.hu/cikkek/kiutasitottak-ket-irani-egyetemistat-akik-megszegtek-karantent-es-agressziven-viselkedtek-az

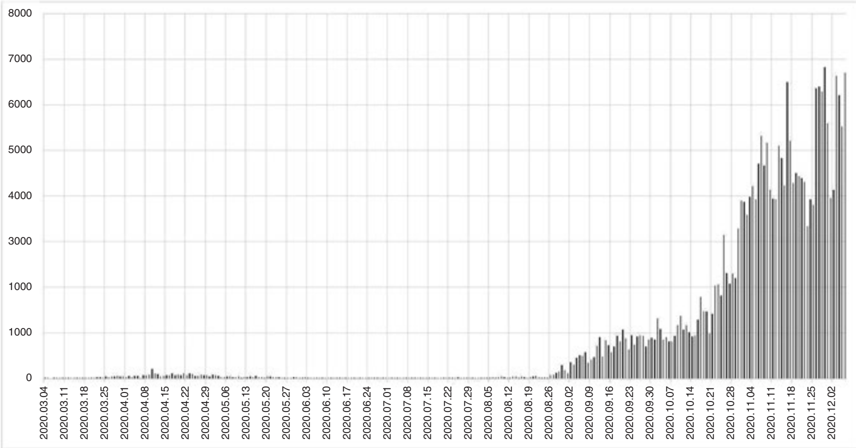

Fig. 10.6 The number of new COVID cases per day in Hungary. (Source: Created by the authors based on data in https://atlo.team/koronamonitor/)

The government did not act until early September, when it adopted Government Decree 484/2020 (10 November) on the second phase of protective measures applicable during the period of state of danger, which stipulates that “Universities and colleges transition to digital working arrangements. Dormitories of higher education institutions are to close; exceptions to this rule may be set out by the rector. Staying in a dormitory may be permitted in particular for cross-border and international students and for students staying there under official home quarantine obligation.”

Research on Education During the Pandemic

Essentially, the second semester of academic year 2019/20 and the first semester of academic year 2020/21 were characterised by education adjusted to the pandemic. The ministry responsible for higher education conducted a survey on the difficulties faced by higher education institutions among the extraordinary circumstances. According to the responses, the main difficulties were as follows (Sinóros-Szabó, 2020):

- Problems with the availability of e-teaching material.
- Problems with the availability of ICT teaching tools.
- Problems with methods of knowledge transfer and with the use of digital educational materials.
- Problems with human resources in the context of the organisation of distance education/education in absentia.
- Problems with the participation of students in distance education/education in absentia.

- Problems with the infrastructural capacity of education organised in the form of distance education/education in absentia; problems with the provision of its necessary conditions.
- Problems with organising practical courses in the form of distance education/education in absentia.
- Problems with the organisation of education in a foreign-language in the form of distance education/education in absentia.
- Other problems not listed above.

As evidenced by the questionnaire replies submitted by the institutions, 45.6% of all educational programmes were successfully completed, 52.2% partially completed, while 2.2% failed. Failure was attributable to the lack of IT equipment, the lack of IT skills on the part of lecturers and the inadequate bandwidth of the Internet connection (Sinóros-Szabó, 2020).

In essence, during the pandemic more than half of the Hungarian higher education programmes suffered the consequences of the transition they were forced to make.

The majority of Hungarian and international students took their end-of-semester exams online. Oral exams were substituted with the writing of papers or essays. The publicity of in-person final exams and doctoral dissertation defences was assured in an online form (Sinóros-Szabó, 2020).

A great deal of research has been done on education in absentia in Hungarian higher education. Based on a survey research, Kasza (2020) concludes

- that studies have been decisively impacted by the pandemic and the transition to education in absentia.
- Experience with education in absentia is mixed. The majority of students faced difficulties (stress, isolation, adaptation to new forms of learning).
- The range of their experience became limited, which, in turn, had an impact on their learning and performance.
- Many students lack the ability of independent learning; they are looking forward to the application of new types of learning support tools.
- There is a correlation between institutions and the majority of the services analysed: there are some important services (e.g. psychological support) only a small number of institutions could offer satisfactorily.
- Transition to blended/hybrid learning is unstoppable, and it may create a new gap between students engaged in online/in person learning (Kasza, 2020).

Another study (Anh et al., 2020) formulates conclusions on the education in absentia of international students who study in Hungary.

- The experience of uncertainty, isolation and anxiety is often coupled with personal development and with self-confidence enhanced by coping with an extremely difficult situation.
- In terms of negative experience, mention must be made of being subjected to aversive judgement, avoided or identified with the coronavirus. At the same time,

those who had positive experience with local Hungarians, reported a positive change.

- Students expect universities to make teachers prepare for teaching online, to offer properly organised, and, above all, interactive and synchronised classes, to ensure that the workload is manageable, to give up-to-date information and to guarantee adequate technical conditions. In addition, many expect communication, care and psychological counselling.
- The factors which impact academic adaptation in general are as follows: an international student-friendly university environment, intercultural competence, and support or psychological counselling to prevent or treat depression (Anh et al., 2020).

The study draws the following conclusions on teaching international students during the pandemic.

- In terms of students' academic adaptation and success, the responsibility of the host institution lies in offering an international student-friendly university environment, psychological counselling and other support.
- The pandemic situation may have exacerbated anxiety due to potential prejudices.
- At the same time, seeing that Hungarians obey the rules increased the sense of safety.
- Students found support from their professors to be inspiring.
- The experience of online education was mixed: it was a useful experience, but, in the long run, had a negative impact on the ability to concentrate.
- Experiencing personal coping strategies in the face of challenges served as positive affirmation (Anh et al., 2020).

Conclusions for the Educational Policy

Hungary's centralised higher education expects all measures to be taken at the central level, and fails to come up with autonomous, independent initiatives. In such a setting, innovation is paralysed, and the pandemic situation exercises a negative effect on the quality of education.

A fundamental question is to what extent low-efficiency semesters of the pandemic cause a permanent lack of knowledge for students and to what extent this lack of knowledge can be compensated, and, in that context, to what extent semesters of the pandemic increase the drop-out rate.

These processes occurred in higher education which, as seen above, has been slipping downwards in the academic rankings for years, and they will hardly contribute to moving in a favourable direction. But there is an even more severe problem: these processes continue to worsen the status of Hungary's human resources.

Summary and Conclusions

Summary

The higher education institutions in Hungary are not ranked among the world leader universities. Instead, they have been slowly slipping downwards in the rankings over the past few years. One of the reasons is the lopsided nature of internationalisation. While there is a dynamic increase in the number of international students in Hungary, foreign lecturers are practically unavailable.

The higher educational policy steps introduced in Hungary since 2010 resulted in a centralised, higher education system administratively controlled by the government, shifting towards false elitisation. With regard to internationalisation, this is important to emphasize, because it essentially means that the internationalisation of Hungarian higher education is predominantly shaped by government control.

Hungary is positioned somewhere midfield among the CEE countries in the statistics expressing internationalisation in terms of the numbers of international students. The figures highlight the fact that the Hungarian government makes much greater efforts to attract international students to Hungary than to promote the studies abroad of Hungarian students.

The most important lesson to learn from the case of Hungary is the deep difference between Western and Eastern European universities as far as internationalisation is concerned. To briefly list those differences:

- Western universities had long established international connections while the Easterners jumped into the internationalisation "business" in the last twenty or so years. Existing university networks in the "free world" based on the personal experiences of generations of university staff and students, supported the westerners when the new wave of globalisation came. Easterners, on the other hand, may have personal connections in the universities worldwide, but did not have a "generation network" (that is, a whole generation of professors raised up in a global scene). Easterners have to create their own international background in the time of changing globalisation. They have to meet two challenges at the same time: catching up and meeting a new challenge.
- Western institutions developed their networks individually, that is from bottom-up. Easterners may not have enough time and financial support to follow this classic way. International networking was urgent and needed actions suddenly. Easterners, therefore, could not have the time and patience to build grassroots networks. Internationalisation as a policy was decided from the centre and had to be implemented at the level of the institutions. Eastern universities went through a forced globalisation even if they were not prepared for it.
- Internationalisation at Western universities became an element of the competition among institutions. The more connections (quality connections) they had, the higher they could be on the ranking ladder. Internationalisation of Eastern universities is part of their effort to catching up with the "European research

area". Internationalisation of an Eastern institute is a case of modernisation rather than just a competition. It is a question of survival.

- University autonomy (that is a room for institutional manoeuvring vis-a-vie the owners which are regularly a national government) is accepted in the Western part of Europe. In the Eastern university systems which run for international acceptance, a centralised government policy is the only chance to be able to catch up. Even if Eastern universities – like their Western partners – fight against their decreasing autonomies, they have to understand the importance of top-down modernisation. (This top-down modernisation is usually called "policy strategy" or even a "strategic policy".) It is a *must* not only for policies of education, but for governing the Eastern European societies at all. If democracy can be introduced by centralised government orders, remains still in question.

Conclusions

The government's policy regarding internationalisation is described in some length in the material titled *Shifting of Gears in Higher Education Mid-Term Strategy 2016. Action Plan 2016–2020*. On the whole, the Hungarian government's internationalisation strategy is rather lopsided. Attracting international students to Hungary is a priority goal furthered by substantial financial resources. At the same time, Hungarian students' studies abroad are backed by only one very modest domestic support scheme. The same applies to the mobility of Hungarian academic staff: there is no additional support. To top it all, promotion of inviting to or employing renowned foreign university lecturers in Hungary is not covered by funds or measures.

The universities' plans for internationalisation are basically the local implementation of the government's strategy, and, therefore, are characterised by the same shortcomings and lop-sidedness. The concepts basically focus on increasing the number of "international students who are able to pay", while Hungarian students' study abroad (along with the permanent employment of foreign lecturers) is of secondary importance. As for the objectives related to the internationalisation of research, specifics are basically given only for the education of PhD students, while the internationalisation aims of international academic research remain mostly declaration-like.

Studies abroad, either initiated by Hungarian students or foreigners in Hungary, are a test which participants cannot undertake individually, only as members of communities (peer groups, parents or relatives, regional background). Quite frequently, applicants are motivated by financial problems (push factors) which they try to solve with graduating abroad. If the solution proves to be successful (pull factor), the applicants continue their studies in the institution where they graduated and, possibly, study even further, that is, they remain "loyal" to their university. This is a factor which determines their positive or negative opinion of the university. Graduating abroad is a formative experience whose success may have a decisive impact on the applicants' course of life. (This holds true for students who are not participants of exchange programmes but graduate in Hungary). This is why the real achievement or the human dimension of studies abroad could be explored only with a career path analysis. This is the only way to form a coherent picture of the subjective "price" of studies abroad in the context of internationalisation.

Annexes

Table 10.3 Enrolment of international students in Hungary by origin, 2018: countries sending at least 300 students

	Country of origin	Proportion of students within the total number of international students
1	Germany	10.1%
2	Romania	6.6%
3	China	6.4%
4	Serbia	6.0%
5	Iran, Islamic Republic of	5.8%
6	Slovak Republic	5.3%
7	Ukraine	3.6%
8	Turkey	3.4%
9	Norway	3.1%
10	Nigeria	3.1%
11	Italy	2.0%
12	United States	2.0%
13	France	2.0%
14	Jordan	1.7%
15	Israel	1.7%
16	Korea, Republic of	1.7%
17	Spain	1.7%
18	India	1.6%
19	Viet Nam	1.5%
20	Azerbaijan	1.5%
21	Pakistan	1.5%
22	Japan	1.4%
23	Syrian Arab Republic	1.3%
24	United Kingdom	1.3%
25	Russian Federation	1.2%
26	Kazakhstan	1.0%
27	Mongolia	1.0%

Source: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=EDU_ENRL_MOBILE

Table 10.4 Enrolment of Hungarian students by destination, 2018: countries hosting at least 300 students

		Proportion of Hungarian students in the country within the total number of Hungarian students studying abroad
1	Austria	18.6%
2	United Kingdom	18.3%
3	Germany	17.6%
4	Denmark	10.2%
5	Netherlands	7.4%
6	United States	5.5%
7	Slovak Republic	3.8%
8	France	3.1%

Source: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=EDU_ENRL_MOBILE

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Chapter 11
Internationalisation and Social Responsibility in Ethiopian Higher Education

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Abstract The objective of this chapter was providing better understanding of internationalisation and social responsibility and identifying factors that affect their implementation in the Ethiopian higher education context. The necessary data were generated from relevant national and institutional policies, strategies, directives and guidelines using document review. Deductive thematic analysis was used to analyze the data. The analysis showed that both internationalisation and social responsibility are not among the core functions of universities and they are carried out in an unorganized way without clear purpose, focus and approach. HEIS do not also have clear institutional arrangements that promote and facilitate the implementation of internationalisation and social responsibility. Lack of (i) clear institutional policies and strategies, (ii) emphasis on moral, ethics, values and principles, (iii) funding and effective collaboration/partnership, (iv) emphasis on community service, and (v) data are identified as major factors that affect the implementation of internationalisation and social responsibility initiatives and activities in the higher education institutions. Ethiopian universities need to strategically engage in and systematically execute its social responsibility. This requires significant efforts including developing institutional policies and strategies, integrating internationalisation and social responsibility in all core functions of universities, allocating sufficient funds for internationalisation and social responsibility initiatives and activities, ensuring leadership commitment, and establishing an office with clear mandates regarding internationalisation of higher education and university social responsibility.

Keywords Ethiopia · Higher education · Internationalisation · Social responsibility · University

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Introduction

Higher education institutions (HEIs) play important roles in the social, economic, political and cultural development of any country through providing relevant and quality education (knowledge, skills, ethics, social responsibility, citizenship and democracy), research (knowledge creation and positive social change) and community services (closely working with and addressing the needs and challenges of the community). These primary functions of HEIs have been affected by the ever increasing globalization process which requires HEIs to be more dynamic, competitive and responsive in many ways. Internationalisation which is "both a response to, and a contributing factor facilitating, globalisation" (Mitchell & Nielsen, 2012, p. 17) is used as a major strategy to address changes and challenges imposed by the globalization process. Internationalisation as a process contributes to enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of HEIs in carrying out their core functions. In its policy brief, the International Association of Universities (IAU) also states that "Internationalization and international cooperation can serve to improve higher education by increasing efficiency in teaching and learning as well as in research through shared efforts and joint actions" (IAU, 2020a). Internationalisation helps HEIs to address the political, economic and social problems faced in the context of globalization, because "higher education is recognized as a key force for modernization and development" (Teferra & Altbach, 2004, p. 21).

Internationalisation of Higher Education (IHE) is a widely discussed (Adamu, 2012) but a recent phenomenon that has emerged in the last three decades (de Wit, 2020; de Wit & Hunter, 2015). It has been conceived as dominantly a western phenomenon and paradigm (Jones & de Wit, 2012). However, current practice shows that regardless of their prestige, status and geographic location, almost all HEIs, in one way or the other, are involved in IHE activities. This implies that IHE is a voluntary obligation that requires the involvement of most, if not all, HEIs in the world today. However, the rationale for participation in IHE varies within and across countries and regions. There is also a debate on whether internationalisation is an intentional and inclusive process (de Wit, 2020) or a prescriptive and coercive process (Teferra, 2020).

Many African countries use IHE as a major strategy for enhancing partnership and institutional visibility, improving quality of education, strengthening institutional research and knowledge production capacity, etc., but the benefits vary across countries and institutions. Most African countries are dependent on international agencies for research grant (IAU, 2020b) and academic mobility through scholarships and fellowships. Hence, Africa aims to establish partnership with most world regions mainly with the global north. However, in terms of geographic priority, Africa is not a priority region for internationalisation by other regions (IAU, 2020b). This left Africa as the least important region for internationalisation (Jowi, 2012), deepened marginalization of Africa and its higher education which resulted in African higher education being 'the most internationalized by being the least internationally engaged' (Teferra, 2010, p. 73). Here it is important to note that IHE is also considered as a factor that facilitates brain drain (Adamu, 2012, 2014) which is one of the major challenges that African higher education is facing.

HEIs are not only global actors that play significant roles in shaping the economic, political and social developments, but also key local actors that positively influence the development of the society through its services and graduates. As the primary organizations charged with studying social issues, they are also responsible for addressing society's practical problems (Anthony et al., 2012). They have social responsibility to ensure that their graduates are equipped with the attitudes, knowledge, skills and competences required to address the needs, challenges and problems of the society and the labour market.

University Social Responsibility (USR) stems from the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility which is a well-established and widely discussed and researched concept for several decades. It has been about two decades since the concept of social responsibility was introduced to the higher education sector. Any organization has a social responsibility regardless of its type, ownership and mission, and universities are no exception, but the social responsibility varies from organization to organization depending on their mission, focus, function, among others. The issue of social responsibility often focuses on contribution to social and economic development, promotion of citizenship, democracy and human rights, and partnership with the community (Parsons, 2014) and HEIs are considered as the main responsible organizations that deal with these issues through teaching, research and community services.

Although social responsibility may mean different things in different contexts, it often refers to "the ethical and legal commitments that organizations have towards its publics or stakeholders" (Gómez et al., 2018, p. 216). In the higher education context, USR is defined as "a policy of ethical quality of the performance of the university community (students, faculty and administrative employees) via the responsible management of the educational, cognitive, labour and environmental impacts produced by the university, in an interactive dialogue with society to promote a sustainable human development" (Reiser, 2008 cited in Vasilescua et al., 2010, p. 4178). Generally, the term USR suggests the capacity and responsibility of universities to contribute, shape and develop society through their activities (Cremonini & Adamu, 2021).

The focus of USR is not similar across different regions and countries. This mainly depends on the needs of the society and challenges and problems faced by the society, the country or the region. For example, social responsibility in the global north primarily involves addressing the new challenges of globalization and market-based capitalism, and in the global south questions of access, privatization etc. are often more salient (Parsons, 2014).

Internationalisation is a well-studied and practiced concept in most parts of the world, while, USR is a recent concept and practice (Gómez et al., 2018; Kouatli, 2019; Vasilescua et al., 2010). This does not mean universities were not socially responsible in the past. One could argue that they are socially responsible by nature (Gómez et al., 2018), but their engagements were not in an organized manner. USR was also not clearly and sufficiently indicated in their missions, policies and strategies. Internationalisation is a means to many ends (Hudzik, 2011) and can be used in the development and implementation of USR. Yet, "The social responsibility component of internationalisation has, to date, rarely been the focus of systemic thinking, conceptualisation or strategy in the broad agenda of internationalisation in higher education" (Brandenburg et al., 2020, p. 19). Moreover, current internationalisation practices are focused on teaching-learning (e.g. mobility) and research (e.g. collaboration and partnership) activities and the third core mission of HEIs was not targeted in the internationalisation process. This practice necessitates the need to embrace comprehensive internationalisation which is "a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education" (Hudzik, 2011, p. 6).

As indicated in the above discussion, the rationale, focus and implementation of internationalisation and social responsibility varies across regions and countries. This chapter aims at providing better understanding of internationalisation and social responsibility and identifying factors that affect internationalisation and social responsibility in the Ethiopian higher education context. The chapter consists of six sections – methodology, brief account of Ethiopia and its higher education, IHE in Ethiopia, USR in Ethiopia, factors challenging the implementation of IHE and USR, and conclusion and implications.

Methodology

This chapter is mainly based on critical document review. The chapter used national and institutional policy and strategy documents including the Ethiopian education and training policy, the higher education proclamation, the internationalisation of higher education policy and strategy, the education sector development program V (ESDP V), the directive on research, technology transfer, university-industry linkage and community service for HEIs, education strategy center establishment council of ministers regulation, and University senate legislations among others. The data generated through document review were analyzed using deductive thematic analysis.

Ethiopia and Its Higher Education

Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of one hundred ten million. Higher education in 1950 Ethiopia half a century after the introduction of modern/western-type of education in 1907. As of 2020 there are about 50 public and 247 private HEIs. The substantial expansion of higher education in the last three decades has resulted in significant increasing in access to higher education at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. However, the gross enrolment ratio, which is 8.1% in 2014 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics [UIS], n.d.)

is below the LDC average. Ensuring quality of education remains as the main challenge and top priority of the higher education sector.

The Ministry of Science and Higher Education (MoSHE) is responsible for the overall governance of higher education and leading science, higher education and technical and vocational education and training in the country. MoSHE was established in 2018 (proclamation number 1097/2018) by taking some of the roles and responsibilities that were assigned to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science and Technology (now the Ministry of Innovation and Technology). There are two higher education regulatory bodies - Higher Education Relevance and Quality Agency (HERQA) and Higher Education Strategy Center (HESC) – answerable to MoSHE. HERQA is responsible for assuring the relevance and quality of education while HESC is responsible for initiating policies and strategies and serving as a national center for database.

At the end of 2020, MoSHE introduced higher education differentiation with the purpose of enhancing HEIs' efficiency in the delivery of their core missions and minimizing duplication of academic programs and disciplines. Based on a study conducted at national level and international experiences, a three-category higher education differentiation system is developed. The three categories, which is based on universities' mission and focus, include Research University, University of Applied Sciences and Comprehensive University (MoSHE, 2020a). Accordingly, eight universities were categorized as Research Universities, 15 universities as Universities of Applied Sciences and 21 universities as Comprehensive Universities. This categorization focuses only on public universities answerable to the Ministry and it was expected to be implemented in the 2020/21 academic year.

IHE in Ethiopia

Internationalisation is not a new phenomenon to Ethiopian higher education. HEIs have been participating in different internationalisation activities since the establishment of the first HEI – Addis Ababa University College (now Addis Ababa University). Student and faculty mobility and recruitment of international staff were the foremost activities of internationalisation until the recent past. The current main internationalisation activities include research collaboration, joint program delivery, cross border education, etc. but mobility and partnership are the central activities of internationalisation among most Ethiopian HEIs. ESDP V (2015/16–2019/20) is the first policy document that describes the need for a strategic and planned approach to IHE.

There is a lack of adequate data in the higher education sector including trends, rationales and challenges of student mobility to and from Ethiopia. According to UIS global flow of tertiary-level student data, Europe (2703) is the top study destination for Ethiopian students followed by the United States of America (2215) and Asia (1937). Ethiopian students are also one of the top five beneficiaries of the Erasmus Mundus Scholarship Program which is provided by the European Union.

The total number of students studying abroad is less than the number of students enrolled in any of the public universities in Ethiopia. UIS data also indicates that Ethiopian students studying abroad are 0.1 of the total student outbound mobility across the world.

The student mobility flows from global north (developed) to global south (developing) are very low (Larsen, 2016). In the 2019/2020 academic year about a million students were enrolled in Ethiopian universities. International students only account for 0.18% of the student population (MoSHE, 2021). This clearly indicates that Ethiopia hardly attracts international students. Most of the limited number of international students are credit seeking students who come through projects (e.g. Intra-Africa Academic mobility scheme) that requires students to take some credits from partner HEIs as a partial fulfilment of a degree program in their host university. Most of the degree seeking international students are refugees from neighboring countries. A few Ethiopian universities also have international academic staff that often come through projects, fellowships and partnerships. Available data shows that there are about half a million academic staff in Ethiopian universities, and international academic staff only accounts for 2.9% of the total academic staff population, and their number has been decreasing over the years (4.4% in 2017/18, 4% in 2018/19 and 2.9 in the 2019/20 academic years) (MoSHE, 2021). The number of international academic staff in Ethiopia is insignificant compared to other African countries such as Kenya, Egypt, Uganda and South Africa. This indicates Ethiopian HEIs' poor participation in incoming mobility of students and academic staff. Most of the outbound student mobility is also through individual efforts (e.g. Erasmus Mundus Scholarship) than student exchange or other forms of partnerships. This is also the reason for the small number of inbound students. Generally, the number of Ethiopian students studying abroad is unparalleled with the number of international students in Ethiopia.

A study indicates that employment is the main rationale for Ethiopian students to study abroad (Tamrat & Teferra, 2018b). The author of this chapter studied his masters and doctoral degree in European universities and had several opportunities to discuss with Ethiopians studying abroad. Some of the reasons they mentioned to study abroad include quality of education, study programs or specializations which are not available in Ethiopia, better learning environment, and opportunity to learn with people from different backgrounds. Most students including academic staff who are on study leave want to return and work in Ethiopia. For the academic staff, their family back home, institutional commitment and availability of secure jobs are the pulling factors while culture shock, covert racism and working language of the host countries are considered as a pushing factor. Yet, a significant number of students and academic staff who returned to work in Ethiopia went abroad again through further education or job opportunities. Most of them are not interested in coming back home because of, among other things, the tense political situation, and poor working environment and national and institutional systems.

Although Africa is not a priority region for internationalisation by other regions, most of Ethiopian HEIs' international partnership is with the global north countries and development partners. Most Ethiopian HEIs allocate little or no funds for international partnership and cooperation and thus the initiation often comes from other HEIs through joint grant application or through government bilateral relations. The partnership and cooperation is often characterized by the global north often leading projects and sharing knowledge and experiences. This is evident in joint grant application and partnership in research, teaching and student supervision, and yet this has significant contributions to the development and reform of higher education in Ethiopia.

The contribution of research to knowledge construction and social and economic development of the country is well considered in several national policies and strategies, but similar to most African countries, Ethiopia's contribution to the world's research is insignificant. Though there are several reasons, this is mainly associated with absence of national bodies or organizations that provide research grants for HEIs, lack of research and research grant writing skills, lack of industries' commitment to finance and support research endeavours in HEIs, and small research budget allocated to public universities by the government. ESDP V indicates that in the 2011/12 academic year, "the research allocation of all universities accounted for only 1% of their total budget" (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2015, p.25). International organizations and agencies are the main source of funding for international research in Africa (IAU, 2020b) and Ethiopia is no exception. The international research grant often requires collaboration and this is an opportunity to build research capacity, but its contribution to social and economic development will be limited as the focus of those researches may not necessarily be based on national challenges and problems.

The quality of education and research is continued to be strained by poor infrastructure and facilities, weakened collaboration with the industry, scarce research and innovation funding, and shortage of qualified and experienced teachers and researchers (Tadesse et al., 2018; Tamrat, 2020). This significantly affects the country and its HEIs from attracting international partnership in research and student and staff exchange. Moreover, most internationalisation activities undertaken thus far were not well planned and organized. This toppled with poor economic situation, poor quality of education and lack of policy and strategies resulted in a far less internationalized higher education compared to most of its counterparts in Africa and beyond.

MoSHE developed the national policy and strategy for IHE to address these challenges and "promote and enable the active participation of Ethiopian higher education institutions and their constituents in realizing the IHE vision, mission and policy components" (MoSHE, 2020b, p. 12). Different studies and reports (IAU, 2020b; Tamrat & Teferra, 2018a) also emphasized on the importance of national and institutional policies and strategies to facilitate active engagement in and benefit from internationalisation. Recent efforts to develop different policy frameworks (education development road map, IHE policy, higher education policy and strategy and national science policy and strategy) and programs (institutional capacity building program, community engagement and science culture development program, quality, relevance, access and equity program, and infrastructure and facilities development program) would also facilitate planned and systematic engagement in IHE.

Studies categorize the rationales for internationalisation into four major groups: political, economic, academic, and social/cultural (de Wit, 2002; Knight, 1999) which are interrelated (Knight, 2004). The government of Ethiopia has all four rationales for the integration of an international dimension into the higher education sector. However, study indicates that academic rationale is the high priority among Ethiopian HEIs (Tamrat & Teferra, 2018a). Similar to most parts of the world, capacity building and international cooperation are also the two most benefits of IHE in Ethiopia. Although major policy and strategy documents such as the education development road map, higher education policy and strategy, and IHE policy clearly indicate the importance of internationalisation, thus far, most internationalisation activities are carried out on ad hoc basis without having clear plan and strategy (de Wit et al., 2019; Tamrat & Teferra, 2018a; Woldegiyorgis, 2017). This is partly because of the absence of institutional internationalisation policy and emphasis given to internationalisation in enhancing quality of learning-teaching, research and community services.

Beside policy frameworks, internationalisation requires the commitment of higher education leaders as they play significant roles in driving internationalisation at institutional level (Heyl & Tullbane, 2012; Smithee, 2012). Among others, creating conducive environment for faculty international engagement is one of the tasks that higher education leaders could perform in relation to internationalisation. This could be done through including faculty international engagement as valuable for academic promotion, providing funding for partnership and academic mobility and experience sharing. Most, if not all, universities in Ethiopia do not allocate a budget for student, faculty and staff international engagement and this is mainly related to lack of financial resources and partly because of leaders' low commitment to internationalisation activities.

USR in Ethiopia

There are some differences in the way social responsibility is described and understood. This ranges from "supporting social and economic development, to a promotion of citizenship, democracy and human rights. In most cases it is a combination of many focus areas with the general emphasis being on social and environmental issues" (Parsons, 2014, p.4). In principle USR emanates from, and focuses on, the university's broader missions, but the higher education community in Ethiopia tend to associate USR with the third mission – community service/engagement (Cremonini & Adamu, 2021). This is not unique to the Ethiopian HEIs as social responsibility is often associated with universities' social engagement in many countries. This is because most USR activities are related to what is described as social engagement which is often under the umbrella of community service/

outreach/engagement mission of HEIs. It needs to be noted that USR is not the same as community outreach, service or engagement (Gómez et al., 2018).

USR activities among others include promoting political and economic development, ethical conduct of research, provision of quality and relevant education that promotes active civic engagement, equality, multiculturalism, and produces competent graduates who are equipped with necessary ethics, morals, values and principles. Therefore, principles of USR should be integrated into other core functions (i.e. teaching and research) as well as management activities of universities (Ralph & Stubbs, 2014). In some "most reputable educational institutes [USR] is becoming a third contemporary dimension on top of traditional dimensions of teaching and research" (Kouatli, 2019, p. 889).

The directive on research, technology transfer, university-industry linkage and community service for HEIs in Ethiopia defines community service as "any unremunerated professional service that is performed by academic staff or students of HEIs with the knowledge of the responsible office" (MoSHE, 2019). Study also indicates that the higher education community in Ethiopia considers community service as "a revenue-generating endeavour and/or an engagement to fulfil civic commitment through professional volunteerism" (Cremonini & Adamu, 2021). Although community service is mainly undertaken for the benefit of the public, it is not clearly connected to social responsibility unlike in South Africa where community service is clearly associated with promoting and developing social responsibility (Kotecha, 2010). Moreover, the narrow interpretation of USR as "volunteering" and "extra work" potentially deters universities from effective execution of social responsibility. Therefore, it should be considered as an all-encompassing effort which includes both confronting societal challenges as well as preparing students for active participation in the labour market (Cremonini & Adamu, 2021).

Universities are expected to contribute to promoting ethics, values and principles and this could be done through incorporating these into their main functions. Study also indicates that graduates who have the opportunity to learn about social responsibility themes will have the knowledge and skills to address social challenges and environmental, civic and ethical issues (Jorge & Andrades, 2017). Ethiopia also aims at producing responsible and active citizens of the future. However, university students are not sufficiently involved in social responsibility related activities. Social responsibility themes were not also explicitly incorporated into most curricula of undergraduate.

Universities also have social, professional and ethical commitment to address the needs and challenges of the local and global community through research and community engagement. In Ethiopia, the higher education system "lacks responsiveness to local needs and realities" (Molla & Gale, 2014, p. 125) and universities' contribution to addressing the major national and societal problems and challenges such as ensuring food security, poverty alleviation, deescalating ethnic tensions and conflicts and improving quality of education is deficient (Cremonini & Adamu, 2021). This is mainly because (i) the higher education system is heavily dependent on curriculum which is significantly influenced by the western notion and paradigm, (ii) most research agenda are set and funded by international organizations and agencies, and (iii) it struggles to attract and retain its own best mind. Generally, the Ethiopian higher education "system has not been founded on the values of Ethiopian society and has failed to localize itself" (Molla & Gale, 2014, p. 126). This is a fundamental and long existing challenge which needs to be systematically and imminently addressed.

Universities alone cannot address social responsibility. There should be closer relations and collaborations between HEIs and the society. This helps to enhance mutual benefits and achieve the very purpose of the establishment of HEIs which is serving the larger society. For example, university community service or community engagement benefits both the participating university and the community. The university enhances its teaching and research contribution and thereby achieves its missions, while the community benefits from the social, economic and environmental development as a result of the partnership. Moreover, establishing good partnership with the community helps universities to promote their visibility, enhance their acceptance and to successfully accomplish their missions. It is also a requisite for being considered socially responsible (Parsons, 2014). The major challenge in relation to this is that most of the research conducted through community service initiatives are often not collaborative from the community side. The community is used as a subject rather than as a partner of research projects. This limits ownership of the project, quality of the research outcome, and the implementation and sustainability of the result of the research. Studies and reports also indicate lack of close collaboration between universities and the industry and community (Bareke, 2018; MoE, 2018). And this will be a challenge for effective implementation of social responsibility and engagement activities.

Universities are also expected to collaborate with other HEIs to address political, social and environmental problems because some of the challenges facing the society and the nation could not be addressed by one university or different universities working individually. For example, Lake Tana, the biggest and the largest Lake in Ethiopia, is invaded by water hyacinth. As a result of this the Lake and the animal species living in the Lake have been in serious danger. Universities were among different groups which are trying to address this problem, but this is often considered as the responsibility of Bahir Dar University and University of Gondar which are located close to Lake Tana. Yet, such a big problem requires concerted interdisciplinary efforts of universities which is not strong among Ethiopian HEIs. Universities need to exercise inter-institutional and collective social responsibility and the coalition of different universities to conserve the upper stream of Abay (Blue Nile) river could be taken as a good inter-institutional USR initiative.

Policy frameworks, strategies and guidelines are important to support effective implementation of social responsibilities in universities. The Education and Training Policy of Ethiopia states that "the education and training policy envisages bringing-up citizens endowed with humane outlook, countrywide responsibility and democratic values having developed the necessary productive, creative and appreciative capacity in order to participate fruitfully in development and the utilization of resources and the environment at large" (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [FDRE], 1994). This implies that the education sectors including the higher education sector have different responsibilities which are considered as social responsibility. However, public universities in Ethiopia do not have a policy framework or a guideline in place to provide strategic direction on the focus and implementation of USR (Cremonini & Adamu, 2021). USR is not also clearly mentioned in the major higher education policy and strategy documents such as the education development road map, the ESDP V and IHE policy. The directive on research, technology transfer, university-industry linkage and community service for HEIs simply indicates types of community services (e.g. training services, consultancy services, outreach/development services/projects, and other professional services) to be provided by HEIs (MoSHE, 2019), but without clearly indicating how this is related to their social responsibility.

Each university has social responsibility regardless of ownership and status, but public universities in Ethiopia should feel more socially responsible as they are fully funded by the government. The focus of social responsibility could vary across countries and institutions. Although it is not explicitly stated, in the last three decades, ensuring access to higher education were the main focus areas of USR among Ethiopian universities and the higher education system. This was done mainly through higher education expansion which resulted in establishing about 48 public universities and 247 private HEIs.

The Relation Between IHE and USR

Both IHE and USR contribute to the global and local development of the society and there is strong relation between these concepts. According to Brandenburg and Laeber (2015) providing service to society and community social engagement is one of the five goals of IHE. The following definition of IHE by de Wit et al. (2015) also indicates the potential contribution of internationalisation to achieving social responsibility. They define IHE as "the intentional process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of post-secondary education, in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contribution to society" (p. 29). The recent study commissioned by DAAD which focuses on internationalisation in higher education for society also clearly shows the contributions and relations between IHE and social responsibility. The study emphasizes the need to use IHE for the betterment of the society (Brandenburg et al., 2020). However, as a strategy and in practice internationalisation did not clearly focus much on social responsibility. A study indicates that "the social responsibility component of internationalisation has, to date, rarely been the focus of systemic thinking, conceptualisation or strategy in the broad agenda of internationalisation in higher education. This imbalance needs to be addressed because universities also have a contract with and an obligation to wider society" (Brandenburg et al., 2020, p. 20).

The importance of community service and social responsibility activities in the form of social engagement is well recognized in some universities across the globe, but it is available more in policies, missions and activities of universities in emerging and developing regions than in Europe (Brandenburg et al., 2020). Community service and engagement is also one of the three core missions of Ethiopian HEIs as clearly indicated in the higher education proclamation and Senate Legislations of public universities. The presence of such policy frameworks is an enabling factor to integrate different social responsibility activities into one of the core functions of HEIs. Recent trends indicate that social responsibility and engagement are becoming an increasing focus in Europe and its HEIs (Brandenburg et al., 2020). Social responsibility is not a well discussed and described concept in the Ethiopian higher education community, and scarcely present in major higher education policy and strategic documents (Cremonini & Adamu, 2021). Social responsibility is not also clearly indicated in the rationales, objectives, directions and strategies of the internationalisation of higher education policy which aims at "furthering Ethiopia's efforts to become a middle-income country through rapid industrialization, technological development, innovation, and entrepreneurship" (MoSHE, 2020b, p. 8).

The successful twenty-first century university "has to be, and be seen to be, ethically and environmentally responsible. It has to earn and sustain a positive reputation, locally, nationally and internationally" (Watson, 2007, p. 141) and this requires universities active engagement in both IHE and USR. Internationalisation requires global engagement, and social responsibility often requires local engagement and relevance. This clearly indicates the dual challenge that higher education is facing – "the necessity to be globally engaged while remaining usefully connected locally" (Hudzik, 2011, p. 12). This is true across regions, but higher education in the global south is expected to be more locally relevant and that is why they often include social engagement in their missions and policies. As a developing country, Ethiopia expects its higher education to address several local challenges and problems, and its HEIs global engagement is primarily to take lessons and advantages of opportunities to remain locally relevant than ensuring global competitiveness. The IHE policy also clearly states that "the internationalization of research activities shall primarily focus on addressing national and institutional research priorities, themes and niche areas identified" (MoSHE, 2020b, p. 14). The Ethiopian government's strategic and policy documents clearly indicate that ensuring food security, poverty alleviation and improving quality of education are major national problems that must be addressed. Furthermore, society suffers significantly from political turmoil and poor governance. And since universities are increasingly expected to respond to societal needs, in the context of Ethiopia, local and national issues inevitably take priority. Indeed, serving society is a major responsibility of universities as also the higher education proclamation specifies explicitly (FDRE, 2019). This does not necessarily mean that it won't contribute to the global challenges and agenda.

The relation between IHE and USR is also exhibited through international research cooperation. IHE contributes to build research capacity and enhance quality of education, and this in turn contributes to effectively addressing social responsibility through improved knowledge, skills and engagement. IHE could also facilitate the implementation of USR through enhancing partnership that provides opportunity to learn from good practices. Ethiopian universities need to plan this as one of the purposes of engaging in internationalisation and ensure that their cooperation and partnership activities gear toward developing knowledge, skills and experiences required for effective USR activities implementation.

Factors Potentially Affecting Implementation of Internationalisation and Social Responsibility in Ethiopia

There are several factors that deter effective implementation of internationalisation and social responsibility in Ethiopia, but the following are identified as major factors.

Lack of Institutional Policies and Strategies

One of the three objectives of higher education in Ethiopia is to "prepare sufficient knowledgeable, skilled, and attitudinally mature graduates in relevant disciplines with competence to support Peace, Democracy, and National Development that can make the country internationally competitive" (FDRE, 2019, p. 11448). Accordingly, HEIs are required to live up to government's and society's expectation in preparing graduates equipped with the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes to achieve this objective. This requires planned, strategic and active engagement in internationalisation and social responsibility initiatives and activities, which in turn requires national and institutional policies and strategies. This is well acknowledged in the ESDP V which asserts the need for establishing a national body responsible for marketing, monitoring and evaluating internationalisation of higher education, and international liaison office at institution level to design international collaboration strategies (MoE, 2015).

In line with this, the establishment of the IHE policy is a good progress, but the absence of clear institutional strategy, plan and direction will enforce implementing internationalisation and social responsibility activities on an ad hoc basis and considering them as by-products of other initiatives and activities. This implies an urgent need for institutional directive or strategy for internationalisation and social responsibility that clearly sets out among others objectives, focuses, approaches and interrelations.

Lack of Emphasis on Moral, Ethics, Values and Principles

Planned, strategic and focused involvement in IHE facilitates global competitiveness and contributes to economic development. The Ethiopian higher education proclamation and different strategic documents emphasize on the importance of higher education to the economic development of the country. Accordingly, significant emphasis is given to student employability both at policy and strategy levels. Academic programs and curricula are developed based on market and employability oriented need assessment and focus on the provision and development of student knowledge and skills relevant to the labour market. Here it is important to underline that universities are also responsible for preparing ethical and responsible professionals (Matten & Moon, 2004) and tomorrow's decision makers. Moreover, HEIs should be guided by moral and ethics and instil these and important values and principles in their students (Parsons, 2014). Yet, the embellished emphasis on economic development, market and employability may lessen the importance of moral, ethics, values and principles in producing active and productive citizens.

Lack of Funding and Collaboration and Partnership

Education receives the second highest federal budget in 2020/21 and higher education takes the lion's share. However, there is still a lack of funding for research, community service and activities related to IHE. For example, most HEIs do not allocate budget for student and staff mobility (study/research exchange programs, conference attendance). The budget allocated for research and community service activities is also insignificant compared to the need of universities. As indicated earlier, most African universities including Ethiopia are not the primary target for global north universities for higher education collaboration/cooperation and lack of funding for collaboration and partnership will weaken their engagement in the IHE and miss opportunities to build their capacity. This requires Ethiopia and its HEIs to strategically think about how to turn this around and create a conducive national and higher education environment to diversify their source of finance and to attract the interest of different countries and HEIs regarding international cooperation and partnership.

ESDP V promotes inter-institutional collaboration across the country with emphasis on those that are physically close to one another. This is exercised among some universities but the collaboration among public universities in relation to international research fund application and community services is not adequate. Universities also lack commitment to closely work with the community and take the community as active participants of different initiatives and activities. Industries' lack of interest to closely work and finance HEIs activities is also a challenge for universities in executing their social responsibility and internationalisation endeavours.

Lack of Emphasis on Community Service

Community service is one of the core missions of all HEIs in Ethiopia and this is important to easily integrate some of the social responsibility aspects and activities into one of the core missions. However, less emphasis is given to community service compared to teaching and research and this is clearly reflected in faculty workload, fund allocation, and accountability. Internal quality enhancement processes and initiatives often overlook the performance of universities' engagement with the community. Higher education leaders also tend to focus on missions which they are comparatively highly accountable for - teaching-learning followed by research. Social responsibility is not philanthropy or a voluntary engagement. It is rather one of the core functions that should be integrated into the mandate and plans of universities (Parsons, 2014). Some universities acknowledge social responsibility as a core value which is a necessary but not sufficient condition for effective implementation of social responsibilities. Study also indicates that social responsibility needs to be embedded as a core function which requires universities to address the challenges facing society (Kotecha, 2010). Similarly, Ethiopian universities need to embed social responsibility as a core function and focus area of their missions.

Universities need to plan, develop and implement their core functions to address the needs and expectations of their stakeholders (Garde et al., 2017). The Ethiopian Higher Education five-year strategic plan (2020/21–2025/26) categorizes stakeholders into two (i.e. primary and secondary) based on who benefits from the success of the envisioned strategic objectives of the plan. Community members were not among the primary and direct beneficiary stakeholders. They are rather listed as secondary beneficiaries and this may have its own negative impact on the implementation and success of IHE and USR initiatives and activities that require close collaboration and strong community partnership.

Lack of Data

Data is considered as "the new oil" of the twenty-first century. In its May sixth 2017 edition the Economist published a widely cited article claiming "the world's most valuable resource is no longer oil, but data" (The Economist, 2017). Some may contend such generalization but this analogy has some truth to it (Agrawal et al., 2018) and it signifies the enormous importance of data in advancing technology, innovation and development. In the higher education context, data is a backbone for evidence-based policy and strategy development as well as informed decision making. Arguably data is one of the scarce resources in Ethiopian higher education. Although HESC is established to serve as a national center for database (FDRE, 2012), practically, it is not serving this purpose and there is a serious lack of timely and reliable data in higher education. The higher education and training statistical abstract for the last three academic years (2017/18, 2018/19 and 2019/20) was not published until 2021. This document does not have information on student and faculty academic mobility. There is also a lack of organized and reliable data both at institutional and national level regarding where and the number of students and faculties travelling abroad to study, research and share experiences. Some universities have data about the number of academic staff studying abroad but the data do not clearly indicate where they are studying. Available international data shows students and faculty destination continents and to some extent countries for academic mobility, and yet it is difficult to know the receiving HEIs in the respective continent and country. Lack of detailed and reliable data potentially affects, among others, developing a well thought plan and focused strategy for internationalisation and social responsibility.

Conclusion and Implications

This chapter aimed at providing better understanding and factors that affect internationalisation and social responsibility in the Ethiopian higher education context. In principle internationalisation has positive impacts and facilitates implementation of social responsibility and engagement through building capacity in research, teaching, partnership and cooperation. Ethiopian universities are engaged in internationalisation and social responsibility initiatives and activities, but this is on ad hoc basis and without having clear policy, strategy and focus. Such approaches will limit potential benefits of internationalisation and affect efficient implementation of social responsibility. HEIs also need to create organizational culture that accommodate and support the purpose and process of internationalisation and social responsibility. One way of doing this is creating awareness among the higher education community about the concepts, objectives, practices and approaches to IHE and USR. They also have to set priorities in terms of focus, partnership, cooperation and activities because they cannot attract all potential partners and cannot engage in all activities they are interested in at a time. The introduction of IHE policy and strategy in this regard is an important step forward but its presence will be nothing unless universities develop their own internationalisation strategy with clear purpose, focus and approaches.

Ethiopian higher education policies and academic programs gave emphasis to economic development and employability. It needs to be noted that HEIs are not expected only to contribute to the economic development of the country but also to the social development through providing relevant and quality education that helps students to have increased democratic and cultural understanding and interest in active civic engagement. Efforts and strategies that complement these endeavours could be harnessed through planned IHE. A mastery of subject matter is essential to the world of work but this is not the only purpose of education because self-mastery is also important to perform different responsibilities in socially, legally, and ethically acceptable manner. One way of developing such attitudes and skills among students is through incorporating social responsibility themes in all academic programs. Furthermore, research shall identify barriers to incorporating social responsibility themes into the curricula of undergraduate programs of Ethiopian universities.

Social responsibility is part and parcel of higher education core functions, but this was not well understood among some university community members who associate social responsibility only with community service. Ethiopian HEIs do not have clear institutional policy, strategy, directive or guideline for social responsibility which are important to purposefully integrate social responsibility activities in all their functions and make them one of the core focus areas of quality enhancement and assurance which brings more responsibility and accountability. Availability of such documents is a necessary but not sufficient condition for effective implementation of social responsibility. It needs adequate funding and leadership commitment.

Universities can create good synergies between IHE and USR, and thus internationalisation foci and strategies should be guided by, and responds to, the social responsibility of Ethiopian higher education. The implementation of IHE and USR requires strong commitment and strategic approaches that take the national and institutional policies and contexts into consideration. It also brings challenges in terms of cost, capacity, structure, and the way to do things. This should be considered as affordable effort compared to the consequence of not committing to it which would result in incapacity to compete as the gap between committed and non-committed will only increase at the advantage of committed ones.

This chapter identified major factors that affect the implementation of internationalisation and social responsibility initiatives and activities. The factors are not mutually exclusive, but rather are interrelated. Hence, universities may use an interrelated approach to address these factors. This requires defining and including the roles and responsibilities of new or existing offices regarding internationalisation and social responsibility including promotion, implementation, impact assessment and sustainability.

For a foreseeable future, the global north will continue setting the agenda for internationalisation, and developing countries such as Ethiopia will continue aligning their policies and strategies based on the ‘international agenda and focus’ set by the global north. Until they become one of the agenda setters or come up with their own agenda and purpose, developing countries need to be intentionally involved in the process of internationalisation and make every effort to adapt policies, strategies, initiatives, etc. developed in other contexts. This requires a critical understanding of the notions underpinning the ideology or the concept, and its importance and applicability in one’s own context. And this in turn requires what I call “conainization” – a new concept which draws on three other important concepts and takes their first two letters - co(ntinental), na(tional) and in(stitutional). “Conainization” is the process of continentalization, nationalization and institutionalization of theories, ideas, notions, policies, strategies, approaches, initiatives, practices, etc. by putting the intended context at the center of the process (Adamu, 2019). By doing it this way, developing countries can potentially develop and implement national and institutional internationalisation policies and strategies that mainly serve their national and institutional purposes including social responsibility.

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Chapter 12
Internationalisation in Increasingly Decolonising Global South University Sectors: A Prospective View of Opportunities and Challenges

Felix Maringe

Keywords Internationalisation · Globalisation · Decolonisation · Global South and global North · Higher education

Introduction

We are at a point in the history of Higher Education where we need another Humboldtian moment, this time mainly due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic but also due to an increasingly important and urgent demand for the decolonisation of Higher Education emanating from Higher Education sectors in post-colonial nations in the global south. We need to change the course of Higher Education especially as the traditional face to face instructional model has to be replaced by new pedagogies which support effective remote teaching and learning. As if that were not enough, there is a huge impetus especially in global south and post-colonial universities towards decolonised higher education (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). We suggest that, despite the global status and adoption of Internationalisation as a strategic priority across universities in the world, (de Wit et al., 2015), the foment towards and around decolonisation, especially in global south academies will require a serious rethink of the various approaches that support the goals and objectives of both internationalisation and decolonisation. We believe that there are more divergences than there are convergences between the two ideas, epistemologically, ontologically, and axiologically which, if not carefully analysed and understood, could cause substantial discord in universities right across the world.

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This chapter will begin with a contextual analysis of the state of Higher Education, followed by a conceptual discussion around the notions of internationalisation and decolonisation. We then examine the convergences and diversions associated with the concepts and end with a discussion around how the ideas could coexist across the global divides.

The Context of Higher Education

The university has always had an international character in terms of the demographic composition of its staff and students, the knowledge underpinning the curricula and its content, and the ways in which knowledge partnerships have always been at the heart of new knowledge creation amongst other things. Yet, from the middle of the twentieth century, there have been increased calls for the internationalisation of Higher Education. This coincided with the demise of colonisation in Africa, as country after country, starting with Ghana in 1957 and ending with South Africa in 1994 got their independence or attained democratic rule. But as we know, interest in the colonies and empires by former colonising countries never stopped despite the loss of political control. The economic value of the former colonies to the colonising countries was far too important and had to be protected at all costs. While this post-colonial relationship was sustained largely through foreign aid, through which post colonies became even more dependent on the erstwhile colonisers, new relational matrices had to be established in other spheres. Internationalisation was the strategy of choice in the Higher Education sectors. However, as this was happening, we cannot disregard the events of transformation that were taking place simultaneously in the world.

Post World War two, there was no appetite for escalating hostilities between warring countries. With the widespread nuclearization of powerful nations, the prospects of a scorched earth are too high and not worth risking. Diplomacy, cooperation and collaboration have thus become favoured discourses in international and global relations.

Modernity has also become more firmly rooted even as it has been superseded by post-modernism since the late twentieth century. Central to this philosophy was the desire to increase the wealth of nations and the creation of an increasing and enlarging middle class with deeply ingrained western values and cultural embeddedness. Modernity was the subtler version of the enlightenment period, where, through the expansion of the empires, and for purposes of economic extraction, powerful nations of the west forcibly or otherwise used legislation, conquest and military might, language, religion and education to dominate the world and strengthen western influence.

Neo liberalisation grew out at the same time and became the key stimulus for post-modernism. Essentially, the idea was to remove power and might from the processes of economic development and leave that to the forces of the markets. Based on the ideas of consumption, supply and demand, markets were assumed to be the neutral force that would determine the flow of goods and services around the world. But through hundreds of years of colonisation, where indigenous knowledge systems and cultures were decimated and where the locals were taught to hate everything about themselves, patterns of consumption were determined by developments and trends in the west. In effect, the opening up of world economies sealed the closing down of post-colonial economic systems through a process of increased dependence and the strengthening of the coloniality of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Mignolo, 2003) through which indigenous beings became more detached from their colonial roots as the aspiration to become anything other than indigenous took a firm grip on their psyches and on their world outlook and the ways in which they understood themselves and lived their lives. This coloniality of being thus defines how colonialism determines who are, who we think we are and how our very beings have been subordinated to other forms of being, specifically that of the colonial master. The coloniality of knowledge (Srivastava, 2015) is about the ways indigenous peoples continue to think, construct knowledge and know about the world in the post-colonial periods. This is supported firmly by the education systems which remain firmly rooted in the western canon (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013) as the asymmetries of power continue to trace the contours of world power distribution patterns. So, whether one looks at this from the perspective of knowledge, of power and of being, colonial Higher Education systems have made an indelible mark which post-colonial systems cannot or even have little interest in transforming. We thus tentatively suggest that internationalisation on one hand serves to reinforce and entrench the colonial goals of domination of the world including its knowledge systems. On the other hand, decolonisation seeks to break the chains of western knowledge domination over the post-colonial nations.

This provides a backdrop, albeit very sketchy on potential collision likely to occur as the two ideas begin to occupy the same space in the academies especially in global south post-colonial sectors. We thus engage with the key conceptual ideas to breathe life into the debate.

The chapter thus addresses two critical questions:

1. In what ways do the epistemological, ontological and axiological assumptions behind internationalisation and decolonisation converge and diverge?
2. How might the two co-exist productively as leading organising ideas in the higher education sectors of the global north and south?

Conceptual Definitions

The Notion of North–South in the Global Context

The idea of global South and global north is a contested one. It is inherently confusing and problematic (Martin & Wyness, 2013). This emanates from it having more than one meaning of which two meanings are generally used. In geographical and real sense, the south-north notion means a divide between countries to the north and south of the equator. However, the second definition which is the nearest in meaning for this chapter refers to the divide based on the spread of wealth across the nations of the world (Smith, 1776). Beal (2013) argued that the global North generally hosts about two thirds of the entire world's wealth, whereas the global South generally includes poor nations with a combined wealth value of a third of the world's wealth. Maringe and De Wit (2016) further argued that the term North–South is usually used to describe countries differentiated in terms of power, wealth, and especially in relation to previous history of colonial occupation and domination. The global south is characterised with the post-colonial nations which are still developing and usually they are referred to as low and middle income, non-western countries of the world. In tandem Comarof and Comarof (2012, p. 113) argued that global south is a "world of non-European post-colonial peoples."

In the context of higher education, Maringe and De Wit (2016) argued that the notion of North–South is also relevant, but increasingly more confused and intertwined. They further argued that more and more universities from the 'North' are operating via distance education, franchise operations and branch campuses in the 'South' (Maringe & De Wit, 2016). The internationalisation of current higher education, the mobility of people, projects and programs in higher education is becoming more global than ever and does not always reflect the traditional divide between the North and the South, although this is not always acknowledged as such (Maringe & De Wit, 2016).

Internationalisation

Knight (2011) observes that internationalisation has matured and found space in HE institutional practices, policies and even research. However, despite the attained maturity, internationalisation has become a complex and misunderstood concept due to the fact that it is used "to describe anything and everything remotely linked to worldwide, intercultural, global, or international" (Knight, 2011:1) practices. Possibly this is the reason why Internationalisation of HE comes with many definitions depending on the context or geographical space of who is defining it (Knight, 2014; Ndofirepi et al., 2017; Zeleza, 2012; Zolfaghari et al., 2009). What is challenging, however is that an acceptable definition should be able to embrace all countries, cultures and education system.

Owing to the mentioned complexity, Knight (2014:2) therefore proposes a definition that identifies internationalisation of HE "…as the process of integrating an international, cultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education." Following Maringe et al.'s (2013) analysis of the definition, we learn that the idea for internationalisation suggests that the HE institutions can be viewed as international when they intentionally incorporate an international dimension in the three areas namely research, teaching and learning and enterprise. Also, the definition seems to suggest that prior to internationalisation the institutions had national or local agendas and focus but that might not be true in most of the countries in the global South.

The identity of an African people has been ripped off long back by colonialism and apartheid. The question remains: Whose knowledge or who controls the new terrains? Whose interests dominate and whose money is being used to push the agenda? In reality we continue to witness the North-South divide. In this case the notion of decolonization becomes integral in order for the global South to participate at par with the global North. Many scholars have attempted to define decolonization as the purposeful process of interrogating the coloniality of being, of knowledge and of power in the academy in order to create a new terrain of reason which prioritises the growth of local knowledge through a deliberate new engagement with the global (Letseka, 2013; Mbembe, 2015; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015).

Major Strategies of Internationalisation
It is argued that in the global north, internationalisation is driven by economic imperatives whereas in the global south it is more focussed on transformation of curriculum which is not a top agenda in the north (see for example, Gardner-McTaggart, 2016). Research shows that there are about five major strategies of internationalisation and these will be discussed below:

Recruitment of Students
The South universities do not compete on an equal footing with the universities in the global north. Maringe et al. (2013, p. 9) argued that "despite the global rhetoric about an emerging isomorphism in HE, wide disparities continue to exist, which entrench the poverty differentials that have always existed between universities in the north and those in the south".The North universities attract students with some scholarship which global south cannot do. Usually universities in the global north draw their students from those who have been displaced from their home country because of violence and politics (Maringe et al., 2013).

Off-Shore Campuses
Altbach (2002, p. 6) argues that "international branch and off-shore campuses now dot the landscape, especially in developing and middle income countries". There has been a growing trend in investing money in these ventures. Scholars like Gibson (2007) view this as a solidification of intellectual capitalism and worse still most of what is taught is irrelevant.

Partnerships
Recognised as a new form of internationalisation but because of economic differences between the North and the South, most funding comes from the global north who have their needs which do not resonate with those needs from the South. Singh (2010) discussed the unequal terrain in this venture and argued that usually, those from the south involved in such partnerships tend to join the North when the projects they were involved with are done. The work they have collaborated is published in journals in the North not accessible by those from the South.

International Staff Recruitment
The universities in the global north extract the best talent from the global south thereby diminishing the intellectual potential in the global south (Maringe & De Wit, 2016; Metcalf et al., 2005). Universities in the global south are unable to attract staff from the north and can only do so only on temporary basis (Maringe et al., 2013).

Curriculum Internationalisation
Studies of internationalisation of the curriculum in higher education are scarce and, with a few exceptions, which are focused on a single institution and/or a single discipline (Leask & Bridge, 2013). The approaches have been piece-meal and reactive rather than coherent and holistic (Leask & Bridge, 2013, p. 80). There is not much evidence of curriculum internationalisation in the global south than in the global north. Most of the transformation tend to be quite sketchy, and with the decolonisation agenda, there is likely to be greater impetus with decolonial turn.

Decolonisation as an Emerging Discourse in the Global South

In this section we begin by discussing coloniality which seems to work in opposition to decolonisation but helps us to understand decolonisation better. There has been a lot of conscientisation to do collaborative research which involves the North-South and South-South collaboration but up to now we have no high global scientific knowledge output from Africa about Africa (Mbembe, 2015; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). The lack of such knowledge is explained through the concept of coloniality that emerged in discussions of a diverse group of scholars as a big challenge to the development of Africa (Letseka, 2013, Mbembe, 2015; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015).

Maldonado-Torres (2007, p. 243) defines coloniality as;

> …long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day.

Coloniality is seen to be part of the larger context of relations between the former western colonial powers and the ex-colonies. Despite the attainment of independence, eurocentrism and academic dependency remain apparent (Mbembe, 2015). Because of these problems there have been various calls for alternative discourses in the social sciences in higher education in global south.

Many scholars view decolonization as the deliberate process of interrogating the coloniality of being, of knowledge and of power in the academy in order to create a new terrain of reason which prioritises the growth of local knowledge in the global a south through a purposeful new engagement with the global north (Mbembe, 2015; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). To Wa Thiong'o (1998) it means the quest for a liberating perspective within which we see ourselves clearly in relationship to ourselves and to others in the universe. When applied to higher education in the global south this means reorganization of knowledge; rethinking of disciplines, reformulations of curriculum, and transforming of pedagogies from long-terms effects of colonialism on knowledge and education to re-centring African indigenous knowledge system (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015).

To understand decolonization, we need to critically engage with its three forms namely decoloniality, Africanisation and indeginisation. Although the terms are often used interchangeably, they have nuanced differences. Africanisation calls for a renewed focus on Africa and entails salvaging what has been stripped from the continent. Applied to higher education it means a call to adapt curricula and pedagogies that ensure teaching and learning which is adapted to African realities and conditions (Letseka, 2013). Mbembe (2015) argued that we would rather call it re-Africanisation of education because this once existed before colonialism. Therefore it's a matter of retracing and assessing the steps of African culture that have once contributed to education and integrate them in HE. Maringe and Ojo (2017) argued for renewal and recreation of an Afrostemic narrative which "will re-engineer higher education in Africa" (p. 24).

Indigenization often bears the same meaning as Africanisation, that is, when both discourses are used in the context of Africa. However, indigenization is applicable to any country or any continent in a situation when countries try to make things more native; transformation of some service and idea, to suit a local culture. This is possible especially through the use of more indigenous people in administration and employment. Up to now higher education institutions in the global South have struggled to come up with curricula and pedagogies that suit the local cultures and needs. However, what we have witnessed to a certain extent is the replacement of people in administration and employment with natives (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). African universities now need to embrace totally different epistemological and pedagogical stances that put Africa in fair competition with countries in the global north (Maringe & Ojo, 2017).

Essentially, the idea of the decolonisation of Higher Education emerges from critical post-colonial discourses which generally and rightly so, vilify colonial education and its practices in previously colonised countries, the majority of which happen to belong to the global south locations. Conceptually, decolonisation focuses on three critical dimensions: the coloniality of knowledge; the coloniality of being; and the coloniality of power (Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 2000). The three dimensions represent persistent patterns of relations that define the human condition in the post-colonial stage. These patterns of relations are securely established in the colonial stage but persist and even strengthen in the post-colonial dispensation (Grosfoguel, 2009). Coloniality is a term used to define and explain the tendency of the colonial condition to re-establish, recur, and sediment in the post-colonial dispensation despite efforts to dismantle it. However, the term post-colonialism has come under severe criticism as it tends to highlight victimhood of people rather their agency, and as it draws arbitrary boundaries between colonialism and post colonisation (see for example Chibber, 2013; Masood & Nisar, 2020).

The coloniality of being, specifically refers to long standing and persistent benchmarking of the state of the human condition as always defaulting towards valuing western forms of existence, socially, psychologically and culturally and the continued devaluation of indigenous ways of being in the world. Defined under modernism, post modernism, liberalism and neo-liberalism, the state of being in the global north has become the yardstick upon which the human condition everywhere in the world is and should be evaluated, judged, and authenticated. Yet in global south circumstances which define being in the world could and in fact do drive different forms and ways of self- asserting as being in the world. The point is that in cross global partnerships, participants could assert themselves in ways which cause discord in the desired knowledge production.

The coloniality of knowledge defines the persistent domination of western knowledge systems over indigenous knowledge systems, the general tendency to default towards western theorisation to explain phenomena and ideas and an accompanying minimisation of peripheralization of other forms of theorisation and understanding. Many cross global partnerships tend to trace these knowledge contours and patterns of knowledge production. Chasi (2020) has noted that the tendency in North South partnerships is for the northern collaborators to define, theorise and ask the questions, while the southern partners usually play the role of gathering data and calls for a reversal of these roles in order to curtail the sedimentation of the coloniality of knowledge.

The coloniality of power is a term used to describe the persistent domination of formerly colonised people, in various ways in which the power matrices play out in political, economic, and cultural relations. Power, influence, and domination is ensured through the concentration of decision making in a small number of powerful nations which have permanent status on bodies such as the United Nations, through limitations imposed on which nations can develop nuclear capacity and which may not, through the management and conditional disbursement of economic aid to poor nations and through the centralisation of centres of financial and economic power in the rich nations of the world.

Similar patterns of relations can be discerned in the internationalisation of higher education, For example, most cross global knowledge partnerships tend to be funded by organisations in the global north, of which the EU is arguably the most prominent in Europe; DAAD in Germany, among others (Fransman & Newman, 2019). The tendency to pursue the objectives of funding organisations, some of which can be at odds with developmental goals of global south nations entrenches the power asymmetries existing in the world. Equally, funding organisations often require that partnership projects be led and financially managed by global north partners. There is also evidence which shows that north south partnerships have become fertile grounds for the recruitment of exceptional talent from global south partnerships, thereby strengthening the international capital of global north institutions while at the same time weakening that of the global south partner institutions (see for example Hazelkorn, 2014).

Decoloniality is an antithesis of coloniality, a discourse that encourages questioning more than confirming the post-colonial thinking. In other words the term questions why people tend to sustain the same colonialism that they sought to dethrone. For example decoloniality thinkers argue that higher education remains hostage to the same sciences, same curriculum and same pedagogy that created colonisation, racism and imperialism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Engaging with decolonization and its forms therefore helps higher education in the global South to rethink how they position Africa in the globe. In this paper we explore alternative ways through which decolonisation and internationalisation could work together to bring mutual benefits associated with both concepts (Table 12.1).

Discussion of Assumptions Behind Internationalisation and Decolonisation

The above table provides a summary of the key data which supports our analysis of the argument, which is that there are divergences than there are convergences in the assumption underpinning the meanings, purposes, intentions, strategies and operationalisation of the two ideas in the universities. We briefly examine each of these below.

Location in the World Systems Framework
The world systems theory is a well-established framework for understanding how the world works and who and which ideas wield the greatest influence**.** Originating from the work of Immanuel Wallerstein (1993), the argument here is that the world, rather than the nation states is the most appropriate unit for social analysis. Wallerstein saw the world as divided in four categories. The core regions represent the most powerful regions, most of which benefited from the capitalist exploitation of poorer nations in the less developed world during centuries of colonial domination. These countries tend to have nuclear weapons and are represented on the permanent membership of world governing structures such as the UN. The countries comprising this core individually and collectively own vast amounts of wealth and exert political, ideological, economic, and cultural influence over the rest of the world. Their institutions, including those in Higher Education, offer the blue-print for the rest of the world to copy. Nearly 100% of the world's most prestigious universities are found in the countries of the core. From the core are increasingly less influential regions representing an inner periphery, a periphery and an outer periphery. Both in terms of power and influence, the countries in the outer peripheries tend to be the poorest and least developed. Most post-colonial countries in Africa belong to this group. Given that it is from these countries that the discourse of decolonisation is emerging, there is a sense in which the idea is likely to meet with substantial resistance as a world shaping idea. In any case, as we shall see later, its epistemological basis runs counter to the highly individualistic, competitive and exploitative mantras of the voices of the core. In such a power dynamic, the discourse of decolonisation, depending on how much pain it generates for the discourses of the core, is likely to be squeezed out of orbit before it is established.

Table 12.1 Convergences and divergences between Internationalisation and Decolonisation

Comparative dimension	Internationalisation	Decolonisation	Possibilities for integration
Location in the world systems framework	Located at the core and centre of world systems framework	Located on the peripheries and fringes of the world systems framework	Likelihood that decolonisation will be squeezed out by the more dominant internationalisation agenda
Broad theoretical roots	Modernity and neo-liberalism	Social justice, identity, equity, and equality frameworks	Social justice theories likely to remain peripheral as critical/conflict frameworks under more dominant canonised ways of thinking
Epistemological assumption (the nature of knowledge)	Based on the power of the western canons of knowledge	Based on the potential of persuasion around the need for greater equality and equity in societies	Canonised knowledge systems are generally seen as having social and intellectual legitimacy while non canonised knowledges exist on the fringes
Ontological assumption (the nature of truth)	There exists a corpus of understanding about what counts as international in the academy	What counts as international is less well defined and tends to reside in truth as relevant to local conditions	Sedimented truths tend to have greater influence on how people perceive and understand the world while fluid truths are at best seen as transient
Axiological assumption (central value systems)	The axis of world knowledge systems is located in the west/ global north, the middle class is the object of development	Axis of world knowledge systems is primarily located in the local understandings. The working class is the object of development	The power dynamics tend to favour values of the west and especially those of the middle class. Their power is propelled by the relative wealth and economic advantage
Benefits anticipated	Economic and competitive advantage	Equalitarian and humanitarian orientation	As long as economic benefits are not evenly distributed, the powerful become more powerful while the weak become weaker
Strategic priorities	Diversity of human demographics, in terms of staff and students and in terms of collaborative knowledge partnerships	Strengthening indigenous representation at all levels of the academy and transforming the university curricula	Because of differentiated economic power and resources, global north universities are the key beneficiaries in the talent mobility dimensions and because of the funding mechanisms, global north universities tend to assume leadership of collaborative knowledge partnerships

(continued)

Table 12.1 (continued)

Comparative dimension	Internationalisation	Decolonisation	Possibilities for integration
Location of key knowledge producers	Mainly in global north universities in Canada, US and the UK	Mainly in global south universities located in key post- colonial regions such as Latin America, Africa, the Caribbean	Rarely do these groups organise joint conferences and do they publish in common journals and write books together
Influence on key indicators of university performance	Internationalisation has established itself as a key criterion in the measurement of quality in university performance league tables	Decolonisation is effectively absent in the discourses of league tables	The absence of decolonisation in the discourses of university performance and league tables suggests that it may die a premature death
Representation of the ideas in university leadership titles	Many universities have DVCs for research and Internationalisation	We have not come across the tile of DVC Decolonisation in any university. The more neutral term of transformation tends to be preferred	As long as Decolonisation is not reflected as a key plank in university leadership structures, there is little hope that this will become a key strategic priority. If anything should happen, it requires a structure and resources. Both are absent in many of our universities
Status of underpinning knowledge	Knowledge about Internationalisation in HE is widely supported and available in prominent international journals	Knowledge about decolonisation in HE is largely in inconspicuous local journals and locally published books	This represents a peripheralization of the knowledge base of decolonisation in the global academy significant as localised knowledge and less useful as globally valuable knowledge
The question of being in the world	Being international is highly valued and often means meeting the criteria of the western canon	The question of being is focused on ideas of 'other than' on the restoration of indigenous identities	The local identity seldom dominates global views about being and has always stayed as an object of fascination and entertainment rather than as serious contender in views about being
The power of the discourse	Knowledge about the international is assumed to be high status in HE	Knowledge about decolonisation still tends to be viewed with suspicion and contempt	The power dynamic clearly favours knowledge about the international rather than about decolonisation

The Broad Theoretical Roots

Internationalisation is rooted in the theoretical foundations of modernity and post modernity and in liberalism and neo-liberalism. Modernity is generally understood as the period which began in Europe several hundred years ago growing out of the following: that the world develops best through industrialisation and capitalism and that social class is the main form of social division. Marx's contribution to the idea of modernism was that there are fundamentally two classes of people, the owners of the means of production and the poor working class. As long as the means of production are kept in the hands of a few, the rest of humanity will contribute to the wealth of these few through their physical and manual labour. In the context of internationalisation, the regions which own the means of production, in the form of journals, resources, funding are those in the global north. Global south institutions generally are useful to the extent they can supply cheap intellectual labour through for example partnerships through which the academics of the global north collect data which is then analysed and interpreted by scholars in the global north universities. Other important features of the modern world include the growth of cities and urbanisation; the notion of a central government and the bureaucratic state; the ascendancy of science over other forms of belief systems as the rational basis for decision making. On the other hand, post modernism argues that the modern world has transformed radically into one characterised by the influence of globalisation, the power of the media, a largely consumer society, cultural diversity and hybridity.

Decolonisation on the other hand is a discourse less securely supported by mainstream theory except what some see as fringe theories of critical thought such as the theories of social justice (Fraser, 2009), equality, the process of making sure everyone has an equal chance of accessing opportunities (Espinoza, 2007) and equity (Secada, 1989) the assessment of the fairness in the distribution of opportunities. Collectively these theories represent the dissent of fringe societies against the frameworks of the establishment.

Based in well-established main-steam theoretical frameworks, internationalisation will always enjoy a head start when it comes to support and publication in mainstream international journals which tend to service the needs of scholars in the global north.

Epistemological Assumptions

Epistemology is a way of understanding and explaining how we know (Crotty, 2003). It suggests that there is a legitimate and accepted way in which the knowledge is and can be validated and authenticated. The knowledge about decolonisation is often seen as based on unstable and highly contradictory theoretical propositions. For example, some suggest that there is an inherent contradiction in the argument of a post-colonial condition. Post-colonial suggests that colonialism has an end, which many argue we have not witnessed yet. While colonised countries may have attained political independence from former colonisers, the colonial relations do not end, and always seem to persist into the future and often with greater intensity albeit in more subtle ways (see for example Ahmad & Bradby, 2007; Chibber, 2013). The evidence we have seems to suggest that formerly colonised countries go through a new colonial stage, which people like Fanon and Nkrumah have characterised as a more dangerous phase in the so-called post-colonial phase. Essentially these scholars argue that there is no post-colonial theory because there is nothing existing in this world which represent post colonialism. What this means is that there is a belief amongst some scholars that the knowledge base of the discourses of post colonialism, decolonisation amongst others cannot enjoy legitimacy as the existence of the phenomenon of post colonialism is questionable. While the discourse of internationalisation is widely acknowledged, those of decolonisation are at best seen as resting on shaky ground and at worst as being atheoretical.

Ontological Assumption
Internationalisation and decolonisation discourses have widely different ontological bases. Ontology is the essence of being (Crotty, 2003), concerned with understanding the type of world we live in and how we understand that world and with the structure of reality within that world. On one hand, Understandings of the world cannot be divorced from the geo-spatial locations in which they are developed. The world in global north terms comprises societies therein whose ordained mission it is to bring light to the rest of the world; to civilise; to bring enlightenment; to Christianise; to modernise and to create wealth. Ultimately, the world must be beaten into shape and made to conform to the realities of those things that make progress. The reality of the global south who have been dominated and beaten into shape over hundreds of years of colonisation is in stark contrast. That reality is of vulgarised beings who struggle to think outside of the frameworks of those who have subjugated them over time, and who would like to break free and restore their identities, progress their indigenous beliefs, values and knowledge systems which served them well for millennia before the colonisers set foot on their lands. This creates an ontological dynamic through which new relational arrangements have to be created which help to break down calcified matrices of power, dominance, and influence and achieve some form of parity and equality in the objectives of collaborative knowledge creation.

Axiological Assumption
Axiology defines the value systems that shape people's ambitions and achievements. On one hand, the key values characterising post-modern societies include among others, competition and competitiveness, individualism and more particularly, the use of ideology to assert and maintain political and economic power (Forghani et al., 2015). On the other hand, many global south societies tend to eschew values of communalism, Ubuntu, a philosophy of pluralism in which the value of individuals is subordinated to the group, (I am because you are), and in which competitiveness is defined, not in individualistic terms, but in the achievements of the group. With such diverse and almost oppositional value systems, knowledge creation groups could have their work cut out if insufficient care is not deployed to understand and manage people's value systems.

Anticipated Benefits
Amongst other benefits, the two most outstanding rationales for internationalisation are the economic benefits and global competitiveness. Indeed, there is a close

relationship between the profile of internationalisation of an institution and its position in the hierarchies of organisational performance. Universities in the top echelons of the various league tables tend to have high proportions of international students and staff. For example, Harvard, MIT, Oxford, and Cambridge have close to 50% international students enrolled across their programmes with increasing numbers in the post graduate areas. In contrast, universities in the lower ranks of performance tend to have lower percentages of staff and students. The economic value of international students to universities is quite substantial as is the global competitiveness associated with being an international institution. According to the US Department of Commerce, international students contributed $45 billion in 2018 while supporting nearly half a million jobs in the US economy (NAFSA, 2019). It is estimated that international students contribute approximately 23-billion-pound sterling to the UK economy. It has been estimated that the economic benefits are ten times greater than the costs (Athwal et al., 2019). In South Africa, the net economic benefit of international students is estimated at approximately R50 billion, roughly 2.5-billion-pound sterling or about US three billion annually. Given that South Africa is the most attractive destination for international students in sub-Saharan Africa, it is clear that countries in the global south in Africa are not as competitive as their counterparts in the global north in terms of international students' recruitment.

On the other hand, universities in the global south and especially in poor nations do not have the same competitive advantage to attract international students and in fact tend to be fertile recruitment ground for universities in the global north. Realistically, the benefits of decolonisation tend to be largely intangible for example, increased sense of equality, integrity, and identity, attributes which are very difficult to measure, but nevertheless crucial and significant.

Strategic Priorities

In the global survey of internationalisation in universities (Maringe & Foskett, 2010), there was a clear differentiation in the internationalisation strategic priorities of universities in the global north compared to those in the global south. Global north universities prioritise student recruitment, staff poaching and the establishment of offshore campuses in politically stable foreign countries. On the other hand, global south universities tend to prioritise curriculum reform, which unfortunately tends to be informed by a need to align teaching and learning along the favoured dimensions of western or global north institutions.

Location of Scholars

There is a clear demarcation of scholarship in the areas of internationalisation and decolonisation. There is a stronger representation of scholarship on internationalisation in the global north, led chiefly by the US, Canada, UK, and Australia. The opposite is true regarding the scholarship of decolonisation which is largely located in global south universities led by South Africa on the African continent, Latin American countries, the Caribbean nations. The publications in which the scholarship is disseminated also tends to trace the contours of the global divides, as are the conferences which serve these different scholarship groups (Teichler, 2017).

Influence on Key Indicators of University Performance (KPIs)
While research performance and innovation occupy pride of place in the hierarchies of league table university performance criteria, evidence of internationalisation is certainly in the top five of the groups of factors that are widely considered in a variety of league tables. Unfortunately, decolonisation is conspicuous by its absence in the factors considered important in various league tables that measure university performance. The implication is that on the international level, this variable, which global south universities prioritise is not considered important in the measurement of university performance. Examining the websites of a number of universities, it appears that the KPI for many universities are around: student learning experience; research prominence; financial sustainability and Internationalisation.

Representation of the Ideas in University Leadership Titles
If an idea does not have representation in the roles and functions of the senior management members of a university, that idea is unlikely to be a priority in the institution. In the past two decades, internationalisation has become a key senior university management portfolio. Most universities, across the global divide tend to have a DVC for internationalisation either as a single focus or in combination with other roles such as in DVC for research and internationalisation, or education and internationalisation. The idea of decolonisation is rarely, if at all, found in the titular roles of senior managers in universities, including those in the global south. The rather neutral term, DVC for transformation, is more frequently utilised in South African universities. But transformation is a broad umbrella term which may be a convenient place to conceal the unsubstantial effort being made towards the decolonisation of Higher Education.

Status of Underpinning Knowledge
Some of the more familiar journals which publish knowledge on internationalisation in Higher Education include: the Journal of International Students (ranked 11 in Higher Education), Journal of International Studies, International Studies Quarterly, Higher Education, amongst others, which all based in global north countries. For the decolonisation of Higher Education, the following are the key outlets: Journal of Decolonising Disciplines, a South African based journal based at University of Pretoria; Decolonisation, Indignity, Education and Society (based in Toronto Canada), Decolonising the political theory curriculum, launched in 2020; The Journal of modern African Studies published by Cambridge University Press. The knowledge on internationalisation resides in well-established journals the majority of which are in global north countries. Those on Decolonisation are either very recently established journals or, in some cases, coming under the control of western based publishers.

The Question of Being in the World
The evidence we have in this area is largely anecdotal. De Wit (2002) aptly recognises the need for more qualitative research in the field of internationalisation to access the nuanced understandings of people's experience and relationship with its ideas, policies and strategies. There is however a growing corpus of research

especially from the global south which is quite critical of the knowledge about internationalisation specifically and educational responses to neo-liberalism (see for example, Chasi, 2020; Rensburg et al., 2015). Chasi (2020) aptly captures the sense of being in the matrices of internationalisation; she says about North South partnerships that in research partnerships for example, the conventional gaze from the North to the South often involves the North being associated with knowledge and theory production, and the South being relegated to field studies. She further argues that such a gaze can be reversed if global South Scholars are made to do the theorisation and knowledge building about the North, while the Northern partners can be asked to gather the data about their international environments. Rarely do we have such role reversals in partnerships, yet, we suggest, these need to be more commonly incorporated into the work/partnership design.

The Power of the Discourses

The point has already been made elsewhere in this chapter that discourses become established through the power and effort of its scholars, the presence of authentic channels for its communication and dissemination, through their representation in the titles and roles of the university senior management among others. We suggest in this chapter that on all accounts, the discourse of decolonisation is trailing far behind internationalisation and it is even often concealed under more acceptable terms such as transformation, implying that even in some of our global South university, decolonisation is some kind of a dirty word, whose ghost has to be exorcised and concealed under more acceptable nomenclature such as transformation.

Towards an Integrated Model for Working with Internationalisation and Decolonisation in HE

Below we synthesise the discussion into cogent hypotheses that demand refinement through theoretical, strategic, and practical application and through further research. We however believe, both separately and collectively, that the hypotheses take our understanding in the areas of internationalisation and decolonisation beyond what we currently know. As such, this chapter can be claimed to make a substantial contribution towards debates seeking to engage with the kinds of transformation that will be needed in Higher Education.

Theoretical Alignment

Theoretical assumptions, at the epistemological, ontological, axiological, and methodological levels need to be laid out clearly and discussed at various stages of partnership working, including at the time of conceptualisation and as an ongoing engagement during specific projects cycles. This would help reduce and hopefully eliminate suspicion and perceptions of the burden of domination of western epistemes and canons at the expense of those germane to the global south partners. Subjecting scientific/research investigations to dominant ways of thinking may render project outcomes differentiated value in the end and will only to serve to sediment the dominance of some ways of thinking over others.

Strategic Planning in Partnership-Working

Driven by clear understandings of the value added to different contexts, rather than by a desire to impose value which is selectively applicable, partnership project strategic planning should be guided by principles of open and honest engagement, inclusivity, and fair distributed leadership practice.

Project Management and Operational Planning

While reversing project responsibilities as suggested by Chasi (2020) may be a useful interim strategy for establishing epistemological equity in partnership working, it may also serve to reverse the problems it seeks to overcome. We suggest that each project operational responsibility should have representation from both sides of the global partnership divide. There is no evidence which suggests that global south universities have weaker financial management processes than their global north counterparts, we believe that the management of project resources should be a shared responsibility.

Partnerships in the COVID-19 and Post-COVID-19 Eras

We do not think human mobility will revert to pre-COVID-19 conditions any time soon nor do we think it is desirable at all. Knowledge creation cannot be limited by human movement especially as we enter an intense digital 4IR era. We think that there should be some form of compensation or arrangement for reparation to institutions which lose staff to the global north institutions especially if this might have been facilitated through the partnership working. In addition, the question of the influence of middle-class values endemic in many universities in the world, needs addressing as many universities in the global south are serving largely working class students.

The above may sound drastic and may be laughed off as impractical. But the change we need in the current circumstances is both urgent and necessary, lest our universities earn the unfortunate label of being the last post of colonialism (Rossouw, 2017). At the very least, the above propositions should be viewed as competent hypothesis on which basis new research in knowledge creation could be developed.

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Chapter 13
Ten Facts About Internationalising Higher Education Online: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly?

Kyungmee Lee

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive account of the phenomenon of internationalising higher education (HE) online. For the past decade, there has been a rapid increase in online HE programmes and courses where learning and teaching activities are mediated by communication technologies, removing physical constraints in classroom interactions (Allen & Seaman, 2017). The fast advancement and adoption of the Internet and personal devices worldwide enable HE institutions to provide online programmes and courses across national boundaries.

For example, in 2017, a total of 19.7 million students enrolled in HE courses, and among them, 6.6 million students enrolled in some form of online courses in the USA. There were 3.1 million, about 15% of the entire student population, enrolled in fully distance courses. About 40% of those distance students are from outside the state of their institutions, including 142,840 international students from outside the USA (Online EducationData.org, 2020). In the UK, the number of international students studying in UK universities has continuously increased, and, in 2017/2018, there were a total of 458,490 international students in UK-accredited degree programmes. Among them, more than 60% are studying in online courses or overseas campuses built through various forms of transnational institutional collaboration (HESA, 2019). In this context, online HE has been identified as an effective mechanism to achieve institutional and national agendas for HE internationalisation (HM Government, 2013, 2021; Online Learning Task Force, 2011).

During the recent COVID-19 pandemic, most countries have enforced various restrictions on international travel and implemented different levels of social

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distancing measures, including national lockdowns to control the fast spread of the virus (WHO, 2020). Subsequently, many universities around the world have closed down their campuses (and student accommodations) and delivered their courses online. This disruption has brought about significant multi-dimensional challenges to international students (Nguyen & Balakrishnan, 2020). A massive number of international students who were enrolled in face-to-face courses have been forced to return to their countries and take online courses. Those who remained in the country of the study have also been taking online courses, facing additional financial and emotional challenges. There have been mixed claims about international students and their learning experiences during the pandemic (Lee et al., 2021).

The long-term effects of this temporary online HE on international students' mobility and the global HE landscape are still unclear. Nevertheless, the pandemic has introduced noticeable changes in national admission policies and institutional regulations towards international students enrolled in fully online programmes (European Commission, 2020). The general direction, shared by those changes, seems to be more open and accepting about the status of online international students (with a few exceptions, such as the USA). Given that most universities, teachers, and students have now gained considerable experience and expertise in online HE, there may be an exponential increase in online programmes and students who voluntarily signed up for online study after the pandemic. Therefore, it is a timely attempt to construct a comprehensive understanding of online international HE, critically reviewing relevant claims to the focused phenomenon.

Internationalisation Abroad or Internationalisation at Home?

This chapter centres around on a vantage point of students. Thus, the dichotomous division between home and foreign countries revolves around each student's international positionality. Common categories used to conceptualise and distinguish HE institutions' internationalisation activities are Internationalisation Abroad (Wächter, 2003) and Internalisationalisation at Home (Knight, 2004). From the student perspective, internationalisation abroad refers to them leaving their home country and travelling abroad to gain international education opportunities. The opportunities include participating in a full degree programme, a language course, a short-term exchange student programme, and a summer school programme, but the underpinning principle of those programmes is students' physical mobility.

On the other hand, internalisation at home does not exclusively rely on students' mobility, allowing students to have international experiences while remaining in their home country and campus. The latter aims to internationalise curricula with multiple dimensions – learning content, activities, and participants – introduced to students enrolled in HE programmes. One of the strategies to do so is to make the programmes international by inviting (or accepting) international scholars and students to the programmes. Thus, it is a form of internationalisation at "home" for domestic students in such programmes, but it is still internationalisation abroad for international students. The question can be then, whose perspective we need to value more—domestics' or internationals'?

When it comes to online HE, in which both domestic students and international students remain their home countries (in a physical sense), the binary categorisation loses its explanatory power. In fact, many domestic students have citizenship of the country of their university but live in a foreign country for different reasons. This diaspora chooses to study online due to their physical location outside their home country; however, many of them are still registered as a domestic student (as far as their tuition fees is concerned). At the same time, there are many international students who study in online programmes offered by foreign universities but stay neither in their home country nor the country of their study—they can be located in a third country. If so, would those students say that they are part of internationalisation abroad?

Researchers have attempted to address the conceptual limitations of the dichotomous categorisation in explaining the international nature of online HE. For example, Ramanau (2016) proposes "Internationalisation at a Distance" as a "more appropriate" metaphor to capture students' experiences with studying online in an "international course" while managing their professional and personal lives in the "local context" (p. 24). This metaphor has been taken up and further articulated as the third category by other researchers (Mittelmeier et al., 2020), removing the necessity for the arbitrary division between abroad and home. (Knight, 2020). On the other hand, this new metaphor further stresses the international positionality of HE providers (i.e., provider's mobility) in recent online HE contexts. For example, Knight (2020) includes "self-study distance education" and "distance education with local academic partner[s]" as two of the six categories of new HE internationalisation activities, capturing the diverse degrees of internationality-and-locality of online HE provisions (p. 186).

Although the new attempts to better locate online HE in a broad spectrum of internationalising HE phenomenon have been successful in some aspects, they tend to disregard the significance of individual students' international positionality, constructed based on the division between home and foreign countries. However, blurring the apparent separation of domestic and international students in most online courses (at least in a financial sense) may counterintuitively or unintentionally dismiss some of the critical issues and challenges existing in international online HE: it is the reason why this chapter employs a vantage point of students. Therefore, despite the messiness of the home and foreign division in online HE, this chapter will discuss ten points about internationalising HE online based on the divided positionality of being domestic and international students from the perspective of the students concerned in each point.

On a related note, this article is also written from the perspective of distance educators. Thus, it refuses to regard online HE as a new, ahistorical means to internationalise HE. Internationalisation should be discussed as one of the natural outcomes of the long-lasting efforts of making university education more accessible to those who are unable to engage with university study otherwise (Lee, 2017). Such a social justice-oriented aim has guided the development of distance education (and now online HE). Remembering the historicity of distance education can prevent the inversion of the ends and means in the internationality of online HE, which will be further unpacked in the next section.

The Good: Benefits

This section focuses on various benefits, which online HE can provide for individual students, their course communities, and universities concerning the internationalisation efforts.

It Increases the Accessibility of Higher Education at a Global Scale

Online HE has increased the accessibility of university education beyond local and national boundaries by removing physical barriers to HE at an international level (Mittelmeier et al., 2020; Moreira, 2016). As some of the data presented in the introduction, a growing number of previously underrepresented students in university campuses, including international students, have benefited from the increased accessibility of online HE. Reyes and Segal (2019) effectively articulate the social justice essence of online HE as follows:

> In higher education, promoting social justice is at the heart of expanding access to advanced educational programs for non-traditional college student populations, including women and students from marginalized communities… [online HE] creates opportunities for those who would not otherwise have the chance to pursue higher education to expand their understanding of social conditions and thereby raise their levels of awareness. Such consciousness is an essential means of acquiring the tools to succeed in local and global economies and social structures. In this educational environment, technology may be harnessed to incubate ideas to alleviate poverty, separation, and oppression. (p. 380)

It is worthwhile to discuss the origin of online HE: distance education. Although many higher educators perceive online HE as a relatively new development, it has a long historical backdrop with a distinctive political agenda of increasing access to university education among underrepresented *non-traditional* student populations (Lee, 2017). Most *traditional* university tutors whose educational practices are exclusively situated in face-to-face settings have not had much interest in distance education and its “democratic spirit” (Kurzman, 2013, p. 335)—at least before the recent pivoting incident caused by the COVID-19 outbreak.

For many decades, distance education institutions such as open universities play a critical role in making university education more accessible in response to the growing educational demands among non-traditional students (Peters, 2008). Until the popularisation of the Internet in the 2000s, which enabled *new* online education to emerge, *old* distance education had used different low-tech communication media such as correspondence, telephone, radio, and television (Tracey & Richey, 2005). Therefore, the liberating impact of the previous generations of distance education has been limited to students within their local, national, and regional boundaries. However, the new generation of Internet-based distance education has transcended these limitations, reaching out to a global audience:

> As a recent innovation to online learning, these [Massive Open Online Courses, MOOCs] represent the latest stage in the evolution of open educational resources… Such courses are accessible through the Internet and are usually open to registration without prerequisites or limits on the number of students. With their advantages of large scale, openness and self-organization, MOOCs have attracted 160,000 students from more than 190 countries. (Zhou, 2016, p. 194)

Even though the technological medium has continuously changed, the original focus of distance education on increasing accessibility of HE has remained unchanged across the generations of distance education (at least in a rhetorical sense, see Lee, 2017). In more recent years, along with the popularity of open educational resources movements, not only those distance education institutions but also campus-based universities have begun to provide their courses online, reaching out to previously unreachable student popularisation worldwide (Lee, 2020). As a result, online education has enabled a large number of students with a range of mobility barriers (Brooks & Waters, 2011) to access HE across national and regional boundaries.

In a broad sense, there are three types of *virtual mobility* among international students that are enabled by online HE. Firstly, *virtual access* to university education is enabled for those who want to receive university education (not necessarily in foreign countries) but have limited options available in their home country. Secondly, *virtual migration* to the country of the university is enabled for those who specifically want to earn a foreign degree due to the distinctive value and recognition attached to the degree but who cannot afford the physical relocation for their international education. Thirdly, *virtual immersion* in the intercultural social sphere created within online programmes is enabled for those who want to experience intercultural knowledge exchanges but cannot afford the physical relocation for those international experiences. Although it is unclear which of these is the primary driver, the number of international students in HE is growing.

It Increases Diversity in a Course Community

Online HE has not only improved the accessibility of university education but increased the diversity among the student body within a course environment (Gemmell et al., 2015; Strickland et al., 2013). Linked to the virtual immersion enabled by the increased accessibility of online HE, the internationality of online programmes has brought great pedagogical benefits to all participant students, including both international and domestic students (Reyes & Segal, 2019). Given the growing importance of gaining knowledge of other cultures and international communication skills from university education, there has been pressing demand from university students for more intercultural learning opportunities:

> The internationalisation and globalisation of education have been brought up through the increasing demand for appropriate education to achieve better understanding, analysing and responding to the unpredictable and changing situations and crossing the geographical borders among the nations to establish an international community for better social, occupational and emotional life; therefore, HE institutions need a different approach to respond to these educational demands qualitatively and quantitatively; they value the participation of international students. (Vajargah & Khoshnoodifar, 2013, p. 346)

Nevertheless, those intercultural learning opportunities brought about by students' physical mobility may not be accessible nor affordable to many university students. Alternatively, taking international online courses with diverse students joining from different cultural settings can provide a breakthrough. Such internationalisation at home enables both the international students and domestic students to remain in their own home countries but to participate in a unique intercultural learning space. From HE institutions' perspective, offering their programmes online and recruiting international students from different backgrounds can be considered an effective mechanism to address the demand of both international and domestic students simultaneously.

Some may argue that there has been a growing number of international students on campus. Many university campuses—particularly in popular destinations among international students (e.g., Australia, Canada, the UK, the USA)—are already intercultural learning spaces. However, it is worth stressing that many international students on campus have left their home countries to fully present and immerse themselves in the culture of the country of their university. Although they may maintain frequent contact with their home countries, their immediate pedagogical interests are often learning a new language and culture—successful cultural and linguistic adoption (despite the high level of ethnocentricism observed in some international student groups observed in Jackson, 2008).

What is unique about international students in online courses is their simultaneous presence and immersion in their home and institutional cultures. In fact, most online international students are pursuing their study at a distance as part-time students due to their social and professional commitments situated in their home countries. Those life commitments often become the main barriers for most adults to access face-to-face education provisions offered by foreign universities in the first place. Thus, it is much easier for online international students currently living in their country of their residence, or elsewhere other than the country of the university, to bring authentic internationality into their course community. That is, everyday engagement with their home culture and language of online international students composes the diversity and internationality of online HE in a genuine and autonomous sense (rather than the status of international students itself).

Previous works on online HE have also discussed the benefits of taking part in an international online course from the domestic student perspective as follows:

> Overall 85% of students felt that learning alongside students from other countries had a positive impact on their learning. Learning about other countries' health systems and the

> experiences of health professionals in other countries were identified as a key benefit of studying alongside students from other countries. Other benefits were that students were able to appreciate other perspectives, improve their knowledge and understanding of the context of a public health issue and reassess or even change their own attitudes. (Gemmell et al., 2015)

It is not only the student body that has been diversified in online course communities, but the advanced communication technologies have opened up a range of possibilities to increase the diversity among the teaching staff across HE contexts. For example, Thampi and Metzger (2021) report their experiences with developing and co-teaching an online course in social work across two institutions in different cultural contexts—one in India and another in the USA. Their reflection suggests that students appreciate the international perspective introduced in the course, integrating the Eastern and Western approaches to mental health issues. Having guest lecturers or invited speakers in online courses has become a popular pedagogical strategy, and its effectiveness has been promoted by higher educators (see Fanguy et al., 2017).

It Increases Revenue for Higher Education Institutions

Although there is a longstanding tradition of universities bringing overseas students physically onto their campuses, in more recent years, the advancement of communication technologies and the subsequent development of online HE have opened up new possibilities to reach out to more diverse student groups around the globe. Previously, the internationalisation of HE was mainly driven by elite universities to expand their reputation and influence globally by developing leaders of other countries within their intellectual tradition and political setting (Boubsil et al., 2011).

However, recent internationalisation activities are largely driven by economic factors. In the current market-driven HE context, where student tuition fees are the primary source of university income, HE institutions must compete to recruit students. Coupled with the phenomenon of a levelling off in domestic student enrolment, recruiting students from overseas has frequently appeared as a priority in national HE policy and institutional strategy:

> Economic rationale, which includes economic growth, national education demand, competitiveness, the labour market, human capital, and financial incentives, is one category… Income to fund higher education has become one of the key drivers of internationalisation because institutions can no longer rely on fee income from local students. The declining state budgets to finance higher education have forced institutions to look into international students' fees as a lucrative option to increase revenue. Many countries require international students to pay significantly more than local students for higher education. All these factors, including mobility of the labour market and commodification of education, make a strong case for internationalisation. (Msweli, 2012, p. 107)

In this context, many universities newly entering into the global competition have launched online programmes to attract more international students. As the growing number of online international students enrolled in those programmes suggests, online HE has continuously increased revenue for HE institutions worldwide. Each of the three points above describes the positive aspects of online HE from the perspectives of individual students, instructors, and institutions, respectively. All the claims here have their own discursive merits and power that have shaped both HE discourse and practice related to internationalisation. The following section, however, will unpack some of the complexity and multiplicity in those claims.

The Bad: Problems

This section discusses four problems with internationalising HE online. Each perspective respectively concerns the disadvantages and harms made to individual students, their pedagogical experiences, and universities.

It May Be Accessible But Not Necessarily Affordable

Most accessibility claims about online HE focus on the ideas of removing physical barriers to university education (Lee, 2017). As discussed in section "It increases the accessibility of higher education at a global scale", online HE enables different types of international mobility among university students. One of the common narratives concerning the democratic purpose of online HE is to provide access to quality university education to students in developing countries where a smaller number of well-established HE institutions exist compared to some other countries:

> Educating people to higher levels increases the prosperity of poorer countries all the while addressing the moral imperative of the age in ensuring that all people of the world get a decent education (Daniel et al., 2007). Higher education further contributes to developing countries political and economic stability. (Boubsil et al., 2011), p.11)

However, access to HE is multi-dimensional, determined not only by students' physical conditions but also by their social, educational, and financial situations. Previous studies have shown that international (and domestic) students who choose to study online as part-timers tend to be financially disadvantaged—not privileged like most international students abroad (Mittelmeier et al., 2019). Furthermore, online programmes offered by many universities are not necessarily cheaper than their regular face-to-face programmes. This is particularly so with overseas tuition fees, which are often double or triple the domestic tuition fees; such expense excludes most students in developing countries (and many in developed countries) without a substantial level of financial capital.

Therefore, even though the flexibility of online programmes allows international students to study part-time while continuing to stay in their home countries (which saves on travel costs) and generate income, only a small fraction of the world populations can afford to be part of the programmes. Nevertheless, the market-oriented approach to international students fees in international HE policy, perceiving the student fees only as necessary revenue, has disregarded the very issues about the non-affordability of their online provisions (Raghuram et al., 2020). However, it can be argued that under the current neoliberal HE contexts with the dearth of national and governmental funding for education, universities are mostly operated by students' tuition fees (not from residents' tax payments). Thus, there is no strong justification for the inequality between domestic and overseas students' tuition fees.

Especially given that online international students do not require additional immigration-related administrative support from their universities, it even feels unethical to charge the overseas student fees online. As long as there is such a stiff stratification between domestic and overseas tuition fees, the accessibility claims about online HE offering educational opportunities to those have-nots need to be revisited. Online HE providers need to expand their limited focus on increasing physical accessibility (or enabling virtual mobility) to reducing financial barriers to university education among their potential beneficiaries. The first step may be to develop a multi-dimensional understanding of accessibility, acknowledging and reflecting on the principle of increasing financial affordability. Arguably, any accessibility claims about the role of online in educating students in developing countries need to embrace a high level of sensitivity about the situated meaning of education in real-life social and economic contexts:

> India is a land of many contradictions. On the one hand, it houses the second largest scientific manpower in the world, while on the other it is home to the largest poor population for a single country... If we take the measures of poverty and hunger in the country, we can see that 37% of the population falls under BPL while 46% of the children are underweight (Varma, 2010). Gender parity is to the tune of .94 in primary education and .82 in secondary… Safe drinking water is not available to 18% of the population while 51% of the population goes without toilets (Varma, 2010). In this scenario, the retention of learners already enrolled in higher Distance Education assumes great significance. (Rajesh, 2011, p. 128)

It May Increase the Diversity of Students But Not of Curricula

Despite the limit to the physical sense, the increased accessibility of online HE brings about the increased diversity of the student body. As discussed in section "It increases diversity in a course community", the fact that online international students study while staying in their own home countries suggests there is a more genuine sense of internationality in online learning communities than in face-to-face HE contexts (Gemmell et al., 2015; Strickland et al., 2013).

However, the extent to which such diversity is utilised as pedagogical resources is a separate issue. In other words, having more students from different cultural contexts does not automatically generate intercultural learning and communication opportunities among online students (Harrison, 2015; Mittelmeier et al., 2020). Compared to the laudable efforts put into the recruitment of international students, internationalising university student body, there has been a noticeable absence of effort to diversify (or decolonise) curricula in online HE. It is important to stress that diversifying curricula requires a deliberate attempt to challenge Western knowledge, values, and behaviours and include different, non-Western, knowledge and worldviews as the central focus of the curricula. Thus, there must be a purposeful pedagogical effort to include international students' voices and enable them to become equal contributors to the course (Lomer & Anthony-Okeke, 2019).

Moreira (2016) points out that it is a challenging task to fully recognize cultural diversity and "take advantage of that diversity to design online courses" (p. 195). Previous authors have indicated a lack of intercultural sensitivity in many online programmes (Ramanau, 2016). As a result, international students from non-Western backgrounds often face multiple challenges associated with their adaptation to online courses offered by Western universities: the courses that are consist of Western content, language, and pedagogical approaches (Boubsil et al., 2011). These notions are in line with the point made in section "It may be accessible but not necessarily affordable"—that is, removing physical barriers to accessing international online HE is only the first step to making online HE accessible and inclusive to different groups of international students.

In this sense, online courses that value and demand students' active contributions to discussions and knowledge exchanges can be seen as more inclusive and democratic. However, failing to adequately diversify the curricula in a holistic sense, such as through a pedagogical attempt, can put international students under tremendous pressure on bringing something different and unique from their cultural contexts to the courses (Lee & Bligh, 2019). International students are often perceived as pedagogical resources, adding instrumental or economic value to their online courses by providing international learning opportunities to their counterparts: domestic students.

International students with additional expectations tend to find themselves in a challenging dilemma: on one hand, they are expected to adopt and accept Western knowledge, which seems to be exclusively valued by the course provider, but on the other, they are asked to introduce and provide non-Western knowledge. However, without knowing whether their non-Western contributions will be truly valued and accepted by other course members, international students find it very risky. In conclusion, the mechanical approach to internationalising online curricula by increasing the percentage of international students in online programmes has failed to welcome and serve those from underprivileged contexts, which subsequently creates unequal learning conditions. Hughes-Warrington's (2012) reflection on the ethics of internationalisation of HE can be relevant here:

> Must we, he argues, 'ask the foreigner to understand us, to speak our language ... in all its possible extensions, before being able and so as to be able to welcome him into our country?' (Derrida, 2001, p. 15) … Derrida's writings emphasise the ways in which the host extends conditional hospitality to the guest … Derrida's writings remind us to question the logic in which physical distance—and indeed money for travel—is seen as necessary for encounters with others. Difference resides as much within the self and with others around us as within the other in another country. (p. 317-319)

It May Increase the Revenue by Decreasing the Quality of Educational Provision

While there has been prevailing recognition or assumption about the accessible nature of online HE, the literature has also critiqued the commodification of online courses in the current marketised HE context (see Lee, 2017; Morris et al., 2020). Online HE provision serves universities' market agendas to recruit more students, including those geographically dispersed, and subsequently to generate more income. That is, the accessibility has been increased not only from students' perspective. From universities' perspective, too, a vast number of international populations who were previously unapproachable have become accessible through the medium of online education.

As discussed in section "It increases the accessibility of higher education at a global scale", the increased accessibility of university education itself is not necessarily a disadvantage. Both students and universities could benefit from it. However, achieving accessibility and quality within a single online course simultaneously is an extremely challenging task (Lee, 2021). It is almost impossible when online HE providers' main interest is in increasing revenue by achieving cost-effective educational provisions. Unfortunately, the primary driving force for international online HE has been revenue seeking—in this context, the right formula for the online HE market is higher tuition fees but lower teaching costs.

In line with the argument in section "It may be accessible but not necessarily affordable", online programmes are not necessarily affordable to most international students. The call for diversifying the online curricular to create more inclusive online programmes for international students in section "It may be accessible but not necessarily affordable" poses a financial challenge to universities. More fundamentally, training teaching staff who can decolonise their teaching content and practices and better appreciate and accommodate unique characteristics and diverse needs among international students is a cost-intensive and long-term process. That is, greater hospitality (or less conditional hospitality) requires better service (or more resources). The critical question is then as follows: who is responsible for the costs of the service? If the answer is students, then tuition fees will go up. If the answer is institutions, then the revenues will go down. Without a radical shift in the market-driven mandate, the democratic ideals of online HE about increasing accessibility or diversity will never be fully realised.

One of the severe problems that have emerged in this context concerns the quality assurance in many online courses and programmes. Serving a cost-effective market agenda, an emerging group of online HE providers have offered educational services of inappropriate quality to their customers: so-called degree mills or diploma mills. The former provides a real degree but from a fake college, and the latter provides a fake degree from a real college (Contreras & Gollin, 2009). Although these diploma mills existed in higher education sectors from the outset of online HE (Noble, 1998), the danger of these frauds has been expanding in the internationalised HE contexts. Misusing their freedom allowed by the absence of international-wide quality regulations, these predators, armed with aggressive but mouth-watering marketing strategies, have attacked international students.

International students from disadvantaged backgrounds—lacking in their academic abilities to pass admission requirements at elite universities, financial resources to travel and relocate abroad, and cultural capital to fully discern the legitimate degree programmes accredited by the foreign educational authority—are often more vulnerable to take the bait.

It May Make Rich Universities Richer and Poor Universities Poorer

In recent HE contexts, especially in developed countries, there are dangerous assumptions about the Internet and technology. As effectively captured in the rhetoric of "accessible to anyone, anywhere, and at anytime", it is often assumed that access to the Internet and technology is ubiquitous and universal. However, it has not been true in many developing countries (see Olusola & Alaba, 2011; Rajesh, 2011; Vajargah & Khoshnoodifar, 2013).

Therefore, online HE provision is not a cheap project. It requires an extensive level of financial, institutional, and personal commitments to establish fundamentals for online HE, including technological infrastructure and human resources. Moreira (2016) illustrates an institutional and historical trajectory for the development of online HE in a campus-based university in the USA:

> Throughout this process, three important moments emerged: i) the creation of an experimental group in the early 1990s, which studied the technology available at the time and attempted to integrate it into the university, simultaneously investigating the possibilities of online educational provision to serve the goals of the university; ii) the creation of the University Online segment in 2001, which offered back-office services to support the technological development of online teaching, as well as marketing and development, iii) the creation, in 2010, of an independent financial and pedagogical unit that supervises, implements and develops online provision and simultaneously cares about professional development. (p. 194)

Therefore, not all universities (or not all countries) are adequately prepared for offering their educational services online to distance students. As a result, we have witnessed a rather uneven distribution of online HE provisions between Western universities and non-Western universities for the past decade (Youssef, 2014). There has been a growing digital divide in the international online HE landscape: while established HE institutions in developing countries with Internet access have ambitiously expanded their online reach to different parts of the globe, many distance education institutions, leading internationalisation in less developed countries (or continents), have still relied on old technology (Knight, 2020; Mittelmeier et al., 2020).

Even if universities have made adequate financial and technological investments and successfully set up online programmes and courses, they will not automatically attract international students. The success of international recruitment is again a separate task from setting up online programmes. Other less tangible factors, such as universities' international reputation and ranking, and its official language used for instruction, and cultural and political contexts, all play a complex role in the recruitment processes and outcomes. Alsharari (2019) sees increasing international rankings and creating strong international reputations as major challenges for HE institutions in Jordan, which has not generated income from international student enrolments. Vajargah and Khoshnoodifar (2013) choose the language (*Farsi*, an official language without an international dimension) as a significant barrier to internationalising Iranian HE.

> The current trends appear to be that elite universities, already enjoying a high level of fame, are entering the higher education international markets worldwide. Most such programs are established in the Middle East, China, and countries that can afford to pay for them. This trend has not yet reached Africa on any significant scale. Within this context, there is a growing recognition that expanding traditional modes and provision of campus-based transnational education is unsustainable over time. (Boubsil et al., 2011, p. 11)

As the above excerpt suggests, it can be claimed that internationalising HE online has been unevenly done around the world, making rich universities richer and poor universities poorer—more symbolically, reinforcing and worsening the long-existing inequality between different universities and countries (Tremblay, 2011).

The Ugly: Dangers

This section further unpacks some of the complexity of international online HE, which creates more significant and long-term impacts both on individual students and HE institutions in different countries. Some issues discussed in this section may not be directedly nor intentionally caused by universities' internationalisation agenda. Nevertheless, they tend to produce more damaging and dangerous consequences on a global scale, such as educational colonisation.

Issues with Negative Learning Experiences of Online International Students

Previous studies have suggested that some affordances of online communication technology (i.e., asynchronicity, interactivity, repeatability) allow international students to have an equal chance to contribute to asynchronous online discussions with their domestic counterparts (Harasim, 2000). Particularly for non-native speakers of the instructional language, engaging with synchronous classroom discussion often requires social confidence and turn-taking skills and can therefore be challenging. Non-native speakers in online settings often engage in social activities more actively than their native peers (Kim, 2011). Many international students have reported that online lectures provide them with opportunities to pause, reflect, and repeat the lecture content, which may not be possible in classroom learning settings.

Although positive affordances exist in online courses, it has been repeatedly reported that distance students in online courses experience a sense of isolation and loneliness, which often causes unsuccessful learning outcomes such as dropping out. The physical distance from their HE providers, which initially enables international students to access their programmes online, subsequently creates psychological distance from their tutors and peers. Regardless of their international status, many students find it challenging to pursue their online study as a lone learner. Nevertheless, removing the psychological distance is not a simple task. From the tutor and the programme perspective, it requires substantial efforts and resources to develop a strong sense of social presence in online courses and a sense of community among online students.

Previous researchers (Crosta et al., 2016) argue that many international students do not feel that they are part of an authentic learning community in their online programme, even though they tend to perceive a strong sense of cognitive and teaching presence. This implies that online programmes themselves are effectively structured and moderated, providing students with adequate learning challenge and pedagogical guidance. Thus, unlike the positive claims about the democratic and assistive nature of online HE above, in reality, linguistic and cultural challenges faced by international students are still salient in online contexts:

> Non-native English speakers required considerably more time to process readings and postings and to make postings themselves. Their lack of familiarity with the details of North American culture and colloquial language made it difficult to follow much of the course discussions. They also tended to avoid socialising in the course, which left them at the periphery of course activities. (Zhang & Kenny, 2010, p. 17)

Other researchers (Fenton-O'Creevy & van Mourik, 2016; Sadykova, 2014) have also reported that non-Western students who are not familiar with Western academic culture, practice, and norms tend to experience more challenges in online courses. While most online tutors share these concerns towards international students' disadvantaged positions, there have not been substantial discussions on addressing the ethical problems associated with internationalising HE online. As discussed in Section "It may increase the diversity of students but not of curricula", Western universities have diligently recruited more international students; however, they have been lazy in creating online courses inclusive and placing adequate pedagogical support for the recruited international students:

> While US universities and colleges are happy to accept foreign students and scholars, these new members of a learning community are expected to conform to the norms of the American academy (Albach, 2004; Marginson & Wende, 2007). The "sink or swim" policy seems not to have changed much with the rapid growth of online learning and its movement towards transnationalism, which have significantly increased the possibilities of cross-cultural interactions. (Sadykova, 2014, p. 25)

It should be remembered that internalisation is an ongoing process that extends beyond recruitment (Warwick & Moogan, 2013). Going back to the hospitality metaphor discussed in Hughes-Warrington (2012), online international students' negative learning experiences open up the question about the ethics of internationalising HE online, especially given that they make a significant financial contribution to HE.

Issues with Stigmatisation and Bias Against Online International Students

As discussed in the previous section, many international students face a range of challenges when initially enrolling in online programmes offered by foreign universities whose academic culture, norms, and language are different from those they previously experienced. International students on campus are provided with various social and academic supports (e.g., social activities, language classes). Although individual experiences may vary, online international students still need to undergo a significant adaptation process to the new country of their study. Nevertheless, there has not been much effort to understand the nature of the online adaptation process and develop an effective support mechanism for international students in online courses (Mittelmeier et al., 2020).

In this context, it is often implied and assumed that international students are ultimately responsible for their learning as independent distance learners. Although there is a general consensus that pedagogical support is needed for distance learners as a whole, the academic difficulties and social struggles faced by international students are mainly discussed as the result of their deficits and inabilities. For example, Sadykova and Dautermann (2009) document the following:

> International online students are expected to bring to the course an adequate knowledge of English. However even when a satisfactory [English] score is required to register for a course, many international students are unable to achieve parity in discussions and other written assignments with speakers whose first language is English. International students are also at risk of misinterpreting postings and assignments or of being misinterpreted by others thanks to misused vocabulary or grammar structures. (p. 98)

In this line of thought, Zhang and Kenny (2010) list three ways in which universities can improve the quality of international student learning experiences in online programmes. Their first suggestion is the exclusion of those with deficits: "raise the English language proficiency requirement for graduate admissions into online programs because the text-based communication… requires interpreting messages without non-verbal cues" (p. 17). This is a rather dismissive and hostile tone opposite to the democratic claims about online HE meeting the demands of students in developing countries.

The danger of such a negative attitude toward international students is to permanently stigmatise them as incompetent or inferior to their domestic counterparts in online courses, establishing bias against them. This further creates an interesting dilemma. On one hand, international students from the non-Western cultural background are welcomed as educational resources, expected to bring their unique knowledge and experiences into discussions. On the other hand, the curriculum does not privilege their uniqueness (or does not accept them as they are), but instead, requires them to adapt to the Western academic culture and norms. In this hostile pedagogical context, due to their unfamiliarity with Western culture and language, international students do not tend to perform well, failing to become active participants in their online course community. Subsequently, they suffer from the vicious cycle of a lack of positive acknowledgement and appreciation as a legitimate member of the community (Lee & Bligh, 2019). The following excerpt effectively captures the inferior positionality of international students in online HE—the author concludes that there are:

> important advantages of constructivist activities where American students are able to perform as more knowledgeable others and take international students "under their wings and [mentor] them along" … An important aspect of this finding is that it is the instructor's responsibility to establish beforehand peer support groups when designing collaborative course activities, and provision of this will help determine how international students are included in such a course. (Sadykova, 2014)

Issues with the Western Colonisation of Online Higher Education

The universities that have successfully recruited a large number of international students through the medium of online HE tend to be those in relatively wealthy, English-speaking, developed countries: elite universities described in Boubsil et al. (2011). With a small number of exceptions, the same universities that have been successful in recruiting international students onto their campuses are also privileged to recruit additional online international students online. Therefore, the rapid expansion of online HE and the subsequent phenomenon of internationalisation of HE have a danger of preserving and reinforcing the equal status quo in global HE contexts. Considering the crucial role that university education plays in society—developing critical thinkers and future leaders—it is not simply about the increased financial gap among universities in different countries. Youssef (2014) effectively explains the unequal transnational relationships (or competitions) created by the one-directional student migration:

> Within the context of cross-border higher education, most developed countries are considered to be host countries, while developing countries the sending ones (Varghese, 2009). However, it has been noticed lately that developing countries are starting to export higher education to neighbouring countries thus initiating a multi-directional exchange (UNESCO, 2011). Despite this, the majority of cross-border ventures remain one-directional: from developed to developing countries. Consequently, when it comes to pursuing higher studies in a foreign country, there is a significant 'brain drain' from developing to developed countries … while very few students from developed countries choose to continue their higher studies in HEIs in developing countries. (p. 104)

As hinted in the above excerpt, it is worth noting that a small number of non-Western countries (or former colonies) have made some progress in internationalising their HE at a regional scale. However, due to a lack of technological infrastructure in the local and regional communities, those countries have used more traditional communication technologies such as correspondence, radio, and telephone rather than the Internet in their distance education provision (Olusola & Alaba, 2011; Raghuram et al., 2020). Thus, these internationalising attempts tend to remain physically bound. Another interesting point to note is that the simple division of Western and non-Western universities regarding the success in online internationalisation does not work. As English has become an international language for scientific research and academic publications, universities using English as a medium of instruction have even outpaced some Western European universities using other languages such as French, German, and Spanish (Tremblay, 2011).

All in all, the emerging phenomenon of international online HE is complex and multi-dimensional, which necessarily requires a comprehensive and multi-dimensional (e.g., conceptual, operational, pedagogical) understanding of the phenomenon. In particular, the fast established or deteriorated inequalities among online HE providers worldwide call for a more sensitive and ethical approach to researching and doing it. Otherwise, even though online HE is at its relatively early stage of development, it is not difficult to predict the harms that it would do to the global HE landscape:

> Because technology design and development accelerate exponentially, countries which have fewer resources, infrastructure, and knowledge base become set in the role of education consumers, and those countries which have greater technology resources continue to benefit as the producers and deliverers of higher education on a global level. This producer-consumer relationship increases dependency upon Western approaches to higher education and further promotes a growing power differential among nations and cultures. (Reyes & Segal, 2019, p. 382)

Conclusion

Online HE provision (or online pivoting) arranged to replace face-to-face pedagogical contacts during the COVID-19 pandemic has lasted almost a year, as of March 2021, when this chapter was written. During this challenging period, both university students and teachers have shown a great level of resilience and dedication in enabling alternative means of educational engagement (Lee et al., 2021). The entire HE sector around the globe has rapidly embraced online technology, and as a result, the sense of abnormality and unfamiliarity that has long been associated with online education (and distance education) has disappeared. Online education is expected to remain in HE as one of the primary instructional delivery media even after the pandemic when in-person classroom interactions can be resumed.

Such normalisation and familiarisation of online HE may accelerate the phenomenon of internationalising HE online at a greater pace. As discussed in the chapter, online HE will continue to bring multiple benefits into the global HE contexts. Students will enjoy the increased sense of accessibility and diversity enabled by international online HE; at the same time, universities will generate more revenues by reaching out to a larger group of students. However, such a strong prospect of online HE and its exciting possibilities for internationalising HE must be taken critically and carefully with proper caution, as long as the subsequent problems and potential dangers mentioned in this chapter remain unaddressed. At this moment, I would argue, those issues have not been fully unpacked or even understood. Thus, further research can ask a set of questions such as:

- How can online HE increase both the accessibility and quality of its provisions while making them still affordable to students in different contexts?
- How can online HE better reflect the growing diversity among student and staff in its curricula and pedagogies?
- How can online HE developments and provisions be decentralised from Western contexts, equally (or more effectively) benefitting non-Western institutions?

In the process of answering those questions, online HE researchers and practitioners will also need to tackle more practical challenges such as training teaching staff, evaluating student online course experiences, and supporting international students' learning trajectories from their choice of an online programme to completing their studies. A more ethical and sensitive approach to internationalising HE is required in every aspect of online HE practices. The pandemic has revealed the ugly sides of our society—different formats of inequalities and injustice at local and global levels. An uncountable number of students, families, neighbourhoods, and countries have neither accessed and benefited from online technology during the pandemic. The gap between the haves and the have-nots (Lee, 2017) is at an all-time high, rapidly and continuously increasing. Thus, it is a critical moment for higher educators to pause and reflect on those issues illustrated in this chapter.

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Chapter 14
Conclusions: Reconfiguring Internationalisation in Global Higher Education: Converging the Nations, the Institutions and the Humans

Leon Cremonini, John Taylor, and K. M. Joshi

This book has aimed to present a series of new perspectives on internationalisation in higher education. To this end, various approaches were used. The book includes contributions from regions that have previously been under-represented in the academic literature, including Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. Some highly significant, emerging areas of research have been tackled, including the relevance of new technologies for internationalisation and decolonialisation in higher education; moreover, several chapters have considered the internationalisation of higher education in the immediate context posed by the worldwide Covid pandemic. Finally, the book has deliberately encouraged a range of different forms of presentation, from the analysis of previously unpublished research data and the development of new research themes to more reflective chapters intended to provoke further thought and research.

From the outset, we have been concerned with exploring the role of governments on internationalisation in higher education. This is the first key theme to emerge from the book. The impact of government is both varied and complex; there is no single paradigm for government activity. However, the various chapters have confirmed our underlying argument that, in essence, government fulfils four roles: as Instigator, Regulator, Facilitator and Evaluator. What is also clear is that different

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arms of government may work in different, sometimes conflicting, ways, with different objectives in view. Given the wider roles of government, there is a strong sense of being "judge and jury". Moreover, policies relating to internationalisation in higher education are openly, perhaps increasingly, influenced by wider national politics. The priorities of governments can vary widely, and may be subject to abrupt changes in direction. Just because a government shows an interest in one aspect of internationalisation in higher education does not mean that it will embrace internationalisation in a wider sense, with important consequences on the work of institutions and academic staff.

If government is to have an influence over internationalisation in higher education, it must have the means to achieve this end. Studies in this book underline the importance of effective incentives or, rather, show that policy statements alone are insufficient without the application of inducements. However, what is also clear is that, whilst some aspects of internationalisation are relatively 'easy to sell', such as research benefits, in other cases it is more difficult to convince a sceptical audience of staff and students; curriculum change and the use of English language may be examples.

However, the role of government extends well beyond simply 'steering and funding'. In many countries around the world, governments have been responsible for the creation of a bewildering array of agencies, departments and schemes intended to promote aspects of internationalisation in higher education. However, what is also clear is the importance of ensuring effective coordination between such bodies and avoiding unnecessary duplication and wastage of resources. Again, the importance of government delivering a clear and consistent message is paramount. In this regard, tensions within government are often revealed in the approach towards internationalisation. Most familiar, perhaps, are issues regarding the attraction of incoming students, especially with the prospect of long-term residency, against concerns regarding immigration and security.

A second key focus for many of the chapters is the importance of innovation in the experience of internationalisation in higher education. Internationalisation has always evolved, from the individual initiatives of academic staff and students to a much wider corporate activity. New structures have emerged to develop strategy and to monitor quality, often in response to growing institutional and international marketisation. Innovation is fundamental if internationalisation in higher education is to remain fresh and relevant within changing world societies and economies. It is important, therefore, to appreciate more of some new approaches to internationalisation. A good example is set out in the chapter on the emergence of regional universities. However, perhaps the most important driver of innovation is the application of new technology. The issues arising from the increasing impact of modern communications and the internet on teaching and learning, research and higher education management are themes that recur throughout this book, viewed both as generic questions and as more country-specific challenges. In each case, questions of desire and practicality that we posed as theoretical perspectives in our Introduction have been confirmed in practice.

The contributors to this book have been writing in 2020 and 2021. Inevitably, their experience of internationalisation has been coloured by the influence of the worldwide Covid pandemic. The pandemic has curtailed the delivery of traditional forms of face-to-face teaching and research, and has disrupted international travel. A new emphasis has been placed on opportunities for international delivery of programmes in online and blended formats. This book shows, however, that actual experience for staff and students may vary widely. On the one hand, such developments have the potential to enhance diversity and broaden access to internationalisation in higher education. On the other hand, many prejudices remain about the value and quality of online courses. Moreover, there are important concerns about access to the necessary technologies in poorer parts of the world, especially in terms of equipment and expertise. These concerns apply just as much, sometimes even more so, to academic staff as to students.

The use of new technologies and the impact of the Covid pandemic are both important in underpinning the third of our key themes, the increasing recognition of ethical concerns in the pursuit of internationalisation in higher education. Such concerns are apparent in the increasing desire to offer the benefits and opportunities of internationalisation in higher education to the widest diversity of staff and students, regardless of nationality, income, gender and ethnicity. In this context, new technology offers many attractive possibilities, not least in reducing the dependence upon environmentally costly forms of international travel – another ethical concern - but may also merely reinforce the dominance of certain well-established countries and/or providers. Increasing ethical concerns are also apparent in the issue of decolonisation that now faces many former colonial nations across the world. How this will impact on internationalisation in higher education remains uncertain. At its heart, the issue raises questions over the domination of Northern and Western visions of higher education and prompts further consideration of the need for a radical re-thinking in the delivery of internationalisation in higher education to reflect national needs and traditions.