

A NEW WORLD of KNOWLEDGE

Canadian Universities and Globalization



Edited by Sheryl L. Bond and Jean-Pierre Lemasson

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Sheryl Bond
and
Jean-Pierre Lemasson

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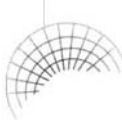
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Jean-Pierre Lemasson and Sheryl Bond

Characteristics of the internationalization of Canadian universities

Throughout this book, we have stressed the idea that the internationalization of Canadian universities has been and continues to be a gradual process that over time and in unplanned and varied ways has come to affect all university activities. Starting with the commitment of a few individuals, it has gained increasing numbers of converts, who have worked to entrench and disseminate their objective while integrating their work fully into the basic missions of the university. Some periods were more productive than others, but each successive stage has led however haphazardly to a broader range of possibilities, worked toward an increasingly complex set of objectives, and led to the discovery of correspondingly complex means of implementing them. Today, a little more institutionalized and better integrated into teaching, research, and community service, internationalization is beginning to make its systemic mark on the objectives and strategies of every institution, even if resources are not



always mobilized with the same determination. Although the age of the pioneers is well behind us, individual initiative remains crucial to maintaining the momentum, and, as in all university affairs, the commitment of the professors is a determining factor. From this viewpoint, any approach to global planning that fails to take account of the various levels of decision-making will be doomed. Internationalization can only be institutionalized through consensus, or it will remain a mere idea, albeit an idea pursued above all by those who want to push back geographic frontiers and share the knowledge and ideals that underlie the universalist's vision of the university.

Development assistance as the common source of the internationalization of Canadian universities

We can state with assurance that the processes of internationalization in the various Canadian universities have proceeded from a common historic root in the form of development assistance. The community-service mission, often undervalued in favour of teaching and research, was the first to be internationalized. Training human resources and strengthening university institutions in the Third World (as it was known after World War II) represented the very heart of early Canadian university initiatives. These initiatives did much to lay solid institutional underpinnings for internationalization by bringing foreign students to Canada in increasing numbers and engaging universities in the management of contracts awarded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Little by little, nearly all university institutions became involved in development assistance and found themselves adopting a vision that became an essential feature of the Canadian higher education system. CIDA played a key role in bringing this about. Through progressive adjustments to its programs, it not only increased the number of university actors but also created conditions for an ever greater commitment from university management.

What was original about development assistance in Canadian universities was that early on they expanded their activities to include human-resource development and institutional strengthening for their counterparts in developing areas of the world. The result was a unique combination of knowledge and know-how that had no equivalent in other developed countries and was exemplary in terms of the variety of the recipient countries and contributing disciplines. In fact, Canadian universities came to constitute a unique pool of expertise for providing training in developing countries. Although as James Shute has rightly pointed out, this expertise has perhaps not been

sufficiently recognized and documented, Canadian universities were the only ones to play such a central role in the development assistance strategy of any donor country until the early 1990s.


New forms of internationalization

Today, development assistance has lost much of its importance as the common point of reference once shared by nearly all universities in all provinces. Several factors have conspired to undermine this common institutional identity and orientation that, as we have seen, were particularly notable in academic sectors such as agriculture, health, and business management.

Since 1991/92 successive governments have pursued neoliberal policies. Official development assistance amounted to \$3.18 billion in 1991/92, or 0.49% of gross national product (GNP). By 1998/99, the aid envelope had shrunk by 25.8% and represented only 0.27% of GNP. As a result, CIDA has lost a major portion of its budget, and its interests and activities are increasingly focused on the private sector. A significant constituency thinks it is better to use aid funds to promote the export of goods and services and create jobs in the private sector; not only have the resources allocated to universities been cut, but the universities themselves have also been expected to make a financial contribution as proof of their institutional commitment! All of this has occurred at a time when the universities have been suffering funding cuts, which in recent years have reduced their operating budgets by as much as 30% in some provinces. Development assistance has thus become a secondary concern, and its influence has waned to the point at which doubts are raised about its survival in certain universities.

At the same time and in a similar context of economic crisis, countries such as Australia and New Zealand have made it a central point of their international activity to recruit foreign students. With the creation of the Canadian Education Centres (CECs), Canada embarked on this path through the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and we can witness the importance that education marketing has assumed today (DFAIT 1998). Moreover, agencies devoted exclusively to recruiting foreign students have appeared at the provincial level (BCCIE 1997; EduQuébec 1998; Nova Scotia 1998; ACIE 1999), and a majority of universities are now actively engaged in recruitment through specialized mechanisms or units. We may wonder what such recruitment activities have to do with the internationalization of universities, apart from obvious financial considerations. Ten years ago, more foreign students were studying in





Canada than today. Yet, at that time, their presence within our institutions was not considered a dimension of internationalization as such. Only today, essentially after the fact, have we begun to appreciate the value of having foreign students in our midst, but in the days when they were more numerous and universities had no deficits, their presence was scarcely noticed. If we really believe that hosting foreign students is a key element in the internationalization of Canadian universities, we have yet to appreciate, or to take full advantage of, their potential contribution to academic and para-academic activities, as Catherine Vertesi suggests (Chapter 6).


Our students' mobility is considered another defining dimension of internationalization. Frequent mention has been made of European initiatives, such as the European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students. Originally intended to create a new and truly European generation, trilingual if possible, these initiatives have been taken as a model by governments in the North American Free Trade Agreement and have also made their mark on relations between Canada and the European Union. In practice, the modest level of resources invested to date at both provincial and federal levels raise questions about the real degree of government interest. Although much is made of the issue at the political level, it is clear that the impact of the debate on student mobility remains marginal in quantitative terms. Nevertheless, student mobility is without doubt now regarded as a major aspect of internationalization, both by universities and by policymakers, although admittedly the effort far outweighs the results.

Over the last 10 years, then, initiatives in the area of internationalization have become diversified, and new stakeholders have appeared both within the universities and beyond them. The development of internationalization among Canadian universities has become more complex; new institutional functions have been added; and whole new entities have been created, raising inevitable questions about internal coordination. With few exceptions, internationalization is generally not being implemented within an integrated framework. In fact, as a result of the involvement of Human Resources Development Canada in student-mobility programs and the creation of new bodies, the number of stakeholders has multiplied. In some cases, such as in that of recruitment, we can even say that the provincial initiatives are working to some extent in competition with the CECs. In short, from a common approach to internationalization, universities have now moved to a stage at which they are much less bound by a common model.

Major features of the internationalization of Canadian universities

It would of course be ideal if we could draw up a thoroughly objective balance sheet on the internationalization of Canadian universities, based on a few systematic indicators. As we have seen, however, the information available for assessing the situation is highly fragmented. Apart from data on foreign students, the only comprehensive statistics available are those on the number of agreements signed by Canadian universities with their counterparts abroad and on the number and value of development assistance contracts. The databases CUE (Canadian University International Exchange Agreement, on international exchanges by Canadian universities) and CUPID (Canadian University Projects in International Development) are managed by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) and are available at its web site (see Appendix 1). Apart from these admittedly useful data, we have no statistical tool to apply to what has become an infinitely more complex subject. Jane Knight's studies (Knight 1995, 1996) remain very valuable reference works, as attested to by several chapters in this book. Yet, focused on policy and institutional aspects as these works are, they do not allow us to fully understand the way internationalization actually works in practice. Knight makes this point herself, in the conclusion to her chapter. In fact, with the exception of the work of Yves Gingras, Benoît Godin, and Martine Foisy (Chapter 4), we lack the quantitative tools to grasp the systematic characteristics and specific features of Canadian universities. Under these conditions, we must rely primarily on qualitative analysis and incomplete lists and surveys, which can at best serve to highlight the most notable elements. In the future, given the challenges articulated below, we can only hope that additional research on this topic will be undertaken.

Without a dominant model for internationalization supported by significant government funding, universities have found themselves left on their own to meet the challenges of the internationalization of the universities, free to choose their own path and obliged to devise their own goals and strategies in light of their individual circumstances and their (generally limited and uncertain) financial means. Faced with relative indifference from governments as measured by funding levels, the universities have had full freedom to pursue the forms of internationalization that have seemed most appropriate with the modest means available. It is indeed a prime characteristic of universities in Canada today that they pursue objectives and practices in internationalization largely using their own funds or those that they themselves can raise for the purpose.



A second characteristic, related in part to the above, is the remarkable creativity and wealth of initiatives in internationalization to be found across Canada. We may say that not a single Canadian university has remained inactive in the process of internationalization. From modestly scaled regional institutions to the big urban universities, nearly all are building active and varied links with foreign partners. In the areas of teaching, research, and community service alike, an impressive number of projects and activities have been launched and are in full flight. Fernand Caron and Jacques Tousignant (Chapter 7) have given a clear demonstration of the profusion of new forms of internationalization, each more original than the last. Of course, without a tradition, such an approach can give rise to some of the best but also some of the poorest initiatives.

A third characteristic, again related to the preceding ones, is the importance that grass-roots groups have assumed as key players in opening Canadian universities to the world. In one respect, we can see here a continuation of the universities' pioneering approach to development cooperation. In the more recent context, we observe that internationalization begins with the university community and its efforts to find adequate local sources of funding for its projects on a case-by-case basis. It is most often the availability of local resources that can make or break the feasibility of such undertakings. Under these conditions, internationalization is seen as a lever to reinforce local knowledge and know-how and to meet the challenge of globalization, seen as both an opportunity and a threat. There are many ways of raising funds, and certainly a key dimension of success is persuading partners to contribute. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the role of parents, the universities themselves, municipalities, and businesses, which are all regularly solicited for funds. Whether we are speaking of aid-type projects or business-development initiatives, it is difficult to imagine a successful undertaking without some form of local-community support.

A fourth characteristic relates to the great diversity of countries from which partners are being selected. From this perspective, we find that the internationalization of Canadian universities really means a globalization of their outreach. Whereas analysis of copublications offers clear evidence of the growing diversification of scientific collaboration, it also demonstrates the geographic breadth of this process by identifying the countries with which Canadian universities have signed collaboration agreements or where they have, on a more restricted basis, carried out development assistance projects. This breadth is hardly surprising when we recall that Canada is uniquely

open to two great world linguistic groups, the anglophone and the francophone. Moreover, the diversity of our sources of immigration is constantly creating or reinforcing ties with countries in Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. The tradition of multilateralism has also encouraged the search for diversified partnerships not limited to any particular geographic grouping. From this viewpoint, the Canadian university system is one of the most open in the world, not only to internationalization but also to globalization.


Finally, a fifth characteristic of Canadian universities is the diversity of attitudes toward learning a foreign language. More and more, the francophone universities, like those in Europe, encourage students to learn at least three languages. This pressure is far less evident in anglophone Canadian universities, which in this respect are more like American institutions. Whereas openness to multilateralism and globalization is particularly strong in Quebec and is closely linked to multilingualism (as in all countries with a minority language) it is far less strong in the rest of Canada. This difference is not surprising by any means, and it opens up the debate on the role of internationalization as a channel of cultural uniformity or diversification.

These, then, are the features that stand out from our snapshot of the system in its current state. It is clear that all university functions are now directly involved in the internationalization process and that integrating all these changes into a coherent and shared framework within our institutions remains a major challenge. Moreover, as it is increasingly impossible to divorce the local from the international, openness to the world raises a series of complex issues directly related to the future of each institution. We shall address a few of these issues and try to grasp their implications.

The likely evolution of internationalization and its effects

Internationalization of disciplines and programs

As we have seen, the internationalization of disciplines tends to follow a pattern that changes from one field of science to another. This fact emerges clearly from Gingras et al.'s analysis of research (Chapter 4) and from indications of internationalization in postgraduate programs. The international dimension may differ within the same discipline, and every discipline may have its own paradigm and its own pace of internationalization. This situation is likely to continue and to be reinforced in coming years in all areas, as a result not only of



the need to relate local realities more closely to international ones but also of the growing numbers of international topics of study. Whether we are thinking of research on the emergence of continental trading blocs, the greenhouse effect, peace, the role and limits of international institutions, or the impacts of the Internet on learning, we face a whole new set of questions and new fields of study that will inevitably speed up the internationalization of research and lead to a sharper differentiation among postgraduate programs. We must also expect to see more rapid growth in courses, options, and programs with international content. This process will not necessarily occur quickly. As Sheryl Bond and Jacquelyn Thayer Scott (Chapter 3) and Howard Clark (Chapter 5) have reminded us, departments and faculties are often reluctant to address questions of internationalization for fear of the immediate implications it may have for the evaluation of their teaching staff. Nonetheless, the numbers of academic initiatives with an initial international focus are clearly growing. We can already see in several Canadian universities new institutional structures emerging in the form of centres or institutes to study not only geopolitics in its traditional form but also the new focus on economic trading blocks, for example.

The growing institutionalization of partnerships

Because many activities, particularly in the areas of teaching and student mobility, involve projects of limited duration, new projects must constantly be put forward from one year to the next. Despite the great adaptability shown by Canadian universities, the majority of their internationalization initiatives remain fragile, particularly those for student mobility. Without denying the benefits of individual initiatives at the local level, there is a need to ensure continuity and stability so that more structured and durable actions can be taken. One way of dealing with this problem is to put partnerships on a more solid institutional basis.

Increasing evidence of the trend to institutionalization can be seen within the university community itself in the growing number of rules governing the international equivalence of courses and degrees, which reflects the greater mobility of students. This institutional thrust is even more clear in the cases of double-degree and joint programs and the institutional mechanisms to foster the cosupervision of theses.


Networking is becoming the predominant approach to research. Whereas individual collaborative arrangements can now extend worldwide, thanks to the Internet, we also find that researchers are



engaging ever more frequently in regular and ongoing collaboration, whether at the instigation of national research policies or at that of new international programs. Research teams of truly transnational composition are a concomitant to the increasingly international nature of research topics. Although the natural sciences are the ones most immediately affected, the point applies just as surely and with increasing force to all other disciplines. Along similar lines, Howard Clark (Chapter 5) has pointed to the emergence of consortia, or formal and structured networks, set up with clearly stated, common objectives and often supported by their own management structure. Consortia are also making headway on the multilateral front. Whether the Agence universitaire de la Francophonie (AUF, university office for francophone people) or the Commonwealth of Learning (COL), which are both based on linguistic and cultural affinity, whether the Inter-American Organization for Higher Education or the Consortium for North American Higher Education Collaboration, which both have a regional geographic focus, universities are forming broad groupings with shared objectives that may relate as much to teaching as to research.

Collaboration with institutions in developing countries is expanding with a similar thrust. In some cases, university or government partners may send their scholarship holders to study at the same institution, hoping thereby to promote development through a close form of linkage. All fields of an institution can gradually be brought in so as to benefit from such support. But such partnerships can also take on a business cast when the Canadian university and its foreign partner cooperate to offer new programs that did not exist locally and that might be sold for mutual profit. The proliferation of MBA programs offered abroad is a good illustration of these new permanent alliances.

Canadian universities are also seeking to build stable partnerships with business, as seen in the introduction of international-studies chairs, financing of particular projects by foundations, and development of international research partnerships to pursue medium- and long-term projects. The engineering and biotechnology sectors are replete with examples of this type. Without intending to detract from the importance of personal initiatives, we remark that more and more universities are looking for initiatives leading to stable, ongoing partnerships. This is one way of ensuring that the dimensions of teaching, research, and community service remain solidly and durably open to the world and that Canada secures comparative advantage at a time when competition now extends far beyond national borders.



We should also point out that although it may not be expected of academics, some universities that rate themselves among the best (rightly or wrongly) see international involvement as an opportunity to reinforce their position of leadership at home. We hear more and more in Canada of the ranking of universities on a scale of prestige that often involves a curious mix of perception and reality. Under these conditions, international partnerships become political tools that universities can use locally in extracting financial and material advantage or in enhancing their reputation among the student population.

Toward a globalization of interuniversity competition and cooperation

Canadian universities find themselves faced with a sharp contradiction between their traditional values of solidarity, derived from their unique experience with development assistance, and the new imperative of marketing their institutions and expertise. The aim today is to seek mutual advantage through partnerships in research and student exchange. Granted, it is difficult at times not to find this confusing; it is becoming clear that the dynamics of globalization are making themselves felt at nearly all levels of activity, particularly in Canada.

Student exchanges with Europe in particular, such as through the Conference of Rectors and Principals of Quebec Universities (Conférence des recteurs et principaux des universités du Québec) agreements, but also with certain countries in Asia, are now common, and work terms abroad to gain professional experience are sought out in increasing numbers of countries, especially in the field of management science. All of Canada's universities now participate in worldwide student flows, which would be impossible if this cooperation was not based on mutual trust. However, the recruitment of students today falls clearly within the realm of competition, not only with other local institutions but also and increasingly with those in other countries (Australia, France, United Kingdom, United States), which one by one are adopting national policies or strategies of active recruitment. We are witnessing, in effect, the globalization of competition.

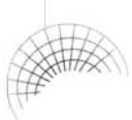
Development assistance has been the supporting framework for the development of local training to meet the needs of developing countries. Canadian universities have contributed to the creation of

many programs, often at the master's-degree level, in a great many countries while helping to develop a teaching body to ensure the local university a maximum of autonomy. Today, in a growing number of developing countries, programs in such areas as management and health sciences are aimed at taking advantage of a market that is even more profitable because there are no local alternatives for human-resource development. Consequently, international collaboration with institutions in developing countries designed to respond to the demand for training is becoming less cooperative and more competitive.

Competition extends to universities in developed countries as well. Many foreign universities now offer their programs in Canada (University Affairs 1998). One can now take training anywhere, in any country, and Canadian universities are not the only ones finding room for expansion in this regard. This new situation may pose a serious threat to our own universities, which used to be able to count on the steady enrollment of students from their own immediate vicinity. If foreign universities can now offer better or more prestigious programs in Canada, this implies that the internationalization of universities outside Canada may act as an impetus for a reexamination of our own system. The emergence of new technologies serves to highlight these changes even further.

Technological development is in many ways spearheading this new trend. The ability of nearly all universities in the North to offer their programs abroad, via the Internet, raises the question of whether all universities will eventually offer distance programs and if so, under what conditions. University choices and decisions depend on many factors. As we have seen, the question of intellectual property over course content is now an issue that never existed before. The same is true of the risk of losing academic and teaching resources to the private sector. The *Fédération québécoise des professeurs et professeurs d'université* (Quebec federation of university professors) has thus opposed the incorporation of the Multimedia University Press, comprising Quebec universities and certain private partners (CIRST-ENVEX 1997). Moreover, some universities make the content of all their courses accessible, and others face stricter minimum teaching requirements in structuring such exchanges. With the advent of new multimedia possibilities, it is becoming increasingly necessary to develop specialized teaching courses. Teaching methods constitute another important issue. Must there be tutors in place in each country, for example? Should students be able to meet together? How and under what conditions? These are new and unanswered





questions. Costs are another essential factor. Who should pay? Who should have free access to instruction? Universities are reluctant to commit themselves on these points. Some will seize the opportunity to increase their revenues while simply avoiding such issues. Others will see the chance to spread information more broadly to countries where infrastructure is inadequate to meet the national challenges of educating their younger generations. But many would like to combine both aspects and are torn between the demands of generating new revenues and making knowledge — humanity's legacy — as widely available as possible. Now that it is possible, moreover, to distribute information publicly over the Internet and privately through intranets, it is technologically feasible to disseminate the same course content under entirely different financial arrangements. This may in fact be a way of adapting to circumstances without having to make the choice of meeting one or another of contradictory demands. In any case, internationalization is sharpening the debate about the social function of the university (see, for example, Freitag 1995).

It should be noted that the language of dissemination is also an unavoidable factor. Canada is in the unique position of hosting the headquarters of two multilateral agencies for distance education, from distinct language groups, AUF and COL. Within these linguistic precincts, which are incidentally often rivals, we find that programs are being offered on both a competitive and a cooperative basis. The two approaches coexist, and the choice of one or the other is made on a case-by-case basis in light of the circumstances governing each project.

It must also be seen that the question of how much to charge has never been posed so sharply, depending on the academic sector. In the professional disciplines, which are synonymous with good prospects for a well-paid career, it is tempting and easy to demand fairly high tuition fees. This is true in management studies, health sciences, law, and engineering, for example. However, it is difficult to imagine such an approach in the arts and social sciences or the humanities, or generally speaking in those disciplines with a high cultural content, which, in the end, treat knowledge, not as a marketable product, but as an instrument of human development. This gap — unfortunately more and more pronounced — points to the urgent need to reconsider the comparative worth of careers devoted to fostering economic output and those with a social calling. Failure to do so will invite the risk of legitimizing the elitist and dominant mercantilism to the detriment of social cohesion and democracy. It is easy

to see why university management is so frequently ambivalent on these points.

The situation is no different in research. The science policies of states have long been focused on forging alliances that are in some cases only justifiable in terms of achieving a competitive edge within a given sector. University research takes on a clearly competitive cast, however, when the results are likely to lead to economic advantage. Whereas cooperation is the uppermost consideration in such areas as astronomy or astrophysics, bitter international rivalries between competing laboratories are common in such areas as biotechnology. Although the race for prestige has always been a feature of research to some extent, it is now turning into a race for innovation, with strong encouragement from governments, particularly in the areas targeted for research funding. The universities are thus becoming caught up in this dual dimension of cooperation and competition, with the emphasis depending on the discipline and the economic interest. But it also depends on the researchers themselves, who are after all the prime players. In any case, our institutions are aware that innovations can bring in royalties and bolster their revenues, and the universities are increasingly disposed to enter into formal partnerships or consortia to systematically generate returns in a particular sector. From this viewpoint, it is difficult to build an international presence without a sound national strategy, such as the one that led to the Networks of Centres of Excellence. The national and international dimensions are inextricably linked.

This competitive logic is even more apparent in the relationship between universities and the private sector. There seems no limit to the budding of partnerships with foreign companies to develop new products. Universities compete among themselves to win contracts with national or multinational corporations. By doing so, they become fully engaged, not only in competition among themselves, but also in the broader struggle among businesses seeking to find or maintain a foothold in one market or another.

No part of the university is now spared from this globalization of cooperation and competition. The two are found everywhere, and the boundaries between them are becoming more and more blurred. These types of relationship coexist, depending on the particular features of each discipline or the type of activity involved. The same institutions can be at once allies and rivals; their relationships change constantly according to the goal at hand. Generosity competes with a mercantilism that is in full flight and perhaps even stronger than suggested by Slaughter and Leslie (1977) in their analysis of academic



capitalism. The frontiers of shared interests follow outlines as tortuous as those of a jigsaw puzzle. We cannot avoid serious questions about the values that will shape the world of tomorrow. Questions are also raised about the new conditions of knowledge creation and dissemination and the new hierarchy of university disciplines. It is time to identify and spell out the issues, recognize what is at stake, and devise the most appropriate course of action.

All of this may well serve to speed up governments' thinking about appropriate levels of intervention. Thus, after a period in which the recruitment of foreign students was its only concern with respect to internationalization, the Australian government is now making subtle changes to reintroduce a more global policy for internationalizing education (Back et al. 1995). The reverse is true in the case of France, which — in pursuit of a strategy of international influence, strictly through cooperation — has now set up an international agency to recruit foreign students (CIES n.d.). We may say that although the paths taken by various governments may diverge, this tension between academic and commercial objectives in education exists everywhere. In this sense, the stakes in the field of teaching and instruction ever more closely resemble those in research. It is imperative that universities contribute directly to this debate and help to shape new policies.

Management and internationalization by universities

Internal differentiation of management and coordination structures

Most universities have equipped themselves with specialized structures to manage their international activities. Following the creation of services for foreign students and the subsequent broadening of their mandate to include student-mobility issues, international cooperation offices were set up essentially to manage contracts. Today, international cooperation offices carry an ever broader range of responsibilities. They are expected to receive foreign delegations, prepare agreements for signature, and arrange for the circulation of international information within the institution — all functions well described in the *Profile of International Collaboration by Canadian Universities* (AUCC 1995b). But they have also been assigned the even more comprehensive responsibility of elaborating and implementing policies for internationalizing their universities. However, as Howard

Clark points out (Chapter 5), they are not yet in a position to effect rapid change in their university's state of internationalization, as these offices have no direct influence over academic reality.


It is not only that the institutional leadership is not always on side. Even if most universities adopted policies and strategic plans for internationalization, institutional change would likely be slower than hoped, because it is clear that the major focus of decision-making lies at the faculty or departmental level. And as Jane Knight has shown (Chapter 9), only a few departments have established their own international goals. Under these conditions, the key to success lies in making profound changes in a number of internal practices.

Another — not uncontroversial — recommendation would be to appoint a vice president for internationalization to be responsible for the much needed coherence of internal initiatives. At present, only the University of British Columbia has such a position. We frequently find in Canadian universities that some services are the responsibility of one vice president but others are in the bailiwick of another vice president, a situation that makes it difficult to ensure internal coordination and a common perspective. Does this point to the need for a new, centralized structure? Several considerations must be addressed before a definitive answer can be offered.

If each Canadian university is following its own model of internationalization, this has to do in large part with the range of disciplines offered. Even within the same university, we find that the concept of internationalization varies according to academic sector or discipline, thereby at least opening the door to different approaches. As Jane Knight notes (Chapter 9), the underlying motive for internationalization may be economic, cultural, or political. All of these motives coexist in a broad diversity of patterns that makes it nearly impossible to identify a single objective for the institution as a whole. If it is true to say that every discipline or academic sector has its own approach to internationalization, then we may also say that the rationale for internationalization in each academic sector is distinct. In every university, its internationalization efforts are linked to specific fields of knowledge and its development; thus, each university's internationalization efforts directly depend on its range of disciplinary fields and specializations. It is understandable that a vice president for internationalization will need to have a deep involvement in academic affairs.

This role is a delicate one, moreover, in several respects, as sharp internal conflicts can arise from failure to understand the rationale for internationalization in each sector. In the social sciences, generally





speaking, internationalization will be seen as a tool for promoting understanding among peoples, reinforcing values of solidarity, or perhaps promoting basic human rights worldwide. In the management sciences, most often stress will be placed on enshrining the laws of the marketplace, earning profits, fostering competition and the worldwide spread of consumerism, winning respect for international marketing, and finding an acceptable way of Americanizing business relationships. Some insist on globalizing mercantilism, whereas others counter this with an appeal for globalizing the culture of differentiation. Some seek a return to the days when development assistance represented at least 0.07% of Canada's gross domestic product, whereas others target their MBA programs squarely at the future elites of developing countries. From this viewpoint, the major societal debates are fully reflected within the university, which is also perhaps the best place to reconcile these divergent viewpoints.

This disciplinary split is deepened by the universities' ambivalence about the merits of the cooperative and the competitive approaches. Neither option should be excluded a priori, of course, if institutional development can benefit from both. It would be just as risky to support any initiative that might upset the internal balance. This situation may make the creation of a vice president of internationalization all the more useful. But it also demonstrates the potential limitations of such a position.

Other issues complicate the choice of the best way to manage the internationalization of the universities. As the task has become more complex internal roles and structures have become more diversified. Foreign-student services and international cooperation offices have now been joined by foreign-student recruitment bureaus, which may or may not be attached to those earlier offices. This development raises yet further questions about the coordination of units that may have contradictory objectives.

Doubts are also raised about contract-management functions. The changes that CIDA has made in the way it awards contracts and the reduced volume of contracts reserved exclusively for universities (CIDA's new bidding system, with limited funding for the University Partnerships in Cooperation and Development [UPCD] program) have led several institutions to conclude that the only way to maintain their current contract volume or increase it with funding from international financial agencies, such as the regional banks or the World Bank, is to equip themselves with a more flexible management structure, free of the encumbrances so well described by Howard Clark (Chapter 5). Alliances have been struck with private-sector partners,

and some universities have even set up private corporations in an effort to meet their objectives. What would be the best organizational and management models to enable a university to maintain its contract work at a level it deems consistent with its capacities and its expertise? To what extent should the contractual dimension be located outside the university? And, in this case, what kind of relationship will be needed to ensure the academic advantages, without the drawbacks? What will be the impact on university governance? Some have suggested that such questions may even cast doubt on the appropriateness of the collegial system for the management of universities (Buchbinder and Newson 1990). Whatever the case, it is no longer possible to consider questions of international revenue outside the broader context of the growing entrepreneurial character of universities and the structural conditions they need to enable them to generate their own revenue from whatever source. As more and more universities adopt economic objectives, the resulting complexity of their structures will more and more resemble those of holding companies.

Valuing all international activities

The current criteria for the appraisal of professors have frequently been cited as an obstacle to the proper valuation of international initiatives. Although in the case of research great store is placed on faculty members belonging to an international network or publishing in an international journal as offering clear and unquestioned proof of her or his excellence, this does not necessarily hold for those working to secure international training for their students or to strengthen university institutions in developing countries. These cases clearly require better measures of excellence, and it might be useful to clarify some of the more specific evaluation criteria and make more use of such mechanisms as peer juries. A teacher of intercultural relations may be a splendid pedagogue in theory, practice, and person. Yet, even the director of his or her department may have no evidence of this from a credible peer. Profound discrepancies in an evaluation procedure work to the systematic disadvantage of faculty who are interested in building new teaching or social relationships. This tends to inhibit innovation, and only those with tenure can afford to persist in developing an expertise not recognized in their own department. Many forms of appraisal can be established to compel those teachers most concerned to spell out the particular challenges they face and thereby demonstrate the excellence of their work. This would be at

least one route to stimulating new thinking and possibly original contributions to the process of internationalization.

One advantage of this approach would be to bring teaching concerns back into the centre of the debate about the quality control of international education and, more broadly, of internationalization. The Europeans have established a credit-transfer system, based essentially on syllabus descriptions. Even if we feel that these methods smack of efforts to impose uniformity, they in fact amount to no more than efforts to control the minimum content of the knowledge to be transmitted. This is certainly not a negligible consideration, but the notions of quality and excellence go far beyond that. The evaluation of a university's internationalization should include output as well as input indicators (see annex A, "Self-evaluation checklist," in CERI-IMHE 1998). In short, the assessment of faculty members' international activities could be a suitable complement to other efforts to enhance the quality of university work. It should be noted that these concerns have not found much reflection in Canada. Although the Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (CICIC 1995) deals with questions concerning the credit-transfer system, this does not mean that Canadian universities have shown much interest in taking this route.

Internal financing of international activities

The discussion of contractual aspects has served to highlight the organizational problems universities face in resorting to international activities as a source of revenue. Whereas most university presidents favour internationalizing their institutions, a survey would probably show that their support for this varies inversely with its costs to the institution. We may legitimately ask whether any Canadian university has introduced a system of budgeting for international activities. Although we might suppose that part of any operating budget should be used in support of this effort, it is far from clear that in the majority of cases Canadian universities are convinced of this. Certainly, the sorry state of university financing tends above all to preserve the status quo, and the funds earmarked for development are generally modest. It would be interesting, however, to measure the commitment of universities to maintaining such budget envelopes and their relative weight in relation to those established for the teaching and research functions. In fact, it would appear that the major concern of universities is to cover the infrastructure costs for existing services, which the universities are under increasing pressure to make self-financing, either directly or through their generating greater


general revenues for the university. We may consider it unfortunate that in Canada, as opposed to Europe, government budgets do not cover or only partially cover the infrastructure costs for managing international cooperation.

To sum up, managing the internationalization of universities is becoming an increasingly complex affair. On one hand, it raises essentially political questions of balance and values, both internally and externally — as well as academic questions, which often seem to receive too little serious consideration to generate new evaluation practices or support for a new departmental dynamic. On the other hand, structures for managing international activities are becoming more diverse and require more and more specialized expertise and a closer identification with academic objectives. Pressure is increasing therefore to ensure a better synergy through new structures or new forms of coordination. But, for the most part, these structures have so far been inadequate to the configuration of individual institutions, their intended projection of themselves on the international scene, or their efforts to adapt to ever-changing circumstances in an increasingly fractured internal and external institutional environment. In effect, in addition to having to take account of their own dynamic, universities must also take account of government interventions, which in this area tend to promote dispersal, rather than coherent, well-integrated action.

The role of governments

In the course of a few years, the universities have undergone some fundamental changes as a result of sizable budget cuts. Relatively independent of government in matters affecting their management, they have been obliged to overcome their revenue shortfalls in a variety of ways, primarily by taking on new research contracts financed by the private sector and by seeking greater revenues from international sources. Some studies suggest that in the area of research and development, Canadian universities are now more tightly bound than their American counterparts to the private sector (CIRST-ENVEX 1998).

This need for universities to earn income results directly from government decisions to reduce public funding for higher education. Depending on the province, governments are retreating in a number of ways. The issue of privatization, a term that covers a wide variety of situations, has come to the fore. In Alberta, government funding received by the University of Calgary has shrunk from 90% of its



operating budget 10 years ago to 39% today (Kant 1998). The Ontario government, for its part, allows universities to set tuition fees for all professional programs — such as medicine, law, and administration — and in nearly all provinces students have seen major hikes in tuition fees (as noted in Chapter 1), and this has had a direct impact on the levels of enrollment at Canadian universities.

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The disinvestment of provincial governments in higher education has been dramatic, and universities have been forced to increase their revenues to survive; they have had to be ready to either embrace the logic of the knowledge marketplace or reduce their activities and risk disappearing completely. From this viewpoint, governments bear a large responsibility for the tensions described above. At the same time, the senior level of government has shown indifference to, and a lack of understanding of, the importance of internationalization and its effects on the universities.

From a strictly financial viewpoint, federal government funding for international education, not including the UPCD program of CIDA, stood at barely \$20 million in 1997/98 (AUCC 1998; also see AUCC's web site [listed in Appendix 1]). But nearly \$14 million is destined for foreign partners and about \$6 million is granted to Canadian students. If we add the \$33 million for the UPCD program, the federal contribution to international education is \$53 million. These amounts are absurdly low. Moreover, as we have seen, international grants from the funding councils are very modest, despite the recent appearance of new programs. For example, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, in partnership with CIDA, has just established a new program called *Canada in the World*, aimed at promoting studies in developing countries, and the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council has announced the creation of its International Initiatives Fund, which will help Canadian researchers join international networks. It is understandable, too, that AUCC and other organizations recently presented a memorandum to the federal government, urging it to devote funding of the order of \$100 million annually to international education (AUCC 1998¹). Despite the shift in the magnitude of the requested funding, we still must recognize that the proposal remains modest by comparison with the European project, SOCRATES, which alone represents spending of about \$1 530 billion between 1995 and 1998.

Although new funding is clearly required, the pertinence of these recommendations can certainly be debated. In fact, as we shall

¹ AUCC (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada). 1998. *Scotia Bank-AUCC Awards for Excellence in Internationalization*. AUCC, ON, Canada. Unpublished document.

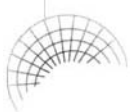
see, we may ask whether it would not be better to address the question of support for internationalization more generally, rather than focusing on a set of programs or subprograms. This also explains why several provincial governments would like to see major initiatives mounted but mainly under the category of recruiting foreign students. We can only regret that the provinces take such a narrow view of their constitutional responsibilities. Quebec is an exception, but resources are scarce there, too.

With their eyes firmly fixed on their budget balances, governments have no medium- or long-term perspective to offer, other than that of supporting commercial initiatives. In fact, no comprehensive vision guides their actions in higher education or with respect to the role internationalization might play in support of development and higher education. The piecemeal approach is the rule, however contradictory it may be.

Jane Knight's article (Chapter 9) draws attention to a series of studies pointing to the absence of a policy framework and the (partly related) lack of coordination among stakeholders. In Canada, we face a curious situation in which the provinces, which are responsible for education and make the most influential decisions in this area, evince little or no interest in policy or vision for the internationalization of the universities; and in which the federal government, which has no constitutional role in education, involves itself in international education but, for political reasons, studiously avoids any direct intervention.

This situation explains the creation of intermediary institutions, such as the Canadian Bureau for International Education, the World University Service of Canada, and more recently the CECs, which were established thanks to a sizable grant from the Asia-Pacific Foundation. Under these circumstances, the obvious lack of coordination is the direct result of the political divide between the federal government and the provinces, but it also reflects differing philosophies among bodies within the federal government itself. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter 3, some bodies, such as the World University Service of Canada and the Canadian Bureau for International Education, which have played a positive and important role in training related to development assistance, are now entering increasingly into competition with the universities themselves to win contracts or to undertake recruiting. The fragmentation is institutionalized by the proliferation of these intermediaries, which are ever more frequently in a conflict of interest with the very institutions that they are supposed to serve.





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How can we hope to achieve better coordination when the prevailing pattern is that of proliferation and fragmentation in the higher education system and in the forms of internationalization? It is time for governments to realize that universities have significant stakes in the broader panorama of international relations. It is essential to appreciate the scope of these stakes and to think seriously about the steps that might enable Canadian universities to make long-term commitments to cooperation, as well as to competition, which are of such strategic importance not only for the universities themselves but also for the economic and cultural leadership of our country.

Rather than going ahead with large, standardized programs that lead to increases in uniformity and adhere to an existing pattern, would it not be wiser to support the institutions' proposals, which are aimed at targets of a suitable scale in the international areas in which each institution can hope to be effective with appropriate methods, including, of course, student exchanges and recruitment? How can we move from a program approach to one that is strategically targeted and that reconciles consistency with effectiveness? This calls for a radical rethinking of the ways governments are providing support in the new setting taking shape. The major risk is that by pursuing a strategy of differentiation we may promote proliferation and oblige universities, if they want access to funding, to deal with so many different institutions and on so many different issues that they cannot hope to manage them all coherently. In such a confusing context, how will it be possible to develop strategic plans that represent anything more than good intentions? One way to support the universities may be to give each of them the means to carry out a comprehensive plan in which all facets of internationalization are present to varying degrees, according to their particular institutional strengths, the originality of their contribution, and their international networks. It is not a question here of local or regional resistance to internationalization, perceived as a leveling force, as it was sometimes in Europe (de Wit and Callan 1995), but one of strengthening the capacity of Canadian universities to create and diffuse knowledge internationally.

Internationalizing the production and dissemination of knowledge

It is clear that we are well on the way to a state of globalized "production" and dissemination of knowledge. As a locus for the production of knowledge, the universities many years ago lost whatever monopoly they may have once had. Universities must now come to

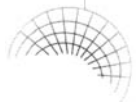
terms with various specialized public or private research centres and new forms of producing and diffusing knowledge, which Gibbons et al. (1995) referred to as Mode 2. This mode may be characterized — at the risk of caricature — as one in which knowledge is immediately placed in context in direct response to the concerns of users. This mode is essentially interdisciplinary and marked by the globalization of economic interests. It thus takes an international perspective from the very outset. Moreover, as the number of universities is growing throughout the world, it is clear that no one institution can pretend to cover all areas of knowledge with equal success. The globalization of production, the transformation of modes of production, and the dissemination of knowledge itself call for some profound questioning and inevitable adaptation:


Knowledge producing, knowledge mediating and knowledge diffusing institutions have proliferated since 1945. Universities and university-like establishments of higher education, professional societies, government and corporate R&D [research and development] laboratories, consultancy firms and think tanks, non-governmental organizations and other advocacy groups have multiplied and continue to create their own market for knowledge. They have been driven essentially by developing links with new clients, reflecting the socially distributed aspects of Mode 2 knowledge production.

Gibbons et al. (1995, p. 137)

The question is whether universities, either the established or the new ones, can adapt to the new knowledge demands and the various conditions the users associate with them. To this question, Gibbons et al. (1995, p. 151) replied, “Yes, through further change and diversification of both form and function, and the surrender of their monopoly position in world knowledge production.”

In fact, there are many ways for universities to adapt. Everywhere in the world we find reforms of higher education systems, which have often had the effect of diversifying teaching institutions as much by sector (technical or professional institutions) as by level (undergraduate programs or advanced studies) or even by legal status (public institution, private, mixed). Universities are thus under pressure to change. Some will choose to give priority to more traditional research (what Gibbons et al. [1995] called Mode 1), whereas others will pursue activities more like those of Mode 2, that is, activities more directly related to scientific and technological development, including technology transfer. Every university, depending indeed on its institutional personality, can include both modes to a certain degree,





particularly as more and more government support is devoted to Mode-2 activities. But as we have seen in Canada, the recently created Canadian Innovation Fund contributes only 40% of total eligible project costs.

We may legitimately expect to see an overall intensification of research activities, a growing degree of diversification, and the creation of new structures to produce and manage knowledge. In the United States, a new class of universities is emerging, as revealed in a recent study conducted by Graham and Diamond (1997) on the development of US research universities. Based essentially on the per capita ratio of research grants and on published articles by discipline, the study proposes a reclassification of American universities. More refined classifications are emerging and creating new frames of reference for the international presence of the major universities. The Carnegie classification will need to be revised to some extent. The Carnegie system classifies US higher education institutions into seven broad categories and draws a distinction between doctoral and research universities. One of the criteria for this distinction is the number of doctorates granted each year, along with the importance of research activities and budgets. In Canada, there is no similar classification, but *Maclean's* magazine, for example, has proposed grouping institutions into three categories: medical-doctoral universities, which include medical sciences; comprehensive universities without medical faculties; and primarily undergraduate universities. The question of differentiation according to degree of research has proven divisive for the university community. Some universities in Canada refuse to compare themselves with other Canadian universities alone and look instead to North America as a whole. National boundaries are no longer the frame of reference for institutions that see themselves in a continental or global setting.


The differentiation of universities can be based not only on the "vertical axis" of knowledge creation (favoured by universities that view themselves as prestigious) but also on the "horizontal axis" of dissemination. Particularly in the area of teaching, it is now possible to offer programs to ever greater numbers of students, even across several continents. Some American universities have established campuses abroad. What was once an exception may now become the model. Distance education is also part of this expansionary approach, allowing universities to offer highly diversified training, ranging from individual courses, to program options, to full programs on virtual campuses.

Universities reserved exclusively for young people finishing high school are a thing of the past, and we find more and more adult students in our universities, either in regular studies or, increasingly, in specialized programs. In addition, distance teaching can reach out to groups in the workplace and to individuals at home who are unavailable during regular hours. Internationalization is contributing directly to the diversification of the student population, a population that not only seeks continuous learning but also is increasingly independent of the limits imposed by physical location. It is worth noting that this diversification can bring about an even greater dispersal of activities and, in fact, drive the universities toward institutional fragmentation. The increasing diversity poses a threat in terms of disintegration of training and an increasing individualization of learning. In the end, the university might be no more than a data bank of programs and didactic self-learning materials (packages). The successor of the mass university may be a new form of technology-mediated mass education, in which the student is increasingly isolated. The "virtualization" of the university may in fact be bringing about a sort of knowledge consumerism, in which the students may not be the winners!

Finally, even beyond the issue of institutional development along the vertical or horizontal axis, questions are raised, particularly in developing countries, about the link between knowledge and local and regional development. The relevance of certain knowledge coming from the North can often be challenged, and we are witnessing (most notably in Africa) a growing and perhaps irremediable schism between local and regional communities and their university institutions. These communities can in fact question the relevance of knowledge from the North on two levels: first, in terms of the need for indigenous development; and second, in terms of redefinition of the role, as well as of the structures, of national universities. Increasing direct access to knowledge from the North can only accelerate the disintegration of higher education systems in the South and inhibit the development of new, local modes of knowledge production and dissemination.

In this way, the complex dynamics of internationalization are substantively different in countries of the North and in those of the South. In each case, however, the effect on the organization of higher education systems and universities will be profound. This process is unfolding precisely at a time when other forces are pushing the universities toward ever greater levels of self-funding. Hence, the world's higher education systems — already intertwined through networks,





alliances, and competition — are becoming even more inextricably linked. Practically everywhere, universities are doing their best to create their own medium- and long-term sources of revenue. In the South, privatization is often seen as a life raft, but for universities in industrialized countries, the challenge is somewhat different. Whereas in recent years research and development were seen as the key to self-financing, now it is education and training (as commercial services) that are introducing the idea of the “service university” (Newson 1994). The entrepreneurial character of the university is spreading and taking root. Universities are no longer merely academic campuses with clearly defined boundaries and well-categorized activities but are progressively becoming new learning and cognitive business complexes, part of the knowledge economy. They are emerging as new organizational forms for the quaternary economy and thereby bringing some fundamental questions to the fore about, for example, intellectual property, the role of professors in research and teaching, collegiality and institutional governance, and even the status of students within the context of continuous education.

Canadian universities are experiencing these forces of change, at times involuntarily, and like all other institutions they are working hard to equip themselves to master their ongoing restructuring. It is clear, however, that the universities’ success will be closely linked to our shared perception of what is at stake. The universities and the various governments need to establish a convergence of outlook on objectives, and programs must ensure coherence and cohesion of action in the medium term. Canadian universities still possess real assets: their variety, flexibility, and openness to the world (not just to certain regions); their sense of initiative and organization and their devotion to public service; and their concern for equality, particularly when it comes to access. For anyone who views higher education as an essential instrument of the wealth and culture of a country, these assets are convincing arguments that the time has come for important and innovative change. With and only with such change can we hope to simultaneously sustain the outreach of our universities, increase our capacity to create innovations in research and development that are relevant to those in need, actively promote a successful pedagogy, and show the way to a humane appropriation of information technologies. Achieving these goals will be necessary to ensuring strong intellectual leadership in Canada for the world of tomorrow, when knowledge will be the source of both wealth and global citizenship.