

Bernd Wächter (ed.)

Higher Education in a Changing Environment

Internationalisation of Higher Education Policy
in Europe

**ACA Papers on
International Cooperation in Education**

Lemmens



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Introduction

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This publication presents the papers of a European conference which the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) organised, at the University of Gent, in May 2003. It was not any other ACA conference, but the one at which the Association celebrated its 10-year anniversary. Ten years is not a very long period of time. But much has changed since ACA was founded in 1993. These changes concern the issues and the themes that the Association deals with, and they equally concern the education and training environment it moves in. In many ways, the present volume highlights these changes.

ACA itself has obviously – and luckily – developed, most noticeably perhaps in terms of size.

- ◆ In 1993, there were four founding members. Today, the Association has 20 members in Europe, and further ones on other continents.
- ◆ In 1993, its focus was mainly European, West European to be precise. Its birth would have been inconceivable without the EU education programmes – Erasmus first of all. They created the framework of multilaterality which made the originally very bilaterally-oriented founding members create the Association. ACA has remained a European association, no doubt, and is meant to be. The Union's programmes continue to be one of its core concerns. But ACA's outlook today, in terms of the themes it deals with, has become truly pan-European, and even global. The Union's education activities still play an important role in its work, but they are not the predominant focus.
- ◆ In 1993, ACA focused on higher education. Predominantly, if not exclusively. The word "academic" in its name testifies to this orientation. Again, the world of universities and tertiary education in general remains the cornerstone of ACA's attention, but other sectors of education, lifelong learning, and also training have also become important in the Association's life.
- ◆ In 1993, as today, ACA specialises in "internationalisation". But internationalisation in the early 1990s differs in some respects markedly from what it is understood to be today. In turn, the main preoccupations of ACA have become wider. It is worth elaborating on this, as I will do below.

Internationalisation – a changed concept

I am not aware of a commonly shared definition of internationalisation in 1993. But it is fairly clear what people meant when they used the term then. Which they rarely did, by the way; the term then used was “international co-operation”. Internationalisation, in Western Europe at any rate, concerned mobility. It was about the mobility of students first of all, and of teaching and research staff. Early ACA documents, and in particular the Association’s original statutes, reflect this understanding. Wherever ACA’s mission was referred to in concrete examples, there was talk of “exchanges and mobility”.

Mobility still is an important pillar of the theory and practice of internationalisation today, but it is only one among many. The extension of the meaning of internationalisation already started in the 1990s, with international curricula (double and joint degrees) and recognition (which, however, is mainly a mobility-facilitating mechanism) being added to mobility. In the middle of the 1990s, and (in Europe) mainly through the (in)famous Erasmus “institutional contract”, an institutional and managerial dimension was added to the meaning of the term. Networking, another facilitating mechanism, likewise became worthy of the expression at that time. All of these “extensions”, however, constituted only a mild mutation of the mobility-centred original concept. This changed around the turn of the century.

Some of these shifts in the concept and meaning of internationalisation become apparent from the themes treated in this publication. Transnational education, mainly in its form of online learning, was incorporated into the meaning of the term. Quality assurance started to become discussed as “internationalisation”, in Europe at any rate. The same goes for the modernisation and adjustment of systemic features of higher education systems, such as the reform of degree structures and the introduction of credit point systems, in the context of the Bologna reforms. Lifelong learning is now being perceived as part of internationalisation. And likewise is international standard-setting (benchmarks), for example in the context of the European Lisbon Process. So is the discussion about market access, for example in the context of GATS and the WTO. Admittedly, candidates of longer standing are still being discussed under the same rubric, such as educational development cooperation.

What are we to make of this? It is for researchers, and not for myself, to conceptually analyse these changes, and to perhaps propose a new terminology (which might be necessary). But I cannot resist the temptation to offer a hypothesis. I would like to propose a differentiation into what I call “old” and “new internationalisation”. “Old internationalisation” is essentially comprised of activities in the course of which a person literally crosses a country border (mobility) or does so mentally (international degrees, for example area studies or comparative studies). “New internationalisation” mainly concerns systemic and regulatory issues, such as structural reform, standard setting,

or market access. These are two very different sets of things. “New internationalisation” essentially concerns core issues of education policy. In other words: education policy pure and simple has become “internationalised”, i.e. it is now being discussed, and, what is more important, often implemented in a supra- or international context (see the Bologna, Lisbon or Copenhagen “processes”).

Enhanced importance of internationalisation?

Recent publications tend to state that internationalisation has come of age, or, to put it in another way, that it has become “mainstreamed”. While it was regarded only a few years ago still as a marginal concern in national as in institutional policies, it has today moved centre-stage. It has become a genuine part of “education policy” pure and simple. Or, anyway, this is the claim.

Indeed, much evidence can be and is being mounted in favour of this thesis, also for example in an ACA publication which will appear at the same time as the present one¹. But I remain skeptical, or, to put it differently, I think there is a need for more differentiation. If the thesis in the preceding section (that “genuine” education policy concerns have been added to internationalisation) is a correct interpretation of reality, there are strong reasons to believe that it was not “old internationalisation” (mobility) which managed to move out of its former *niche* existence and finally made it into the limelight. This might have happened in countries where (inward-bound) student mobility was discovered as a means of revenue generation and thus of financing of higher education and capacity creation (the clearest case probably being Australia). But I do not believe that this has happened in (continental) Europe. At best, one might claim that “old internationalisation” rose in reputation because it rode on the back of “new internationalisation”. It is “new internationalisation” which is being accorded the importance of an “education policy”. But the issues that new “internationalisation” is dealing with (structural reform, standard setting, etc.) have always been regarded as mainstream higher education policy. They were not in need of a reputation upgrade, and they did not receive one. All that happened to them was that they became, much more than they had ever been before, an object of debate and implementation in the international arena. I am convinced that what we have been witnessing in the last few years is an internationalisation of mainstream education policy, but not a mainstreaming of (old) “internationalisation” (i.e. the latter’s upgrading to an “education policy”).

¹ Marijk van der Wende, Jeroen Huisman (eds.), *On Cooperation and Competition. National and European Policies for the Internationalisation of Higher Education*, ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education, Bonn: Lemmens 2004.

Cooperation and competition

Another change which is said to have occurred over the past ten years is a transformation of the rationales of internationalisation. The basic motivation to engage in international activity is said to have shifted from cooperation to competition. And indeed, there is ample evidence of a paradigm shift. The very name of ACA – an association with the task of furthering cooperation – perhaps best expresses the predominant value set of European internationalist in the early 1990s. Likewise, the series in which this volume appears is called the “ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education”. Today, with a world market of education *ante portas*, if not already established, competitive motivations have become strong. But, at the same time, the spirit of cooperation is not altogether gone. This is not the case in ACA itself, which, if this was so, might as well dissolve itself because its members would regard each other only as unwelcome competition. It is also not a correct account of what happens in European higher education. Peter Scott reminds us that the forces of globalisation, which is usually associated with competition, are complex and contradictory, and that there is, for example, also a “globalisation of the Left” (which is based on cooperation). Ulf Lie’s article on development cooperation gives proof of the fact that cooperation is far from over (admittedly from the perspective of a country which is in relative terms the world’s leading provider of development aid). So does David Coyne’s depiction of the development of the European Union education policies, which combine cooperation-focused political aspirations (contributing to the creation of a united Europe) with competitive elements when it comes to positioning the continent in the global arena. In the same spirit, Dirk van Damme demands the creation of “international public policies”, though admittedly in reaction to the fact that, at present, they are largely lacking. It is probably the case that countries like Australia, which regard education as just another form of trade, have moved almost entirely into the “competition camp”, and that it will stay there, given the scenario for further expansion which Lindy Hiam depicts in her article. And the US are there, too, although less for reasons of revenue generation than for competition over the brightest minds. But in continental Europe, at any rate still today, an attempt is made to balance out cooperative and competitive approaches.

If and how long this is going to be possible in the future is another matter. I would certainly want to hope we will continue to be able to bridge the gap between the two diverging ends. We Europeans are trying to live with the competing and sometimes conflicting demands of the parallel existence of different rationales. An example is the marketing of higher education – an issue mentioned only in passing in this volume but one that has become important for ACA. Marketing of European higher education, and even more so recruitment of students and faculty, clearly implies going to the marketplace and subjecting oneself, if not embracing, competition. No doubt about that, and no excuses offered. But the attempt that ACA is right now engaged

in is to help develop a genuinely European higher education marketing campaign. That means going beyond merely national marketing efforts, i.e. showcasing Dutch, German or French higher education. This exercise combines competitive ends with a collaborative approach.

Continuity?

Despite identifying partially changed rationales and “new internationalisation”, this volume also records astonishing traits of continuity. Not all of them are reassuring, though.

Mobility is still, or more than ever, a core concern, whether or not it has made it into the ranks of “education policy”. At the same time, change in some respects is slow. Despite the rapidly increasing absolute number of “international students” worldwide (estimated to stand around two million today and expected to rise, according to a recent IDP Australia study, to over 7 million in 2025), study in a foreign country has not, as Teichler informs us, increased in relative terms. This we safely know from mobility statistics, even though our sources are much less accurate than some tend to think and do not, for example, differentiate between mobile students and those of foreign nationality. As Teichler demonstrates with his purpose-related typology of mobility – the first one of its kind I have seen – we have also only started to reflect on what we intend to achieve with it. What also reminds us of “early days” is Allan Goodman’s assessment of the Atlantic as a “wall” rather than a “pond”, when pointing out that study abroad of US students remains in quantitative terms as low as ever, despite IIE’s unflagging attempt towards the opposite.

Also, it appears that in “new internationalisation”, a few bubbles have burst and some hopes (or fears, depending on point of view) have become downsized. The hype about online education (until recently) stands in stark contrast to achievements so far. Potential has up to now far outweighed achievement, as we learn from András Szücs. Undoubtedly, online education and the use of information and communication technologies are there to stay (and grow), but lofty expectations have now given way to the realisation that, for some time to come at any rate, their chief impact will be in the form of “blended learning”, i.e. through their integration into “traditional” teaching and learning modes.

What goes for online learning might one day turn out to be the case with quality assurance, too. In his witty article, Torsten Kälveborn reminds us that, in other forms, quality assurance has always been around. Unquestionably, under the conditions of increased autonomy of higher education institutions in most countries and with a view to the massification of higher education and the increasing trade in higher education services, we will not be able to do without this mechanism, as Dirk van Damme points out. But I continue to be “underwhelmed” by the formalist approaches often adopted, and the fact

that we try to measure quality should not mislead anyone to confuse every quality-assured degree with an excellent one. The question is always “how good is good”, and concerning this, QA methodologies are simply neutral.

With regard to lifelong learning, Benny Dylander admits that it is “old wine in new bottles”, subtly pointing out, however, that old wine can be of superb quality. Essentially, however, he appears to say that there is no conceptual difference between the concept of lifelong learning and what we have long known under the less pretentious term of continuing education (and training). It is also sobering to learn that those who need it most make least use of it.

Another example of relabeling is provided by Hanneke Teekens’ article on “internationalisation at home”. A necessary one, I would like to maintain, perhaps because I myself belong to the small circle of people who bear responsibility for it. In a way, it is simply that part of (old) internationalisation which goes beyond mobility, i.e. international curriculum development and intercultural education as an institutional approach. Much (though not all) of this had been tried before, by the European Union with its “institutional contract” in the Erasmus Programme, but it had not caught on at the time. Another try, under a different label (and a different degree of sophistication, I would hope) became necessary – and was successful this time, judging from the reactions from the field.

Plus ça change, plus ça reste la même chose? That would be putting it a bit too strongly. Clearly changes are under way – but they do not all lead into one at the same direction. They are complex. So complex perhaps that we will need a few more years to identify the pattern in the carpet.

From regional integration to global outreach. The education policies of the European Commission

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Let me start by thanking you for the invitation to address this 10th anniversary conference of ACA. The numbers of people today, and the record of ACA show that there was, and still is, a need for an organisation which brings together the major national players in academic mobility; which enables them to find ways of having work done between them that they probably could not manage separately; and which enables other bodies – such as the European Commission, to benefit from their wide experience. As, indeed, we do.

So I have no difficulty in congratulating you all on having lived so long, and looking forward to the next such event in 10 years' time. If I were to allow myself a word of advice to so august an assembly, it would probably be to diversify your partners as much as possible, both within the European Commission and of course beyond. As I shall say in due course, the Commission's work in education is expanding; but for different reasons, and perhaps in different ways. Taking your talents – as I know you already do – out of the hothouse into the cold winds may be less easy, but would probably be sensible. Excess dependence on one contractor is always unsafe.

So let me start by explaining what I am going to do this afternoon. I propose to look at the way education activities have developed within the Community context, and see if the paradigm changes implicit in the title are real. Can we put history into this mould without bending it too much? Or will we have to find a new, more elastic suit of clothes? Let me say also that I am going to limit my discussion to education. Training, in the Community world, was very different – e.g., there always was a legal base – and the issues are different too. Perhaps we can go on after that to think about paradigms for the future. I think there are three chronological phases.

Phase 1: The pioneer days (up to 1984)

This phase was marked essentially by a conflict between those who wanted rapid progress, seeing valuable opportunities available at Community level; and those who thought the whole thing was a mistake; that the Community was about economic and industrial affairs – and if it wasn't, it should be. You can feel the tensions in the various “joint” Resolutions adopted at the time – joint, in the sense that they were Resolutions of the Ministers of Education

meeting within the Council – a hybrid formula meant to allow for the fact that the meetings were called by the Presidency, prepared and serviced like any other Council meeting; but lacked the Treaty basis which would enable them to be called real “Councils”. I remember the Education Committee meetings which prepared them; and they could be awful. Well, some people would say the same of the Education Committee today, but that is only because they do not remember the old days in the coal mines, when every spadeful of matter you thought you had prised from the rock and carried to the surface was carried back down again by the Danes, the *Länder* of Germany, and even, on occasion, Mrs Margaret Thatcher in a bad mood.

I will not bother you with the content of any of these Resolutions – though if you look at the one from February 1976, you will see that its Action Plan covers most of today’s Socrates Programme. The point to make here, I think, is both that the challenges perceived in the educational world have perhaps not moved on as far and as fast as we sometimes think; and also that in fact, the Commission and the Education Committee in 1976 got it fairly right. These were indeed the areas which could benefit – albeit at different levels and in different ways – from Community action; and overall, I believe that they have.

Motivation – declared motivation, at least – was at that stage purely educational. Increase the quality of education. Better experiences for pupils and students. Teachers more aware of what they could bring to pupils. It would be hard to argue that until 1985 there were other perceptions.

Phase 2: The glory days (1985-1995)

But from the mid-80s, the world changed. If I had to date it to one moment, it would be the ICP conference in December 1985. Different elements led up to this conference, not least a discussion in the Education Council earlier that year; but it was then that the future Erasmus Programme came together; it was then that we understood that substantial mobility was within our grasp – that we could go forward from the small pilot activity we had been supporting for nearly 10 years, and begin to do things seriously.

Erasmus was not in fact the first programme to be adopted by the Council – Comett got there first. But Erasmus, from the very start, had the iconic status. It was simple, comprehensible, and had very wide political support, particularly within the European Parliament.

We should stop here to look at the European Parliament’s role in all this – I believe that it is regularly underestimated. It was not glamorous. The proposals came from the Commission, the decisions from the Council – no such thing as co-decision then. But Parliament then had much greater control over the budget – and it used it. Parliament was capable of saying to the Council: we shall put the money into the budget whether you adopt the programmes

or not – thereby putting the Council in front of a difficult choice. Should it continue to refuse the programmes, and thus run the risk that the Commission might do heaven knows what with the money? Or should it adopt the programmes in order to have some say over how the money was spent?

Behind the change in heart from a number of Member States over education programmes, there was this arm-wrestling with Parliament. Directly elected MEPs believed in the citizen-dimension of the European project in a way the Member States did not. They might not have the legislative power, but money talks – and they kept up the pressure. The other institution which contributed was the European Court of Justice. In a series of cases about discrimination over access to universities, most notably the Gravier case, in which a French student sought equality of access to Liège University to study the drawing of cartoon strips, the Court defined the Community competence in the field of vocational training – for which the original Treaty of Rome provided that there should be a Community policy – to cover not only anything which prepared people for a specific employment or profession, but anything which contributed generally to their preparation for working life. And it is difficult to think of university courses which fall outside that definition.

From the mid-80s, the programmes flowed: You will remember them – Comett, Erasmus, Lingua, Petra, Force, Eurotecnet, Youth, Tempus ... I draw from that rapid expansion of activities the conclusion that the Member States were beginning to see value for their money – we are still not in co-decision mode; and that the Commission was becoming more confident about what it could put forward. In 1989, the Treaty was amended at Maastricht, and (largely as a result of a Dutch initiative) a specific legal base for education was added. This has stood the test of time, as it remains very largely unchanged today, save in the significant detail that what once required unanimity of the Council alone, now requires co-decision and qualified majority only. And we saw in the Council on 5 May 2003 over Erasmus Mundus that Presidencies are prepared to use qualified majority in the education field, as, a few years ago, they were not.

What were the motivations for these new programmes? Some of it was undoubtedly regional integration. Jacques Delors, with his famous target that at least 10% of European students should have some experience in another European country, was interested in developing understanding of what European diversity and the European Community really were. That motivation undoubtedly existed in the European Parliament too. If you look at the programme Decisions themselves, they talk also about social and economic cohesion and they argue that this is a way to produce the “European Human Resources”, the people with “Europe skills” as well as business or technical skills, that would satisfy a need which would develop as the Internal Market itself developed. But while this may have been a factor in the size of budget, I am not sure it was a substantial element in the political equation of whether

to adopt or not. I think there were three hidden motivations which drove the process:

- ◆ First, the fact that the Commission (and the then Director for Education, Hywel Jones, in particular) took an entrepreneurial attitude, seeking gaps in the market which could be filled. This was very clearly the case, for example, as we shall see, with Tempus.
- ◆ Secondly, the fact that education was citizen-friendly – and thus useful for MEPs to demonstrate to their constituents “what I’m actually doing for you”. Delors, again, remarked that it is difficult to fall in love with the Internal Market; but education, as we still see from election campaigns today, is altogether more saleable on the hustings.
- ◆ Thirdly, the strategists in the European Parliament saw this as a good ground for battles with the Council. This was an area where the Council was squeezed between the budgetary power of the EP and the expansionist ambitions of the Commission. Remember that Article 128, the original base of the Erasmus programme was the only article in the Treaty which was allowed measures to be adopted on simple majority – so seven small countries could outvote five big ones. Education could be used to exercise pressure on the Council to start wider discussions about redistributing power – as duly happened in 1992 in the Maastricht Treaty.

Phase 3: Management

If I think of Phase 2 as the “Glory Days”, it is because for all the hard work it took, there was an adrenaline rush around the new programmes. New partners, opening up new perspectives for the education world. Looking back on those days, it is important to remember how limited academic mobility within Europe was – at least in terms of countries involved – until these programmes came along. I do not suggest that they caused all the new mobility, still less that they funded it; but they cracked open the eggshell of national perspective within which many (if not most) European education systems and institutions lived. They gave an outlet to the enthusiasm of thousands of teachers and students inside the Europe of the then 12 Member States and beyond, by providing a bottom-up driven funding scheme that enabled them to realise what they had before only dreamed of.

By the early 90s, however, the variety and complexity of the various activities prompted the Commissioner in charge, Professor Ruberti, to the view that we needed to bring all these together into some coherent whole. (It is a view one can sympathise with, even if opinions legitimately differ about the extent to which the objectives of greater coherence and closer inter-linkage between sectors have been achieved.). So in 1995 all the training programmes came together into the Leonardo programme; and Socrates inherited and added to the education programmes. I do not think the process actually sim-

plified anything very much – but then we all know how difficult it is to simplify anything, so let me not cast the first stone.

By this stage, the programmes had become as “mainstream” within the palette of EC funding schemes as they were going to be. The levels of funding might rise in real terms with the 2000 round, but the total available would never get to a point which allowed funding at substantial – as opposed to superficial – levels.

What were the motivations here? Well, once activities have become part of the mainstream, they are protected from harm; but they are not necessarily inspiring any more for politicians. If we take Erasmus as an example, we can see around the debate in the Convention that it still has a very substantial fund of good will. The celebration of the one million Erasmus students was in practice enough to close down the debate about removing the EU competence in education. I do not think any of the other programmes has that sort of instant recognition – the iconic status I referred to earlier. But that recognition is not itself enough to guarantee, say, budgetary enthusiasm in the way it used to. The rearrangement of the programmes in 1995, and its carrying forward in 2000, was more about management than about any sort of re-thinking.

The Community and the wider world

At the same time as all this was going on, the Community was also spending money on education outside its own borders. It had, of course, spent money on basic and general or technical education in the ACP countries through the EDF for many years. Perhaps not with the degree of structure it now has, since in many cases the early days of development policy were about infrastructure projects. But currently we spend some € 2 billion on development activities in this field – reflecting the fact that improving education and basic training is the foundation of poverty reduction for poorer countries. That is not what we are talking about today; but it is worth remembering.

Even from early on, however, there were education activities for non-Member States. Tempus is the first such case, and it illustrates the entrepreneurial element I referred to earlier. You may remember that the Western Economic Summit in Paris in 1989 asked the Commission to co-ordinate the funds made available to support change in Poland and Hungary – whence, indeed, the name “Phare”. These included, obviously, some of the Community’s own money – and the Directorate General for External Relations sent round a note asking what suggestions other departments could make as to useful activities. The Education department reacted swiftly – and proposed two – Tempus, and the European Training Foundation (ETF). The ETF got caught up in the ridiculous quarrel about where Community agencies should be, but Tempus came on stream very quickly, having been proposed in March 1990 and adopted in July that year.

Tempus had different motivations – the first overt case of using education for a non-educational purpose. Tempus, depending on your perspective, was about enabling higher education within Europe to contribute to the process of change within the countries shaking off the Soviet mantle; or it was about economic restructuring pure and simple; or it was somewhere between the two, and it was effective from both perspectives. The incidentals were important, too. It was not only the first “third country” mobility programme, but the first programme in which the EFTA countries participated.

Since then, of course, the numbers and range of the third country mobility programmes have grown enormously. First, the countries participating in Tempus declined, as many joined the mainstream programmes; then they grew again to cover the Balkans and, most recently, the Mediterranean countries; then we had the small US and Canada agreements; then we had the range of mobility activities within our external relations portfolio which are clearly built around the experience of the internal programmes, Asia-Link, Alban, ALFA. They are still in the “glory days” stage – relatively new activities, no coherence in the management or operations across the various regions of the world, no overarching concept of why we should be supporting this type of activity with (e.g.) Latin America but not Africa, or why China is merely part of Asia-Link when its size and academic strength would obviously merit something specific. But, as with the mainstream internal programmes, this will come in due course.

Behind these programmes, however, there are a number of other activities, managed by our External Relations colleagues, which are indeed about outreach. Education cooperation has become one of the instruments of diplomacy; and the Commission uses it as much as anyone else. Thus, alongside Indian participation in Asia-Link, you will find the European Studies Programme at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. And similar programmes within other Asian countries – Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, to name a few only. You will find European Studies centres in the US, in Canada, in Chile – and from the “pure” education side, there are Jean Monnet Professors in some 40 countries outside our educational Europe. I could go on.

These are an affirmation of the place of the Union in the World. They are about outreach in the sense of staking a claim to attention, saying to the academic world (and behind them, the political world): in today’s world, you ignore us at your peril. But, of course, saying it in a very civilised way. Educational aspects are important; but perhaps they are not in these cases the main motivation.

Erasmus Mundus is somewhat different again. It has two motivations, one formal and one less so. The formal motivation is the improvement of the quality of education delivered in European universities; the less formal motivation, to which all Member States sign up, is about the need to have a high

profile scheme which will attract the best students from the rest of the world to the best European universities. This too is an example of outreach. The educational aims are obvious; but the potential political gain is obvious too, and it is that which motivates a number of our Member States to support it.

So if our internal programmes are currently running at cruising speed, education is taking on a diplomatic role it did not have before, and growing with it. The programmes I have mentioned (e.g., Asia Link) are one example. Another lies in the fact that the vast majority of the agreements which the EU signs with other countries have “people-to-people” clauses in them – and increasingly, the ambassadors of these countries are turning up on the doorstep asking what we propose to do about them. The honest answer is that it is not always obvious. We have the small programmes with the US and Canada I referred to earlier. We are in the second year of a pilot scheme with Japan, and of another with Australia. We are having “talks about talks” (at their request) with New Zealand, as we have with Mexico. We have not held the talks with some countries that they asked for, because we simply did not see what we could offer within the Commission’s political priorities on external relations. And those, as things stand today, are concentrated on our new neighbours – from the Mediterranean up through the Balkans to Russia; and on the US.

Policy as well as programmes: 2000 onwards

If, in the parallel world of diplomacy, education has a different motivation and a different sense, in our own world another paradigm shift has gently occurred.

You all know the Lisbon target for 2010: *to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion*. In the enthusiasm of the moment, the Prime Ministers turned to their colleagues responsible for education and asked for a report on the objectives they could adopt to help reach that target. And from there, we have developed not only those objectives, but a collaborative process between the participating countries – our wide “education Europe”, if you like – to try and work out jointly what policy elements could contribute.

What are those objectives? There are three over-arching ones: improving access to education and training; developing quality in education and training; and opening up education and training to the wider world. Within those three you have a wider variety of subjects, going from basic skills to making learning attractive; from improving the education of teachers and trainers to social inclusion; and from making the best use of resources through to increasing the numbers of students who qualify in mathematics, science and technology. 13 objectives, and 43 sub-objectives. We are looking at where the Member States stand for each of the objectives, through indicators of different sorts; we are looking at ways of improving policies; we are seeing how a mutual learning process can work between such diverse partners.

You can imagine the complexity of this process. We have 31 countries involved – Turkey is already there – ranging from the 82 million people in Germany to the 300,000 or so in Luxembourg or Iceland. We have very centralised systems and systems so decentralised that the various parts hardly recognise the existence of their neighbours. We have people from ministries, from local or regional authorities, from universities ... we can genuinely say that it reflects the rich cultural diversity of our education systems of which our ministers are so proud.

But what we can expect to get from all this – what will the added value be for participating countries when the Council and Commission send their joint report to the European Council in March 2004? Certainly, it will not lie in the identification of good practice in the classic sense. Such identification enables “borrowing” of ideas and of practices, but the diversity we have to deal with makes it unhelpful here. My guess, at this stage, would be that we shall be looking for what one might call “good policy practices” – different to the classic “good practice” in that they refer to the policy level rather than the practical. Let me give you an example of what this rather shadowy concept might mean.

All countries agree on the importance of teacher education, both initial and in-service. Teaching is a certified profession – you have to have the bit of paper or you cannot be a recognised teacher. And since the teaching world is changing fast – reflecting the way society around it is changing – you can no longer rely on initial teacher training to upgrade the skills of the teaching body as a whole. Most teachers in the EU are over 40, which implies that they did their initial training at least 15 years ago. So how you organise in-service teacher training is crucial to any strategy you may have for keeping teaching skills up to date.

When we began to discuss this with the Member States’ representatives, we found an enormous diversity of arrangements for in-service teacher training, ranging from organised systems where it is obligatory, to disorganised arrangements where nothing whatsoever is either required or funded. The representatives of those countries all agree as to the importance of in-service teacher training – they just have not been able to manage it at home. One possible outcome of the discussion could thus be a recommendation to Prime Ministers that each country should have or create a system of in-service teacher training which (for example) might

- ◆ be compulsory. You could lose your certification as a teacher if you did not do some training over a given period;
- ◆ have an impact on a teacher’s career;
- ◆ be funded by the educational authorities, not by the teacher himself;
- ◆ be done in employed time, not holiday.

Now I do not underestimate the cost or difficulty of implementing such a recommendation (if, indeed, it were ever made!). But if the Member States are going to take value from the process they and we are jointly engaged in, that is the sort of thing they will have to think about. That has the capacity, according (for example) to one colleague in the working group concerned, to enable him to reopen discussions with teacher unions, and to find a way to set up an in-service training requirement which so far they have not been able to agree.

We are in the early days of this process. It covers teacher and trainer training, basic skills, foreign languages, mobility, foreign language teaching, making learning attractive, making the best use of resources ... and much more. We shall begin to see if it is delivering the goods when we draft the report for the Spring European Council by 2004. I am hopeful that it will – though it will be a slow process, taking the full period up to 2010 to deliver all its value.

And here there is indeed a paradigm change. We are not just looking to Union-level activity for programmes; nor, indeed, as a centre of educational expertise in the way that one might look to OECD. This is using Europe to facilitate a mutual learning process. This is putting into operation, in a non-controversial and non-aggressive way, the “open method of coordination” that the Lisbon Summit laid down. It is something quite new.

These policy areas have another new element here for Commission work as well; these are areas which have been chosen by Member States, where the Commission has not made a legislative proposal, but where the Member States have selected the areas in which they want to co-operate. The same thing happened in the Bologna Process, from which the Commission at the time was rigorously excluded but which at present we support actively. In December last year a similar process was launched in Copenhagen for vocational training; and this time, it was a Community-led process, with the Commission intimately involved. Times change! And perhaps there is a bit more mutual trust around than there used to be.

The future?

What, out of all this, can we take as the paradigms for the future? As you know, we are thinking about the next generation of programmes – should we stay with the organisation we have or look for another? What is the balance between continuity, with the advantages that come with it, and organisational change in the hope that we could find better adapted means of reaching out to participants?

I cannot tell you what the Commission will propose – it has not decided, and I have no view yet on what I would put forward. But let us fly some kites together.

First, on the organisation of the programme or programmes.

It seems to us that there are perhaps three real options. The first would be to continue more or less as we are – a series of separate programmes covering the different areas, and different programmes again for countries outside “education Europe”. The second would be to put the internal ones – or some of them – together; and the third might be to put the internal and external ones together.

Looking at these in as objective a way as possible, I find it difficult to argue the first one. The fact is that between Leonardo and Socrates in particular, there is a substantial degree of overlap. You find Leonardo vocational education institutions with Comenius projects. You find universities sending some students on Erasmus exchanges and others on Leonardo placements, or doing some types of curriculum development through Erasmus and others through Leonardo. Continuing education is not so separate from continuing training, so Grundtvig and Leonardo overlap at times as well.

Could we put the internal and external programmes together? Third countries would love it if we did, and maybe it would simplify the political organisation, though certainly not the financing. But it would also say something about motivation for the programmes – it would suggest that we saw them as having a more international than European dimension to them. I would expect us to do different things inside Europe to those we did – say – with Japan or Chile.

Should we keep the existing arrangements? There is some conservatism around, and that decision would certainly be welcomed by some. But it would also have serious opposition to face. The discussion at the last renewal showed that, and contacts suggest it has not diminished.

Looking at the architecture of the programme or programmes, the discussion is a bit more interesting. In Socrates today we have a difficult mixture of target groups based on attendance at institutions – Comenius for those in school; Erasmus for those in universities... Grundtvig for those in adult education or lifelong learning institutions – whatever they may be; then the horizontal activities – Lingua, Minerva; and then added on at the back, the various other activities that make up actions six and eight. One option for the future would be to retain this sort of hybrid structure which, complex as it is, does reflect the specificities of each sector, as well as preserving the brand names, some of which – e.g. Erasmus – it would be terrible to lose.

Another option might be to organise around a typology of actions – a big action on mobility (covering for example, student mobility or teacher training mobility in Comenius), another on (say) innovative projects, a third on networks, perhaps a fourth on supporting development in educational systems – which could cover things like EURYDICE or the NARICs. Of course, if we were to adopt this type of architecture, there would have to be some sort of

internal firewall within each section, to see (for example) that university students did not eat up too much of the mobility budget. I do not know what you would do with the brand names if you adopted this one, but perhaps they could find a place somewhere.

A third possibility would be to design almost around age-groups – around where people were in their education and training career. This model might lead you to a first big action for everyone, say, before the end of upper secondary – regardless of whether they were in general, technical, vocational, scientific or any other sort of education and/or training. Generally, that would turn out to be everyone under about 19. Then you could have another action for everyone in higher initial training and/or university – you could call that one Erasmus! – covering thus not only exchanges but also placements. And finally, you could have one on anything subsequent to initial higher – so continuing vocational training as well as adult education. (You could call that one Leonardo!)

This model has problems too for example in the fact that some training institutions do everything from age 15 to age 26. But that issue arises now with universities, who if they are awake to possibilities, are present in every action of Socrates and most of Leonardo too.

The public consultation revealed no clear choices among respondents on this one. National Agencies might – but we shall have to see. There is no single solution which suits everyone, so a choice will have to be made.

On the policy side, whatever architecture we go for will have to enable us to support the policy processes. This is a new element. We currently support the Objectives Process, Copenhagen and Bologna – though of course there is a question mark over how far we would want to go on doing that – mainly through the programmes, and it is a pain for us to have to organise specific restricted calls for proposals each time, and a pain for Member States to have to apply.

There are two other key questions at this stage. The first is whether there is anything we cannot currently support which we should be able to support – is anything excluded which ought to be covered? What about (examples only)

- ◆ “internationalisation at home” – the 90 per cent of students who never move;
- ◆ the impact of the virtual world on study habits and on the make-up of the university population;
- ◆ universities as motors of regional development;
- ◆ sharing the universities’ wealth of knowledge with a wider span of people?

You can think of more, but we should reflect on whether such issues are sufficiently important to be added to our list of objectives, and if so, how we should treat them.

The second is: what should we stop supporting? Do we – heretical example in this company – really need to go on putting money into NARICs? They are national responsibilities, nationally directed; should they not exist quite comfortably without us? Does the Comenius teacher-training activity bring value for money? Have the Erasmus thematic networks delivered on their potential? What advantage for Europe in teaching 73 year-olds the violin? Would the world stop if Minerva or Lingua stopped, given that projects on ICT and on languages appear in the other parts of the programme also? Everyone tells me how important their bit of the programme is, but do their claims really stand the test when they are held up to the light?

In terms of timetable, we have not yet taken the structuring decisions, but by September 2003, we shall have to have done so. We are scheduled to produce one or more draft decisions at the end of this year, so time is running short. All contributions, preferably on the back of a post card, gratefully received.

Conclusion

It is difficult to draw a conclusion to a reflection like this. The only ones that seem appropriate are both somewhat timeworn – but the fact that you have heard them before does not make them less valid.

The first is that there is plenty of work for all of us. No one needs to worry about being crowded out. Like the Red Queen in Alice in Wonderland, it is only by running as fast as you can that you manage to stay where you are.

Secondly, it does matter that the major national organisations involved in academic mobility have somewhere to get together, somewhere to develop their own work, to set their own priorities and achieve what matters to them. Somewhere for you to see how changes in national arrangements can co-relate to similar changes in other countries, perhaps in areas where the Union is completely absent from the field. One of the slides earlier on said “beware of the Commission!” In a funny sort of way, that might almost be true. That is why I look forward to ACA’s 20th birthday. I hope you do too.

Internationalisation in the age of globalisation: competition or cooperation?

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Introduction

My thesis is this: universities may be surprised by the impact of globalisation – not because it will be greater than expected and, therefore, stretch to breaking-point the university's capacity for adaptation; nor because it will be smaller than expected and, therefore, globalisation will be a more limited catalyst for change; but because universities may look in the wrong direction and be caught off guard.

Instead of being essentially a techno-market phenomenon, leading to a proliferation of virtual, corporate or for-profit “universities”, globalisation may present itself as a socio-cultural phenomenon, which subverts the codes of rationality, the foundations of the academy – or, alternatively, enriches and enlarges its intellectual possibilities.

It is ironic that the university, which claims to be the oldest international institution, has been reluctant to engage with globalisation. The potential inclusion of higher education in the World Trade Organisation's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), currently excluded under the “public services” exemption, has led to fears that “academic” values will be subordinated to “commercial” ones if higher education is redefined as a global knowledge industry. Not all higher education leaders and not all universities shrink from globalisation. There are some who embrace globalisation as a potential catalyst of change.

But the reluctance of higher education to embrace globalisation is a puzzle that demands explanation.

One explanation is that globalisation has become closely associated with economic liberalism, which is regarded as a threat not only to core academic values but also to the resource base of public higher education systems.

A second explanation is that globalisation cannot be regarded simply as a higher or more intensive form of internationalisation. Globalisation is a turbulent phenomenon, which allows world markets, brands and cultures to override nation-state politics and “local” traditions.

A third explanation, of course, is that globalisation is a problematical, and contested, phenomenon. Alongside the familiar globalisation of the Right, market liberalisation and mass-media culture, there is a globalisation of the Left, the world-wide movements of resistance to market liberalisation and its political and cultural effects. Indeed it can be argued that the globalisation of the Left predated the globalisation of the Right; Green Peace and other environmental movements had already emerged strongly in the 1970s a decade or more before the full-blown development of market liberalisation which did not really get into its stride until the 1980s and gathered pace in the 1990s.

Moreover, globalisation for-and-against has come to replace the old fractures in society between left and right, proletariat and bourgeoisie, liberal and conservative. It is the new politics – in very many ways. For example, the inevitabilities of market liberalisation, attributed to globalisation, have been taken to invalidate the post-war welfare state with its mixed public-private economy, commitment to social justice and espousal of public-service values. Even the “war on terrorism”, the next Cold War, may reflect the clash between two globalisations – one real (in the sense of being market-led) and secular; the other ideal (or, pejoratively, fundamentalist) and religious.

Globalisation and the knowledge society

These complexities help to explain why higher education apparently feels so ambivalent about globalisation – and also perhaps why, although globalisation can hardly claim to be a new phenomenon, its current form is perceived to be so different and so unsettling. There has been a world economy since at least the 16th century. There have also been “world” societies, such as the Roman or Chinese empires – not literally so in terms of their geographical reach but in terms of their culture and mentality.

So why have we become so excited or obsessed by globalisation today? I have already mentioned one reason – the degree to which arguments about globalisation have substituted for the traditional left-right discourse of politics. But a second, more significant, reason is that the forms of globalisation now being experienced feel different from older forms of world economy and world culture. There are two main characteristics of 21st-century globalisation that may help to explain this:

The first is the acceleration of all those trends associated with the idea of a “Knowledge Society”. There are three dimensions of this general acceleration:

- ◆ The first is technological, the remorseless rise of information and communication technologies. This has made an enormous impact on every aspect of our lives – from leisure (such as computer games), through management systems (which allow us to manipulate massive data-sets) to the overall configuration of production and consumption. But this tech-

nological revolution has been accompanied by a cultural revolution – which itself has many dimensions. One is new patterns of social interaction based on technologies of “virtuality”;

- ◆ A second is the dominance of global brands – such as Nike or Coca Cola.
- ◆ The third dimension of acceleration is the dominance of the “market” – and the application of “market” discourse to non-commercial domains.

The second characteristic can be summed up in a single word – uncertainty. Alongside the “Knowledge Society” has grown up the “Risk Society”. Contemporary society is a remorseless producer of uncertainties – about individual identity, about social affinities, about gender roles and, of course, about jobs and careers. Globalisation is part of this wider uncertainty.

The impact of globalisation on the university

The history of the university, as many other histories, is mis-remembered. The historical record demonstrates that the idea of a university has developed alongside the idea of the state. If the 19th-century university was aligned with the formation of modern, expert and professional, society, the 20th-century university was aligned as closely with the development of the welfare state.

So globalisation seems to pose three immediate threats:

The first threat is to the exclusive privileges granted to universities by the state. It is the preservation – or not, as the case may be – of these privileges which is at the heart of the debate about GATS.

The second threat is to traditional patterns of governance in higher education. Even when universities are not directly state institutions, they are still governed according to public-service norms (which include a high degree of institutional, and academic, autonomy). But, if universities are to be redefined as entrepreneurial institutions within a global “market”, current arrangements for governance may be regarded as increasingly anomalous.

The third threat is to the funding of higher education which is still predominantly derived from public sources. This is certainly true in Europe but also largely true in North America, where the overall contribution of privately funded institutions is often exaggerated.

Most attention has been focused on the first type of globalisation – the ICT revolution, global brands and the dominance of the “market”. Typically there have been two responses.

The first is that universities must become more self-reliant and more entrepreneurial, with significant consequences for their governance, management and funding. This may take the form of (a) more aggressive approaches to the recruitment of international students; (b) the development of global part-

nerships; (c) greater emphasis on the commercialisation of research; and (d) the development of stronger managerial cultures and infrastructures to control and direct these new activities.

The second response is that universities are likely to have to confront – and/or compete with – rival knowledge organisations. These organisations fall into two main categories – so-called borderless education and “virtual” universities; and corporate and for-profit universities.

I am not sure that the first category can be regarded as rival knowledge organisations. Perhaps it is more accurate to regard them as extensions of the drive towards more entrepreneurial forms of the university itself. I think there are four reasons for believing this:

First, universities are likely to be significant players in borderless education.

Second, other knowledge organisations emphasise delivery mechanisms and marketing strategies, rather than course content.

Third, only a limited number of subjects are suitable for delivery through borderless education, or virtual methods – principally computer science (in terms of ICT applications rather than basic design), and business and management.

Fourth, there are the lessons of the dot.com collapse. Virtuality, by itself, is not sufficiently attractive – whether in the commercial or educational arenas. But on-line delivery, combined with more traditional methods, can be highly effective.

The second category – corporate and for-profit “universities” – can more accurately be regarded as rival organisations. But even here the degree of rivalry can be overstated:

First, the threat they pose to the traditional university may have been exaggerated – and for some of the same reasons. Despite the publicity generated by the University of Phoenix, it poses little threat to traditional universities in core areas such as research, high-status professional training (such as law or medicine) or elite undergraduate education.

Second, there is evidence that, as profits have been squeezed and competition has intensified, companies have tended to down-size, re-define or even close down their corporate universities.

The real challenge of globalisation

I believe the greatest impact of globalisation on the university may be felt in other, less obvious, ways.

The first is inside the university, in terms of the reconfiguration of institutional structures and reform of operating practices. The radical challenge posed by

globalisation to traditional academic culture may be at the root of the ambivalence towards globalisation apparent in large parts of higher education.

The second is outside the university. But the threat will not come from a new kind of “university” – corporate, virtual or for-profit – that seeks to aim to provide university-like services to students and research-users in a more efficient and customer-friendly fashion, but from truly alternative institutions that seek to challenge the core values of the traditional university.

One of the most substantial challenges to the traditional university, therefore, may be the entrepreneurial university within – which I have already discussed. The challenge from without, from truly alternative knowledge organisations, may be even more radical. In the last decade new social movements have emerged which to a significant extent have taken over from traditional political movements. Examples include campaigns to defend the environment or to promote sustainable development, the women’s movement in its many forms – and, of course, opponents of market-led globalisation. These movements are often very sophisticated in terms of their knowledge bases and their use of global media. Yet they may also pose a radical challenge to traditional notions of scientific excellence (even of scientific objectivity) to which the university is bound. They espouse alternative knowledge traditions – which once could be dismissed as merely “local” but now, in an age of globalisation, demand to be heard around the world. And globalisation gives them voice.

This is why the second aspect of globalisation – globalisation as a cultural revolution, the producer of uncertainties (but also, of course, innovations) and the generator of risks (but also of creativity) – play such an important role. The impact of this second form of globalisation on the university may be even more dramatic than the impact of the more familiar globalisation of ICT, global brands and market liberalisation. There are three ways in which its impact may be felt.

First, as a consequence of this cultural revolution, students come to the university with a new temperament, culture and mentality. Fundamentally they have learnt to navigate a de-centred world and live multiple lives.

Secondly, the impact of Mode-2 globalisation is not confined to higher education; it also extends into the life-world of research. Knowledge is now generated in much more heterogeneous environments where producers, users and brokers mingle promiscuously and where experts in neatly regulated “scientific communities” no longer hold sway.

Finally, and most fundamentally, globalisation is producing a revolution in “communicative culture”. Universities have developed a particular “communicative culture” – cerebral, “objective”, codified and symbolic – a culture summed up in a single word, logos, which embraces mathematics and the natural sciences just as much as (perhaps more than) the traditional humanities.

Yet globalisation promotes a different kind of “communicative culture” – visual, intuitive, volatile, “subjective” in which distinctions between the intimate and the domestic and the official, the public, the corporate have been eroded.

Universities will have to come to terms with this radical democratisation, this wider social distribution, of knowledge generation – just as they will have to engage with new kinds of students and with new “communicative cultures”. All these things are consequences of globalisation – which are at least as important as the potential challenge of borderless education or corporate universities.

Outlooks for the international higher education community in constructing the global knowledge society²

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Towards the global knowledge society

Enormous changes are taking place in the world's economic, political, social and cultural systems. The interconnectedness and combined effects of these changes make it difficult to distinguish analytically between them. In their aggregate impacts they form a massive and powerful social transformation of which the final stages and resulting equilibriums – if we will ever reach a new stability – are not yet clear. Umbrella concepts such as globalisation and the knowledge society then offer the best conceptual frameworks to understand these changes, even if there still is a lot of debate about the actual meaning and explanatory power of such concepts. These concepts indicate that the contemporary world is increasingly operating at a global scale and that these global processes tend to transform societies into knowledge societies.

The importance of a number of specific trends within this overall transformation to global knowledge societies is evident. The World Bank (2002) lists four crucial trends, each representing sources of great opportunities and big threats: (i) the increasing importance of knowledge as a driver of growth in the context of the global economy, (ii) the information and communication technology revolution, (iii) the emergence of a worldwide labour market, and (iv) global socio-political transformations. There is much empirical evidence to document these trends and to demonstrate their significance. Globalisation also can be approached in other ways. On a higher conceptual level Giddens (1990) distinguishes four interconnected dimensions in the globalisation of modernity: (i) the world capitalist economy, (ii) the nation-state system, (iii) the world military order, and (iv) the international division of labour. According to Giddens, the essential thing in the nature of globalising processes is the reordering of space and time, and more specifically the compression of space-time. According to Castells (2000), this space-time compression makes us understand the nature of contemporary society as a

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global network society in structure and an informational society in content. Common to these and other approaches to globalisation seem to be the following elements: (i) the driving force of technological innovation, more specifically in ICT, (ii) the resulting intensification and space-time compression of social communication giving way to a global network society, (iii) the restructuring of the world economic order based on the utilisation of new sources of productivity, post-Fordist modes of organisation of production, worldwide reallocation of production and distribution, global flows of capital and an international division of labour, (iv) the increasing importance of knowledge and information at various levels of the organisation of society, and (v) the integration of the global political world order based on the nation-state system. To this must also be added the cultural sides of globalisation, with cultural homogenisation and increasing multiculturalism on the one hand and cultural differentiation and segregation on the other, and the socio-psychological impact of dislocation and fragmentation on identities.

There is much debate whether globalisation is really a new phenomenon and whether its overall direction really is towards greater convergence and integration. Indeed, it would be a mistake to overestimate the internal coherence and almost teleological nature of the processes of globalisation. It is better to see the transformation towards a global knowledge society as a more or less contingent combination of various processes resulting in increasing uniformity as well as in new forms of heterogeneity. Multiple identities refer to the global as well as to the local. The interconnectedness and interdependence of these processes, made possible by technological innovation and the role of knowledge and information, seem to be their distinctive features, not their common single logic. In a similar way it must be stressed that the transformation to a global knowledge society is not – some would say not yet – equalising economic, social and political chances. Globalisation produces, alongside convergence, also new inequalities; both equalisation and “unequalisation”, inclusion and exclusion are inherent in globalisation (Therborn, 2000).

Globalisation is often mixed up with neo-liberal policies of market liberalisation and privatisation. The combined impact of trends towards globalisation and the knowledge society on the one hand and the political hegemony of neo-liberal tendencies on the national and international level on the other hand, have created political resistance and anti-globalist movements. The impact of changes on the lives of people, the fate of nations, the identities of social and ethnic groups and the political capacities of national states and civil societies often is massive and dramatic. There is a general feeling of loss of control by the traditional political institutions due to the increasing role of the (invisible hand of the) market, the complex nature of the transformation processes and the larger scale on which social conditions are determined. Political reactions to globalisation often stress the importance of other frames of reference than the purely economic or market-driven rationales,

such as democratic development, human rights, ecological sustainability, social solidarity, social cohesion, or cultural participation. While it is clear that globalisation can result in major benefits and opportunities and that regressive protectionist policies will do more harm than they can solve problems in the long run, it also must be recognised that the construction of a global knowledge society can only be sustainable if the economic drivers are accompanied by a genuine political concern for other dimensions of human development and social progress.

Even if the processes of globalisation are very complex and the political reactions to them difficult to predict, there is little doubt about their outcome, namely the advent of a global knowledge society. Because of the diversified impact of these developments on various parts of the world and the many inequalities that will shape them, many would prefer to speak about knowledge societies in plural. However, for the purposes of this paper, the interconnectedness of developments on the global level deserves full attention, which makes it legitimate to speak of a global knowledge society.

The roles of higher education in constructing the global knowledge society

Higher education is closely linked to crucial trends within the transformation to a global knowledge society. Higher education institutions and policies are challenged by these trends and need to adapt to them. These adaptations may include changes as diverse as adjusting curricula to new education and training needs, recruiting teaching staff and researchers on an increasingly global market, engaging in international research and institutional networks, developing international elements in institutions' missions and profiles, or coping with competition and market-driven elements in the national and international higher education systems. Globalisation dramatically affects the environment in which higher education institutions and policies have to operate. Especially, the growing awareness of competition in the academic arena seems to dominate current perceptions of university leaders (Immerwahr, 2002).

However, in many accounts of the challenges with which higher education institutions currently are confronted, a too passive picture of the role of higher education is offered, as if it can only react to changes that have their origin elsewhere and as if these changes are only perceived as threats. Contrary to this, it must be stressed that in various ways higher education plays a vital role in the various processes of globalisation. The functions of higher education in many ways fuel the driving forces of the transformation towards a global knowledge society. Thus, a more "constructivist" understanding of the role of higher education in globalisation is desirable. Such an understanding could also nourish the idea that higher education has a certain capacity to steer and eventually to correct the direction of trends within globalisation.

The basic processes by means of which higher education contributes to the formation of the global knowledge society are situated in the research, in the educational and in the service functions of higher education. They include the following functions (when discussing each function the specific “constructivist” role of higher education is stressed):

- ◆ *The generation of new knowledge:* It is clear that the scientific research system plays a vital role in generating the constant flows of knowledge and information and the scientific and technological innovation processes. There is substantial evidence that this in turn exercises a direct influence on national productivity, economic growth and living standards. Universities and linked research institutes are far from being still the only producers of knowledge; instead we see an increasingly distributed knowledge production system with a multiplication of knowledge production sites and modes (Gibbons et al., 1994). However, the significance of universities in the field of fundamental scientific research is still very great.

Not only do universities provide the bulk of the research and information infrastructure and qualified manpower of a country, but they also still impose the dominant rules of the game of scientific discovery and progress (research methodology, the critical role of the peers, publishing, etc.). Although these rules, codes and practices increasingly are challenged by economic rationales and market forces (in intellectual property rights issues and their conflict with scientific publishing for example), universities try to defend the internal logic of the scientific system and see this as necessary to scientific progress and human development in the long run. Not only in the human and social sciences critical thinking, intellectual development and independent scholarship are seen as crucial values, even when they run counter to short-term economic profit or to dominant ideologies.

The science system since long operates at a global level; the globally integrated science system can be seen as one of the precursors and perhaps also motors of globalisation in general. In building the backbone of the global science system the universities paved the road for the development towards the global knowledge society.

- ◆ *The application and distribution of scientific knowledge:* Higher education institutions are not only active in the production of innovative scientific knowledge as such. Most activities of universities in the field of research and development can be counted as further expansion and application of innovative scientific knowledge in technological development, in situated problem-solving (medicine for example) or in adaptation to specific circumstances. Higher education provides the knowledge and information infrastructure that is crucial for the problem-solving capacity of a nation or a region. Partly, universities and other types of higher education institutions themselves are active in the application of scientific knowledge in

technological development, in consultancy, in product and process innovation, in policy development, in community development, etc., both on a commercial basis or from a service to society perspective. Partly, higher education offers the infrastructure of knowledge distribution to meet the problem-solving and innovation needs of other agents (in companies, the state, civil society, etc.), in the form of libraries, computer networks, internet service provision and other forms of access to knowledge.

Although in many universities this is done on a commercial and income-generating basis, other rationales such as the public role of serving the interests of a nation or meeting the needs of local and regional communities are equally important. The state, which in many countries contributes to the funding of these activities, sees this as belonging to the public functions of the university. Open access to information is seen as of crucial value in this. On an international level, universities assist each other, for example in projects developing libraries and information networks in institutions in developing countries.

This function is characterised by a balance between the global and the local, the general and the specific, but both must not be seen as antagonistic. Situated knowledge is as important to the development of knowledge societies as the universalistic results of fundamental research.

- ◆ *The transfer of knowledge in education and training:* Knowledge societies capable of engaging in a globalised world ask for high-quality and inclusive education and training systems that can equip large sections of the population with human and social capital. The important role of higher education in human capital formation is well documented, for the industrialised as well as for the developing world, and has received attention again in contemporary economic theory. The transformation of many countries' economies to knowledge-driven economies quantitatively and qualitatively changes the education and training needs of these countries. The private, as well as the social and even the fiscal return of investments in higher education in developed and developing countries is estimated to be rather high and still growing.

The most important contribution of higher education institutions to knowledge societies still lies in the awarding of credentials and degrees to high numbers of successful students at undergraduate and graduate level. Globalisation necessitates that these qualifications are internationally recognisable. Also the training of researchers and specialists at postgraduate and doctoral level is of crucial importance for the national and international research system. The knowledge economy increasingly changes the benefits of qualifications to human capital formation, by gradually replacing the paradigm of meritocratic credentialism with the paradigm of lifelong learning. Lifelong learning thus dramatically will change the educational and training functions of higher education institutions in a global

knowledge society, not only by attracting mature learners and by regularly updating the competences of graduates in continuing education arrangements, but also by redefining the knowledge and skills valuable to a knowledge society. Also the operational ways in which higher education institutions fulfil their education and training functions are changing dramatically, with more and more importance given to ICT, new delivery modes and e-learning. But also in these innovative developments, universities attach great value to their specific approaches in defining the objectives of teaching and learning and the ways these are materialised in curricula and courses. It is clear that, although professional and labour market oriented training objectives still are occupying a central place, the educational and training functions are defined by universities in a much broader sense. Besides labour market skills, university students also must acquire social capital, competences related to nation-building, citizenship and international understanding, a capacity for sound ethical judgment, and elements of humanistic intellectual and cultural Bildung. The links between scientific research and university education and the intrinsic values of the academic system in the construction of curricula deeply influence the way in which higher education institutions define their contribution to the development of the global knowledge society in their educational functions.

It is clear that in this function the local is much more important than the global. Especially in their educational functions modern universities very much are a product of the nation-state and are responsive to domestic, sometimes even regional and local needs. It is no wonder then that it is precisely in this function that the impact of globalisation is perceived as problematic. Further in this paper we will investigate ways in which universities may be expected to adjust their educational function in the knowledge society to the dynamics of globalisation.

It is clear that in its three basic functions higher education has a vital contribution to the development of the global knowledge society. This does not imply necessarily that all manifestations of these functions refer solely to the global, nor that they should. On the continuum from the local to the global, each of the three functions can be situated at a different point, as is represented in Figure 1.

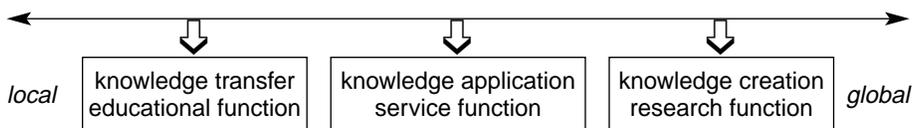


Figure 1 Position of the three basic functions of higher education on the local-global continuum

The international higher education community and its values

In this short overview of the functions of higher education in constructing the global knowledge society we have approached higher education not as a social subsystem mechanically fulfilling its functions in the global social system, but as a sector in its own right with its own values and preferences regarding the ways in which it carries out its social mission. Of course, this is a little exaggerated taking into account the many ties that link universities to their social environments and the limited amount of autonomy they often have in fulfilling their functions. Still, it is important to stress conceptually and politically the autonomy of the higher education system and the crucial importance of its own value system. In practice this autonomy is the result of a power game with fluctuating frontiers and balances of power (Felt, 2002).

There are several empirical elements that can substantiate the claim to see higher education as a sector and, yes, also as a community. In most countries higher education is seen by the state as a separate sector. Nationally but also internationally higher education has its own associations, conferences, publications, etc. Higher education is seen as a specific field of professional expertise, even as a specific object of scientific disciplinary research. University leaders meet colleagues, exchange common points of view, support each other in the defence of common interests and take positions in the public and political arena on the basis of their specific social role and professional competence. Academics worldwide share a common professional identity. To a large degree the global academic system still has its own rules and codes of conduct, still governed by rituals and symbols. Through the few monopolies universities still have, such as the capacity to award doctoral degrees, they control some very important elements of the global scientific system.

To some observers, this communality and autonomy are a thing of the past, despite being a very long and rich past. They substantiate this argument by pointing at the changing higher education landscape and the diversification of higher education institutions. The developments in “borderless” higher education, as described by Middlehurst, are so massive and powerful that they seem to annihilate any commonality in the global higher education system. Many new providers, new qualifications, new delivery modes, etc. fundamentally challenge traditional approaches and practices in the old universities. An old hegemony probably will not be replaced by a new dominance; rather increasing diversity and heterogeneity will characterise the landscape of post-secondary education. Indeed, many changes within the higher education system as well as at its borders defy any attempt to define a common core. It will be of crucial importance whether, on the one hand, the new providers will define themselves as part of and belonging to the higher education community, and whether, on the other, external stakeholders, the state and the students still will acknowledge the value system underlying the unity

of the global academic system even if its borders become less clear. For example, will employers and the state still value the specific ways in which universities fulfil their functions in the process of human capital formation? Will students define themselves solely as consumers of whatever educational service or will they still seek to be qualified as academic professionals and to engage themselves as partners in the academic enterprise? Of even greater importance will be the answers that the higher education community itself will be capable to give to these challenges. Will it remain strong and internally coherent enough to defend its common value system in an environment that makes its borders devoid of any meaning? Indeed, the answers of the higher education community to these questions will have to have their origins in the core of the academic value system and will have to be open and universalistic, in order to sustain in a global knowledge society. Defending old traditions and protectionisms will not be sufficient.

To my knowledge, there is no systematic account and analysis of the value system of the international academic community. Yet, there are several attempts by the academic community itself to formulate some basic tenets of its value-system. The Magna Charta Universitatum, signed by the European universities in Bologna in 1988, for example, is a great attempt to describe the shared core values of the universities. It puts a great emphasis on values of autonomy and academic freedom. More recently, American and European university leaders, meeting in Glion, Switzerland, in 1998, produced the Glion Declaration. This declaration stresses the core functions of the university in the knowledge society of the new millennium. It calls to imaginative boldness and responsible freedom; it underlines the values of creative research, independent learning and scholarship; it stresses the importance of civic obligations, ethical responsibility and public trust. While stressing these ancient values, it also calls for innovation, flexibility, new governance and management and the acceptance of accountability. In the eyes of the signatories, affirming the old while opening up to the new, seems to be the best strategy for guaranteeing the autonomy of the university and the solidity of its value system. In mission statements of individual universities and associations of universities, many similar examples can be found of the ways in which universities describe their specific value system.

Seen from the perspective of the development of the global knowledge society, many get the impression that this value system somehow is outdated, closed and defensive. Many governments see the universities as conservative systems, difficult to move to positions that seem to be necessary to cope with the new challenges. Social partners and parts of the general public opinion perceive universities as bastions of old power and privilege. In many countries higher education policies are characterised by troublesome relations with universities. Also within the higher education community there increasingly are tensions over the traditional academic value system and the openness of universities to respond to new demands. Entrepreneurial universities, new higher

education institutions and certainly commercial providers and corporate universities offer major challenges to traditional modes of operation and values embedded in universities. In turn, universities perceive many developments as threats to their age-old traditions and values and therefore take a defensive stance towards pressures coming from outside. The political debate on autonomy and accountability, that has dominated higher education policy in many countries for years, centres on the question whether universities themselves will have a sufficient internal drive to be more responsive to change or whether they have to be forced or seduced to change.

Globalisation in particular is perceived to fundamentally challenge central elements of the academic value system. The increasing role of the market ("marketisation", growing competition, commercialisation of teaching and learning functions and market liberalisation are met with more and more scepticism and resistance in the international academic community. A clear case in point is the "Joint Declaration", published in 2001 by the European, American and Canadian university associations in reaction to the inclusion of higher education in the GATS negotiations. While affirming the basic academic values and the capacity of universities to meet new demands of the global knowledge economy, universities see it as necessary to oppose themselves to the political translation of globalisation in proposals to liberalise higher education markets. In doing so, they turn the academic value system into an instrument of defence, even of protectionism, and make themselves vulnerable to the allegation of conservatism. Some observers also see it as a little hypocrite in a context in which more and more universities take up commercial activities, especially in their knowledge application and distribution function. While it is true that some radical liberalisation proposals in the fields of higher education and intellectual property rights in their consequences could pose major threats for the functioning of higher education, the benefits of a supplementary role of the market in a publicly regulated system must also be acknowledged.

Departing from the constructive functions of higher education in the development of the knowledge society, a much more forward-looking and offensive role can be imagined for the international academic value system. Instead of protecting the short-term interests of academic institutions, the international academic value system should open up itself to new developments and should focus on its merits for the long-term sustainable development of the global knowledge society. An open, innovation-oriented and inclusive stance would make the academic value system also more attractive to new providers and non-traditional approaches, that otherwise are forced to use the market in order to position themselves against the traditional universities. It also seems worthwhile to link the academic value system to the more general public good perspective on higher education, but with acknowledgment of the potential benefits of open markets. A careful reassessment of the value system of the international academic community therefore is necessary.

National and international dimensions of higher education policies

Not only the institutions and the international higher education community, but of course also the national and international policy levels are involved in developing constructive ways to define the roles of higher education in the making of the global knowledge society. The impact of globalisation on higher education policies asks for a careful reassessment of the public and private dimensions of higher education. The development of contemporary universities within the context of the nation-state has produced a public policy framework that stresses the public good of higher education. The state plays a very crucial role in the construction of the global knowledge society, not at least in its active public policies in the field of higher education and scientific research. This public good approach is supported by political ideologies and value systems that support modern welfare states and that define access to higher education and learning as a basic human right. Universities are defined in their public roles, which go beyond their function in knowledge creation and human capital formation to include also functions in civil society, the building of democracy, critical debate, social cohesion, intellectual advancement and cultural participation.

There are several imperfections in this dominant account of the public roles of higher education. First of all, it is confined to specific space-time configurations: it is very much a feature of Western European welfare state regimes, while also features of it dominate public higher education policies in Canada and the United States. It is much less certain whether this public policy approach of higher education policy is also dominant in other parts of the world, especially in the developing world where the public higher education sector suffers from a major drawback and the state lacks the resources to really implement such a political perspective. It is even uncertain whether an exclusively public good perspective still has a long future in the industrialising countries that are in the process of rethinking their welfare state policies.

Second, recent developments have shown that an exclusively public good perspective does conflict to a certain extent with realities and is not capable of being the only answer to new needs and demands. As already mentioned, universities themselves increasingly take up activities on the market. A knowledge economy valorises knowledge, thus knowledge creation, application, distribution and transfer to some extent become also marketable activities. Universities are also invited to do so by the state, by taking up active roles in regional development, and the building of the knowledge and science infrastructure of national knowledge economies. Contemporary public universities already earn a significant part of their income on the market, especially in the valorisation of intellectual property rights, patenting and commercial activities in the field of technology transfer and consultancy. To some extent, universities – whether they call themselves entrepreneurial or not – behave like private businesses with public money. It is a matter of

intense debate whether also in the educational function the market must play a role. The high private return on investment in higher education, especially at the level of postgraduate education and lifelong learning, in itself creates a market for commercial activity. Spending public resources on education that benefit the individual more than society, seems to be a counterproductive and not very re-distributive way of public investment. Still, many governments, supported in that by universities and student associations which defend a public good perspective, defend the democratic and open access to education, because of the social and cultural benefits that prevail over purely economic returns. However, states sooner or later will meet the budgetary and political frontiers of the public good approach in a knowledge society and will have to define the framework in which the educational market can operate. This is already the case in many countries of the South, where many states simply do not have the capacity to build a public higher education system that meets the education and research demands of the developing knowledge society. In some of these countries, public policies are developed to open up markets for the commercial provision of higher education within national regulatory frameworks.

Several policy models will coexist in the global knowledge society, but it is certain that all of them will incorporate a mix of public and private elements. Like many other fields of social services, higher education policies will develop into mixed public/private regulation systems. What is interesting, but also a cause for concern, is that the public/private mix is different on the national and on the international policy levels. Public higher education policies are the preferential domain of the nation-state. Apparently, the nation-states are unwilling to transfer real political competences towards the supra-national level. The role and impact of supra-national intergovernmental organisations and policy levels, such as the European Union, on public higher education policies therefore is limited. However, there is a lot of policy transfer, exchange and convergence through the work of for example OECD or the World Bank. Supra-national entities such as the European Union seek ways to circumvent these limitations by taking specific initiatives, in promoting mobility for example, or to address education policies via regulations in fields over which they have much more competence, such as the regulation of professions. There also is an increasing willingness among nation-states to develop policies of policy convergence, a clear case in point being the Bologna Process in Europe. However, these international public policies have their roots and their political legitimacy in the national level.

Some countries have developed policy frameworks to open their markets to for-profit provision of higher education and to include these provisions into the national higher education system. However, it seems that the private dimension in higher education policy is the privileged domain of international policy-making. With the recent and somehow brutal advent of the GATS discussion in higher education policy, and comparing it with the difficulties in

making progress in developing public policy frameworks on the international level, it has become clear that the most effective international higher education policies are focusing on the private dimensions of trade liberalisation and open markets. This can partly be explained by the fact that “public” often is equated with “national”, which implies for example that public universities developing activities in the field of transnational education become “private” in other countries. The whole field of internationalisation and transnational higher education thus easily could be incorporated in a trade oriented policy perspective, as university leaders to their astonishment realised when they understood that the old practice of student mobility, developed out of completely different rationales than economic ones, under the GATS merely becomes a mode in trade in educational services.

There is a risk in recent higher education policy developments that we come into a situation in which the public perspective is situated at the national level and the private dimensions are the domain of international policies. This imbalance is illustrated in Figure 2. What seems to be missing is the development of public policies on the international level. Clearly, this is the weakest part in the overall development of higher education policies. There is little against international policies that liberalise markets and free them from dysfunctional protectionisms, if they are accompanied by policies that depart from public policy considerations at the international level. Public good approaches in higher education policies need not be restricted to the level of the nation-state, even if the nation-state still is the strongest form of democratic political organisation and if the international community has not yet developed strong political institutions that could fully fulfil the same functions in the international domain. Seen against the context of the development of the global knowledge society, it is counterproductive in the long run for defenders of public good approaches to confine themselves – and sometimes also to retreat – to the safe haven of the own nation-state. This only leads to new protectionism as in the case of Greece or South Africa. There is an urgent need for the development of the notion of global public good. In other fields of public policy, such as environmental protection for example, successful attempts have been made to develop powerful policy frameworks on an international level, based upon notions of the common good of global mankind. There is also need for such policy frameworks in the domain of higher education. The global knowledge society implies that the benefits of the public good are increasingly going beyond the borders of the nation-states. It thus has to be recognised that higher education as a public good needs to be re-conceptualised at the global level (Van der Wende, 2002, pp. 24-25).

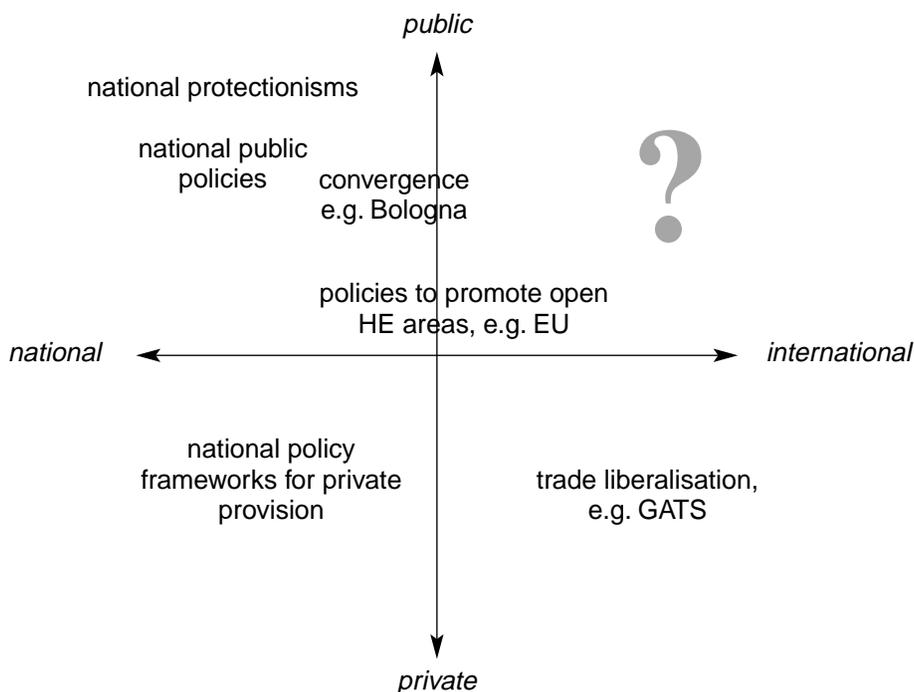


Figure 2 Public/private and national/international dimensions in higher education policies

Towards a policy framework for the role of higher education in the sustainable development of the global knowledge society

Thus, there is an urgent need for an international policy framework integrating private policy dimensions into a public policy approach. The UNESCO Global Forum has the potential and the ambition to be the platform for developing such a framework. As I have argued in other papers, there are great risks in not developing such a framework. On the international level, there is then only the GATS-like trade liberalisation policies aimed at opening national higher education systems for foreign and for-profit providers. National policies will find it more and more difficult to resist to such policies or will develop regressive policies resulting in new protectionism. As argued before, there is a huge risk in founding public policy perspectives solely on the nation-states.

This also is of crucial importance to the higher education sector itself. As the value-system of the international higher education community puts a great emphasis on the public good dimensions of higher education, there must be a solid political basis for a public policy approach on the international level at a moment in which the development of the global knowledge society brings

the functions of higher education to the global level. If we look at the current work of international associations of universities, we see a strong will to formulate a shared value system on the international level and to strengthen the international higher education community itself in this way. Thus, an international “civil society” of the higher education community is created. When lacking a strong political counterpart however, these voluntary associations will find it very difficult to uphold their international value system, when confronted with the atomising and disintegrating effects of the market. One of the results could be that in the long run the only real monopoly of higher education, namely the awarding of trustworthy qualifications, could disappear. Higher education qualifications embody and represent the academic value system in its approach of high-quality academic formation. The market itself does not need such qualifications, but is merely interested in the production of competences that are valuable on the labour market.

The argument in favour of a public policy framework on the international level is not necessarily opposite to policies of trade liberalisation. On the national and on the international level there is need for a mix of private and public elements in higher education policy. There are strong arguments in favour of improving trade opportunities in educational services and to pull down protectionist barriers and monopolies. It should be a very weak position of higher education if it were to put its trust solely in protectionist policies of nation-states. For example in Europe, the full support of the higher education community to the Bologna Process and the creation of an open space of higher education involves elements of liberalisation as well as the development of public good considerations on an international scale.

On the other hand, it will be interesting to see whether for-profit providers and other forms of higher education operating on the other side of the “border”, will be ready to accept public policy considerations and international regulatory frameworks built on them and, thus, to integrate themselves into the public higher education sector. The higher education system in the United States shows that for-profit providers still consider themselves to be part of the public dimension of the US higher education system and in some cases also belong to the higher education community. If national policies, international public policy frameworks and the international higher education community itself make an appeal to non-traditional institutions to integrate themselves into the public policy dimensions, there should be no reason why they should refuse this. I think – and I hope – that there is much room for sharing the public good agenda between public and private providers.

What then could be the essential elements of such an international public policy framework? I will only discuss a few possible elements:

- ◆ It could be worthwhile to formulate a set of core values that are shared by the global higher education community and that define its fundamental value system. Seen from the perspective of the constructivist contribution

of higher education to the development of the global knowledge society, these values have proven their significance and sustainability. More in particular, I point to the values related to the rules of knowledge creation, such as independent and critical research, the open nature of the scientific research system, the epistemological and methodological principles of sound research, the notion of scholarship, etc. There are sufficient examples that illustrate that these values need a solid basis in order to be capable to resist the disruptive power of the market. The auto-control of the global scientific community and the academic system as a necessary instrument in safeguarding these rules and principles also needs political support. Closely related to this are values defining the essence of academic education. Although the higher education community underestimates the appreciation of the labour market for key competences such as critical thinking, communication skills and even cultural attitudes – the knowledge society increasingly will reward those key competences and higher education institutions themselves frequently do not pay sufficient attention to them -, there certainly is a risk that the market in itself would lead to a too technocratic notion of academic education.

- ◆ The growing importance of “borderless” higher education has provoked a discussion on the definition, and the need to protect such a definition, of some basic characteristics of the global higher education system. More in particular there is a debate on the definition of the concept of the “university” and on the question whether the other providers (the “pseudo-universities” in the words of Philip Altbach) deserve to use that label in the public realm. Although this could easily lead to unfounded protectionism, there are good arguments to regulate internationally the use of this label by accepting a common definition of what a university actually is. This will bring about a confrontation between inclusive approaches opening up the definition to all tertiary education providers, for-profit institutions and even corporate “universities”, on the one hand, and approaches that depart from the ancient characteristics of the traditional institution called “university”, on the other. Given the high symbolic capital attached to them, also labels such as “professor” and “doctor” could be subject to international definition and protection.
- ◆ Of more relevance to the learners worldwide is a set of common concepts to define the basic levels of academic qualifications. The global knowledge society calls upon the international higher education community to produce degrees and credentials that are recognisable on the international labour market. We need a common frame of reference – not necessarily synonymous with a homogeneous and elaborate “qualifications framework” – to strengthen international transparency and comparability of the basic qualifications delivered by higher education institutions worldwide. The three basic levels of academic qualifications, namely the bachelor, master and doctoral degrees, need a common understanding to uphold their relevance

in a global knowledge economy. The scope of this ambition, crucial for example in the Bologna Process, should be enlarged to cover the whole world. There certainly is a danger, also apparent in the Bologna Process, of purely formal definitions of qualifications, based for example on quantitative measures of input of time or study load. This danger must be overcome by definitions relating to the substance of levels of knowledge, skills and attitudes that can be expected from holders of these qualifications.

- ◆ An important domain for international public policy in higher education is the regulation of the supply side of the educational market. In the same way as for example the transport over public roads of chemical and nuclear waste is regulated, there is also a need for a set of quality criteria for licensing providers that may offer their educational services – on a commercial basis or not – in the international public domain. These licensing criteria must be flexible enough to include all kinds of new providers and new delivery modes and to foster innovation. Recent codes of conduct for transnational provision can be very inspiring here, but should be expanded to cover all kinds of educational delivery. International procedures of registration of providers of educational services, as is known also in other kinds of regulated markets, and clear rules dealing with accountability and consumer-protection must also be developed.
- ◆ Public policy approaches in higher education attach a great importance to education as a basic human right and, hence, to the social equity aspects of access to higher education. A great deal of national higher education policy-making is devoted to issues of access and their consequences on funding and student support, for example. Given the large variety in these national policies, linked to the capacity of the national higher education systems and the budgetary capacity of the state, there is little room for international convergence in policies dealing with access. There are also great economic and cultural differences among nations – and among social groups within nations – in the readiness to invest privately in higher education, even when high private returns can be expected. Commercial provision of course is dependent on the willingness of consumers to pay for educational services. The regulation of the demand side of the educational market will therefore to a high extent remain the domain – in the long run perhaps the most important domain – of national policies. However, there is a debate, stimulated recently by the Open Courseware initiative of MIT, on what aspects of the educational service issues of access and commercial delivery relate to. The important value of open access to knowledge and information, to many of crucial importance in the sustainable development of the global knowledge society, could call for initiatives such as the MIT Open Courseware initiative.
- ◆ In an open global higher education space quality assurance and accreditation will become the most important regulatory mechanisms. Strong

quality assurance arrangements are seen as crucial to steer the global higher education system and to safeguard its constructive potential in the development of the global knowledge society. In other papers (Van Damme, 2002a, 2002b) I have extensively discussed the development of international quality assurance and accreditation arrangements. There are many promising developments, mainly starting from the national quality assurance agencies, at convergence, trans-border cooperation, mutual recognition, meta-accreditation, etc., but progress is slow. Even within the stimulating context of the European Bologna Process, international approaches to quality assurance and accreditation seem to be the most difficult part of the agenda. Lack of comparability in quality assurance systems could jeopardise the capacities of the higher education system in the global context. Crucially important in this is the development and worldwide acceptance of a common definition of what quality in higher education actually means. Many approaches to the difficult question of defining quality either are too relativistic to the specific context, the specific demands of consumers ("consumer protection" approach) or the specific objectives of the institutions ("fitness for purpose" approach), or are far too rigid and elaborate in their quality dimensions, focusing too much on input characteristics. Opening up quality assurance arrangements to cover also new providers, transnational provision and new delivery modes (such as distance education and e-learning) hopefully will result in a definition of academic quality that can be sustained in very diverse contexts. Such a definition will have to depart from the essentials in the value system of the global higher education community and will have to focus on the critical outcomes in knowledge, skills and attitudes that can be expected from bachelor, master and doctoral qualifications. Simple and effective quality assurance arrangements, limiting the burden of bureaucracy and cost to institutions, have to be developed out of this definition of quality.

Finally, the well-known issue of the international recognition of qualifications equally is of crucial importance. It makes very little sense to award qualifications for a globalising professional labour market if higher education cannot guarantee the validity of these qualifications in the international context. This is not only a technical, but also a moral issue and a huge political challenge that only seems to be solved when it is brought fully to the international level. Not being capable of addressing this important issue will result in the development of policies on the labour market that circumvent academic qualifications (internationally standardised competence assessment procedures for example) and that in the long run will make academic qualifications and credentials superfluous. Academic and professional recognition arrangements both need to be strengthened and to be simplified. Decisive steps forward, building further on existing frameworks and conventions but also breaking with their voluntaristic nature on the national policy level, have to be taken.

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The many faces of knowledge transfer and mobility

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Knowledge dimensions of internationalisation

The mobility of students and staff is just one of the many modes of the internalisation of knowledge in the higher education and research systems. Up to the present, there is not any generally agreed conceptual framework for structuring or classifying phenomena of knowledge with respect to internationalisation. Recently, I suggested three types (Ulrich Teichler. "Internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe". In: Helena Aittola, ed. *EKG? Eurooppa, Korkeakoulutus, Globalisaatio?* Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän Yliopisto, Koulutuksen Tutkimuslaitos 2003, pp. 37-52):

- ◆ knowledge transfer;
- ◆ international education and research; and
- ◆ border-crossing communication and discourse.

Knowledge transfer: In the process of what is referred to as internationalisation, knowledge in the "normal" disciplines (i.e. not specialised on internationalisation) is more frequently, more intensively and more rapidly transferred from one country to the other. This is undertaken through various means, notably through

- ◆ media (printed media, electronic media, etc.);
- ◆ physical mobility (conference, study abroad, academic staff exchange, etc.); and through
- ◆ different modes of organisational packaging (e.g. temporary study abroad, joint curricula and research projects as well as trans-national education).

International education and research: Certain areas of knowledge focus on the international dimension, for example on

- ◆ border-crossing phenomena (e.g. international trade, international political relations);
- ◆ foreign and distant phenomena (e.g. cultural anthropology, area studies and foreign languages); and
- ◆ international comparison (e.g. comparison of economic, political and social systems).

At times characterised by a trend towards internationalisation, the role of international education and research grows – both the fields specialised on the

international dimension as well as the international dimension in fields of humanities and social sciences not specialised on the international dimension.

Border-crossing communication and discourse: Learning and research in an international setting is one way of experiencing different views in a creative manner, of being confronted with different theories, methodologies and different aspects of field knowledge. This experience of contrasting knowledge helps to reflect and to relativise one's own past conceptual frameworks, to broaden one's horizon, to think comparatively and eventually to develop more complex perspectives. In principle, experience of contrasting knowledge could be promoted by different means. Border-crossing communication and discourse, notably such which is supported by physical mobility, is not the only means (it could also be reinforced "at home"), but it seems to be a relative safe and successful strategy of internationalisation because the experience of students and staff is an all-embracing confrontation with a culture different from the one at home.

A glance at the diversity of knowledge phenomena with respect to internationalisation, first, makes us aware, that physical mobility might be viewed as a relatively primitive and relatively costly phenomenon which seems to grow in absolute terms but shrinks in relative terms in the process of internationalisation. Altogether, we might expect a relative decline in relevance of student mobility.

The second issue is related to the first. If other modes of knowledge transfer and international education grow fast, the function of the relatively declining physical mobility might change. One might strategically seek for a specific *niche* for physical mobility, i.e. concentrate most efforts regarding physical mobility on areas where it is clearly superior to other modes of knowledge transfer. For example, support for physical mobility could be reserved for young students (e.g. in the second year of study), when their "cognitive maps" are still being shaped, for students in fields which were labelled above as "international education" and for researchers who need to cooperate at a joint physical site.

The quantity of student mobility

UNESCO data on foreign students lead us to the conclusion that student mobility remained constant in relative terms over the decades. About two percent of students are enrolled at universities in countries other than that of the citizenship of the student.

In Europe we tend to believe that student mobility is growing for the following reasons:

- ◆ Since about the mid-seventies, the absolute number of students is growing faster outside Europe than in Europe. If the quota of mobile students going to Europe remains constant, this is bound to lead to an increased proportion of foreign students in Europe.

- ◆ Student mobility among developing countries and newly emerging economies has lost in importance. Countries such as the Lebanon, Egypt or Argentina are less often the host countries of mobile students than they were in the past.
- ◆ In the 1990s, student mobility within Europe grew faster than world-wide student mobility. This was certainly influenced by the Erasmus Programme. However, we should be aware of the fact that Erasmus supports only a minority of intra-European student mobility, if we define mobility, as it is usually done, by means of foreign citizenship. In 1999/2000, 269,000 students in the EU registered as foreign students had the citizenship of other EU countries, while the number of intra-EU Erasmus students was 97,000, i.e. 36 per cent. The quota might actually be even smaller, because Erasmus students are often not registered at all as foreign students.

Certainly, it is worth taking preparatory action for a further increase in student mobility. For example, the quantitative targets of the ERASMUS programme proclaimed in 1987 were never reached. Study abroad of U.S. students remained a very small minority. If the number of Chinese students continues to grow as fast as it currently does, and if two percent of them study abroad, and if the EU countries continue to host about 40 percent of students studying abroad, we should not be surprised to have more Chinese students in Europe by 2010 than students from other European countries in Europe today.

Mobility statistics

Interest in student mobility has grown over the years. But we continue to measure student mobility by means of citizenship. However, the more the population gets mobile for various reasons, the less “study abroad”, in terms of studying in a country different from the country of citizenship, is a valid as measure of “student mobility”.

Our Centre undertook a study on statistics of student mobility in the EU initiated by the European Parliament (Ute Lanzendorf and Ulrich Teichler, *Statistics on Student Mobility Within the European Union*. Luxembourg: European Parliament, Directorate General for Research, 2003 (EDUC 112 EN)). The study shows that six European countries collect statistics both on foreign citizenship and on border-crossing mobility. In these six countries, altogether between 38 or 48 percent of the foreign students, depending on definition, appeared not to have been mobile for the purpose of study (they are called *Bildungsinländer* in Germany).

The study also shows that there is a substantial number of returnees, i.e. a type of mobility which had been overlooked in the past: persons who lived and learned abroad prior to study and moved to their country of citizenship

for the purpose of study. Depending on definition, they seem to make up 10 or 16 percent of all mobile students.

The above study comes to the conclusion that statistics on student mobility could be substantially improved, if one variable was added to the regular student statistics: a variable aiming to measure student mobility for the purpose of study. This could be done by either taking into account the country of schooling/study prior to the current country of study or by inquiring about the permanent domicile.

In addition, a substantial improvement could be reached if countries agreed on a common system of registering mobile students, i.e. students studying in the country of registration for a minimum of two months (a term) or three months (a short semester) irrespective of status of enrolment. This proposal was made because there are ample indications that many temporarily mobile students are not counted at all in statistics on foreign or mobile students in a substantial number of countries. On the other hand, some countries count foreign students even if they only attend a language course or a summer school.

The proposed measures for the improvement of statistics of student mobility seem to be small. However, even this small change presupposes a worldwide agreement (i.e. in the UNESCO framework), because study abroad and student mobility continue to be counted by the number of respective incoming students.

We have to add that it would be much more difficult to establish complex statistics of international student mobility, i.e. paths of mobility of those studying in two or more countries abroad, duration of student mobility and changes of citizenship in the course of mobility. We consider it unrealistic to add a sufficient number of variables to the official statistics which help provide this type of information. We also cannot imagine that all universities agree to collect this type of information in addition to the official statistics. Therefore, we propose to conduct representative surveys of mobile students in Europe about every three or five years. They would provide a more detailed picture of flows for a representative sample – with all the strengths of detailed questionnaires and all the weaknesses of sampling.

Types of mobility

In looking at the modes and at the directions of student mobility, most attention in the past has been paid to

- ◆ “vertical” degree programme mobility; and
- ◆ “horizontal” temporary mobility.

In principle, there is “vertical” temporary and “horizontal” degree programme mobility as well. However, less attention tends to be paid to these modes of student mobility.

We call mobility “vertical” if the students go abroad for the purpose of study for getting enrolled in a programme, in an institution of higher education and possibly in a country where the knowledge conveyed is considered higher in quality or of a more recent nature than that at home. In that case, knowledge transfer is likely to be the prime goal of mobility, possibly linked with other benefits of person-related knowledge transfer, e.g. career advantages.

In contrast, we call mobility “horizontal” if the students go abroad for the purpose of study for getting enrolled in a programme, in an institution of higher education and possibly in a country where the knowledge conveyed is considered more or less on the same level of quality to that at home. This, for example, is the underlying assumption for most of student mobility in the framework of Erasmus. In that case, experience-contrasting knowledge is the most impressive outcome and, as a consequence, it is broadening the horizon, relativising the paradigms learned at home, putting more emphasis on comparative perspectives, etc.

It is often suggested to disentangle temporary mobility, i.e. students not remaining in the host country up to the award of a degree, from degree mobility, i.e. students remaining in the host country up to graduation. One should bear in mind, though, that this would require to survey the intention of the student, if the enrolment statistics do not provide for distinct categories of temporary mobility and degree mobility. Moreover, the intention might change: we know only at the time of the award of a degree whether mobility was temporary or up to the degree.

One could assume that temporary “vertical” mobility will grow in the future:

- ◆ either as study for some period at a foreign and for some period at the home institution: in that case, the aims of knowledge transfer and learning from contrasts would be combined; or
- ◆ study at the host institution in combination with physical study abroad for some period and physical study at a branch of the university at home or virtual learning for some period at the home institution: in that case, learning by contrast would not be envisaged.

Similarly, the “horizontal” degree programme study abroad could grow. For example, more students of an EU country could spend the entire study period in another EU country. We can imagine that the goals for a study pattern and the actual outcomes could be quite diverse.

The relevance of mobility for different fields of study

Some programmes, such as Erasmus under the umbrella of the Socrates programme, aim to support equal proportions of students of the various fields of study. This seems to assume that temporary study abroad might be more or less equally valuable for all fields of study. The European Commis-

sion funded a substantial number of analyses in order to find out what the barriers to participation are in those fields of study notoriously underrepresented in Erasmus.

It is obvious that a study period abroad plays a different role for the various fields of study. We suggested in our studies on study abroad among industrial societies, i.e. predominantly “horizontal” mobility to classify the fields into three types:

- ◆ fields of study in which learning across cultures is paradigmatically relevant: students enrolled in foreign language programmes, area studies, comparative law, etc., are likely to better understand the concepts and the core knowledge of their field if they study for some period in another country;
- ◆ fields of study in which study abroad might help to improve primarily the field knowledge of the students, e.g. business studies;
- ◆ fields of study in which study abroad does not touch the substance of the field, e.g. physics.

We could argue that study abroad is almost indispensable for the students in the first subject group and that it is desirable in the second group. In the third subject group, the value of study abroad in the case of “horizontal” mobility is not so obvious. Certainly, we could argue that students are likely to experience contrasting curricular approaches as well and thus study abroad would have a similarly broadening effect, and one could also appreciate the contrasting cultural experience. Yet, it remains difficult to claim the same value of study abroad as for the first two categories.

With respect to “vertical” mobility, however, we could make a distinction between

- ◆ fields characterised by universalistic knowledge, e.g. physics, and
- ◆ fields influenced by particular cultures and societies, e.g. education and social science.

Students enrolled in the latter group who study the complete degree programme abroad, as a rule, will not be prepared by their studies to apply their knowledge to their home country. Ideally, temporary study abroad would be a better option. For various reasons, however, degree programme mobility is also the most common practice for them as well.

In contrast, students enrolled in fields of study characterised by universalistic knowledge can improve their knowledge more substantially through vertical mobility. Altogether, we should not be surprised that a large number of horizontally mobile students are enrolled in the humanities and social sciences, while a large number of vertically mobile students are enrolled in medical, science and engineering fields.

Another factor comes into play. As a rule, relatively higher investments are incurred for vertical mobility than for horizontal. Therefore, vertical mobility is likely to be frequent in all subjects where a highly differential return can be expected for educational investment. This explains why students of business studies are frequent both among horizontally and vertically mobile students.

Future changes of the conditions of study abroad

We have reasons to expect substantial changes of the conditions of study abroad in the near future. The increase of a virtual mode of knowledge transfer and transnational education can have salient implications for study abroad. More students will be enrolled in distance programmes. The number of “off-shore” universities or programmes is likely to grow. More universities will use virtual programmes from foreign universities as components of their own teaching and learning (such as the units of MIT put on the net without charges).

In Europe, the shift of course programme structures towards the so-called “Bologna model” might have salient implications. We might observe a concentration of temporary study abroad in the second year. Or will we observe, in contrast, a move of temporary study abroad towards the master stage of study? We should bear in mind that the value of each of the models is quite distinct. Study abroad in the second year is more likely to insert contrasting experience at a stage of academic development of students when their cognitive map consolidates, while study abroad at the master stage is more likely to contribute to the specialisation of mature and select students.

The considerations presented are by no means a mature concept of the tasks and effects of study abroad. It is hoped, however, that they might stimulate a debate about the optimal use of public funds for study abroad and international learning at a time when study abroad is growing anyway, more persons are willing to pay for study abroad anyway and the various means of knowledge transfer grow. One might argue that public money under these conditions is optimally invested if it has a compensatory function for the improvement of the international knowledge base. What would that mean? To use more EU money for the production of virtual programmes in humanities and social sciences in countries unlikely to produce these programmes on a commercial basis? To support temporary study abroad of students from developing countries and newly emerging economies? To concentrate the Erasmus sub-programme on the second year of study?

My contribution to this conference does not aim at providing convincing answers, but calls for a radical review of the existing programmes from the point of view of goals and desired expectations under conditions of growth of student mobility and under conditions of the increase of other means of knowledge transfer and international learning.

Internationalisation at Home³

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The mobility experience

Since some *implicit* notions are firmly shared across the field of higher education, the word internationalisation is being used as if it was clearly understood. So why embark on complicated mental exercises in defining what internationalisation is. And indeed definitions may give nice descriptions, but they still do not explain what internationalisation in fact does; what it brings about. Who and what is being internationalised and in particular by which means? Does internationalisation work: abroad and at home? And then we leave out the all-prevailing question of why (higher) education should be internationalised. From that perspective internationalisation is an all-inclusive term that comes in handy. It may mean very different things to different people at different times and this does not seem to be a bothering fact.

The most important general assumption when talking about internationalisation is that we deal with mobility. In particular student mobility. Second: internationalisation concerns activities “far away”. That is safe, because it is for “others”. In a certain way it makes internationalisation noncommittal. In its early days, student mobility indeed had an aura of adventure. It was slightly exotic and it was a purely individual experience. It happened more or less as an “extra curricular” activity, it was not troubling anyone and it was not putting demands on the institution. In “traditional” views on internationalisation, mobility was a well-respected end in itself. And let us not speak belittling about this. Personal development and cultural interest remain the foremost reasons for students to go abroad.

From all of this follows that “traditional” internationalisation (whatever the definition) means that

- ◆ internationalisation concerns predominantly individual actions;
- ◆ activities are mobility-based;
- ◆ mobility is based on cooperation;

3 This presentation is based on ideas and materials that were jointly developed and shared in a group of colleagues who, from 1999-2003, formed a Special Interest Group (SIG) for Internationalisation at Home within the European Association for International Education (EAIE). My own ideas, as expressed here, are so much a result of interaction within that group that this paper in effect is more the result of group work than my own. Of course all mistakes and shortcomings are mine. Herewith I acknowledge the input of Paul Crowther, Michael Joris, Matthias Otten, Bengt Nilsson and Bernd Wächter and I thank them for the inspiring discussions we have had and the wonderful moments we have shared.

- ◆ it happens somewhere else;
- ◆ it concerns a minority of students;
- ◆ it focuses on exchanges within disciplinary specialties, foremost languages and business;
- ◆ mobility is (loosely) supported by the international office;
- ◆ internationalisation is not a mainstream activity of the university.

The value of mobility is based on the idea (perhaps it is better to say: ideal) that international exchange contributes to academic learning, cultural awareness and international understanding, or even peace. But the impact of a study period abroad does not automatically result in these outcomes. Fostering self-reflection is a necessary pre-condition (Paige et al. 2002). The mere consumption of difference does not lead to learning, let alone changes in attitude. Perhaps the danger is even worse. When the international destination becomes just a background for unchanged behaviour, the host environment may quite easily lead to a reinforcement of previous thinking, even of stereotype thinking and the development of xenophobic views. This phenomenon is easily recognised when international students group together in national “cliques”, defensive of interaction with others. In that case the learning effects may be contrary to the assumptions of what the study programme was aiming at.

The use of mobile phones and e-mail marks another important difference from the situation a generation ago and challenges the social potential of mobility. Going abroad no longer means being cut off from home and harbours the danger of not really “leaving home” and therefore not actually “arriving” in the host culture, preventing one from immersion in the new situation. Virtual and actual experiences blur and create an illusion of an experience that has not been fully lived. Distance, and bridging distance and the cultural differences that are a result of that distance, has been the very foundation upon which international exchanges in higher education have been built.

Changes in internationalisation

Only since a decade or so have institutional policy makers put their teeth into internationalisation and have turned their interest to other issues than mobility. The most important shift for this re-orientation can be ascribed to participation in the European education programmes, particularly Socrates. Mobility from then on meant reciprocity. Institutions were faced with the responsibility of receiving students and not only sending them. The game started to involve other stakeholders than students. The Socrates “Institutional Contract” required institutions to have a policy on internationalisation; a motivation on why they would want to take part in the programme. Of course this was putting the horse behind the cart, because the EU had introduced the education programmes, and in particular Socrates, with very clear political

goals. Goals that do not necessarily coincide with those of students and universities. Unlike the EU, they are not primarily interested in supporting the development of an open European labour market. In the meantime, control over student mobility and international project work slipped out of the hands of academics and started to resort under the influence of administrators in the international office. Internationalisation became an organised institutional activity and, as a result, in the eyes of many it became bureaucratic and troublesome. It definitely lost its “glamour”. The real adventurers started to seek new frontiers outside the formal programmes.

Currently “traditional” internationalisation has clearly become intertwined with globalisation. The increasing liberalisation of trade and markets does not leave higher education untouched. In combination with the advancement of ICT the context of higher education is swiftly changing (Wächter 2002). Competition between universities, worldwide, has set new agendas and establishes new educational relationships within countries and between countries. Globalisation takes a worldwide approach and challenges the notion of “national” education and therefore the added value of exchanges “between national” (alias international) systems.

In addition our countries are increasingly multicultural societies. Cultural experiences have as much to do with cultural differences within the pluralist society, as with national differences between countries. National borders will fade but cultural differences within countries will sharpen. However, in international student mobility the myth (another assumption!) that a country has a homogenous national culture is stubbornly persistent. Mobility to the Netherlands is believed to impart knowledge of “the” Dutch culture. What about learning about the subcultures of the hundreds of thousands of people in the Netherlands who have come from elsewhere and speak other languages, eat other food and are members of religions other than the Dutch Reformed Church? Our students do not need to go abroad to show their ability to deal with cultural difference. The discussion on institutional strategies for internationalisation with an explicit link to domestic diversity issues has been one of the main reasons to cap this process with the expression of “Internationalisation at home”.

Internationalisation at home

Perhaps the recent introduction of the concept of “internationalisation at home” (IaH) was foremost a sign of uneasiness. The term redefines the setting, but in the light of the lack of a clear understanding of what internationalisation means, that addition is perhaps more of a complication than an explanation. The matters constituting the notion of IaH are not altogether new or exclusive. They have been forwarded at earlier times in different countries, by various people and in varying degrees of complexity and under all sorts of names. But one publication made a difference. In 1999 Bengt Nilsson contri-

buted an article in the spring issue of *Forum*, the magazine of the European Association for International Education (EAIE), elaborating on a question that was raised in the same magazine by Mohsen Hakim one year earlier. What about internationalisation “at home”? Bengt Nilsson’s article struck a cord and resulted in a tremendous interest in the issues that were then loosely capped by the notion of IaH. More than eighty people from over fifty universities in Europe and elsewhere reacted and showed an interest. A SIG (Special Interest Group) was formed within the EAIE. This group was an informal international network group of six people, with diverse professional and institutional backgrounds, interested in the topic and willing to spend time and resources on further developing ideas and activities. They first presented themselves on the 11th Annual EAIE conference in Maastricht in 1999. One year later, the group produced a “Position Paper” outlining the context and issues that were being discussed (Crowther et al. 2000). The SIG concluded its activities in April 2003 with an international conference at Malmö University, the young university where Bengt Nilsson, in his capacity as vice-rector for international affairs, has put the ideas on IaH into practice. The results of some of the work over the years was published in a special “Internationalisation at Home” issue of the *Journal of Studies in International Education* (Nilsson & Otten 2003). More than three years of brainstorming, writing, seminars, workshops, lectures and the conference, involving many people outside the small inner circle, have put IaH firmly on the agenda. Why this interest and response?

First of all, the issues addressed were timely and relevant. Although they were being discussed in various places, it was done in a somewhat unrelated way. IaH tried to bring them together. And on a more personal level, IaH sounded more “homely”, perhaps even reassuring. All of a sudden, the process of “internationalisation” which had become more and more abstract (under the pressures of globalisation perhaps even threatening) touched base again. People became personally involved and had the feeling once again that they made a difference. IaH brought back the human touch. The process of internationalisation that had slipped away felt real again and academics, policy makers and international relations officers once again felt they were working on the same thing. Yet another assumption?

Beyond mobility

So let us return to the question of definition. In the above-mentioned “Position Paper” (p.6) IaH was defined as “any internationally related activity with the exception of outbound student and staff mobility”. Compared to other definitions of “internationalisation”, this puts a clear focus on activities “beyond mobility”. It is important to stress that ideas on IaH do not aim to exclude outbound mobility or reduce the importance of outgoing student and staff mobility. On the contrary. But these activities are so self-evidently included in the term internationalisation that the definition of IaH aims to stress

other elements and purports to expand into a wider prospect. In other words: it is not so important how laH *is defined*, it is crucial to describe what its aims are, what it *does*, and to define criteria to measure results. This is another way of saying that so far institutional policies on “internationalisation” have not adequately addressed these issues. laH is a critique of *traditional actions* in the process of internationalisation. At the risk of oversimplification and neglecting examples of good practice, “internationalisation at home” claims another approach. It places current institutional (educational) developments in a broader context by including global issues and by linking an international dimension and an intercultural dimension into the content and delivery of the curriculum of *all* students. It raises the question on how “traditional” internationalisation and globalisation are related.

Looking at the status quo the critical questions from an laH perspective are:

- ◆ How does internationalisation fit into institutional development strategies?
- ◆ What do we do about international competition?
- ◆ What do we do about the non-mobile students (in some institutions more than 90 per cent of the students)?
- ◆ What do we do about the international and intercultural dimension in the work of faculty and administrative staff who are not involved in mobility schemes?
- ◆ What about diversity issues and access to international education?
- ◆ What about the international and intercultural content and delivery of the curriculum?
- ◆ What is the policy on language (using English as a language of instruction)?
- ◆ How do mobility and ICT relate?
- ◆ What is the role of the international office in activities other than outbound mobility?

Developing strategies to address these questions is an important and challenging change. It relates to institutional innovation and educational changes. In my view it is education policy.

Actions for laH

In order to address the questions raised in the above paragraph the notion of laH will have to be “translated” into actions. For these actions to have tangible results a number of actors in the institution must become involved and structural issues taken into account.

First of all, it is necessary to create a platform for dialogue in order to create ownership for the ideas and changes, not only in terms of institutional choices, but for placing these choices in the wider context of political and educational changes worldwide. To bring about innovation at the micro level of the classroom, managerial support and structural embedding is really a

precondition. This is usually the hardest part. Here international relations officers have an important role as advocates and change agents. It is important to see how the expertise of the international office (and where applicable other units in the university) can be put to use in the expansion of activities beyond mobility.

The role of ICT is crucial. Communication is based on the concept of bridging distance. The impact of ICT has the potential of obliterating the unity of time and place, creating as yet unforeseen possibilities to use web-supported teaching methods. This – in theory – creates the possibility of world-wide classrooms with an unprecedented input from different international and cultural elements, and thus greatly enhancing traditional programmes. It is important to save and encourage the experience of real-life encounters, while at the same time enhancing the curriculum with the access to a global world of contacts through the net. Virtual mobility can be a great enhancement, especially for those students who indeed are not involved in exchanges, but the net can never substitute for experience of smell and touch. The use of ICT should never become an excuse for avoiding face-to-face contact in international education. An excuse that is an easy target when justifying budget cuts!

Of course the main issue in IaH is curriculum development, not along the beaten paths, but through transformation. That concerns both the content and the delivery of the curriculum, creating a new context for teaching and learning in the classroom. The role of academics is crucial. To a large extent, they have not been involved – or inadequately – in the work of the international office, because there the focus was on “outbound activity” rather than home developments. It is important to encourage the institutional collaboration of the different “factions” in international programmes, bringing together academics and support staff and expose both of them to experiences elsewhere. Learning from other countries and universities is not only useful, but extremely inspiring and motivating as well. For programmes to be well conducted and received, a constant process and effort is necessary. It is not an end state, chiefly because students – who come and go with their own cultural baggage – are one of the most important resources in conditions where students can learn from each other (Teekens 2000, p. 38).

Intercultural learning does not concern students only. It requires encouragement for interaction with the local community as well. One of the most difficult challenges in internationalisation is the social intercourse between students themselves (domestic students with international students on campus) and their surroundings (international students with the local community and domestic students with local communities of different cultural backgrounds).

To enhance international cooperation (and competition!) it is important to collaborate with colleagues in other universities. In the long run, institutional cooperation offers a better potential for structural cooperation and curriculum

development than individual staff contacts. It offers the possibility of a more interdisciplinary approach in intercultural studies. Joint curriculum development and joint masters are a condition for taking part in Erasmus Mundus, the new European programme linking the EU with the rest of the world.

A special word on language and the development of language skills. English as a medium of communication is a good thing. We cannot learn all the languages of the world. But knowledge of at least one language beside the mother tongue other than English should remain a high priority. Language education as part of the curriculum in other fields of study must be promoted and supported as a vital element of academic education and *Bildung*. The fact that this last word cannot be translated proves the argument.

Last but not least. Support for mobility of staff and students remains of tremendous concern for the further developments in higher education. It is indispensable and essential and the point should be made very explicit in all policy documents.

In conclusion we can summarise the above in terms of a set of actions with clearly definable results:

- ◆ Development of a clear and explicit laH agenda (resulting in a written policy document and strategic plan, with annual action plan and budget; institutional organisation, implementation and evaluation of the strategic plan);
- ◆ Institutional policy must balance domestic, national, regional, European and global issues in determining the institutional international profile (resulting in clear objectives on internationalisation and preventing institutions to simply follow trends that may not suit their profile);
- ◆ Work together with different institutions in structural cooperation (resulting in setting up consortia and clearly described work plans for joint programmes/degrees over a short and longer period of time) ;
- ◆ Mobility Plan (resulting in quotas for various programmes and actions);
- ◆ Development of a Language Plan addressing the current multi-lingual situation in higher education (resulting in a clear policy for foreign language learning and support service in cases where a language other than the mother tongue is used as a language of instruction);
- ◆ Curriculum development needs to focus on the need for programmes with an international and intercultural content and delivery that is relevant for all students (resulting in a situation where all students are required to take courses that improve their international and intercultural competencies; financial benefits for teachers and computer staff who collaborate in setting up international programmes using ICT; tailored programmes for intercultural encounters between diverse cultural groups on the campus and in the local community);

- ◆ A multicultural society requires tailored approaches in higher education in making higher education (and international exchanges in particular) more accessible for students with diverse backgrounds (resulting in setting quotas for students from different backgrounds and providing support services helping them finish their studies without delays as a result of their backgrounds);
- ◆ Institutional policy must address the issue of international competition and develop a strategy to answer the demands that arise from this situation (resulting in setting quotas for different groups of international (fee paying) students, academic and support staff; a budget for support services, such as housing, introduction programmes etc);
- ◆ Addressing cost-benefit issues directly relating to internationalising the institution (resulting in a sound financial basis for integrating international and intercultural academic activities into mainstream curricula and support services for mobility).

Critical Issues

Introducing an international/global/European dimension into *national* higher education constituted the core of activities making up the “internationalisation of higher education”. Over time different countries, and within countries different universities, have approached this process in widely divergent ways – understandably! – in serving the national needs and interests in educating the countries’ intellectuals and professionals. This process faces major changes, if not a crisis (Grünzweig & Rinehart 2002, p.5). Globalisation is affecting higher education in a much wider context than the international dimension only. Is internationalisation – unintentionally or as an agent of change – pushing the barrow of globalisation? Is the notion of a “global culture” that leaves little room for cultural diversity and self-determination the end of “internationalisation”? Or is internationalisation, and in particularly interpreted as IaH an agent of innovation in creating conditions within the developing “global context” of higher education by securing cultural diversity, the very value that over the years international education has aimed to promote?

A word on students. The changes in higher education described earlier have important consequences for our perception of students. Students will be people from all ages and backgrounds and no longer a restricted group of adolescents. So far there are very few fitting possibilities for the “non-traditional student” in international education. I still have to see the first brochure where the image of the international student is a mid-career woman with kids hanging on her skirt! Lifelong learning is a hot item, but international programmes offer very little realistic opportunity for exchanges. It is hoped that in the next generation of European programmes (the successors of the current Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci programmes) will be more flexible and catering to new needs. More short time programmes, better work and study-

related possibilities and more regional cross-border cooperation are in high demand.

Practitioners in the field of internationalisation, with a mixed bag of backgrounds, interests and professional expertise, have usually little time to explore the underlying issues of their daily work. The ever increasing workload, institutional financial pressures and the aftermath of September 11 have made the task more difficult and stressful. Reflection on the relationship between professional practice and the wider context of developments in higher education has little priority. But the issues raised in this paper are no high brow philosophical contemplations. In spite of the growing complexity of the field, securing and improving access, for all students, to an international and/or intercultural experience in higher education is the most important objective of the work of the international office (or similar units under various names). Improving the effectiveness of exchanges and creating cultural learning experiences at home will require flexibility and creativity. It may well be necessary to extend the role of the international office in a university. An understanding of the forces at work is an important help to get a grip on the situation, especially by being able to see more clearly one's own role and radius of action. It offers insight into the challenge of the job beyond the practicalities of daily problem solving. University staff working in international programmes need support in the further professionalisation of their work to ensure its quality.

Conclusion

IaH has been a debate, an exchange of ideas and ideals, concerns and plans for action. Perhaps it offers a few provisional answers to the questions it has raised. Hopefully it has created an opening for a renewed reflection on where we stand and where we want to go. IaH has put diversity issues more clearly onto the agenda within the context of the work of international relations officers, policy makers and academics involved in international programmes. It supports new forms of mobility, including web-supported learning and calls for more attention to international aspects of lifelong learning. IaH takes institutional policy as a starting point for change, focussing on the human aspect of education and intercultural learning.

"Old Europe" is changing from a continent of autonomous nation states into a network of regional interdependence. Shades of national cultures are blending into urban identities. Europeans are faced with living in a society that is made up of a new and puzzling compilation of communities, characterised by both a perplexing coherence and a baffling disconnection. People living in Europe will have ties all over the world, bonds that may be stronger than local links. We have to prepare our graduates for a future where local and global issues are irrevocably related and where dealing with cultural diversity is not limited to conditions across the national border. Global condi-

tions will require global learning and different knowledge, skills and attitudes in people. Today, more so than in the past, participation in civil society is intercultural by its very nature. This is the challenge for higher education. This is the condition that the upcoming generation of EU education programmes must face. It calls for realistic and visionary opportunities for the “new Europeans at home”.

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Development cooperation: yesterday's paradigm?

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In this paper, I shall not go through the history of development cooperation. I shall stay with the latest developments and recapitulate history only to point out the instances where international and national policies identified mistakes and shifted focus. The history of development aid is a fascinating study, not least because identified mistakes remain with us also today, which would come as a surprise to no one. And several agencies in the North, public and private, even in the same country, have widely different goals and practices toward the South. Even explicit ideologies and implicit practices do not cohere, and I believe the World Bank is a good example of that. My main reference points will be three World Bank reports. I shall end up by discussing current alternatives of development cooperation.

The language of aid

In my former life I was a professor of literature and dabbled in literary pragmatics, or, as the British would prefer to call it, discourse analysis. I find it fascinating to read reports from various countries on development aid policies just to see what type of imagery they use. These texts often use a language of intervention and of social engineering. It is also a language of war metaphors, of structural analysis and adjustment. In the latest World Bank report this is mitigated for the first time to an impressive degree by metaphors from the fields of agriculture (growth), organic body growth and human organic intercourse (nurturing), with references to dialogue, interaction and creativity, process, flexibility and non-control. But the language of social intervention is also very much with us: experts, structure, output that must be predictable in terms of input, fine-tuning of instruments, etc. Gareth Morgan who wrote *Images of Organization*⁴ would have a field day with these reports.

Some time has passed now since the Northern countries in their aid discredited the general policy of having individuals and teams of experts staying in the South to build them modern industries and teach them to do things in the proper modern way. This trend gave way to receiver orientation, discrediting detailed conditionalities, introducing a more holistic approach through institutional and sector programmes and state budget support. But it has also been

4 Gareth Morgan, *Images of Organization*, Beverly Hills, Cal. 1986.

a period of globalisation, increased liberalisation of world trade and privatisation, also in developing countries. The idea was slimming the nation state to let the market take over. But this has also led to a lack of public income to cater to public goods, not least public education. "Neo-liberalism took over in the late 1970s and 1980s and has developed throughout the 1990s, particularly through the freeing of the capital movement that created a global financial market and the communication technology that has revolutionised the possibilities to, and the speed of, the spreading of ideas, capital, and goods the world over. The Bretton Woods system, as it was defined just after World War II, was built on an important political premise: the exchange of goods should be gradually liberalised, but the movement of capital should be strictly controlled. The same institutions exist today, but the premises on which they were founded are forgotten."⁵

Now we are into the commodification of services, including education and the inevitable concurrent discussion of education as a common good.

Peril and promise

The UNESCO/World Bank Report *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (2000)⁶ was the first breakthrough in the Bank's recognition of higher education as a necessary ingredient in the educational system of developing countries. It was followed up with The World Bank Report *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* (2002)⁷, and then again with the World Development Report 2003, *Sustainable Development in a Dynamic World: Transforming Institutions, Growth, and Quality of Life*.⁸

Peril and Promise recognised what several developing countries had advocated for some time: tertiary education is necessary for supporting primary and secondary education and for a country with the ambitions of turning education into a productive economy and to participate in the national and international debate on development, not least to make their cultural voice heard in a world debate and to define a path of development that is relevant to their own societies. It does away with the doctrine that rates of return in tertiary education are low by definition. This was a necessary first step to break the impasse between the levels of education.

5 Translated from Helge Hveem, "Globalisering – retorikk og realiteter." *Samtiden* 5/6, 1998.

6 The information is taken from a presentation by Harry Anthony Patrinos at a Nuffic conference in Den Haag, 19 March 2002.

7 *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Higher Education*. World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2002.

8 *Sustainable Development in a Dynamic World: Transforming Institutions, Growth, and Quality of Life*. World Development Report 2003. World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2003.

Constructing knowledge societies

The report *Constructing Knowledge Societies* takes it one step further in that it goes into a general legitimisation of tertiary education. It gives higher education the general weaponry it needs to defend its role, even with the Millennium Goals that do not mention higher education. The report also visits several countries to give us an overview of tertiary education. The Bank does not go much into the benefit of public versus private education and education as a common good, but it does recognise that private education does not, and cannot, deliver a sufficient spectrum of public goods. This stand is reaffirmed in the Development Report 2003.

Knowledge economy – what is it?

One may well ask the question: What is a knowledge economy, and how useful is the term, particularly concerning the least developed countries, i.e. those south of the Sahara? Examples the Bank builds on are taken from middle income countries where the Bank has been involved. Only seven per cent of the Bank's lending to tertiary education went to Sub-Saharan Africa. Among the ten largest borrowers is not a single least developed country and not a single country from Sub-Saharan Africa. Since they have not been involved, how can they talk with such assurance about higher education in general?⁹ This is the Sub-Saharan Africa where the AIDS epidemic is affecting the middle generation, where technology and education are lacking, where higher education institutions are not contextualised, where knowledge is imported and the brain drain is enormous: 70,000 highly qualified Africans leave the continent every year. Is the knowledge society the answer?

The report does not discuss the problems of globalisation or the commodification of education much. As far back as 1995, Merrill Lynch estimated the value of the global market on education at about two trillion dollars. I can guarantee that the amount has risen steeply since then. Private education in Sub-Saharan Africa has had an enormous increase in the 1990s. Harry Anthony Patrinos from the World Bank informs us that there are more than 1,200 private institutions of higher education in China, between 1995 and 1999 27 universities and 25 colleges applied for registration in Cameroon, 4 universities and 19 colleges are in the process of accreditation in Tanzania.¹⁰ Just as examples. At the same time, Kader Asmal tells a story of the situation in South Africa: only 15% of the 20-24 year old age cohort is enrolled in higher education and the drop-out rate in higher education averages 20% annually.¹¹

9 The argument is taken from Arnold van der Zanden "Reaction to the presentation of the WB report"

10 The information is taken from a presentation by Harry Anthony Patrinos at a NUFFIC conference in den Haag, 19 March 2002

11 Kader Asmal, "Globalisation and Higher Education: A View from the South." A presentation at the NUFFIC conference, Den Haag, 19 March 2002.

Brain drain and the war on manpower

In March Michael Gibbons predicted a global war on manpower. To my mind, it has already arrived.

The Canadian Bureau for International Education in its call for proposals for its annual conference starts in this way: "CBIE works to keep international education on the agenda of the decision-makers from all sectors: government, private and education. Vastly different perspectives emerge when immigration is placed on the agenda. Recent changes in Canada's immigration law and direct references in Canada's Innovation Strategy have resulted in discussion about international students as a possible pool of human talent to be used to reduce Canada's skilled/knowledge worker deficit."¹² But in AUCC's Program UPCD, the overall goal still reads: "To increase the capacity of developing countries' education and training organisations (DCETOs) to address their country's sustainable development priorities." There can be no doubt that two voices exist in the same nation.

The United States have been recruiting from developing countries for a long time. Now even private US companies are swarming all over the English-speaking developing world to recruit highly educated and experienced people from several walks of life; nurses being the most prominent of these groups.

In a recent talk, Arnold van der Zanden of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentions an Australian university opening a campus in Kenya, providing courses for fee paying students. After two years of study they invite the best of the students to continue their studies in Australia, paid by the Australians, but only the best. The idea is recruitment.¹³

Even in Norway the discussion has started. Students on Norwegian scholarships all the way to Ph.D.s are not allowed to stay in Norway, but are welcomed by other western countries. How do we respond to that? Norway is just as much in need of highly educated personnel as the next country. The result, I believe, is inevitable: countries in the North will institute more liberal immigration laws, particularly for highly qualified persons.

Germany and France have both launched systems of recruitment in developing countries and have placed fairly large sums of money at the disposal of certain organisations to this end. These are combined programmes, but recruitment is definitely an important aspect of them.

With more and more Northern countries, brain drain comes out as explicit policy. I also believe that with the introduction of mass education, the ageing

12 Call for Proposals to the Canadian Bureau of International Education Annual Conference 2003, October 24-27, with the theme "Education, Immigration and Mobility."

13 See footnote 6.

of the Northern population and the labour market being what it is, this is inevitable. When we can choose the battles that are winnable, this is a battle we should forego. We shall have to consider that a lot of people in China and India, for example, would not have the opportunity to realise their potential, if it were not for the offers from the North. We shall also have to consider this whole problem in contexts of current and future world migration patterns. Allan Goodman of the IIE affirms that about 60 percent of the scholars from India, for example, who get their final education – and jobs – in the U.S., return after some time.

If we are to take the Millennium Goals on reduction of poverty seriously, we shall have to look for alternative strategies. It is true that the economic gulf between the North and the South is increasing. “The average income in the richest 20 countries is now 37 times that in the poorest countries. This ratio has doubled in the last 40 years”.¹⁴ It is true that air and water pollution is increasing and that fresh water is becoming scarce, that the poorest countries suffer from violent conflicts, that diseases will have profound effects on these countries’ populations and economies. It is true that Sub-Saharan Africa has seen a constant increase in poor people. This also tells us that whatever strategy we conceive of for the future, it will not necessarily be the same for Sub-Saharan Africa as for Asia and Latin America.

Transforming institutions, growth, and quality of life

I mentioned that the language of the latest Development Report is different from earlier Reports. It heralds, as I see it, a new paradigm. I say “heralds,” because that is exactly what it does. It does not give us the recipes. I think the Director of the Bank, Wolfensohn, puts it rather succinctly in the introduction to the 2003 World Development Report 2003: “...empowering poor people and the disfranchised – the people “at the fringes” – and giving them a real stake in society is the key to building the stronger institutions required for long term sustainable development.”¹⁵ The introduction to the Report details this somewhat: “Providing public goods, reducing negative externalities, and avoiding conflict will require improved coordination at the national level by promoting inclusiveness and participation (through voice and improved access to assets) as well as creating the framework to foster partnerships among stakeholders from government, civil society, and the private sector.”¹⁶

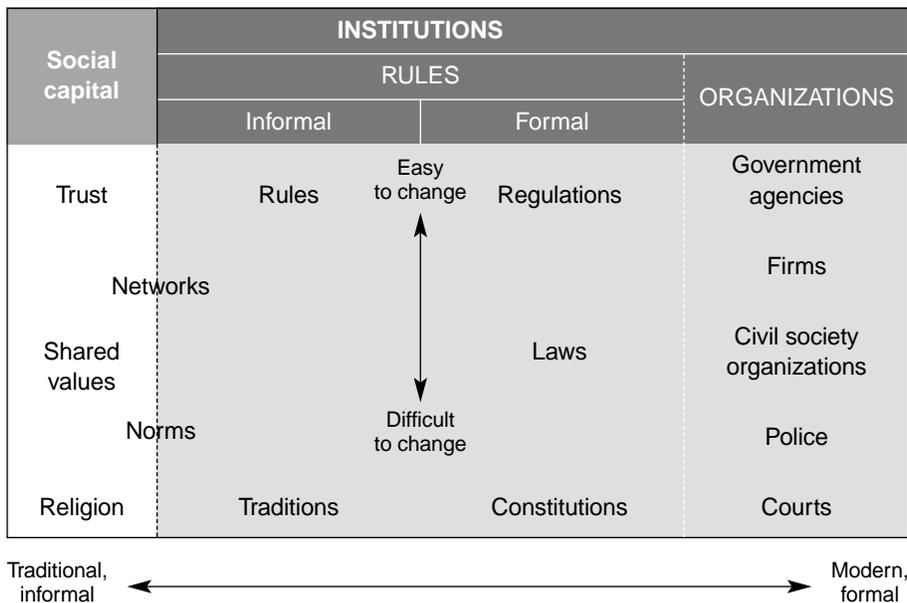
I do not know if this is meant the way I want to understand it, but the subtitle of the 2003 WDR uses a different language than before: “Transforming Institutions, Growth, and Quality of Life.” The report even provides us with a table:

14 World Development Report 2003, p.2.

15 World Development Report 2003.

16 World Development Report 2003.

Figure 1 Social norms, rules, and organizations for coordinating human behavior



(Figure taken from The World Development Report 2003, p.38)

Although some of the new items are in a different colour, they are still there. In another place, it is summed up in plain language:

- ◆ Human assets – the innate skills, talents, competencies, and abilities of individuals, as well as the effects of education and health.
- ◆ Knowledge assets – “codified knowledge,” which is easily transferable across space and time (unlike “tacit” knowledge, which entails an individual’s experience and learned judgment and thus cannot be easily transferred until codified).
- ◆ Social (or relational) assets – interpersonal trust and networks, plus the understanding and shared values that these give rise – to which facilitate cooperation within or among groups.¹⁷

The Report makes one a little tired of “assets.”

The Report argues that institutions must play a vital role in the development of the countries in the South. Transforming old institutions and creating new ones are major challenges in the years ahead. The Report even maintains that institutional and sector programmes complement each other. The Report

¹⁷ World Development Report 2003, p.18.

holds that "Institutions...must be stable, but they also must be capable of changing and adapting, and new institutions must emerge."¹⁸ It continues on the same page: "When they (the institutions) function well, they enable people to work with each other to plan a future for themselves, their families, and their larger communities. But when they are weak or unjust, the result is mistrust and uncertainty. This encourages people to "take" rather than "make," and it undermines joint potential."¹⁹

The Report, in its summing up, ends with certain recommendations, among them:

- ◆ Strengthen institutions;
- ◆ Broaden inclusiveness in the access to assets. Schooling, health care, and provisions of environmental assets that protect health, market-based rural land reform, and regularisation of urban tenure;
- ◆ Improve developing country access to technology and knowledge;
- ◆ Establish partnership to set the rules and the modalities of burden sharing.²⁰

How these attitudes gel with the actual policies and activities of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank is another question. Privatisation takes income away from the public domain and "open markets, at least in higher education, reinforce the inequalities that already exist. If educational borders are completely open, the strongest and wealthiest education providers will have unrestricted access. Countries and institutions that cannot compete will find it difficult to flourish. This means that developing countries and smaller industrial nations will be at a considerable disadvantage."²¹ At all levels of education, the share of expenditure at public institutions is decreasing. Public resources for tertiary education have decreased in real terms. In higher education wealthier families are over-represented.

There is nothing new about what the World Bank preaches in the Report. It may well be new to the Bank. The Report is still full of *Besserwissen* and the level of abstraction makes it hard to read for those who do not have considerable experience with development cooperation. The Bank in the Report seems to introduce a new language, a hegemonic newspeak. Be that as it may. The examples they use are still mainly from areas outside Sub-Saharan Africa. But let me interpret the statement in my own way and so far as it concerns higher education: Higher education institutions will have to contextualise or externalise, i.e. cater to the rest of education, get involved in further

18 Ibid. p.37.

19 Ibid. p.37.

20 Ibid. p.194-195.

21 Philip G. Altbach, "Farewell to the Common Good: Knowledge and Education as International Commodities." *International Educator*, Fall 2002, p.14.

education, construct culture-specific teaching materials, cooperate with industry, translate external ideas into locally relevant issues, advise ministries, publish locally and get involved in national debates. At the COREVIP conference 2003 of all vice-chancellors in Africa, this particular problem was high on the agenda.

The alternative track

So what then is the alternative? Let me begin by introducing the Norwegian NUFU programme. The reasons for the enormous popularity of the programme, both in the North and the South, are interesting in this context. NUFU is a programme of research cooperation and research education with the general aim of building research competence and capacity in the South. The North and the South apply for financing together, and once the projects are approved for financing, North and South institutions cooperate in equal partnerships. It is a long-term programme where the parties agree on conditionalities. It is based on the premise that both parties' needs are relevant to the cooperation; in fact, that it is a precondition for "trading," in both senses of the word. Equality means that we take each other seriously and that the demands that are posed are agreed upon. Among these demands are accountability and transparency: it does not hide the fact that the projects are accountable for the use of Norwegian taxpayers' money. The programme also assumes that goals and projects change, and when the reports come in once a year, that these changes are described.

Equality does not mean subscribing to cultural relativism. Cultural differences between the North and the South are real. Therefore it is essential that the cooperators are explicit about their needs and demands. Academics' needs in quality scientific production and an acceptable turnover of candidate production must not be compromised. Establishing dialogue and trust are essential, just like the latest World Development Report says. At the same time, a promise of a long-term cooperation is a precondition for success, not only because establishing research cooperation takes time. Since the researchers and students are not paid a living wage in the South, the programme does not drop them after the production of a scientific article, or a Master degree, or a Ph.D., but continues to support them through their participation in the projects, until the goals are reached for a sustainable academic environment in the particular field.

I am in no doubt that a country like Norway and the developing countries have some obvious common interests. The above quote from Philip G. Altbach makes this point explicitly: the smaller industrialised countries and developing countries both have a need to form strategic partnerships. By that I mean forming institutional and academic alliances, constructing studies together to broaden their offer for their own students and teachers, to compete in a more globalised world. This is done in the face of strong English-

speaking nations with educational institutions that primarily want to sell education, not always adjusted for culture-specific needs in the South. Tongue in cheek, I contend that there is nothing wrong with the brains of the South, since brain drain has become a national policy in the North. To my mind, strategic cooperation on terms of equality between universities is an alternative to market domination of a few English-speaking nations and institutions, of social engineering on the part of the North and of severe brain drain, particularly in vulnerable South-Saharan Africa. Provided, of course, that conditionalities of contextualisation are introduced and adhered to. It supports the building of stronger institutions of knowledge in the South, as the latest Development Report forcefully advocates.

The European Commission has obviously seen this itself. The future programme Erasmus Mundus is an effort to accelerate the development of globally competitive graduate programmes in Europe by building on the European advantages of diversity. It will be seen, when the programme is introduced in 2004, if it will be linked to a recruitment policy *vis-à-vis* the South. It is a pity that national and institutional formal regulations make it so difficult to agree on double degrees and other barriers to cooperation. We have a long way to go. But the issue is of paramount importance. Kader Asmal, Minister of Education in the Republic of South-Africa, in a talk at Nuffic's 50-year anniversary, put it this way: "The importance of partnerships, interaction and collaboration in knowledge production cannot be overestimated."²²

The two voices of development aid

In the current development of recruitment, of brain drain as policy, the alternative, as I see it, is strategic cooperation North-South. In the beginning of this article I referred to Canada's double message to the South. If Canada had a coherent national policy or one unified structure of political command, I believe that the policy of brain drain would take precedence. We must retain the two voices and, hopefully, strengthen the cooperation track. It is a middle way, admittedly, but it entails an acceptance of our joint responsibility for education as a common good while conceding the current state of world mobility. It may even be that the pressure of brain export from the South has contributed to the COREVIP Conference 2003 emphasis on the need to contextualise public higher education in the South.

We have to create a room for future cooperation whose forms we do not yet know. But this is not the first or the last time we are in this predicament. We must allow for the two voices, and strengthen the voice of cooperation. Our credibility in development aid, I believe, will be demonstrated by our willingness to cooperate. There may be other solutions, but I do not see them today. Do you?

²² See note 8.

The love of quality assurance: academic masochism as a way of life?

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Let me confess that the title for this intervention is not my own. It was suggested to me by the organisers, who wanted me to be a bit provocative. Although provocations are against my very nature, I will try to respond to the challenge embedded in the title.

First of all, you may wonder what “academic masochism” really means. I tried to find an answer by searching the internet. The result of my search was that the concept could be found in 16 different documents, apart from the programme of this conference, which was also shown. None of the documents were very helpful, but one of them, with its origin in an Australian university, at least gave an interesting angle to the expression. Its author claims:

Though clarity and communication are commonly prized, one shouldn't forget a rather more puzzling attraction towards people or things that defy ease of understanding. In certain academic spheres, there exists a long-standing prejudice against lucidity and a corresponding respect for difficult texts... Academic masochism reflects a metaphysical prejudice that the truth should be a hard-won treasure, that what is read or learnt easily must therefore be flighty and inconsequential. The truth should be like a mountain to be scaled, it is dangerous, obscure and demanding. Under the harsh light of the library reading room, the academic's motto reads: the more a text makes me suffer, the truer it must be.

In other words: the more quality assessment makes me suffer, the better it must be in terms of reliability.

That is of course only one definition of academic masochism. Another form of masochism in the academic world is obvious: it is the longstanding tradition that an academic career must be paved with the humiliation of constant peer reviews.

This fact is deeply rooted in the history of universities. In order to understand today's obsession with quality assessment we may benefit from looking back a bit.

I am not familiar with the system of academic promotion in other countries but in Sweden, at any rate, the application for a professorship in a university has historically been a prolonged and disturbing process for the applicants.

In our tradition every document produced in this process is public. What the peers reviewing your scholarly work write about your intellectual and scientific ability may be rather blunt and painful and many hopeful applicants have been hurt for life by such comments. On the other hand you have the right to respond and the polemic going on before the final appointment can last for a very long time. At least, this was the situation until about ten years ago when it was still the government which ultimately decided who would become a professor. A well-known case of a chair in ophthalmology at the University of Lund some hundred years ago is said to have resulted in about one metre of publications in the fight between experts and the applicants.

Of course this public scrutiny was a form of quality assurance. Unfortunately, apart from academic masochism it contained a good measure of academic bullying. But in a small university community it was an effective form of making sure that academic excellence in research prevailed in the appointment of the leading figures in an academic department. Of course, this process seldom guaranteed the quality of teaching.

Academic mobility is one important factor behind the drive for quality assurance. Mobility between universities was not unknown at the time when the appointment in ophthalmology occurred in the early years of the 20th century. At that time, a lot of professors in the University of Lund would have spent some time at a German university. Germany set the academic standards in our part of Europe one hundred years ago. Spending a semester or a year in one of the old German universities would give you instant academic recognition, albeit in quite an informal way.

This old type of academic quality control remained in place until quite recently. With the famous transition from the elite to the mass university in the 1960s and onwards it partially broke down, at least in Sweden. Professors were still appointed under strict public scrutiny but a host of new teachers had to be brought in – in fact I was myself one of them.

In the days of social engineering in the 1960s and 1970s the academic curricula were highly centralised in our country. This was supposed to bring about better and more professionally oriented study programmes. The demands of society and various professions, which were summarised in these centrally designed curricula, were also supposed to bring about a qualitative improvement and a better structured learning process. Funds for the development of undergraduate education were allocated to universities and special departments were created in order to give academic teachers a crash course in teaching.

Was quality ever assured in our universities in the 1970s and 1980s? From a formal point of view the answer is no. Still, I believe that the academic system managed to keep standards on a reasonable level. A number of informal mechanisms made sure that teaching and research were on a reasonable level.

And thus came the 1990s with decentralisation. The condition under which the government agreed to loosen its grip on the control of universities was to check their performance by other means. Thus an agency for quality assurance was formed in Sweden in 1992 by a liberal-conservative government which wanted to introduce more competition and market mechanisms in the field of higher education. A well-known Swedish professor from Stanford was recruited as its head. He started the work by encouraging universities to establish an institutional culture of quality assurance.

I suspect that some of the politicians behind the reform became a bit impatient with this approach. They had probably wanted tough inspections, immediate results and quality league tables, which could result in differentiated funding. Competition and ranking were seen as academic virtues and the example of the United Kingdom with its selective funding mechanisms for teaching and research was obvious. However, I believe that in retrospect this initial Swedish soft approach was wise. A culture of formalised quality assessment in institutions is good before you start on anything else. It was only in 2001 under a new government that regular recurrent reviews in a six-year cycle of all subjects and programmes started.

In the meantime developments in other European countries have been interesting to follow. The fact that the European Network of Quality Assurance now involves agencies from some 20 countries is a testimony of this. But at the same time other aspects related to the system of higher education have started to influence the environment in which the academic quality is supposed to be assured. The rapid pace of these events have been described by Peter Scott in a recent article in *The Guardian*:

Our preoccupation, our forced obsession, with recent "events" make it difficult to understand the magnitude, and the motors, of change in British higher education.

A generation ago, British universities were the most autonomous in Europe; today they are the most servile. A generation ago, although not part of the state apparatus, they were unambiguously public in their ethos; today they are fast accelerating down the privatisation road.

"Servile" and "privatisation" are strong words. Perhaps milder phrases such as "increased accountability" or "diversity of funding" will be preferred by some.

And he continues in the article:

The research assessment exercise, designed to align research funding with research outputs, is rapidly becoming an instrument for root-and-branch restructuring. Quality assurance, until recently a peer review process, has been captured by consumer culture, the inevitable consequence of a new information regime of student satisfaction surveys and almost-official guides that compare universities.

What has happened in British higher education seems to be a pattern which to some extent has been developed also elsewhere. At the same time the British model for quality assurance has been scaled down. Subject reviews are being substituted by institutional audits. And the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) seems to be seeking a new role in all this. On its website the QAA enumerates the developments in Europe which must be taken into account over the next few years. These include:

- ◆ development of elements of a European standards infrastructure;
- ◆ development of a European evaluation process;
- ◆ international demands for closer policing of transnational higher education;
- ◆ possible changes in the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) from a credit transfer to a credit accumulation system;
- ◆ the forthcoming General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)/World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations to liberalise international access to higher education markets;
- ◆ proposals for international accreditation processes.

Against this background the Agency asks a number of questions which probably are on the agenda in most European countries nowadays. These questions include:

- ◆ What is the right balance between institutional autonomy and public accountability?
- ◆ Is there a distinction to be drawn between higher education institutions as, on the one hand, the providers of education, broadly defined, and, on the other, the awarders of accredited qualifications and vocational credentials?
- ◆ Is higher education a public service or a private good?

From the statements issued by the QAA one could guess that there is some kind of identity crisis in the higher education sector, not least when it comes to the rationale for quality assurance. The same type of identity problems seem to me to be prevalent in Germany. The introduction of new Bachelor and Master degrees was accompanied by the setting up of the *Akkreditierungsrat*, the task of which is to accredit a number of *Akkreditierungsagenturen*. These agencies are, according to the statutes, supposed to be competing but as things now stand my impression of the German system is a mix between a state system and an American model. And the agencies seem to be a mix of regional and professional accreditation bodies. Of course, Germany like the United States is a federal state, but despite the federal structure the *Hochschulrahmengesetz* regulates German higher education to an extent that really has more to do with old-fashioned European *étatisme*. The fact that Germany still has quite a number of regulated professions puts other demands on the accreditation system.

I may be ignorant about the inner logic of the German system. But I would love to hear an explanation from my German colleagues of the philosophy behind the new forms of quality assurance.

While countries in Europe tend to imitate an American system the debate about accreditation and quality assurance is going on in the United States itself. Here one can see a number of trends. There are those on the neoconservative side who are rather hostile to the present system because it tends to interfere with universities from what they regard as an ideological point of view (“ideology” being a bad eight-letter word). Others question accreditation from other points of view. A recent report from a working group within the Institute for Higher Education Policy in the US has devoted some space to the future of quality assurance in the US.

In this report it is noted that for many years, federal interest in quality assurance was largely confined to oversight of administrative and financial accountability in the student aid programs. This role evolved because of the government’s interest in equalizing student access by maintaining college affordability through student aid. Although that interest remains at the centre of the federal agenda, the trend since the 1990s has gradually been toward a more direct federal role in influencing public accountability for academic quality and institutional performance. This role is being played out not only through direct regulation of financial aid programs but also through other accountability strategies such as influence on accreditation and data collection and research.

At the present time additional issues are likely to shape discussions about quality assurance. Amongst them are the fiscal crisis in the US and new attention to public accountability systems in higher education.

The increased focus on public accountability – through rankings, statebased accountability systems, and other reports of learning outcomes – is a hot topic in higher education. Much focus has been on the private rankings, done by outside organisations such as U.S. News and World Report. These are designed to allow consumers to compare institutions by ranking the institutions in comparison to one another. The data used for the rankings differ somewhat from survey to survey, but typically they are based on resources, student admissions selectivity, and reputation as measured by peer surveys.

In the above-quoted US report a number of directions for a future system of quality assessment have been outlined. The report concludes that any dramatic increase in the federal role in quality assurance in higher would have to be preceded by a groundswell of public support for such action. In the absence of a clear mandate for change, any expansion (or contraction) in the federal role in quality assurance should probably be incremental, guard against unforeseen consequences, and be capable of being expanded (or contracted) at later stages.

So – what conclusions can we draw from this debate here in Europe? I think that we should be aware of the different circumstances in the United States and on the old continent – and here I speak of both “old” and “new” Europe in

Mr. Rumsfeld's now famous terms. Given that publicly funded universities is the normal situation in Europe we do not have to imitate everything from the other side of the Atlantic.

A couple of weeks ago AACSB (The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business) published their new guidelines for the accreditation of business schools. It is a very elaborate 70-page document, which lists all the requirements on the institution seeking accreditation. I am personally not convinced that so many words are necessary although they can provide a good ground when institutions discuss their educational policies.

There is a risk that US practices are spilling over into Europe through the demands of the American system for allowing students to study abroad with federal financial aid. I had to make two journeys to Washington and the National Committee on Foreign Medical Education and Accreditation (NCF-MEA) before I could convince them that the quality of Swedish medical schools was comparable to standards in the U.S. At one stage they sent an elaborate questionnaire to the Rector of the Karolinska Institute asking for a lot of details about library books and educational facilities. I had to explain to my American colleagues that the Karolinska Institute is the body which awards the Nobel Prizes in medicine and that the Rector himself happened to be a Nobel laureate. That did not impress them as long as we could not fill in their forms correctly. Nor was the mutual recognition of medical degrees in the European Union sufficient ground for accepting our quality. It was only after the introduction in Sweden of a quality assurance system with recurrent reviews that our American friends were satisfied.

I just take this as an example of problems related to quality assessment across the Atlantic. We are increasingly seeing interaction between American and European approaches to assessment methods and practices. Some of the American accrediting organisations are active also in our part of the world. That may be a transitional phenomenon and it is not really a problem. But I would like to suggest that we raise the awareness here in Europe of the differences in the context of all those assessment exercises. After all, the culture of accreditation and quality assurance in the United States is based on the fact that there is no real "system" of higher education in that country. With a mix of educational institutions funded by 51 states or by a host of private foundations and organisations and with a big common labour market some types of mechanisms have to be found.

The European Union is also a large common labour market with problems of its own. However, the structure of higher education is very different and the funding is by and large coming from the public purse. So quality assurance has other points of departure on our continent. This is not to say that we do not have a lot to learn from the many years of experience which our American colleagues have.

A common approach towards quality assurance in Europe is certainly growing within the framework of ENQA. Let us rely on this emerging consensus. But let us also experiment with other types of European benchmarking which are more directed towards the creation of a common labour market or the strengthening of European competitiveness. I am thinking here of experiments like the Leonardo project of which my organisation has been a member. It is a project in which we are experimenting with a European Quality Charter for the cooperation between engineering education and industry in a number of European countries.

Such European ventures can, in my opinion, be useful for a European convergence process related to educational content and methods, running in parallel to the new and common structural framework created by the Bologna Process.

What we probably do not need is the application in universities of quality assurance mechanisms derived from the industrial sector. I have been to a number of European institutions where diplomas from exercises of "Total Quality Management" (or whatever the name) are proudly displayed on the walls of the boardroom. These may have been partly rewarding processes, but I fear that it is exactly the application of this type of scheme that leads to the academic suffering and masochism which I mentioned initially.

To conclude: Quality assurance has always been a part of the university culture. The new forms of quality assessment that we have seen developed in the 20th century are to a large extent related to mobility, whether academic or professional. The important thing now is to make sure that "the love of quality assurance" mentioned in the title of my speech will not become a self-destructive passion.

With its wide European membership and its broad inter-continental contacts ACA could be a good forum for discussing the issues of accreditation and quality assessment on a wider international scale. One important step in ACA's activities in the second decade of its existence could perhaps be to initiate a debate on the wider implications of the transatlantic divide which we can see in the field of quality assurance in higher education.

Lifelong Learning: old wine in new bottles?

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Lifelong learning is an important element in the internationalisation of education and training. Throughout the world and not least in Europe, the ideas of lifelong learning are being integrated into transnational projects, and the EU has launched a specific programme for lifelong learning. This programme has been named Grundtvig after the Danish priest and educationalist.

Transnational project work has made lifelong learning blossom. However, the core of lifelong learning has always remained the same – only the packaging is new. This is reflected in the title of my contribution, which poses the question if lifelong learning is simply a matter of old wine in new bottles? The answer is yes, but nothing is wrong with old wine. However, putting it into new bottles may have comprehensive consequences that have to be taken seriously.

In addition to the EU, both UNESCO and the OECD have launched the concept of lifelong learning. Back in the 1960s, formal and official ideas on lifelong learning were presented at a UNESCO conference in Montreal. Some years later, in 1972, UNESCO published the report *Learning to be: the world of education today and tomorrow*. And in 1996, yet another UNESCO report with the title *Learning, the treasure within* was launched. This report describes four pillars of education in the 21st century that could possibly influence all citizens:

- ◆ Learning to know;
- ◆ Learning to do;
- ◆ Learning to live together; and
- ◆ Learning to be.

In 1973, the OECD presented a strategy for lifelong learning where the cohesion between work and education over a lifetime was emphasised. In 1996, the OECD further launched the concept of lifelong learning as a foundation for educational policy.

The EU has elaborated quite a number of documents with a bearing on lifelong learning, including the white papers of 1993 and 1995 *Growth, competitiveness and employment*, and *Towards the learning society*.

At a general level, UNESCO and the OECD take theoretically and ideologically different viewpoints on lifelong learning. UNESCO focuses on a huma-

nistic perception, which includes democracy and personal development, whereas the OECD has an economic perception where education is perceived as an investment in human capital. The EU's perception is a kind of synthesis of the two.

The EU has now defined the concept of lifelong learning, and the European Commission and the Member States thus agree upon the definition. According to the definition, lifelong learning is "all purposeful learning activities, whether formal or informal, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competence". The definition can be found in the *Memorandum on lifelong learning* (2000).

It appears that all educational activities are encompassed by the definition and that lifelong education is aimed at all citizens. So, lifelong education is a matter for adults and youth, for the employed and the unemployed. And lifelong learning may take place in a formal learning environment or consist of non-formal and informal learning activities. The notions of "lifebroad" or "lifewide" underline this.

According to the ideal, lifelong learning is therefore a matter for the workplace and the family as well as for the individual's private life and social interaction.

In practice, there are, however, some social factors that influence participation in lifelong learning activities. Age, for instance, plays a role: People over 50 participate less than people under 50. Educational background is another factor: The more educated one is, the more one participates in lifelong learning activities. Yet another factor is status on the labour market: More employed than unemployed persons participate in lifelong learning activities.

Nationality is also important. Less than 20 per cent of the population in Portugal and Spain annually participate in one or another form of adult education, whereas the percentage is 30 in Canada and 40 in Norway, the UK and Switzerland. In Finland, Denmark and Sweden, more than 50 per cent of the population take part in adult education within a year. The Nordic countries may thus duly boast of being in the lead.

Analytically there are two important dimensions in lifelong learning, namely participants and learning context. The first dimension ranges from young people to adults, and the second one from formalised to less formalised settings.²³

When combining the two dimensions, we get four characteristic fields of learning.

23 The Nordic Council of Ministers published in March 2003 a comparative analysis of the strategies for lifelong learning and their application in Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway and Sweden (by Jonas Sprogøe). The comparison gives a fine outline of history and implication in relation to lifelong learning. In this publication Jonas Sprogøe also introduces the two mentioned dimensions.

Young people / formalised settings

This first field of learning is characterised by young people being imputed to formalised education. This field includes higher education and has always been subject to considerable political attention. Young people must be educated or trained, and we must be able to assess and validate the results of this effort.

Young people / less formalised settings

The second field is characterised by the informal education of young people. This has so far mainly been a matter for parents, and the public authorities have only recently set up norms and legislation.

Adults / formalised settings

Adults attending formalised education represent the third field. In the Nordic countries, in particular, the political systems have focussed on this field. Denmark has a long tradition of folk high schools, which has influenced the development of the educational sector in the past century. A so-called adult vocational training system was established in Denmark quite long ago for the purpose of ensuring education and retraining possibilities for the employees and their employers.

Adults / less formalised settings

The fourth and last field is characterised by adults participating in non-formalised educational activities. Education and training in this field has traditionally been left to the initiative of the individual person, and there has been only little political involvement in the field.

The new packaging for lifelong learning has emphasised the importance of recognition, validation and certification. Now lifelong learning must be validated and certified when completed – just like all other education and training activities. This represents the new way of perceiving lifelong education, i.e. putting old wine in new bottles. The perception is a necessity for the concept of lifelong learning to attract political attention and thereby financial support.

But the perception has considerable consequences for the three last of the four fields mentioned above. Most of the spontaneity and innovation that have so far been an integral part of informal learning are evidently in conflict with the new perception. It is hardly probable that Danish folk high schools could have achieved what they did in the 18th century if education had been submitted to recognition, validation and certification.

Also higher education and the universities in particular will be affected by the shifted focus of lifelong learning. They will experience increased competition from other educational institutions that can now offer education which matches the universities' offers under the new concept of lifelong learning, offers on which the universities have previously had a monopoly within the first of the four mentioned fields.

Universities and higher education have always had an interest in internationalisation and in the global education market. Now it is just as important that they take the concept of lifelong learning seriously.

Transnational education – an overrated phenomenon?

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Introduction

International education has been for different reasons a thrilling catchword, in quite different social and economic settings. The ambitious and comprehensive programmes of the European Union, the career-building attempts of the developing countries' upper middle classes, the cultural immersion exercises of the North American students in Europe may similarly be considered in this context. The increasing East-West cooperation of higher education institutions in Europe with the approaching EU enlargement during the last decade gave yet another special dimension to this process. A new phase has clearly been emerging in the nineties with the impressive development of information and communication technologies and their impact on education. Ambiguous businesses of fake universities offering degrees on the internet regrettably also benefited from this process.

It is not easy to add new and credible items to the theme of transnational education (TNE), particularly in the impressive professional company of ACA experts. Only relatively little original research with new findings is available in the field. Most studies, including reasonably relevant ones, normally use a comprehensive survey approach, a generalist perspective, with a couple of smart speculative elements, an innovative grouping and interpretation of existing approaches and data, with some orientation and perspective broadening in one direction or another.

Therefore, in the present paper about the role of ICTs, eLearning, open, flexible and distance learning in the current development of transnational education, the specification of scope chosen has been to analyse

- ◆ transnational education offered by (electronic) open and distance learning, concentrating on European issues and trends;
- ◆ the development of hypes, hopes and rationales relating to eLearning, the change of the related expectations and their implementation (or not) into reality;
- ◆ the findings of a recent research project in which the author's institution has been involved, about transformation of learning systems in Europe by ICTs;

- ◆ the context of EU enlargement, the experience with East-West cooperation programmes, leading to the upcoming EU accession and the actual state of the art of this process.

Trends, driving forces and barriers in transnational education

Looking for a relevant definition of “transnational education”, it seems worth quoting the “Code of Good Practice” in the provision of transnational education of UNESCO and the Council of Europe:

All types of higher education study programmes or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. Such programmes may belong to the education system of the State or may operate independently from of any national education system
(UNESCO – CEPES 2001)

Due to both demographic and socio-economic reasons, there is a general increase in the demand for higher education worldwide. Forecasts of higher education demand show significant potential increases in student numbers, creating unmet demand. Strong diversification can be identified as well, including the offer of lifelong learning oriented and specialised programmes. The supply side is also changing: new providers enter the higher education scene. Interestingly, the demand for transnational education seems hardly to be influenced by the world economy’s downturn and policy uncertainties, such as those created by 11 September.

In the meantime, surveys show that *de facto* developments in TNE are more modest than the related expectations, communications or promotional efforts. In particular, transnational education leading to a degree is a relatively rare phenomenon.

Looking at the flow of students, it can be seen that the direction is from developing and middle-income countries to a small number of industrialised nations – mainly from Asia to the US and the UK. The rest of Europe is not really a destination region for TNE offered on a commercial basis. There is a disparity between Europe and the US as well: American students study abroad only in small numbers; the pressure on European universities to engage in academic exchange as an integral part of studies is stronger. Inter-institutional competition is traditionally not too intense in most parts of Europe, due to the dominance of public institutions and the still not overwhelming degree of cross-regional mobility.

Worldwide, the funding of higher education is stagnating or decreasing, pushing higher education institutions to raise new funds and income, to explore additional resources, and to find business-oriented solutions. The above two phenomena may evidently create considerable problems with

regard to access and equity. These processes should be viewed together with the phenomenon of ageing student populations: there is a trend towards an increasing number of students over the age of 24 or 25.

It is a most important question whether the market, i.e. the demand and the preferences of the corporate sector and the choices of students as consumers, will confirm (or not) the usefulness of transnational education in employment terms. The answer is definitely yes – yet there are quite a few “buts” and “maybes”. Due to financial barriers, TNE may easily become – and recent processes seem to confirm this – the privilege of a relatively small elite group of students who can afford the related additional expenditure. The public education systems or the EU mobility programmes are not really in a strong enough position to compensate for this trend and the problem seems increasingly difficult to manage. We must also acknowledge that huge regional differences exist in addition. There are good reasons to expect that with the widening social polarisation between the EU countries which will emerge through EU enlargement, this problem may become even more crucial and visible.

As Dirk van Damme (2001) states: “Resistance to globalisation in higher education is also motivated by a rejection of the marketisation perceived to be inherent in globalisation and a defence of a “public good” approach to higher education”.

The main existing barriers have been known for a long time. They are obvious ones: cost, access, accreditation measures and quality assurance. It has to be acknowledged that, due to their nature, distance and eLearning require specific quality assurance measures.

The language issue is emerging in parallel as a leading motivation and also as a barrier: English is obviously dominant, followed by few other big languages and countries (France, Germany, etc.). The language approach may in the meantime enable countries with small languages (for example in the Nordic and Benelux region) to become successful international players.

On the recognition side, a recurrent and still unsolved basic problem has been the confrontation between national accreditation frameworks and corporate requirements, validations, and acknowledgements. The need for an international initiative, a sustainable policy structure for accreditation and quality assurance has accordingly emerged a number of times.

Widespread experience and a number of studies have underlined that the increased use of the internet has enhanced uncertainties regarding the quality and reliability of transnational education, and the dubious businesses of fake universities keep on strengthening the pool of arguments of enemies of IT-supported globalised learning solutions.

But, all in all, TNE is still high on the agenda and, even though definitely very much a “moving target”, there is a maintained expectation that higher education is becoming a booming market.

The open, distance and eLearning context

eLearning and distance learning policies

Looking from a macro-level angle, it is easy to agree that new concepts and additional strategic approaches of eLearning did help educational policy in general to enter the first row of policies. The main supporting elements in this context have been the emergence and continuous strengthening of the concept of lifelong learning and the growing performance and impact of ICTs. The introduction of eLearning definitely creates challenging new opportunities for creative and innovative teaching, and potentially increases its transparency.

However, there remains a certain doubt whether and to which extent eLearning is a consolidated phenomenon and if one should therefore rely on it very much when developing longer term strategies. This has created a climate of discontinuity and uncertainty. eLearning is the subject of quick, sometimes superficial incorporation into policy programmes, particularly in the context of the ICT-related modernisation field and the ever-continuing educational reform process. Evaluations and opinions in addition keep on suspecting that the process still seems to be driven to a considerable extent by technology rather than considerations of methodology and training needs.

In institutional policy terms, eLearning is generally recognised as a key element in organisational change and modernisation in universities. At the same time, we have to acknowledge that, in spite of this principal recognition, there is not yet any really effective institution-wide incorporation of eLearning into the education process. Open, distance and eLearning is being implemented by separate and poorly empowered units within universities, with the result that the issue remains on the periphery of institutional strategy formulation.

Most institutions engage in eLearning only by means of small-scale (and low-cost) experiments. Only few invest seriously in eLearning innovation and invest in a considerable technological and pedagogical infrastructure. Most initiatives are still in a “pilot stage”, thus not producing a thorough impact. Most eLearning implementation happens in the form of experimenting with web-based platforms, as an “added” value for campus-based students.

The history of the implementation of eLearning solutions shows that the resistance of teachers and the opposition of institutions has been underestimated. The development of a culture of innovation for faculty is not emerging due to a resistance based on faculty conservatism, displayed in a lack of interest and personal motivation for a proactive behaviour and investment of work and time.

It is part of the overall picture that eLearning and distance delivery at universities is dominant in the postgraduate and part-time sector, at European universities with a focus on continuing professional education and lifelong learning, and that it is being offered in the framework of part-time adult education.

It is worth observing that the real critics of digitalisation hardly raise their voices – the fascination exercised by computers is still dominant. Euphoria and a business-driven development orientation are only rarely counter-balanced by sober criticism. However, a more balanced approach seems to be emerging.

There are only very few examples, mainly in business education, of the development and use of eLearning under the favourable conditions of a financially and operationally sustainable environment. Typically, they cater to an exclusive student body able to afford the high cost of the courses.

It should not be forgotten that an increasing number of courses and study programmes offered by the corporate sector emerge as direct competitors to university offerings.

Regarding students' interests and behaviour, surveys show that students are increasingly concerned with gaining access to the global job market and that they rather seek efficiency gains in learning than exploring the wide pedagogic opportunities of ICT in learning. At the same time, the confidence in the impact of computers and computer networks is unbroken, as is the expectation of an advent of a broad culture of autonomous self-directed learning.

Critics and sceptics often argue that the lack of a consistent international quality assurance system is a major hurdle. A good example in this respect has now been set by the European Commission and its new "eLearning Programme". As a number of similar initiatives (ELearning Quality Forum, SEEQUEL and DELOS), it intends to introduce a systematic approach, involving benchmarking and consistent observation.

Hypes, expectations, realities

The changing appreciation of eLearning can also be summarised in the frequently quoted 'hype curve' shown below.

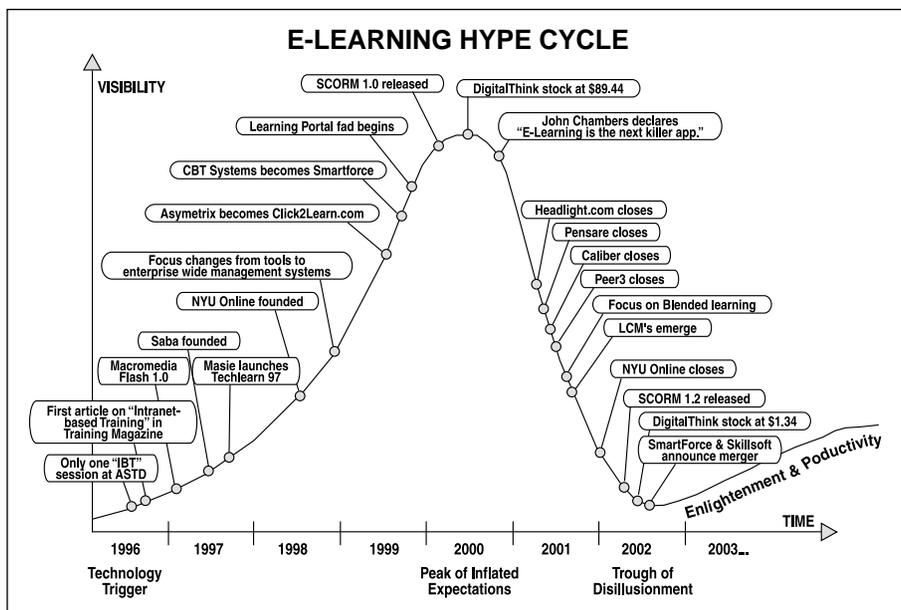


Figure 1 The E-Learning hype cycle (Kruse, 2002)

The critical approach, which is not necessarily an arch-conservative one, states that eLearning has demonstrated more potential than performance. In addition, the exaggerated hype over and promotion of eLearning have not helped to view actual progress in a realistic light. Exaggerated expectations and rhetoric have certainly been present from the beginning. Sarcastic assessments estimate the rhetoric-achievement ratio at 7:3. Even though there have been cases of high investment in different eLearning solutions, convincing achievements remain limited and most experts agree that the potential has so far not been realised.

In fact, eLearning does work where a high number of people need to be trained, "just-in-time", mostly in small chunks, with training delivered in different places and at different times, and where the results of the training process need to be controlled. These conditions are most often encountered in large-scale training exercises in the corporate sector. In fact, this is where most professional solutions for eLearning delivery exist.

The emergence and consolidation cycle of eLearning

Looking at the life cycle of eLearning up to now, an initial period of an unprecedentedly quick emergence was followed by one characterised by quick 'professional socialisation', establishing eLearning's own specific terminology, tools and terms. This was helped by the intensive support and diffusion of

terms and tools from the ICT sector, the intensive promotion and communication of the IT revolution, the early success story of eBusiness, and other information society-linked modernisation processes.

In the second phase, eLearning started to function and develop on its own, as an independent phenomenon and discipline, with increasing consolidation as a functional business and marketing category as well.

The third phase may be characterised by a loosening of frameworks and the appearance of doubts and uncertainties. The mushrooming of many different interpretations and approaches have not been accompanied by any real professional and academic consolidation, the decisions based on common agreement are delayed and still missing. There is an intensive and incoherent use of the term of eLearning, which is too often just a marketing catchword. This lack of a shared vocabulary is working against professional consolidation.

The next phase to come might be characterised by a turn towards an authentic professional environment, i.e. most probably to open and distance learning, however conservative this may sound. Together with the increasingly emphasised interpretation of considering eLearning as an essential tool for improving efficiency and quality of learning, this implies the understanding that eLearning is a special technology version of open and distance learning.

Research results: IST in education systems – “L-Change”

The L-Change research project, the full title of which is “European Observatory on IST (Information Society Technologies) – Related Change in Learning Systems”, has been implemented since 2001 with the support of the Directorate General for the Information Society of the European Commission. The research targeted six EU countries, the US, as well as an accession country and an Eastern European country. It resulted in a series of thematic reports with relevant in-depth critical reflection of the state of the art. (L-Change 2003)

Research methodology included a Delphi survey with the involvement of a relevant panel of education and IT stakeholders and experts across Europe and exhaustive interviews with representatives of the same professional circle.

The key messages of the findings with a particular relevance for the transnational education field, as summarised in the final report of the project, are summarised below.

Position of eLearning

eLearning survived the burst of the ‘e-bubble’ less damaged than other ‘es’. While the short-term expectations of the actors involved are small, mid-term

hopes are higher, and linked to *niche* strategies which allow the use of existing elements, and which require only limited investment of a no- or low-risk sort. Promising long-term perspectives of bigger dimensions are still being harboured, but they do not trigger off large investments for the time being.

The quality issue: consensual priority

Quality remains an utmost priority. Still strategically important and growing are consensus processes on standards, indicators, benchmarks, and accreditation. However, too many uncoordinated activities develop different consensus, and an overall situation where convergence is balanced by divergence.

European policies, market trends, professionalisation and blended learning

While progress towards a “European area of eLearning aims” can be observed in the form of a clear convergence of policy goals and perspectives, effective and successful policy implementation is still ahead of us. Differences in maturity across member states and candidate countries still exist to a remarkable extent.

The burst of the e-bubble lowered the willingness of learning providers to take risks in order to arrive at innovative solutions. ‘Blending’ familiar, less risky elements with innovative eLearning elements seems as good a marketing strategy. This risk-reducing strategy opens new market opportunities for reputed traditional actors, including universities. They could successfully and credibly incorporate eLearning and innovation competencies into their offers, or seek partnerships with eLearning/technology providers of good reputation.

According to a scenario developed on the basis of the L-Change survey findings, the reduced growth of eLearning would result in clearing out the market and may support the process of professionalisation, resulting in a switch to professionalisation of newcomers and an improvement of and a capitalising on core competencies on the part of existing actors. Thus, a more limited number of actors might survive, increasing the culture of competition, improving quality, and contributing to a consolidation of the market.

The investigations also reveal the expectation that eLearning developments will be relying rather on the availability of services than on a wide range of electronically formatted content and that the importance of the human factor in the form of increased social interaction and services will grow rather than diminish.

Critical aspects

Critical aspects and risk factors for the growing of eLearning are the persistence of the fragmentation of European education systems, the lack of transparency of higher education markets, and the low level of collaboration between the different actors in the public sector and also in public-private partnerships.

Transnational education and eLearning in the progress of EU enlargement in Central-Eastern Europe

The political and economic transformation taking place in Central and Eastern Europe since the early nineties, and more particularly the task of developing and restructuring the economy and catching up with the developed countries of Europe, the ambition of joining the EU and the related structural and economic requirements, have put the region under a continuous heavy pressure to innovate and adapt. Globally, the progress of the information and communication technologies has had a major impact on the development of economies and the transformation of cultures. In the transition countries, the modernisation of the economic and political system and the enhancement of their competitiveness in a dynamic environment had to be managed together with the information technology challenge.

Higher education has been, particularly in the first half of the nineties, an important element in this process. The profound changes in Central and Eastern Europe were met by the academic community with enthusiasm and great expectations concerning European integration. Universities seemed well positioned to play a flagship role in the development of East-West cooperation. The European Union was quick to offer support, to be delivered under a multi-sector Phare programme. The first assistance projects within Phare started in the field of higher education cooperation (TEMPUS). These developments have sent a significant message to the higher education sector in Central and Eastern Europe: the European Communities considered higher education as an important driver in cooperation with EU member states and universities could play an important role in supporting the transformation processes.

The major achievements of cooperation supported by the TEMPUS scheme probably lie in the badly needed cultural immersion of students and the import of new standards of efficiency and reliability from the EU, rather than academic knowledge transfer itself. This has been a special constellation when the efficient and well-concerted contribution of a large-scale international education exercise played a particular role in an unprecedented period of time.

The initial enthusiasm for East-West cooperation and EU support slowly gave way to more sober forms of project business in the middle of the nineties. The present approach of Central and Eastern European universities to the issue of transnational education and particularly to eLearning is frequently influenced by an only slowly improving general atmosphere of a “wild capitalism” and an emphasis on the competition and business dimension. A severe underfunding of the institutions also leaves its mark, damaging the development of a healthy and effective academic environment. More critical voices maintain that the uncontrolled introduction of the business approach has caused an erosion in the faculties and fuelled the emergence of hidden agendas and a “grey privatisation” of universities.

The internet and the information society function as a consolidating cultural factor, and with the sophistication of its use, they indirectly become a catchword and synonym for modernisation and thus act as integrating factors in the education systems. Yet, the diffusion of information technologies may also be considered as a sort of cultural threat for education, but, so far, this threat has been felt much less in the education sector than, for example, in the media. (Lajos, 1998).

Distance and eLearning, as an industrialised and (in management terms) professional approach to education, may play a significant role in the further reform of higher education. However, we must also acknowledge that if they are not accompanied by coherent concepts and appropriate resources, or if their implementation is not otherwise “ensured”, resistance on the side of the institutions may threaten and weaken distance and eLearning, which should function as a modernisation factor at universities.

Most studies clearly confirm that open and distance learning and eLearning in higher education is not generating profit. We can observe that, in the Central European region, the expectations and approach towards these methodologies is still a financial one – in most cases, without ensuring the necessary investments for its operation, resulting in questionable quality solutions and delayed consolidation.

Summary and conclusions

The phenomenon of transnational education, as distance and eLearning, is strongly present and still growing, even though the dynamism has not kept up with earlier predictions. After a realistic re-assessment of its potential, it is now likely that it will in essence be used as a tool to improve the quality and efficiency of education through its contribution to “blended learning”. It will therefore rather supplement than replace “traditional” learning. The convergence of the traditional and virtual delivery modes will also help to consolidate distance and eLearning.

Prognoses mostly overestimate the power of the free market and the speed of developments: most market-driven responses meet only short-term needs. There are only very few international electronic education ventures which are a commercial success, mainly in *niche* fields, or due to special personal or institutional constellations. A consolidation of quality has set in. It is being brought about by attempts to support the visibility of reliable, sustainable and relevant achievements and good practice able to serve as references in terms of methodology, management and technology. International observatories and benchmarking systems, in conjunction with international (EU) programmes, have already started to play an important orientation-enhancing role.

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It is not a pond

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My assignment is to offer some reflections on the challenges to international educators as they appear from across the Atlantic. When originally invited to do this, my topic was listed as a perspective on international education from “across the pond.” Putting the matter that way enables me to make a point that is all-too-often overlooked about America and the world these days.

It is not a pond. The Atlantic (and Pacific, for that matter) comes closer to functioning as a wall.

Most Americans have never travelled abroad. Eighty-three percent of U.S. citizens do not even possess a passport and, as the Institute of International Education documents each year in its Open Doors census of student mobility, less than one percent of Americans in higher education ever study abroad.

The result is appalling ignorance about what is going on in the world. Today, only one in four young adults in America reads a daily newspaper. And aside from periods of unusual activity (e.g. 9/11 and the Iraq war), according to the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, the average paper in America now devotes less than two percent of its news space to events abroad. Just before the war in Iraq, moreover, the National Geographic Society polled American college students. Eighty-seven percent could not locate the country on a map; seventy-six percent could not find Saudi Arabia; and, 49 percent could not identify New York even though they knew it was the site of the 9/11 “ground zero.” Twenty-one percent were unable to locate the Pacific Ocean. About the only bright spot was that slightly more than a third knew where the island featured most recently in the television “Survivor” series could be found.

Because most Americans are uninformed about the world, they do not perceive the deep connection between U.S. actions (or inaction) and what makes the world a dangerous place. We are educated neither to be isolationist nor xenophobic and are steeped in the dangers of imperialism. But blessed by security (until 9/11) and the large internal North American market, most Americans live their lives without reference to world affairs. For all of our history, diplomacy has been a domain studied by few and practiced by even fewer in a country where less than six percent of university students study a language other than English.

So, for the most part, the internationalisation that has taken place in American higher education has been a result of the nearly 600,000 international students that enrol in our colleges and universities. For many Americans, these students are the only chance they may have to speak to someone from a culture outside their own. International students, of course, provide many benefits to U.S. society. Seventy percent pay their own way, and last year contributed over \$12 billion to the American economy. Two-thirds of the patents issued in America are to those born elsewhere and half of our scientific workforce came here as an international student. In other fields, the students who return go on to become national and international leaders. And whatever disagreements they may have with U.S. policy, these are tempered by mutual understanding that arises from the experience of daily life and friendships formed inside the classroom and that continue long after the lesson is over.

There are some serious bright spots. Applications by Americans for the Fulbright Scholarships are at a thirty-year record high. Interest in the Middle East and Muslim societies has doubled in terms of those now wishing to study there since 9/11. And there is growing support in higher education circles both for significantly increasing the numbers of Americans that study abroad as well as for keeping our academic doors open to students from other countries. It is harder, of course, for persons to travel to other countries for any purpose after 9/11, and the outbreak of SARS has suddenly made some of the most attractive and secure study abroad destinations less so. But I do not think these problems will pose more than temporary obstacles to the exchange of people and ideas.

As this continent's bold experiment with Erasmus and Socrates indicates, one of the biggest changes afoot is in how young people define what it means to be educated. However excellent the faculty and resources are at home, an international academic experience is becoming a part of what today's students expect to find in higher education. And it is through just such opportunities that walls eventually come down.

Internationalisation as seen from “downunder”

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Introduction

In its research in 2002, *Global Student Mobility 2025: Forecasts of the Global Demand for International Education*, IDP forecast that global demand for higher education will increase from 78 million places in 2000 to 263 million places by the year 2025. Over the same period, demand for international higher education places is forecast to experience a four-fold increase from 1.8 million to 7.2 million. Nearly one million Europeans will seek higher education in a country other than their own. From Eastern Europe demand will more than double, from 201,000 in 2000 to 459,000 in 2025.

The way in which the international education community responds, or fails to respond, to this demand has the potential to impact profoundly, not just on the education community, but on all aspects of life in the global community. With more than 51 percent of demand coming from India and China.

The perspective from “downunder” is perhaps a different one. Australia is a country of enormous diversity. We have strong traditional ties and blood with Europe while our geographic location offers unlimited opportunities to engage with Asia. With only 20 million people our population is small but has strong multicultural influences from Europe, the Americas and Asia. While such diversity gives us strength, it also provides us with a unique environment with its own challenges. As a result we have had to draw on our creativity and innovation to meet the challenges.

Within this context, international education provides a very interesting case study.

Development of Australia’s International Student Program

Until the 1950s, the international dimension of Australian education was very much an outflow of Australian students travelling to the UK or North America for postgraduate study.

This was followed by the years of the Colombo Plan when thousands of international students from Malaysia, India and other countries in South and South East Asia were sponsored to study in Australia as an integral part of Australia’s aid program. These students were later joined by private fee-pay-

ing students, the majority of whom came from Asia. In the last few years we have seen increasing numbers of students drawn from Europe and the Americas. In 2002 the U.S. had the highest number of visas issued to study in Australia.

Today, one in five students enrolled in Australian universities is an international student. International education is, therefore, very important not just to Australian society and the Australian economy but to Australia's position in the global community both now and, increasingly, in the future.

The future

If the forecast demand for international education is realised, there will be almost one million international students enrolled in Australian universities in 2025.

Within this scenario

- ◆ Each university in Australia would have, on average, over 23,000 international students. As a result, the number of international students enrolled in some universities would be greater than the number of domestic Australian students.
- ◆ Ninety-three percent of Australia's international students would be from Asia and 62 percent would come from just 4 countries: China, Malaysia, India and Indonesia.
- ◆ Forty-seven percent, or almost half a million international students, would be studying in transnational programs at offshore campuses of Australian universities.

The opportunities for Australia associated with such growth are obviously significant and far-reaching.

Opportunities offered by the forecast growth

Using such research is a platform for policy development and strategic positioning beyond the traditional bounds of the education sector. Internationalisation has the potential to play a central role in Australia's transition to a knowledge economy. Through the attraction of motivated international students, internationalisation has the potential to contribute significantly to the development of innovations and new technologies in Australia. From a political perspective, it has the potential to strengthen Australia's international profile, particularly within the Asia-Pacific region.

Importantly, the level of internationalisation that would come with this growth would provide Australian students with greater opportunities: opportunities from an expanded range of courses and delivery modes as well as from the increased international recognition of Australian qualifications. It also leads to internationalisation of whole communities. Engagement in international

education has been far-reaching. Australian students have also now benefited from current, relevant, global and timely education through the demands of international cohorts.

Challenges offered by the forecast growth

However the magnitude of the demand means that Australian institutions would face enormous challenges, including supply. Not the least of these would be associated with managing growth and diversity.

Creating a diversified international student population has been the subject of a great deal of discussion and debate within the international education community in Australia. For a range of academic, social and economic reasons, many Australian universities are currently seeking to diversify their international student population in terms of source country, discipline and level of study. In doing so, they are being confronted with considerable economic costs. Maintaining diversity in an environment in which almost two-thirds of demand will come from four countries, presents an enormous challenge.

The forecast demand for transnational education also presents both opportunities and challenges. Transnational programs offer a means for meeting a large portion of the excess demand for higher education. In particular, they can provide access to international education to large numbers of students who, for a variety of reasons, are unable to travel to other countries to study. However, they also provide challenges associated with quality assurance, flexibility and maintaining ownership of intellectual property.

Other factors likely to impact on internationalisation

As well as growth in demand, there are a number of other factors impacting on internationalisation in our changing global environment. Some of these include

- ◆ Changes in nature of demand particularly as the requirement for lifelong learning increases; (study abroad, post-graduate, “just-in-time” e-learning);
- ◆ Our capacity to supply and the need to understand demand make-up and supply capability;
- ◆ An increased number of countries with stated government policies on internationalisation;
- ◆ The development of multi-country, multi-sector and institution partnerships and alliances;
- ◆ The changing nature of study including multi-modal and multi-country options; this goes hand in hand with increasing student demand for flexibility and choice in terms of program, mode, duration and location;
- ◆ The changing global funding patterns in education. In many countries, as government funding decreases, this is reflected by an increase in the number of private fee-paying students in universities;

- ◆ The commodification and the internationalisation of curriculum;
- ◆ The increasingly important role of the corporate sector in meeting demand that has traditionally been met by universities; and
- ◆ The rise of global “for profit” competitors within the international education community.

Competition

The issue of competition is of course an interesting one. In yesterday’s opening dialogue we were able to benefit from Peter Scott’s and Dirk van Damme’s perspectives on collaboration and competition in this age of globalisation. The perspective from “downunder” is that collaboration within the international education community is an integral part of healthy competition. Competition is important to international education because of its role in providing the opportunity to benchmark performance in a competitive environment. It also provides the opportunities to forge alliances that will enable us to capitalise on strengths and to overcome weaknesses.

It is this sense of competition that has been a feature of the Australian approach to international education. It is a healthy approach with a strong sense of fair play. It recognises the need to identify those areas of excellence that will ensure that our institutions are front-of-mind for students seeking an international education. It is an approach that is underpinned with the constant monitoring of our quality assurance procedures, which have really benefited from the pressure of overseas demand and scrutiny, in order to ensure that those standards of excellence are maintained. It requires constant scanning of the changing environment to ensure that we understand the needs of our wide range of clients. It requires the development of systems and processes that allow international education not only to respond to the changing needs of clients, but more importantly to anticipate those changing needs.

Recent events

Recent global events such as the AIDS epidemic, September 11, the war in IRAQ and SARS reinforce the message that health and security issues are also likely to have a major effect on both the supply and demand for international education in the future. They provide new and important meanings for internationalisation and demonstrate the need for us to continue to analyse our roles and responsibilities in a changing international environment.

More questions than answers

As the value of globalisation is being debated, we are continually being asked to re-examine our priorities and responsibilities in securing the future of international education. In doing so, we often end up with more questions than answers. I would like to leave you with some of questions that we are

grappling with “downunder”. I have no doubt from yesterday that many of you here are grappling with the same questions. They include questions such as

- ◆ What is the role of international education in a changing global environment? What new meanings are associated with the notion of securing the future within this changing global environment?
- ◆ How do we deal with the tensions between internationalisation, globalisation and the drive for a national identity in some countries? How does internationalisation deal with the increasing tension between home country, host country and global needs?
- ◆ How do we address the divide, real or perceived, between the objectives of the major source countries and the major destination countries for international students? Is international education creating a brain drain or brain bank? Is it reducing or enhancing the economic divide between developed and developing countries?
- ◆ What level of internationalisation is culturally/socially/economically acceptable in the local communities within which institutions operate? What is the role of the international education community in assisting the wider community to understand the wide ranging benefits of internationalisation? Do institutions have a responsibility to develop a community relations policy!
- ◆ What is the relationship between international education, skilled migration and the transition to knowledge economies in developed countries with aging populations? What do we want it to be?
- ◆ What are the motivations for alliances, partnerships, relationships or agreements within the international education sector? Do these terms all mean the same thing? Are they most effective at the institutional level or do they need governments and peak bodies to lead the way? In order to sustain their domestic strength is there a need for better global networking of institutions?
- ◆ To what extent is the “Australian” approach to international education a function of Australia’s relative “youth” and the multicultural nature of Australian society?

Research and Global Leaders Forum

Our understanding of the importance of finding answers to questions such as these has meant that IDP has always placed a high emphasis on addressing them. One way that we do this is through our research. IDP’s research on *Global Student Mobility 2025* and *Transnational Education* are examples. Our most recent research: *Forecasts of the Global Demand for English Language Tests* provided insight into the changing role of English and the increased demand for English language testing. However it also raised important questions about the changing role of languages other than English and the demand for international education in languages other than English.

They are areas that we see as providing opportunities for new and exciting collaborative research projects.

IDP also understands the importance of discussion and debate and the sharing of experiences and different perspectives. For 17 years we have conducted the Australian International Education Conference in order to provide opportunities for such discussion, debate and sharing.

In addition, this year, prior to the 17th annual conference in Melbourne, IDP will be hosting the “Global Leaders Forum”. This will further extend the opportunity to bring together key leaders from the global education community not only to share their experiences and perspectives, but to identify and critically debate the issues and hopefully progress the answers to some of these fundamental questions.

Conclusion

Within the changing global environment, international education can no longer be considered peripheral. With its widespread impact, in many countries it now transcends most areas of government and is no longer treated as a single area of governance. As a result, policies on internationalisation are tending to be more holistic and more strategic.

Continued growth will bring with it further opportunities at the individual, institution and government level. However, it will also bring further responsibilities for all members of the international education community if we are to manage the growth effectively. One of those responsibilities will be ensuring that we understand what the growth means in a variety of contexts and from a variety of perspectives.

The perspective from “downunder” is that it is a bright future. It will be even brighter if we continue to use forums such as these to share ideas and to work towards finding answers to questions such as those that I have raised with you today, remembering that international education is not just about education but life experience and is very much a community based issue.

What is ACA?

Founded in 1993, the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) is a not-for-profit pan-European network of major organisations responsible in their countries for the promotion of internationalisation in education and training. Current membership is comprised of 20 such organisations in 15 European countries, as well as associate members from North America and Australia. ACA's secretariat is located in Brussels, Belgium, in easy reach of the European institutions.

ACA is active in the following fields

- ◆ The promotion of innovation and internationalisation in (higher) education and training;
- ◆ The enhancement of contacts and cooperation between its members, and the provision, to its members, of fast and up-to-date information on important developments in the European institutions and international organisations;
- ◆ Research into and publications on internationalisation in education and training;
- ◆ The provision, to third parties, of know-how and expertise in the management of international cooperation projects and programmes;
- ◆ Contract work for third parties.

ACA projects cover a wide spectrum and are too numerous to be listed here. However, recent activities include the management of the European Union's Socrates, Leonardo and Youth programmes (in the framework of the ETAPE consortium); a publication series, the *ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education*; studies for the European Union and the Nordic Council of Ministers regarding the future of their education programmes; and surveys on recent developments in European higher education, on transnational lifelong learning and English-taught degrees. ACA also organises a wide range of international conferences and seminars every year.

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An astonishing development has taken place over the last ten years. Internationalisation of higher education, once a marginal concern, has moved centre-stage. It has become "mainstreamed" and is now regarded as part and parcel of "higher education policy". In a parallel move, what was earlier called education policy has become subject to international debate and decision-making and thus of "internationalisation". As a result, the activities referred to under the term "internationalisation" have become widened. There are two types of internationalisation. "Old internationalisation" concerns the mobility of students and scholars. "New internationalisation" deals with joint international efforts related to structural and regulatory issues of higher education systems. The present volume traces this development. It revisits the classical themes of "old internationalisation", such as exchanges and development cooperation, and it explores the main issues of "new internationalisation" (international education policy), for example quality assurance, lifelong learning and online education. The papers in this book were first presented at the 10-year anniversary conference of the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) in Gent/Belgium in 2003. All authors are internationally-renowned specialists in their field.

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