

Opportunities and Challenges in higher education cooperation between the EU and four continents: Towards a typology of the internationalisation of higher education

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Introduction

In this concluding chapter, we try to draw lessons from studies of higher education cooperation between the EU and the four countries of Brazil, China, Russia and South Africa. Each of the previous chapters in this book provided a variety of practices, challenges and suggestions. In this conclusion, we aim to bring together these insights and reflect on these experiences. In doing so, we propose a new framework to enable us to understand the interplay between the university and the logics of higher education regarding the new developments in internationalisation. In order to achieve this goal, we also propose a new typology of supra-(EU) and national policies related to the internationalisation of higher education. Our typology explores the consistency between the policies for the internationalisation of higher education with, respectively, national strategies in economics and politics. In doing so, the typology helps us to understand the dynamics and tensions between global, national and institutional levels in higher education cooperation between the EU and the countries with the most developed higher education systems in their continents.

Internationalisation of higher education: a policy logics perspective: a new way of doing an old thing

The modern university was born under the sign of internationalisation, typically reflected in the mobility of scholars, travelling from one centre of learning to another, from one kingdom to another, connecting the north of Africa, Middle-East and Europe. This academic mobility comprises one of the building blocks of the history of universities (Perkin, 2007). Since the Humboldtian revolution, when science became an integral part of the university's institutional fabric, international cooperation and academic mobility have become significant parts of the contemporary university. It can be argued that the science emanating from the global web of knowledge production (Balbachevsky & Kohtamäki, in print) indicates that internationalisation is always present. It is an integral part of the inner dynamics of the contemporary university which provides global knowledge as a public good in cooperation with international partners.

This bottom-up movement towards internationalisation is a kaleidoscope of separate entities, formed and reformed within each department, laboratory or division. It answers to the priorities posed by disciplines and research areas and responds to the particular agendas of collaboration developed by individual academics. As such, its dynamics follow the garbage-can model of organisational choice, as proposed by Cohen et al. (1972).

Since the end of the twentieth century, governments and international organisations have added a new layer of policies trying to guide and steer the internationalisation of higher education - for their own purposes (Mäkinen, 2016). In the new environment, knowledge diplomacy is becoming increasingly essential and external economic and political interests become a major driver of the processes of university internationalisation. Knight & de Wit (2018) claim that since the 1990s, the meanings, rationales, and approaches to internationalisation have evolved to respond to the new pressures that are coming from governments, international institutions and society in general.

In the past 20 years, there have been various attempts to categorise the internationalisation of higher education according to its drivers, functions, and activities. (e.g., Cheng, Cheung, & Ng, 2016; de Wit et al., 2015; Edelstein & Douglass, 2012; Knight, 2004; Zha, 2003). Nevertheless, most of these approaches are from the perspective of the higher education sector itself.

To address this situation, Brandenburg, de Wit, Jones, Leask, and Drobner (2020) have developed the concept of 'internationalisation in higher education for society'. The authors explicitly use this concept when referring to policies guided by the goal of bringing benefits to the wider community, at home or abroad, through international or intercultural education, research, service and engagement.

Is it possible to use the perspective of 'internationalisation in higher education for society' to compare the experiences of higher education cooperation between the EU and other countries? We believe it has the potential to do so, especially when the focus is the future development of internationalisation. However, in comparing the experiences and building synergies among them, it is necessary to explore this concept in depth and develop a typology for understanding the main drivers that shape the national policies sustaining the internationalisation of higher education. Thus, inspired by the insights of these book contributors, we propose a two-dimensional typology for the internationalisation of higher education (See Table 1).

TABLE 1 Typology for the internationalisation of higher education: political economy drivers

		Alignment between internationalisation policies with the country's drive for international political cooperation	
		High	Low
Alignment between the internationalisation policies with the country's drive for international economic cooperation	High	Internationalisation of higher education for broad societal engagement	Internationalisation of higher education for global talent and advanced knowledge
	Low	Internationalisation of higher education for expanding soft power	Internationalisation of higher education for enhancing the global reputation of higher education institutions and systems

In this typology, the first dimension refers to the degree of alignment between policies for the internationalisation of higher education and the

national drivers for international political cooperation. The second dimension is the alignment between policies supporting the internationalisation of higher education with the country's drivers for international economic cooperation.

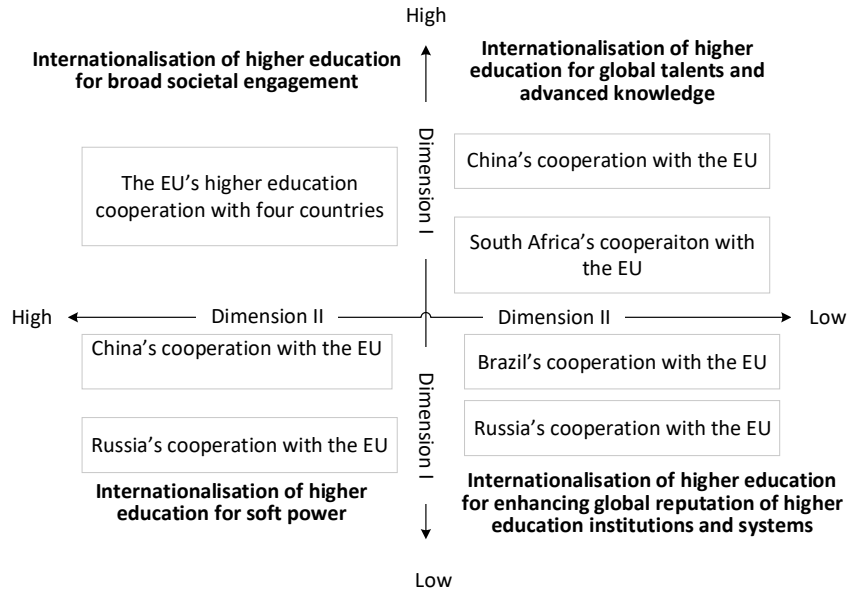
Thus, when policies supporting the internationalisation of higher education are aligned with both the national drivers for international political cooperation and economic cooperation, we have a process of **higher education internationalisation for broad societal engagement**. When these processes are mainly guided by the country's drivers for economic cooperation but loosely linked with the country's drivers for international political cooperation, the internationalisation of higher education is mostly designed to **attract global talent and advanced knowledge**. On the other hand, when the country's goals for international political cooperation are the main driver shaping the policies for the internationalisation of higher education, we have the **internationalisation of higher education for expanding soft power** (Nye, 1990). Finally, our typology allows us to identify a fourth, quite common situation, when the policies for the internationalisation of higher education are not aligned with the country's strategies for international economic or political cooperation. In this situation, internationalisation only serves the country's higher education institutions, thereby promoting **the system's higher education global reputation**.

Our typology produces a new perspective to re-examine the four rationalities commonly acknowledged in the literature (e.g., Knight, 2004; Zha, 2003) for policies supporting the internationalisation of higher education, namely academic rationale, cultural/social rationale, economic rationale, and political rationale. While the current studies often juxtapose these rationales when analysing the internationalisation of higher education, our typology enables us to analyse the consistency and/or tensions between different rationales or policy logics, which refer to institutional logics underlying public policies (Cai, Normann, Pinheiro, & Sotarauta, 2018).

The two dimensions in the typology entail three kinds of policy logics suggested by Zha (2003, 252-254). The policies for the internationalisation of higher education are underlined by the academic and cultural/social logics, 'reflected in measures like the mobility of students and staff, the improvement of the quality of education, a greater compatibility of study programmes and degrees, and enhanced knowledge of other languages and cultures, seem all to be derived from the overarching economic rationale of strengthening human resources for international competitiveness'. The political logics of internationalisation policies are

related to ‘issues concerning the country’s position and role as a nation in the world, e.g. security, stability and peace, ideological influence, etc.’. The economic logics refer ‘to objectives related to either the long-term economic effects, where the internationalisation of higher education is seen as a contribution to the skilled human resources needed for international competitiveness of the nation, and where foreign graduates are seen as keys to the country’s trade relations, or to direct economic benefits, e.g. institutional income and net economic effect of foreign students, etc.’.

The literature usually implies that the overarching economic goals at the national level drive the institutional level activities (Knight, 2004; Zha, 2003). However, there is little research to scrutinise these links. The suggested typology serves as a lens to make a more comprehensive analysis of the experiences of the EU and the four countries in their international higher education cooperation (Figure 1).



Dimension I: Alignment between internationalisation of higher education and national drives for economic cooperation

Dimension II: Alignment between internationalisation of higher education and national drives for political cooperation

Figure 1: Rationales in terms of organising policies to support the internationalisation of higher education in four countries

Centrality of the European Union

The topic of this volume, a study of collaboration between the European Union and countries within the four continents of Africa, South America, Europe and Asia, enables us to examine in detail the range of higher education cooperative initiatives seen there. The centrality of the EU is paramount, and the goals of the EU are a key element in the particular expression of internationalisation displayed in those relationships.

The founding treaty of the European Union, entitled the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, was signed in Rome on March 25th 1957. The goals of the European Union are to promote peace, disseminate its values, promote the well-being of its citizens, and to proffer freedom, security and justice without internal borders. It is noteworthy that the original underlying political objective was to strengthen Franco-German cooperation and banish the risk of war. It offered a single market for goods, labour, services and capital. Although it was originally established as the European Economic Community, as it developed it moved to becoming, in 1992, the European Union, with the Maastricht Treaty. Among other goals were those to combat social exclusion and discrimination, promote scientific and technological progress, and respect cultural and linguistic diversity. These goals and related values of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and human rights have formed the basis of the EU and are laid out in the Lisbon Treaty and the EU Charter of fundamental rights. Indeed, the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 for advancing these causes within Europe.

Part Five, The Union's External Action, establishes in Article 205 that EU foreign policy must be in accordance with the general principles laid down in Chapter 1 of Title Five. Title III, Cooperation with Third Countries and Humanitarian Aid, states in Article 208 'Union development cooperation policy shall have, as its primary objective, the reduction and, in the long term, the eradication of poverty'. Article 209 states that "the Union may conclude with third countries and competent international organisations any agreement helping to achieve the objectives referred to in Article 208 of this Treaty. Thus, one can argue that the major drive for EU internationalisation policies in higher education with third countries is that of promoting social goals. The establishment of the Bologna Process in 1999 explored the relevance of pursuing the aim of social cohesion in

higher education; the Erasmus Mundus programme 2003 established a prestigious international study programme which marked a concern for quality and the rise of international cooperation in higher education and 'A Strategy for the External Dimension of the Bologna Process' in 2007 underlined the concern for quality and the rise of international cooperation in higher education. This was emphasised by the Modernisation Agenda of 2006 with the theme of the 'internationalisation of higher education'. As Burquel and Ballesteros, the authors of Chapter 3, point out 'the EU as a global player ... has long underpinned interventions in education and training as a vehicle for peace and stability'.

This is not to say that this is the only driver of the EU's interests in international collaboration with higher education, but it is of major importance. Our thesis is that the chosen countries examined in this volume exhibit other drivers, which may take precedence in particular countries. Our typology takes account of this and offers a new approach to understanding the nuances of international collaboration between the EU and the third countries considered here. Thus, although the EU clearly has interests in the other quadrants of the typology, the positioning of the EU itself in the quadrant relating to the internationalisation of higher education for broad societal engagement has to be recognised as a key driver.

As discussed in Chapter 4 by Sá and Martinez, the primary rationale guiding Brazilian policies supporting internationalisation is related to increasing the exposure of the internal environment of the universities to new dynamics present in global higher education. The main instruments supporting this approach are fellowships focused mostly on young academics with the aim of providing these academics with some international experience and opportunities for networking. Even when the country took on board new policy instruments – such as the PRINT programme, which tried to support universities' efforts to establish internationalisation, the main focus was left to the universities to design, and its primary goal was to connect domestic academics (and domestic students) with the global web of science and foreign universities.

China is a compelling case, in that its experiences are located in two quadrants, as shown in Figure 1. As indicated by Cai and Zheng in Chapter 5, as well as some other recent studies (Cai, 2019), China's international cooperation with the EU is changing. Two decades ago, its main goal was

the exchange of students and academics. Today, the country's policies focus on a deeper level of education and research collaboration, representing a new feature of the cooperation. First, one can identify the traditional policies supporting the mobility of Chinese students and scholars in the EU, the efforts for developing joint degree programmes in cooperation with universities from the EU, and programmes for attracting researchers from the EU to work in China. These efforts can be classified as 'the internationalisation of higher education for global talents and advanced knowledge'.

However, China's ambitious endeavour to host a large number of international students reflects another dimension in the policies supporting the internationalisation of Chinese higher education – internationalisation of higher education for soft power. After ten years implementing China's plan for hosting 500,000 international students, the country has not only achieved the goal but also become the host of the second-largest international student population, after the USA. This move is more closely associated with China's science diplomacy strategy; as noted by Cai (2020), 'China's illusion of its international students is based on the idea that they return to their home countries after graduation and become the "ambassadors" to convey the image of China'.

Russia, being the only EU neighbour amongst our cases, supports cooperation with the EU to such extent as it deems necessary for enhancing the global reputation of national higher education institutions and the higher education system. In Chapter 6 of this book Shenderova points out that Russia uses the internationalisation of higher education in order to compete with Europe globally for international students from the third countries. In particular, Russian universities increase their attractiveness and reliability by cooperating with partners from the EU in collaborative degree programmes, by providing an option to earn two degrees, one in Russia and one in the EU member state. Russia tries to revive the soft power which USSR had, and restore its regional priorities by turning to the global East and South. Students from these regions are primarily considered as future 'ambassadors' for Russia in their countries; they provide sources of income for Russian higher education institutions and global talent for the Russian economy.

The South African study, explored in Chapter 11, makes a strong case for that country's inclusion in the quadrant relating to the internationalisation of higher education for global talent and advanced knowledge. Bilateral Science and Technology Cooperation Agreements have been concluded with the EU since 1996. The opportunity for research collaboration is seen as 'a significant part of emerging research

communities' (Grossetti et al 2014). The report by Mouton et al (2019) on 'The State of South African Research Enterprise' makes it clear that South Africa, which is already the leading African nation in terms of research, wishes to establish itself as a global player, and sees international research collaboration with the EU as a means to gaining more visibility. As the authors indicate 'collaboration provides a pathway to global impact'.

Connections between policy logics and institutional practices

While the new layer of policy initiatives has become more salient in recent years, it is unclear if there is real alignment between the drivers that move the academics, and the drivers coming from political, social/cultural and economic motivation. Of course, a well-aligned policy, supported by enough links with the inner academic drivers for internationalisation, should have leverage to pull the internal dynamics towards the priorities specified by the policy, as an expression of the overall social expectations for the university. However, the case studies presented in this volume show that building the links between the policy and the academic logics should not be taken for granted. This intersection is crucial, even if usually disregarded by the literature. Without a clear connection between the dynamics inside the academic community and the signals coming from the policy system, the impact of the policy initiatives on university life could be at the very least ineffective or even disruptive.

As explored by Sá and Martinez in this book (Chapter 4), in the Brazilian experience the bottom-up initiatives coming from academics (and now, more and more, also from students) represent a relevant part of the country's entire efforts for internationalisation. As discussed above, these choices reflect more on the individual research agenda and personal interests than on the policy rationale behind the public support for academic and student mobility. This situation blurs the central rationality of these policies in the eyes of the external stakeholders and makes them particularly vulnerable every time the country faces an economic downturn. On the other hand, as explored in Chapter 8, also relating to the Brazilian experience, a government programme with a top-down design, without building enough links with the university's inner drivers,

can be disruptive. It could not only be ineffective in cost-benefit terms but could even break down prior initiatives taken at the university level.

Russian experience, as shown by Ustyuzhantseva, Zvonareva, Hortsman, and Popova in Chapter 10, describes the reality of the tradition of top-bottom management, combined with the lack of academic freedom in Russian higher education institutions, which hampers the sustainability of internationalisation activities. As Shenderova mentions in Chapter 6, the multiplication of authorities responsible for internationalisation and the misunderstanding of national traditions of academic affairs distort the picture for national policy makers, negatively affecting the reliability of Russian higher education institutions, and undermines their opportunities to develop the internationalisation of higher education in cooperation with the EU partners.

China has stronger governmental steering of Chinese higher education institutions, and, therefore, is likely to have tighter connections between Chinese higher education policies and implementation at institutional level. As discussed in Chapter 5, the practices of internationalisation in Chinese higher education institutions basically echo the national policies of the internationalisation of higher education. The Chinese students' study experience in Chapter 9 is a good example of implementation of the Chinese policies of encouraging Chinese students to study abroad. Nevertheless, a discrepancy between the national policy and institutional practice can appear.

South African policy and interests lie particularly in building up research collaboration between its research institutions and universities and those of the EU, thus enhancing the status of its higher education system. It has also found the Erasmus scheme valuable, as a means of exchanging global talent, and enabling its scholars to contribute to global research. South Africa is the leading hub in Africa for the mobility of staff and students: its links with the EU enhance that position.

Opportunities and challenges in higher education cooperation between the EU and the chosen countries

When analysing the opportunities and challenges in the EU and China in relation to higher education cooperation, Cai (2013) proposed using the alignment between the EU's expectations and China's interests in the internationalisation of higher education as an analytical framework. We now suggest modifying the approach to fit it into the framework of policy

logics for the internationalisation of higher education. In particular, our opportunity-challenge analysis will be based primarily on the following two issues. First, to what extent is one country's policy logics for the internationalisation of higher education compatible with those of the EU? According to our argument, the higher the level of compatibility of the policy logics of both sides, the more opportunities for cooperation there will be. Second, to what extent can the compatibilities at the policy level be realised at higher education institutions? Both loose and tight coupling between the national policies and institutional practices pose different challenges in international higher education cooperation.

In Table 2, the policy logics of the internationalisation of higher education between the EU and the four countries are juxtaposed and the compatibility of the logics between both sides are discussed. Although the logics compatibilities are generally high in each of the dimensions of academic, economic and political as indicated in Table 2, one of the challenges in the internationalisation of higher education in the four countries is that the three policy logics are not well integrated at the national level. This is exemplified in the case of China in Chapter 5, and in the case of Russia in Chapter 6.

TABLE 2. COMPATIBILITY OF POLICY LOGICS OF THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION BETWEEN THE EU AND THE FOUR COUNTRIES

Policy logics	Policies in the EU	Policies in the four countries	Compatibility analysis and extent of cooperation opportunities with the EU
Academic and cultural/social logics	<p>Recruiting more international students to study in European universities (all four countries)</p> <p>Exporting educational programmes and services to other countries (China, Russia)</p> <p>Enhancing education and research cooperation with foreign universities (Brazil, China, and South Africa)</p> <p>Sending more EU students to study in foreign higher education (Brazil, China, and South Africa)</p> <p>EU and Russia: Supporting internationalisation activities as the tools of people-to-people contacts, but cutting the general support measures due to political EU-Russia tensions</p>	<p>Encouraging students to study abroad (all four countries)</p> <p>Meeting growing demands for higher education by importing high quality education resources from advanced higher education systems (China, Russia, and South Africa)</p> <p>Increasing international reputation and competitiveness through cooperation with (prestigious) EU universities (China, Russia, South Africa)</p> <p>Attracting EU students (China)</p> <p>Development of complicated internationalisation activities such as collaborative degree programmes (China, Russia)</p> <p>Invitation of the EU researchers to enhance national reputation in the world (China, Russia, South Africa)</p>	<p>High (the activities of both sides supplementing each other): China</p> <p>Low (the activities of both countries meet serious resistance of external institutional environment): Russia</p> <p>Low: South Africa hampered by economic challenges and historic cultural inequalities</p>

Policy logics	Policies in the EU	Policies in the four countries	Compatibility analysis and extent of cooperation opportunities with the EU
		<p>Increasing connections between domestic science community and the international community (all four countries)</p> <p>Increasing visibility and reputation of domestic higher education institutions due to cooperation with the EU universities (all four countries)</p>	
Economic logics	The EU member states welcome international students as global talents from four countries to areas that are affected by a potential labour shortage.	<p>Developing/supporting collaborative research networks targeting global and/or local needs (all four countries)</p> <p>Invitation to the EU students and researchers as global talent to areas that are affected by a national labour shortage (China, Russia)</p>	<p>High (Although both sides are competing for global talent, the people to be targeted are different): China</p> <p>Low: (non-EU priorities in global talent search due to economic reasons) Russia, South Africa</p>
Political logics	Promoting mutual understanding	Education export for distributing influence, values and ideologies to other states (China, Russia)	High: (both partners are focused in promoting mutual

Policy logics	Policies in the EU	Policies in the four countries	Compatibility analysis and extent of cooperation opportunities with the EU
		Student mobility and exchange programmes targeting the promotion of other countries' goodwill toward the promoting country (Brazil, Russia)	understanding): Brazil, South Africa Low: China (competing ideologies), Russia (foreign policy tensions)

Most challenges in higher education cooperation between the EU and the four countries are at the level of higher education institutions. This can be due to the fact that the practices of internationalisation associated with higher education institutions are loosely coupled with the national policy drivers of international cooperation with respect to higher education. In other words, it is difficult to realise national policy logics at the institutional level. For instance, in Brazil and in Russia, the lack of connection and understanding between the Federal policy supporting internationalisation and practices at the institutional level ended up in disrupting some local successful experiences and limited the number of opportunities for deepening the cooperation. Russia and Brazil demonstrated a low level of readiness in the authorities and national policy makers to discuss internationalisation policies and support measures within the national academic community until these measures become obligatory. This trend, which is based in national top to bottom traditions of sector governance, increases the transaction costs of national policy implementation: it impedes and depreciates multiple efforts of higher education institutions both in the chosen countries and in their EU partners. In the systems where higher education institutions tend to closely follow national policies, the challenge could be that the centralised policy finds it difficult to accommodate and support over one thousand higher education institutions with various characteristics and diverse needs in delivering international higher education cooperation. As a result, participation in internationalisation activities can become more of a personal benefit than a public good which allows the global academic community to produce new knowledge-based research.

With the help of our typology it is possible to systematise the rationales guiding the efforts of both European and third countries. These rationales guide both the kind of commitments and the expectations both partners have when engaging in an agreement for advancing internationalisation. Awareness of the main drivers sustaining each partner's policies for higher education internationalisation is crucial for the success of any initiative. And our typology helps to map some relevant dimensions which guide the preferences of both partners. In order to succeed, a partnership does not necessarily have to share similar goals. As our book shows, it is possible to build up collaborative efforts in situations where each partner sustains a different agenda. However, a clear understanding of these differences helps each partner to have a more realistic expectation of what will be the main results of the initiative. This realism is necessary for building sound and lasting collaboration agreements.

Concluding remarks

This study has examined the interconnections between the European Union and the chosen countries on two levels, those of the particular national policies and those of the institutions in four continents. The objectives of the EU have remained constant since its inception: the interpretation and delivery of these objectives are seen to vary country by country and institution by institution. The ability to deliver those international objectives can depend on many factors: the economic health of the country, the particular system of higher education provision in the country, the political will of individual governments, and the level of autonomy of institutions. Where the objectives of the EU are in accord with national and institutional interests, with a high level of alignment of international policies, then one can find internationalisation in higher education for broad societal engagement, for global talent and advanced knowledge, for economic cooperation and the expansion of soft power, and for the enhancement of the global reputation of both the HE systems and individual institutions.

The balance of interests can change over time, with changes of national government, and changes in institutional focus, but the proposed typology holds. This nuanced approach to a fuller understanding of the complex relationships between the European Union and the countries of the four continents will, we hope, enhance our understanding of the phenomenon of internationalisation in higher education.

We, the editors, are finalising our book in the midst of the Coronavirus pandemic. Located in distant cities, on different continents, being divided by oceans and closed national borders, we nevertheless were able to work together online in cooperation. Our book itself, and the comprehensive insights provided by our valued contributors, confirm that the internationalisation of higher education has lasting effects when based on research cooperation. The pandemic situation created by the global spread of COVID-19 poses a difficult challenge for the internationalisation of higher education. Everywhere universities have been forced to close down face-to-face teaching, and to move learning activities to online mode with different degrees of success. International mobility is facing a worse situation, with international students no longer able to travel abroad, and confined to their home countries.

However, our experience highlights a core fact of internationalisation: the importance of building global academic networks based on research collaboration. The efforts and insights of individual academics and research groups, who are working globally to undertake research and

share their results with colleagues, students and the public, is well illustrated by the worldwide research currently being undertaken to seek a vaccine. Expanded online communication is also enabling academics from all disciplines to join in global webinars, online conferences and public talks to share research findings relating to all areas of academic life.

COVID-19 has brought global changes to internationalisation; it is expected to reallocate the flows of international students and academics, to increase distance and blended learning and to boost intraregional study (Johnson, 2020). Although there are losses, the current crisis provides new opportunities. The European Higher Education Area still acts as a major means of connection which unites the countries of Europe and provides bridges that support transcontinental cooperation, thus offering a focus for continuing forms of internationalisation in higher education.

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