

University internationalisation: its meanings, rationales and implications

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ABSTRACT *In this paper, we look at the processes of globalisation and internationalisation, especially as they impact higher education in developing nations. The two concepts are quite different in their approach as are the consequences for these nations. We attempt to show that, whereas globalisation is an extension of historical imbalances linked to Western colonisation and dominance, internationalisation has the potential to create more equitable relations. However, it is important to realise that internationalisation is perceived differently in the West and in developing societies. We take a closer look at the situation in China to support our analysis.*

Introduction

Internationalisation has become a catchword of the times in higher education. Its wider use is due to an increasing interest in the international dimension of higher education, particularly during the past few years, which in turn has led to its emergence as a research area in its own right. Surprisingly perhaps, while it is becoming more accepted and more central to the provision of higher education, people are using the same term with very different definitions (Knight, 1997). At the heart of any serious discussion of internationalisation lies a conundrum. Despite many attempts to formulate a “tight” definition the core idea remains conceptually elusive (Callan, 1998). There is no simple, unique or all-encompassing definition of internationalisation.

For some, internationalisation is seen as an extension of the traditional commitment of universities to learning, and as an exchange of knowledge. By contrast, it is sometimes thought of as an innovative response to external marketing opportunities, and therefore its nature has changed dramatically during the last decade (Windham, 1996). While universities world-wide are promoting internationalisation, achieving a common definition has not proved simple. Indeed, theoretical studies lag far behind practice. Different interpretations of internationalisation are offered by a variety of researchers and associations in the higher education sector. This, in itself, reflects the fact that internationalisation has mostly occurred in a rather *ad hoc* and incremental fashion, with policy and reflection often occurring after the fact (Welch & Denman, 1997).

Internationalisation and globalisation are not only most interchangeably used in

academic circles, but are also often confused in the practical world. They are, however, two different, albeit closely related, terms reflecting phenomena with different rationales, objectives and effects. Globalisation, in its broadest form, describes social processes that transcend national borders. While the concept of globalisation spans separate, overlapping domains, it is fundamentally an economic process of integration that transcends national borders and ultimately affects the flow of knowledge, people, values and ideas (Yang, 2000). The rationale for economic globalisation is that global market forces are uncontrollable, therefore, all other domains, including education, must fall under the same rationalist ideology. Cerny (1990, 1997) and Yeatman (1993) have characterised this transformation as a move from a “welfare” to a “competition” state, in which the only forms of intervention in the economy by the state which are licensed are those which enhance national economic competitiveness.

Globalisation is influencing universities world-wide through market competition and radically changing the face of the university as an institution. The “do more with less” credo advocated by national governments within a context of economic globalisation has reshaped social institutions, including universities. The need to distinguish internationalisation from globalisation has become more urgent, given this scenario of increasing globalisation, which increasingly constrains institutional choices in the area of internationalisation. It becomes even more critical in developing long-term collaborative programmes that aim at mutual benefits for both international partners (Kishun, 1998).

Meaning

The term internationalisation covers different things (Drilhon, 1993), and includes different dimensions (Lowbeer, 1978; Hughes, 1995; Harari, 1989), with various stresses at different levels of higher education (Harari, 1978). While there has been much talk about internationalisation in many aspects of modern society, rarely do we have an exact definition of what is actually meant. Different perspectives have been adopted to examine university internationalisation, and therefore various understandings of the term abound. Definitions of internationalisation embody diverse emphasises and various approaches (Knight & De Wit, 1995).

Individual commentators have adopted divergent perspectives with strikingly different emphases, including international contributions on curricula, literature in foreign languages, and teacher and student exchanges (Svensson, 1994), the multiple activities programmes and services that fall within international studies, international educational exchanges and technical cooperation (Arum & Van de Water, 1992), mobility of academic personnel (Welch, 1997; Welch & Denman, 1997), and foreign language education (Kokhuis, 1992).

Most people understand internationalisation in terms of categories or types of activities. These include academic and extracurricular activities such as: curricular development and innovation; scholar, student and faculty exchange; area studies; technological assistance; intercultural training; education of international students and joint research initiatives (Knight & De Wit, 1995). The intensity of the activities

involved varies enormously, depending on the specific situation of the institutions concerned.

Various international organisations, each with specific aims and natures, are active in promoting internationalisation, leading to different programmes and policies (Francis, 1993; Milhouse, 1994). The European Association of International Education (EAIE) (1992), for example, somewhat exceptionally defines internationalisation as the whole range of processes by which (higher) education becomes less national, and more internationally oriented.

In their latest books published under the aegis of the OECD Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE) Programme, Knight & De Wit (1999) once again define internationalisation as the process of integrating international dimensions into teaching, research and service. In their view, an international dimension introduces or integrates an international/intercultural/global outlook into the major functions of a university or college. Ebuchi (1990) also sees internationalisation as a process by which the teaching, research and service functions of a higher education system become internationally and cross-culturally compatible.

For a university, internationalisation means the awareness and operation of interactions within and between cultures through its teaching, research and service functions, with the ultimate aim of achieving mutual understanding across cultural borders. For a national higher education system, internationalisation refers to dialogue with those in other countries. Internationalisation, then, is not a newly emergent topic or phenomenon. In fact, it dates from very ancient history.

This explains why internationalisation is often associated with cultural integration and conflicts in non-Western countries. In Japan, for example, cultural and ideological meanings have been added. Internationalisation has come to stand for many of the processes formerly subsumed under the labels of “westernisation,” “modernisation” and “liberalisation” (Gerbert, 1993; Lincicome, 1993). This is linked to the question raised by the eminent China scholar, Ruth Hayhoe (1996): How might the university, so clearly rooted in its values and structures in European history, open itself to ideas and values derived from other knowledge sources?

As a result of the comprehensive changes in the contemporary world, internationalisation could be indeed interpreted from various perspectives. As the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) (1993) has claimed, it is a multitude of activities aimed at providing an educational experience within an environment that truly integrates a global perspective. As the international dimension of higher education gains more attention and recognition, people use it in the way that best suits their purpose. Internationalisation needs to have parameters if it is to be assessed, and successful assessment lies only in an understanding of the particular contexts in which it occurs.

Across the membership of the OECD, for example, although issues associated with university internationalisation are assuming high priority (Wagner & Schnitzer, 1991), internationalisation is sometimes treated as learning the language, social system and broader culture of another European country (Gibbon, 1994), as the June 1991 OECD Seminar on “Mobility and Exchange Programs” in the University of Helsinki suggests. This can be seen as particularly situated in the context of

TABLE 1. Understanding of 'international perspective' by Guangzhou university administrators

Responses	Number	%
Knowledge of the most recent international development in one's fields	17	28.81
Integration and communication with international community	8	13.56
Mutual understanding	4	6.78
Foreign language teaching and learning	1	1.69
Use of the Internet	1	1.69
No answer/unclear	28	47.46
Total	59	100

on-going European integration. Another example is St Petersburg University's major internationalisation goal to integrate itself into the European Academic Community (Merkur'ev & Troyan, 1994), which gains particular significance when considering Russia's contemporary approach to Europe.

My field study, that was conducted in 17 institutions of higher learning in Guangzhou, China in 1998, underlines that our understanding of internationalisation relies heavily on the particular socio-cultural context. For example, a key concept of Knight's well-known definition is the international dimension/perspective. The Guangzhou survey shows, however, that 47.46% of the total 59 administrators surveyed did not know what "international perspective" meant, or simply left this question blank. Answers provided by the other 52.54% of them varied substantially (see Table 1).

My review of the Chinese literature further confirms the crucial role of specific contexts when trying to understand the internationalisation of higher education. In China, *Jiegui* (to connect tracks) is a vivid expression of Chinese conformity with international practice. *Jiegui* was a catchword in the early 1990s when China finally decided to adopt a market economy. It is often equated with, or at least very much relates to, internationalisation in the field of higher education. Its basic meaning is to connect China's educational practice with the mainstream of international trends. The central target of *Jiegui* is to regulate China's education according to the criteria and mainstream of international practice.

With its basic meaning implying the joining of the world mainstream, *Jiegui* leads to the long-standing argument regarding one-sided adaptation, and the issue of Chinese national character. For instance, at the International Symposium on Indigenous Knowledge and Cultural Interchange, convened by Hunan University in 1994, the President of Nanjing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics raised an objection to the notion of *Jiegui* which he criticised as too easily leading to the neglect of national characteristics, an outcome that was much worse than the loss of international status for China's higher education (Jia, 1994, p. 6).

The criticism is justifiable in the sense that China's higher education will certainly

lose its international status if it fails to maintain its own characteristics, or adapts itself passively to higher education practice in economically more advanced countries. However, it is obvious that the critique itself has not been well defined theoretically, something that is also the case with *Jiegui*. Many key words that its proponents utilise to define it, including those in the current field of education, are vague and disputable. These include words such as “trend”, “mainstream”, “quality” and “efficiency”. However, neither the proponents nor the critics deny the necessity of higher education internationalisation, nor do they negate the feasibility of it. They largely agree that *Jiegui* means internationalisation in higher education.

Rationales

Just as the development of a common definition of internationalisation has not proved easy, the assessment of the rationale for internationalisation is problematic. Rationales for the world-wide expanding programmes of internationalisation are not unidimensional (Welch & Denman, 1997). Any discussions on internationalisation cannot avoid discussion of the nature of a university, and its role in the transmission and creation of forms of culture and knowledge. Should we see universities as part of an interconnected system of global knowledge transfer through which ever more accurate knowledge about the world is dispersed to an ever greater number of students? Alternatively, should we see universities as key sites of cultural and epistemological invasion, where inappropriate and irrelevant forms of Western culture and knowledge are thrust upon an unwitting student population? Should we perhaps look at universities as a key site of struggle, where local knowledge meets global knowledge in a battle to represent different worlds in different ways? How we view universities around the world, and their relations with each other clearly depends on how we understand culture, knowledge, education and international relations (Pennycook, 1996).

Answers to the above questions are based on the profound belief that people share the bond of humanity, and that the cultural heritage of humankind is universal in character. Whereas the bond of uniqueness provides people with a sense of identity and distinctiveness, the bond of humanity opens up an opportunity to experience solidarity and cohesion. The one is as essential as the other. In a world of escalating problems, difficulties and differences, it is reassuring to know that all human beings share this common bond of humanity, even if there are widely divergent views on how life should be lived and how survival should be addressed and ensured (Schafer, 1998). Through taking a critical position regarding cultures and their interactions, higher education becomes a substantial area of social, cultural development (Barnett, 1990).

The rationale for internationalisation lies in an understanding of the universal nature of the advancement of knowledge. While knowledge is often contextual, the advancement of human knowledge that is based on the common bonds of humanity is arguably a global enterprise. Universities are, therefore, by nature of their commitment to advancing human knowledge, international institutions. Historically, universities were already international as far back as the Middle Ages in the

Western societies (Lowbeer, 1978; Houwers, 1994; Schuster, 1994; Svensson, 1994), when the academic rationale for internationalisation was dominant (De Wit, 1999). In Chinese texts, Confucius began his teachings with the notion that he could teach all, including those who lived in neighbouring countries. With this notion in mind, he travelled to different countries to teach (Dong & Liu, 1985).

By nature of their commitment to advancing human knowledge, universities necessarily engage in international cooperation. Owing to the need for, and ease of, contemporary cross-cultural communication, internationalisation that goes far beyond simply having some international connections is even more inherent in many academic disciplines. International networks have been numerous and variegated long before the issue of internationalisation became subjected to social steering and formal discussion, and was prescribed by official policy documents. Learning about science, for example, demonstrates a strong international orientation in higher education and science, with numerous relations and networks created spontaneously at the level of individuals, groups and departments (Svensson, 1994).

Academic study needs an international approach to avoid parochialism in scholarship and research and to stimulate critical thinking and enquiry about the complexity of issues and interests that bear on the relations among nations, regions and interest groups. Often, introducing or emphasising international and intercultural aspects leads to more interdisciplinary cooperation in research endeavours. It is the responsibility of a university to cultivate the ability to understand, appreciate and articulate the reality of interdependence among nations and to prepare faculty, staff and students to function in an international and intercultural context. Under the impact of globalisation, universities have the opportunity and responsibility through teaching and research to increase awareness and understanding of the new and changing phenomenon that is affecting the political, economic and cultural/multi-cultural developments within and among nations.

Indeed, following this line of thought, Clark Kerr stated two decades ago that higher education was on its way to becoming the first truly international community in the modern world (Sadlak, 1994). Merkur'ev and Troyan (1994) argue that, over the last ten centuries, many progressive ideas were born within European universities, and university cooperation has played a leading role in their dissemination. The process of internationalisation has spread beyond the boundaries of Europe and has become a truly world-wide phenomenon. Meanwhile, universities have continuously increased the international content of their programmes (Houwers, 1994).

Like many discussions of its kind, Kerr's observation is understandably limited within Western societies, considering the fact that modern universities world-wide are singular institutions (Altbach, 1992a), as a result of Western imperialist and modernisation movements associated with the nineteenth century (Hayhoe, 1996). Welch and Denman (1997), however, adopt much broader perspectives and argue that internationalisation started long before the emergence of universities in their modern sense, dating back to Confucius in China and to the Sophists in the West.

As history entered into the modern period, the cosmopolitan university was replaced by a "divergence" model, in which higher education not only came to serve the administrative and economic interests of the nation-state but became an essen-

tial aspect of the development of national identity (Kerr, 1994). Universities have since been linked to the nation-state in literature (Scott, 1998; De Wit, 1999), and in recent years politicians and some scholars have started to see internationalisation as a beneficial tool for economic and political policies. Instead of the universal character of advancing human understanding and knowledge, its contribution to economic growth has been increasingly cited as the dominant rationale for internationalisation (Wagner & Schnitzer, 1991; Carnoy, 1995). As Balan & Trombetta's (1996) example shows, there is a clear need for Latin American universities to move beyond the confined setting in which they have developed. Treaties and agreements on international economic cooperation are placing increasing demands on universities there. Around the globe, economic instrumentalism is so dominant that higher education risks appearing to put commercial considerations before others (Altbach, 1999; Bruch & Barty, 1998). Genuine values of internationalisation are in danger of being overshadowed by the prevailing financial climate for these reasons.

The current era, however, has seen a partial reconvergence (Brown, 1950) of what Kerr (1994) calls the "cosmopolitan-nation-state university", a transformation from nation-state divergence in higher education toward a more universal convergence where universities best serve their nations by serving the world of learning. Such reconvergence is essentially the current resurgence of internationalisation. Universities in the past have gone from a global to a more isolationist national period, and the globalisation of present society requires a renewal of their universal role.

With the support of the latest technology, globalisation is causing substantial time-space compression in a shrinking world (Robertson, 1992). It often confronts people with a social, cultural derangement, particularly in the less economically and technologically developed societies where no new order can work properly, at the same time that historical traditions are quickly losing power. It may even further fuel international cultural conflicts, rather than integration (Huntington, 1996). Under the impact of globalisation, which, together with its associates, consumerism and the market economy, perpetuates an excessively materialistic and exploitative view of living, this world is rapidly becoming fragmented, disorganised and divided (Schafer, 1998).

We cannot pretend that this situation will correct itself, nor will it go away. Cultural dialogue and communication based on equity and reciprocity are necessary in order to avoid "misreading" (Chen, 1996). The university, as a major custodian of "the best that has been thought and said" in a society, has a key role to play here. It must consider T.S. Eliot's questions, "Where is the life we have lost in living? Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?" (Eliot in Eyford, 1996, p. 96). It is the role of the university to examine what we are doing to ourselves so that, through understanding, we can minimise the negative effects and maximise the positive ones, to become more discriminate in our tastes, rather than simply "moving with the tide" (Currie & Newson, 1998, p. 6). This is arguably the prime role of higher education today, as always: to help us understand what is happening in our lives and in our world.

Seen from this perspective, there needs to be a burst of creativity and renewed energy to re-imagine the university as an intellectual community and as a locus of

intellectual life that is responsive to the changed political, social and economic conditions of the current age. A deeper concern, both inside and outside academia, stems from beliefs about the nature of the university, and the erosion of the core university values of disinterested inquiry and critical thinking, and that an instrumentalist approach to education, so susceptible to business notions of efficiency and productivity, distorts the complex cultural, social and process dimensions of education (Desmarez & Thys-Clément, 1994). The responsibility for preserving universities and colleges as places where knowledge is freely produced and disseminated for broadly defined social purposes may then manifest itself.

Implications

In comparative and international education it is almost a cliché to criticise some research for being Western biased. Nonetheless, to talk about Western bias in general is one thing, and to incorporate such awareness into daily actions is another. Powered by globalisation, pressures from the West are increasing. Researchers on international relations in education and on Third World education often fail to base their work on this premise, which entails different perspectives and calls for specific development strategies. It is precisely within such a scenario, however, that internationalisation poses some particular issues for universities in less economically developed non-Western countries.

The concept of globalisation is regularly connected to the various consequences of the rise of the West in the twentieth century (Spybey, 1996). Internationalisation is often linked to westernisation and modernisation, and has a different meaning for non-Western countries. Most governments in less-developed non-Western nations have attempted to encourage international collaboration and exchanges while reinforcing a sense of national identity (Gerbert, 1993). In less-developed countries, internationalisation has been assigned more ideological meanings. Within the context of a Western-dominated world, there are more factors at the international, national and local levels that hamper efforts to institute concrete educational reforms which will further the process of internationalisation (Lincicome, 1993).

This ideological conflict makes internationalisation a very knotty problem. In Chinese education, for example, a strong sense of tradition has dictated a particularly high level of vigilance with respect to outside knowledge (Bastid, 1987). In contrast, universities in developing countries continue to be influenced by the major metropolitan universities of industrialised nations. Indeed, most Asian, African and Latin American universities are modelled upon, or are an eclectic combination of, European and North American universities, tracing their roots to European medieval universities (Altbach & Selvaratnam, 1989). As such, they are beset by the critical problem of having developed institutions that often do not deal effectively with the social and economic development needs of their respective countries. The most important institutions of these countries establish direct links with their equivalents in more advanced countries, and have little or no contact with other universities in the same countries. International cooperation often serves more to keep them away from national or local development objectives, and limit their action

to an imitation of patterns not adapted to the cultural and the economic needs of their countries (Dias, 1994).

This has been a long-standing phenomenon in less-developed countries stretching back to the early stages of their learning from the West. Timothy Richard, a British missionary, complained in 1911 that the newly established modern colleges in China were so Western as to make students almost foreigners in thought and habits and largely out of touch with native thought and feeling (Davín, 1987). In comparative education, there is therefore a long-term view that considers service to domestic needs in less-developed countries to be in conflict with the development of their universities towards closer integration with the world's modern university system (see, for example, Harari, 1978). The tension is based on observations by earlier scholars who saw nations on the periphery as helpless and exploited, with little possibility for even relative autonomy (Gopinathan, 1996).

Such deterministic views, however, tend to have little explanation power when assessing today's situation, at least in analysing the successful, rapid development of some newly industrialised countries in the Southeast and East Asia, where universities have shown the potential to develop quite rapidly (Altbach, 1987). These apparent anomalies demand that modifications be made to the above theory.

First, for modern universities, regionalisation and internationalisation, which have been considered as two contradictory trends, are in reality closely bound up with each other. On the one hand, due to the scientification of modern society (Teichler, 1996), local development projects need to employ the most advanced social and scientific research in the world. On the other hand, all theories, of which most stem from the industrialised nations, need to be modified when being applied to solving the real problems of less-developed countries (Orton, 2000). University regionalisation also embraces a harmonious interaction between universities and local communities. By improving the development of local societies, universities develop themselves. In this sense, regionalisation and internationalisation are two aspects of a broader phenomenon, with universities having to establish relations with a whole array of outside partners (Drilhon, 1993).

From this perspective, regionalisation even becomes part of the internationalisation process. Altbach (1992b), for example, recognises Hong Kong universities as part of an international academic community, by way of analysing their special role in the Asian region, especially with respect to the Chinese cultural sphere. By providing regional academic leadership, Hong Kong universities can at the same time promote their internationalisation. The emergence of networks of university relations networks in some relatively wide regions itself means some progress towards internationalisation.

Especially strong are links among the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the University Mobility of the Asia-Pacific (UMAP), and European networks via the European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) and the Trans European Mobility Programme for University Study (TEMPUS), among others. These programmes foster regional cooperation, discussion of common problems, regional scholarship programmes and some institutional links. Such regional links can potentially be an important force for the

improvement of universities, coordinating academic activities in order to avoid duplication, ensure the most effective use of limited funds, and create the best means of dealing with “central” academic systems of the industrialised nations (Altbach, 1987).

Secondly, as the present world is becoming more multi-polarised, so too is academia. This provides some universities in developing countries with more possibilities to avoid marginalisation (Arnove, 1999). Many changes have put a brake on the epicentres that during the twentieth century exercised a significant hegemony. Current trends witness a shift towards the Pacific Basin (Fairweather, 1989; Gopinathan, 1989). In terms of research output and contributions to journals and books, India is also fairly well known. Some scholars are well aware of this new development in international relations of world scholarship. Hayhoe (1996), for example, even asks whether the West will reach a situation that resembles the one faced by Japan and China in the nineteenth century.

Thirdly, the English language, which has been regarded as an obstacle to university development in developing countries and a language of imperialism (Mazrui, 1986), is a potent medium for international communications, and can become the servant of many people from less-developed countries (Johnson, 1996). English becomes *english* (Pennycook, 1996). More and more academic research papers written in English by scholars from the South are published in international journals. Besides, the potential of the Internet is only beginning to become evident. Although still dominated by the English language at present, it is already being used for transmission in other languages, including ones that are not based on Latin alphabets, such as Chinese (Bray, 1998). Under this scenario, more knowledge is becoming accessible to many less-developed countries, and its cost is likely to fall.

Fourthly, internationalisation and university development are linked to each other. Nowadays, the institutional standing of the chair, department and institute have become one of the main tests of a university as a research and teaching organisation. The development of an internationally reputed university has become the goal of many academic presidents, rectors or vice-chancellors (it must be re-stated, however, that such international participation should not imply uncritical submission to the forces of globalisation). Modern universities aim to produce new knowledge. In many ways, knowledge that is not part of accepted networks is not knowledge, because it is not widely communicated or taken seriously (Altbach, 1994). While a hierarchy of knowledge production still exists, ambitious universities in the less-developed countries have little choice but to aspire to so-called world-class level. Among the criteria for a world university are ready access to the information that is produced by the international knowledge system, and the ability to contribute to the system.

In China, for example, my survey reveals that awareness of such differences is palpable. While Chinese researchers realise that internationalisation of higher education in developing countries is always beset with difficulties, they accept it as a choice yielding more advantages than disadvantages. Blanket resistance to internationalisation is not only now impossible, but arguably harmful. An urgent need exists for China’s higher education to have active, continuous and direct contact with the

world community, something which largely constitutes China's higher education internationalisation agenda. According to most Chinese scholars, the current internationalisation process will not lead to westernisation because it is using international, rather than Western, standards (although they do acknowledge that there is a significant degree of overlap between the two). They feel that internationalisation gives credence to contributions from all parts of the world; and that if communication is no longer a one-way but a process of mutual benefits, it can be very valuable.

My interviews with Chinese scholars yielded an impressive mix of zeal for internationalisation, together with confidence in their own culture. This stands out particularly in light of the current wave of globalisation. While Chinese scholars' attitudes remind us of the fact that internationalisation in developing nations is far from easy, indeed a strikingly different picture arises than that in affluent Western societies. The confidence expressed by Chinese scholars in their traditional culture cements their acceptance of international standards in spite of their fundamentally Western derivation. This contrasts starkly with the views of the scholars in other non-Western, *inter alia*, Asian countries, where the dilemma of maintaining national identity against the backdrop of globalisation remains a crucial problem (Knight & De Wit, 1997).

Conclusions

While there exists an increasing need to promote the internationalisation of higher education, there is clearly no overall consensus regarding the concept as such. It has been interpreted in many ways, and is often used interchangeably, but in our opinion incorrectly so. Unlike globalisation (with which it is often confused), internationalisation is relatively more closely tied to the specific history, culture, resources and priorities of the specific institutions of higher education.

Internationalisation and globalisation are countervailing forces (Welch, 1998). To confuse them is theoretically erroneous (Sklair, 1998). This is even more the case in practice, where globalisation and internationalisation are often used interchangeably. Educators need to be particularly reminded of the fundamental differences between the two, and their different rationales, impetus and effects. It is then very necessary to clarify them theoretically. Some of my basic arguments on the distinction between globalisation and internationalisation are summarised in Table 2.

Internationalisation is also needed by modern universities, owing to the complexity and open nature of modern life and society, and also for the development of local societies. Much of the content of regional development problems is, of course, shaped by the thoughts and practices of the local society, but emerging issues are often then discussed in an explicitly international frame of reference. An international perspective is thus necessary when dealing with local development.

Owing to the fact that Western culture, including the model of a modern university, is still the dominant reality, internationalisation of higher education has different connotations in less-developed countries, where traditional cultures and developmental situations are quite different. Research on university internationalisa-

TABLE 2. Some primary values of globalisation and internationalisation

	Globalisation	Internationalisation
Origin	Started in the 19th century or earlier with the rise of Western imperialism and modernisation, nowadays fuelled by modern technology	Dating back at least to the Sophists and Confucius, respectively in Ancient Greece and China
Impetus	Profit and belief in a single, world-wide market	Advancement of human knowledge based on realisation of the bond of humanity
First priority	Economic	Human interests
Primary form	Competition, combat, confrontation, exploitation, and the survival of the fittest	Cooperation, collaboration, caring, sharing and altruism
Benefits	One-sided economic benefits	Mutual advantages
Mobility of educational provision	South \Rightarrow North (students) North \Rightarrow South (programmes)	Two/multi-way
Quality regulation	Largely ungoverned	Careful quality control

tion is at present far from adequate, especially empirical studies from an international comparative perspective. Particularly absent are studies that aim to clarify the manner in which internationalisation is conceptualised in Third World universities, and to also investigate the decisive factors, limitations and feasibility of internationalisation of higher education in less-developed non-Western countries.

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