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UNDERSTANDING VALUES & IDEAS OF THE UNIVERSITY IN

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONAL POLICY DISCOURSE

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Abstract

Title: Understanding values and ideas of the university in international organisational policy discourse

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This project aimed to understand the relationship between theoretical interpretations of multiple values and ideas of the universities from within and across different disciplines and their influence on higher education and its internationalisation within the real international organisation (IO) policy context. With this foundation, I derived a theoretical construct to gauge the often implicit presence of values and ideas of the university in policy. The theoretical construct consisted of: (i) an academic idea of the university from philosophy of higher education literature; (ii) a globalised idea of the university from international higher education literature; and (iii) a developmental idea of the university from international development higher education literature.

To apply the theoretical construct using theory-testing via critical discourse analysis of IO policy, I framed IOs as leaders in the global governance of HE, possessing significant linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) in international development higher education. I used the concept of elite capture to describe the phenomenon of IO power over knowledge and values via policy channels enabling them to "describe, define, and create political realities (Táíwò, 2022, p. 32). The theoretical claim I tested, via the two theory-testing cases of UNESCO and the World Bank, was that the values held by IOs with regards to HE and its internationalisation practically shape IO structures and policy

processes. I focused on internationalisation of higher education and academic research collaboration as specific policy areas for theory-testing.

I found that idealised theoretical ideas of the university are useful for this analytic approach and play a part in shaping IO structures and processes, but in complex ways not neatly represented by disciplinary-bounded theoretical categories. Further, the discursive function of IO strategic priorities shapes discursive construction of higher education policy, how higher education is broadly treated, and the bounds within which internationalisation of higher education is approached. I recommend a richer and more complex theorisation of the university to account for rationales of different stakeholders, including academic, developmental, and globalised ideas of the university, to support policy-makers in international development higher education.

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CHAPTER 1: Project Overview

1.1 The Aims of the Project

I began thinking about this project in relation to apparent challenges in justifying the contributions of the internationalisation of higher education and international academic collaboration in the contemporary socio-political climate. I wanted to understand why something that seemed so important to me and to other scholars in international higher education studies was not similarly understood by others within and beyond academia. These questions led me from the philosophical foundations of internationalisation of higher education (and, as I found, the general undertheoretisation of the concept, see Lee & Stensaker, 2021; Szadkowski, 2019) to the broader challenges of how the university, as well as academic internationalisation, are themselves understood philosophically within theoretical ideas of the university, and how these ideas are translated to the policy context, if at all.

Assuming that a performative relationship exists between higher education scholarship and policy, it follows that how scholars interpret higher education shapes and influences the real policy context in which higher education operates. This assumption draws from the concept of the double-hermeneutic effect, which is the idea that "an interpretation of the world shapes the very interpretations that comprise it," such that "social sciences… are not only descriptive, but also performative… as artifacts of culture that participate in enacting and inaugurating certain political realities (Blakely, 2020, p. xxvi). In this way, the social imaginaries influenced by theoretical interpretations of the purpose of the university and the subsequent valorisation of the university and its

functions may tend towards either instrumental or intrinsic valuations of the university and its functions, including academic internationalisation.

Based on this assumption, I wanted to understand the influence of theoretical ideas of the university and the related social imaginary that surrounds the real policy context in which higher education operates, and to consider the challenges faced when multiple ideas of the university co-exist—often without clear boundaries—in policy and in academic scholarship.

However, in considering the policy context—whether at national, regional, or global levels or within institutional, organisational, or governmental contexts—policy-related language is rarely framed with explicit attribution to particular theoretical ideas of the university. As such, it was necessary to derive a theoretical construct that would make it possible to gauge the implicit influence of ideas of the university in context. This theoretical construct was developed by treating ideas of the university as *idealised* theories or models of the university (Mills, 2017), each model framing idealised versions of the university's essence, purpose, functions, and relationship to society, including how the university is valued for what it is and what it does. In this way, theoretical ideas of the university could then be understood as more general models or categories within which certain ways of valuing the university were typified—either the university or higher education as good in itself (as intrinsically valuable) or because it leads to something good (as instrumentally valuable) (Schroeder, 2021).

The aim of this project then was to test out whether or not theoretical ideas of the university influenced policy in the real social context in which higher education operates. Following the double-hermeneutic effect (Blakely, 2020), I theorised that ideas of the

university would be influential in the policy context, a claim that I then had to test within the study. The first step was choosing a specific policy context in which this theory could be tested. Given my interest in internationalisation of higher education and international academic collaboration, the empirical policy context I chose for testing my claim was at the international level of global governance of higher education, with two international organisations (IOs) selected as theory-testing cases: The World Bank and UNESCO.

Since the close of the second World War, and the rise of a multiplex world order, the role of IOs in global governance has grown significantly, with increasing influence at international, regional, and national levels, and functions ranging across economic, political, and social policy foci, including higher education (Acharya, 2017b; Táíwò, 2022). I identified the World Bank and UNESCO as key cases of IOs tasked in their missions and purposes to support national and regional development, which regard the university as a means by which to accomplish this end.

Scholars across higher education studies have expressed growing concern with what the university is and is for, in response to this context in which the university is perceived and treated as a cog in the developmental machine in political discourse and practice. Given the steering function that IOs play in the supranational political structure, and their power and influence in terms of how the university is conceptualised at national and regional levels, the ideas and values of the university as held by IOs, and the discursive channels by which these ideas and values are disseminated, are worth understanding well.

1.2 Deriving a Theoretical Construct

In order to derive a theoretical construct that might be representative of this empirical policy context, I focused on three literatures that might offer pertinent theoretical ideas of the university and related ways of valuing higher education: (i) an *academic* idea or model of the university from the philosophy of higher education literature (chapter 2); (ii) a *globalised* idea or model of the university from the international higher education literature (chapter 3); and (iii) a *developmental* idea or model of the university from the international development higher education literature (chapter 4). The theoretical sets of ideas of the university (academic, globalised, and developmental) are categories that I have created to bundle the ways the university and its functions are valued within each of these literatures. These bundled ideas of the university are not necessarily fully coherent as categories, but offer a structure within which to discuss the richness and complexity of the values associated with theoretical and idealised ideas or models of the university.

The literature review chapters are then framed in order to derive clear relationships between these bundled ideas of the university as idealised theories or models and the intrinsic and instrumental valuations of the university and of higher education. From the ideas or models of the university from each of these literatures, as well as the related sets of instrumental and intrinsic ways of valuing higher education, I was able to build a theoretical construct to understand how values and ideas of the university were influential in the empirical policy context of the two international organisations (see chapter 5, Table 1, *Categorising ideas of the university by values & ends*).

I initially built the theoretical construct as a means to understand the kinds of theoretical ideas and idealised models of the university described in the literatures that I reviewed, as context for the empirical study and as a framework to analyse the data within the international organisational policy context. In framing intrinsic and instrumental values within theoretical ideas of the university, the construct itself is a major contribution of the study, as it may be used as is or expanded by others who may be considering the influence of ideas of the university in empirical contexts. As the primary aim of the study is theory-testing (whether or not values and ideas of the university are influential in the IO policy context), it was important to understand whether and how ideas and values could be gauged empirically in relation to IOs, organisational language, and the policy context.

IOs, as major actors in contemporary global, regional, and national governance of higher education, have significant capacity to shape policy debates at these various levels due to their positions of power through influential ideas or ideology (Pusser, 2015). Ideas can be ideological if they are "[presented] as universal interests," though they "[serve] particular interests" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167). This universalisation of particular ideas is interesting to consider within the case of IOs, as philosophical ideas can become "globalized in a strictly geographical sense," becoming part of the "global vulgate that endless media repetition progressively transforms into universal common sense" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999, p. 42). The powerful position of IOs in global governance makes the ideas that they hold significant given the inequalities in the distribution of linguistic resources in "linguistic relations of power," (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 57) in the global governance of higher education.

IOs may thus be understood as holding significant linguistic capital in the field of international development higher education, given their functions in normalising and standardising values and ideas of the university that are officially supported, through their functions of data-collection and analysis, educational measurement and evaluation, and global goal- and norm-setting, as well as via the publication of policy recommendations, with or without the incentives of related project- or programme-funding. This unequal distribution of linguistic capital can be usefully understood with the concept of elite capture, which applies beyond "material wealth and political power," to resources such as "knowledge, attention, and values" (Táíwò, 2022, p. 23). In this way, elite groups, institutions, and organisations, such as globally-governing IOs, have "power over and access to the resources used to describe, define, and create political realities" (Táíwò, 2022, p. 32). Theoretical ideas or models of the university, then, and the ways of valuing the university and higher education that they represent, may be defined and described in ideological forms, within the linguistic capital held by powerful IOs. In this light, understanding whether and how such influential values and ideas are presented by IOs within the global governance of higher education becomes important.

1.3 Research Questions

Through my research questions for this study, I sought to understand the influence of values and ideas of the university in the international organisational policy context, as presented and held by IOs, in relation to the global governance of higher education. Given the breadth of the role of IOs in global governance of higher education, I opted to focus on internationalisation of higher education and academic research collaboration as a specific policy area for theory-testing.

i.   How do IOs, such as the World Bank and UNESCO (theory-testing cases) discursively construct values and ideas of the university in policy relating to the university and the internationalisation of higher education in their public-facing documents?

ii. How do individuals working to coordinate higher education within the World Bank and UNESCO articulate organisational discursive value constructions?

iii. How does the discursive construction of values and ideas of the university in policy relating to the university and the internationalisation of higher education by IOs influence socio-structural processes of academic internationalisation and international research collaboration as governed through IOs?

iv. How do theoretical ideas and values compare to ideas and values in the real policy context within the theory-testing cases of the World Bank and UNESCO?

1.4 Methodological Approach

The overall purpose of the study was to test the theoretical claim that values and ideas of the university are influential in a policy context through the research questions listed above. Theory-testing is a method used to determine whether a theoretical claim is supported by empirical evidence (Mills et al., 2010b). I used the World Bank and UNESCO as key, exploratory, theory-testing cases, conducted in parallel. I analysed the two theory-testing cases individually and also conducted comparative analysis of the cases as a form of iterative analysis, which can help to "[surface] theory" (Mills et al., 2010a, p. 175). The primary data source for the study was a critical case selection of public-facing documents between 1997 and 2022, which related to higher education at the international level. I also conducted elite key informant interviews with individuals

who were affiliated with the two organisations during the same time range (1997-2022). The interviews were used as secondary data, as a complementary and supplementary source to help confirm the critical case selection of documents, to gain insight into organisational history and structural/procedural decision-making, and to get a sense of how individuals articulate organisational values.

In the study, the theoretical proposition I make is that values and related ideas of the university held by IOs influence organisational policy and programming approaches. In an organisational setting, it is possible to understand values as providing "organisation and direction to behaviour," though they may not be "explicit, deliberate, or even conscious," and may be "ambivalent and/or essentially contradictory" (Rose, 1956, p. 6-7). This understanding of organisational values relates back to the values and ideas of the university that may be held by IOs and their ideological influence in the policy arena (Pusser, 2015). It is possible, then, to gauge organisational values—whether held implicitly or explicitly—from organisational actions, which are "empirically knowable" (Adler, 1956, p. 276).

To empirically identify and analyse values and ideas of the university represented within the IO policy environment, I turned to critical discourse analysis as a tool. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) approaches language as language-in-use or in-action, or "discourse," and treats discourse as a medium or channel of power used by powerful structures for domination (Blommaert, 2005; Bourdieu, 1991). What this conception of language permits is an analysis of discourse in public-facing organisational documents as a site of organisational action, thus objectifying linguistic resources as linguistic capital wielded by powerful international organisations (Bourdieu, 1991). In this way, it was

possible to analyse the implicit and explicit application of values and ideas of the university in public-facing IO documents in terms of the vocabulary or types of concepts that are promoted as standard or universal (Bourdieu, 1991), as well as the types of arguments and assumptions made in relation to conclusions, consequences, validity, and premises (Fairclough, 2004; 2013a).

Each of these methodological approaches (theory-testing, theory-testing cases, critical discourse analysis, elite key-informant interviewing, and comparative analysis) are reviewed in depth in chapter 5, which also contains details as to the data collection, selection, and analysis processes.

1.5 The Structure of the Dissertation

With the aim of understanding the influence of theoretical values and ideas of the university in the context of IOs, the dissertation is structured in stages towards this end of theory-testing. In chapters 2, 3, and 4, I reviewed scholarly literature—deriving intrinsic and instrumental valuations of the university from theoretical approaches to the university (within broadly categorised academic, globalised, and developmental ideas of the university)—drawing from philosophy of higher education (chapter 2), international higher education (chapter 3), and international development (chapter 4).

I opted to use broad categories of ideas of the university (academic, globalised, and developmental) as a means to understand and typify the valorisation of the university and its functions within each literature. For example, in an academic idea of the university, academic knowledge is deemed intrinsically valuable, while in a globalised idea of the university, academic knowledge might be instrumentally valued for potential

solutions to global challenges, while in a developmental idea of the university, academic

knowledge might be instrumentally valued for its contributions to national competitive

advantage. In chapter 5, I consolidated the theoretical construct based on the derived

intrinsic/instrumental values within these broad categories of ideas of the university and

also described the methodology and methods used in the empirical study of the theory-

testing cases.

In chapters 6 and 7, I presented and analysed the individual theory-testing cases

within UNESCO and the World Bank respectively. In chapter 8, I used comparative

analysis of the two theory-testing cases as a means to iteratively engage with the

theoretical proposition of the study across the cases, and to help seek boundaries

(however fuzzy) of the theoretical proposition and restrictions in the applicability of the

derived theoretical construct. I used chapter 9 as a space for reflection on the overall

study, including limitations, implications, recommendations for organisations as well as

researchers in higher education studies, and possible directions to take in the future.

1.6 Overview of Study Findings & Contributions

There are two primary contributions of this project: (i) the theoretical construct of

the theoretical categories of ideas of the university and related intrinsic and instrumental

valuations of the university derived from the literature review; and (ii) the empirical

findings of the theory-testing approach of the study. The theoretical construct (chapter 5,

Table 1) offers a framework by which to think about the relationship between the

idealised ideas or models of the university and the real policy context in which language

is shaped for practical policy application. In this study, the construct is applied to IOs,

however it may be widened to include other organisations or applied to other

organisational or institutional contexts with different geographical containers at local, national, regional, or international levels.

The theory-testing findings show the importance of considering the performativity of theory in context, that the theoretical valuation of the university and its functions has impact on the way higher education is approached, as demonstrated in the case of IO linguistic capital in IO policy and other public-facing documents. Both theory-testing cases show primarily instrumental valuation of higher education and academic functions framed through the lens of a developmental idea of the university. The strong influence of the organisational missions decontextualizes theoretical ideas of the university, reframing them to fit organisational strategy and priorities, pointing to the value capture (Nguyen, 2020) of the complex theoretical values and ideas of the university in IO policy discourse. The analysis related to academic internationalisation offers an illustration of the effects of mission-influenced ideological approaches to the university, with a narrowing of the definition of and policy approach to academic internationalisation. Additionally, decontextualisation of theoretical approaches to the university seems to lead to conflation of values and to less linguistic coherence across policy documents for both IOs.

The individual theory-testing case-studies are a secondary contribution, which provide an in-depth overview of the development of the valorisation of the university and what it does through the analysis of IO public-facing documents. Each case reviews the specialised structures supporting higher education and the particular challenges these structures face within the context of the IO, as well as an analysis of key historical documents and selected initiatives related to higher education.

Critical discourse analysis of the public-facing documents also exemplifies the discursive impact of ideological orientations in relation to the linguistic capital of each IO and the particular forms of valorisation of the university and its functions. The historical contextualisation of the cases by review of documents over 25 years also offers a view into the changing ideological orientation of the IOs and the tensions caused by narrow mono-disciplinary theoretical approaches alongside multi-value complexes within single organisations. Understanding the positioning of the university, and higher education more broadly, over the past decades within these two key IO cases (the World Bank and UNESCO), may be useful for scholars across higher education studies and international development.

The reliance on siloed theoretical ideas of the university recontextualised to fit organisational priorities confines the theoretical bounds of IO approaches to the university and its functions, and through the linguistic capital of these powerful organisations, contributes to a restricted social imaginary of the university in policy and programming within and beyond IOs. This also contributes to dependence on narrow forms of evaluation of the university, measuring what is easy to measure in relation to these linguistically regulated values and ideas of the university, rather than the truly generative potential of the university (McCowan, 2019) and of academic internationalisation in a globally interconnected society. More interdisciplinary and fact-sensitive (Táíwò, forthcoming) theorisations of the university, spanning across academic, globalised, and developmental ideas of the university, may offer a bridge to those who aim to broaden the way we think about the university in theory and in context in higher education research, policy, and practice.

CHAPTER 2: An Academic Idea of the University

In this chapter, I have reviewed several prominent historical and contemporary philosophical approaches to ideas of the university as a basis for deriving a set of values generally associated with an idealised *academic* idea or model of the university. As outlined in the introduction, the generalised ideas of the university derived from the literature reviews from philosophy of higher education, international higher education, and international development offer means to think about the rich and complex sets of values associated with how the university is theorised in each literature. Given that this chapter is the first of the three literature review chapters, in section 2.1, I have introduced a few key concepts that I rely on in this study prior to reviewing ideas of the university and associated values in historical and contemporary philosophy of higher education scholarship.

As a first step in my examination of the prominent philosophical approaches to the idea of the university, I have justified the focus of this chapter (what I have chosen to include and to exclude in this chapter, and why) in section 2.2 below. Then, I present a targeted historical review of the idea of the university in the second part of this chapter, including the German, British, and US (United States) models of the university, alongside the work of historical and contemporary philosophers of higher education. I have done this in response to Barnett & Fulford's (2020) concern that we tend to operate with non-contemporary ideas of the university in the philosophy and theory of higher education, but also because I hold that the historical development of the idea of the university must be the foundation of any contemporary idea of the university.

2.1 Key Concepts Used

Several key concepts used in the study are addressed below (although they are beyond the scope of the dissertation to examine in greater depth). Instead, I have provided a brief definition of each to ensure that my meaning and use of these terms is clear. The concepts are (i) ideas of the university as idealised models, (ii) intrinsic and instrumental value, (iii) the double-hermeneutic effect, (iv) the modern social imaginary, and (v) the market polis. These concepts support the conceptual approach to the study as well as the analysis and interpretation of the study findings.

2.1.1 Ideas of the University

Ideas of the university may be understood as typically *idealised* models or theories with more or less contextualisation or description of actual contemporary universities of the time. *Idealised* theories may be understood as models of "some phenomenon of the… social world," that are intended as exemplary or ideal versions of that social phenomenon in terms of "its essential nature" and "how it works (its basic dynamic)" (Mills, 2017, p. 74). As such, ideas of the university typically frame an idealised version of the university in terms of its essence (what it is), its purpose (what it is for), its functions (usually some variation of teaching, research, service, and/or national development), and its relationship to society and government. Given that the university as a social phenomenon interacts with human persons as individuals and groups (whether within the institution as student, faculty, or staff, or beyond the university in society), ideas of the university are also shaped by normative elements—what the theorist frames as intrinsically valuable to the essential nature of the university or instrumentally valuable due to its functions.

In this way, by understanding theoretical ideas of the university as idealised models of the university, I was able to identify intrinsic and instrumental ways of valuing the university and its functions from theoretical approaches within distinct fields of study (philosophy of higher education, international higher education, and international development). I then organised these sets of intrinsic and instrumental values into broader "idea of the university" categories (academic, globalised, and developmental) in order to understand the relationship between particular disciplinary approaches to the university and the sets of associated values.

2.1.2 Intrinsic Value & Instrumental Value

The distinction between instrumental value and intrinsic value is important to make given the theoretical and policy implications of this dissertation. From traditional value theory in philosophy, understanding the value of something may take two primary forms: *intrinsic* value and *instrumental* value. According to value theory, what is intrinsically valuable is not instrumentally valuable, and what is instrumentally valuable is not intrinsically valuable (Schroeder, 2021). We may say that something has intrinsic value if it is good in itself, or because of its intrinsic properties, rather than being good for what it leads to. On the other hand, something may be said to have instrumental value, if it is good only because it leads to other good things (Schroeder, 2021). How values are further understood sociologically (and within organisational structures) is discussed in chapter 4.

The university and its internationalised, regionalised, or nationalised functions, may be understood as consisting of characteristics having both intrinsic and instrumental value. For example, some of the instrumental value properties of the internationalised

teaching function of the university might include internationalised teaching and learning for the preparation of students to work internationally, or increasing graduates' future income, or improving graduates' interaction with different national systems, or attracting higher numbers of international students, or raising an institution's position in the global rankings. Intrinsic value properties are generally more difficult to identify and define as they are either associated with the function itself (academic knowledge) or with the individual (individual transformation), but outlining the relationship between the idea of the university and the associated intrinsic and instrumental values is useful for understanding how they are translated to the policy context.

2.1.3 The Double-Hermeneutic Effect

The concept of the double-hermeneutic effect is important to consider in relation to this study given my focus on the contextualisation of theoretical ideas of the university and associated values in the real policy context. The double-hermeneutic effect is the idea that "an interpretation of the world shapes the very interpretations that comprises it," (Blakely, 2020, p. xxvi) which in the case of the social sciences in general, and for higher education studies in particular, suggests that "social sciences… are not only descriptive, but also performative… as artifacts of culture that participate in enacting and inaugurating certain political realities" (Blakely, 2020, p. xxvii). This idea underscores how essential it is to develop a sound theoretical approach to undergird scholarly research, policy, and practice in the field of higher education studies, as our scholarly work is performative, deeply influential of our social reality and practice in our field.

2.1.4 The Modern Social Imaginary

Taylor (2007) defines a social imaginary as a "common understanding which makes possible most common practices, and widely shared sense of legitimacy," (p. 172) suggesting the modern social imaginary embraces the primacy of individual agency in a political society in which individuals exchange services for mutual benefit and material human flourishing. Alongside the public sphere and participatory democracy, Taylor (2007) proposes that the economy is a primary aspect of our modern society and our shared social imaginary, in which societal activities focus on commerce, such that "individual prosperity redounds to the general welfare" (p. 177) towards the provision of the public good of economic prosperity. The economic aspect of our modern social imaginary, alongside the idea of the market polis described below (Blakely, 2020), appear to be fairly pervasive elements that are both influential and widely critiqued within higher education scholarship and in the social sciences more broadly.

2.1.5 The Market Polis

The concept of the market polis (Blakely, 2020) describes the economic aspect of the modern social imaginary. The double-hermeneutic effect observed in the performative effects of economics in society (with the role of economics as another public and policy-related social science) lies at its core. The argument made is that classical economic paradigms and mathematical economic approaches: (i) restrict human action to strategic and idealised human behaviour following rational choice theory (Habermas, 1967/1988); (ii) transform the human person into the model of *Homo economicus*; and (iii) bring the market polis into being (Blakely, 2020). The market polis is defined as "a political society in which all relationships and institutions are transcribed

into a metaphor of self-interested deal making and whose authority is said to derive from economic science… [where] everyone… is a rational choice actor" (Blakely, 2020, p. 34). Blakely (2020) argues that this concept has taken root in the social sciences in disciplines beyond economics. In higher education studies, Ashwin (2020) echoes this concern, suggesting that our focus on economic arguments in higher education scholarship, policy, and practice has obscured the purpose of the university and what is valuable about its functions.

2.2 Selected Ideas of the University from Philosophy of Higher Education

In this section, I discuss the rationale for the components included (and excluded) in my approach to this chapter of the literature review and justify why I have selected certain models and ideas of the university to review over others.

I elected to focus on German, British, and US models of higher education (Anderson, 2020a, 2020b; Sorber, 2020), and relatedly, several European and North American thinkers around the historical development of the idea of the university in this chapter. I made this decision for several reasons, which are described in this section. I review why I selected specific so-called Western models over other Western models as well as why I did not include other formal and ancient higher education institutional models or indigenous models.

Selecting German, British, and US models to think about a contemporary academic model of the university, while limited in some ways, may be justified when considering the contemporary university and its relationship to globalisation, global capitalism, and colonisation, and the particularities of each model.

Firstly, considering the selection of the German, British, and US models over other Western models of the university—it seems that other major Western models (for instance, the Russian model (Froumin & Semyonov, 2020)) tend to be constructed primarily on an idea of the nation-state rather than an essential idealised idea or model of the university. While these models are important to understand within their own national contexts and in terms of their influence on other countries (e.g., the export of the Russian model to China post-civil war in 1949 (Hayhoe, 2002; Jiang, 2012)), my aim in this chapter is to gain insight into the essence of the idea of the university as university first, rather than as primarily an instrument for nation-building and only secondarily as valuable in its own right.

The French model and the US land-grant model (in which the university may be viewed as primarily an instrument for nation-building) are not included in this chapter, but are present in chapter 4 focused on international development. The reason being that both models of higher education are significant contributors to the conceptualisation of the service function of contemporary global higher education in relation to national, regional, and international development. As such, the German, British, and US models are described at length in this chapter. I suggest that these models may be described as founded on specific ideas of the university as university, with nation- or capacity-building as secondary, accidental consequences of the ideas.

Secondly, it is important to make clear why I have focused on these models over other non-Western models of the university, post-colonial, or indigenous models of education. Other nations also have ancient systems of institutionalised higher education, for instance, the Confucian system in China as early as 551 BC (Min, 2004; Yang, 2017)

or the early Buddhist universities, Nalanda and Takshashila, established in India over 2000 years ago (Basu, 2002), or *madrasas* (scholastic institutions) and *karkhanas* (technical institutions) established by the Muslim kings of India as early as 1000 AD (Basu, 2002; Kabir, 1964). Due to colonisation, revolution, and political instability, however, these systems have largely been replaced by or redesigned based on more "Western" models of higher education. While local voices (e.g., Tagore and Gandhi in India (Basu, 2002; Srinivasan, 2018)) have certainly helped to shape post-colonial and post-revolutionary models of higher education, it is undeniable that the impact of colonisation and Western influence have played a significant part in the development of these new systems of higher education (Altbach, 2016).

As such, the assumption is made that the movement of these ideas have largely been from "Western," "Northern," or formerly colonial countries to "Eastern," "Southern," or formerly colonised countries. The role of colonisation with regard to the flow of these ideas from centres to peripheries, partially through influence and/or entirely through domination, in the development of these models of higher education is important and deserves in-depth study, but falls beyond the scope of this study and the focus of this chapter. It is nonetheless a limitation of this study (and an opportunity for a future study) that these models are not included, as the assumption I make falls into the trap of disconnected histories (pre- and post-colonisation)—that contemporary ideas of the university in these contexts are disconnected from historical ideas (Bhambra, 2014).

Thirdly, and as far as we might like to take the concept of a "globalised" model of higher education—which might be practically instantiated in the concept of world-class universities, but also in the model of vertical stratification of higher education systems,

the global system of academic research and publication, and the primacy of English in international scholarship and publishing (Altbach, 2016)—it seems that, for a variety of reasons, including colonisation and academic capitalism, the British, German, and US models may have more influence on such a model, so far as one may be said to exist. Colonisation by all three nations have certainly directly influenced other higher education systems, but isomorphism and related economic rationales—"the desire of the entire system to follow top institutions" (Altbach, 2016, p. 152)—may also be attributed to the ideas or models themselves.

The well-established and replicated British idea of the university, the widely recognised innovation of the German Humboldtian model of the university, and the derivation and development of the Humboldtian and British models in the US model of the university have also had global impact through the influence of international organisations (Bassett & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009), policy borrowing and transfer (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014), international development and aid mechanisms (McCowan & Schendel, 2016), and also through international higher education scholarship and the role of the global academic ranking systems (Hazelkorn, 2015; Altbach, 2016).

The political hegemony of the United States after World War II and its consequent global power and influence (Keohane, 2005), which coincided with the first period of massification of higher education in both lower and higher-income countries (Altbach, 2016), may also play a significant role in this development. Therefore, the primary focus of this chapter is on these three models of higher education, and on the work of philosophers discussing these university traditions.

As a brief note, this is not a historical analysis, although my attempt to review and analyse these ideas of the university required establishing some historical context. Thus, I isolated historical ideas at different periods as I deemed them important to the narrative of this literature review (for instance, the development of the models of higher education, or selection of different philosophers' work). The development of these ideas of the university over time demonstrate the conceptual "unbundling" of the university (MacFarlane, 2011), moving away from a more unified idea of the university with a largely intrinsic value basis related to knowledge and the academic community, to incorporating and weaving together intrinsic value bases with instrumental purposes for the university in relation to social, economic, and political spheres of society.

2.3 Historical Review of an Academic Idea of the University

In this section, I aim to draw out some of the characteristics of the academic idea of the university as it has developed over time, in order to understand how philosophers and theorists treat the essence and value of the university, and how they have adapted the idea in response to shifting trends and significant events in society. In reviewing the German and British models of the university, I refer to the work of Wilhelm von Humboldt and John Henry Newman. In reviewing the developments of the post-war idea of the university and in relation to the US model of the university, I refer to the work of Karl Jaspers, Clark Kerr, and Derek Bok. In the review of the work of contemporary philosophers in relation to the idea of the university, I refer to Jürgen Habermas, Amy Gutmann, Martha Nussbaum, Paul Ashwin, Bruce MacFarlane, and Ronald Barnett.

2.3.1 German & British Models of the University

The German and British models of the university should firstly be understood as just that—models. It is possible to see some of the essential ideas of the German and British models of the university in the German and the British national systems of higher education, but neither national system is representative of its respective model, as follows the conceptualisation of ideas of the university as idealised models. I make this point to underscore the important distinction between the various ideas of the university and their characteristics and the practical implementation of ideas within individual universities or national or regional systems of higher education. It is not within the purpose of this chapter to examine the alignment of any particular system of higher education with one or another of these ideas, but rather to draw out the ideas themselves to understand how they have influenced the development of the idea of the university over time and to derive how each values the university and its functions.

I explore the German or Humboldtian model of the university with an examination of the writing of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) and the British model with an examination of the writing of John Henry Newman (1801-1890). These are not the only thinkers of these traditions, but each of them have contributed ideas that remain important in the discourse around the idea of the university to the present (Peters & Barnett, 2018). The German model is fairly synonymous with the principles derived from Humboldt's writings. The British or Oxbridge tradition of the idea of the university is well-described in Newman's work, which is "rightly regarded as a classic statement of the English university tradition" (Anderson, 2020a, p. 157).

2.3.1.1 Humboldt & the German Tradition of the University

Humboldt (1809/2018) presents an idea of the university in which universities as "intellectual institutions have as their task the cultivation of science and scholarship (*Wissenschaft*)" (p. 46). The editor has chosen "science and scholarship" as the translation of *Wissenschaft* in the text from Humboldt (1809/2018) to match more closely the idiom as used in that time period. However, it could also be understood more broadly as the pursuit of knowledge through research and scholarship (as "science" used in this way must be understood to broadly include all fields and disciplines). It is important to understand the true breadth of this term to ensure that the essence of this idea of the university is properly understood theoretically and applied in context. Humboldt raises three characteristic points of this idea of the university which are worth further discussion: (i) the university in relation to the development of the individual person; (ii) the university and the relationship of teacher and student; and (iii) the university and its relationship to the state and vice-versa.

In terms of the development of the person, the place or space created within the university as dedicated to *Wissenschaft* is manifest in the individual person, and thus requires *Einsamkeit* or solitude for development including "a process of collaboration" (Humboldt, 1809/2018, p. 47). This idea of solitude or *Einsamkeit* (rather than isolation) seems to match closely to the later use of solitude by Arendt (1953), as a form of solitude permitting the freedom to be by oneself together with oneself—a necessary starting point to think critically and to dialogue with others. This relationship between *Wissenschaft* and *Einsamkeit* is enhanced by Humboldt's (1969/2000) theory of *Bildung*, which relates

to a driving human desire to define and "expand the sphere of [one's] knowledge and…
activity" through the interaction of one's mind and the world (p. 58).

Humboldt (1809/2018) underscores this relationship between the purity of the
pursuit of knowledge and scholarship, freedom to do so, and the process of "self-
renewing, wholly uncoerced and disinterested" collaboration, by which "the successful
intellectual achievements of one person arouse the intellectual passions and enthusiasms
of others… [becoming] a common intellectual possession instead of fading away in
isolation" (p. 47). This point relates the intrinsic valuation of knowledge for its own
sake, and the significance of the individual scholar in the driving desire to pursue
knowledge for its own sake and for the development and transformation of one's mind,
and the intrinsic valuation of the academic community as part of the conceptualisation of
the university. The relationship between academic knowledge and the individual person
as the knower, scholar, teacher, and learner emphasises the university as an institution of
the human being, rather than the university simply as a social institution.

This idea of collaboration in *Wissenschaft* applies not only to peers, but also to the
relationship between student and teacher. This is one of the reasons I support a broader
translation of *Wissenschaft*. Humboldt (1809/2018) makes a distinction between lower
levels of schooling and higher levels in the university, such that in the university:

> The teacher does not exist for the sake of the student; both teacher and student
> have their justification in the common pursuit of knowledge… The goals of
> [*Wissenschaft*] are worked towards most effectively through the synthesis of the
> teacher's and students' dispositions… a fruitful combination. (p. 47)

This is a fairly unique understanding of the relationship between teacher and
student that acts as a conceptual basis for *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit*, that is, the
freedom of teachers to set their own agenda and for students to determine what they

desire to learn (Anderson, 2020b). Teaching and learning within the functions of the university and what it is for are in this conceptualisation intrinsically valued in relation to the pursuit of knowledge (or *Wissenschaft*) for its own sake.

The relationship between the university and the state, according to Humboldt, is important to review as well. It is recognisable as it continues in the general tradition of the medieval European universities in terms of university autonomy from state interference: "the state must understand that intellectual work will go on infinitely better if it does not intrude," (Humboldt, 1809/2018, p. 48) although it is responsible for the provision of the organisational framework and resources for the practice of *Wissenschaft*. This understanding of the role of the university in relation to society is more representative of the earlier iterations of the idea of the university, and is distinct from later developments of the idea of the university in the United States (e.g., the land-grant university) and after the great wars. In this conceptualisation, the university is intrinsically valued as university, as a space for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, in which the individual is able to pursue knowledge and learning within a disinterested, collaborative academic community, supported by the state but without direct instrumentalisation of the institution or its functions for social outcomes.

2.3.1.2 Newman & the British Tradition of the University

Newman's (1899/1996) idea of the university is a classic text beyond merely the British model of the university—it is "arguably… the most famous book on the topic ever written" (Peters & Barnett, 2018, p. 180) and well worth reviewing in relation to the aims of this chapter. Newman's idea of the university effectively portrays the small-scale elite form of liberal arts collegiate education idealised by medieval Oxford and Cambridge,

acting as both a complement and a foil to the Humboldtian idea (Anderson, 2020a).

There are three main principles of Newman's (1899/1996) idea that are important to draw

out: (i) the university as a "seat of universal knowledge" (p. 77); (ii) the university as a

place of education where "knowledge is capable of being its own end," (p. 78); and the

university as an intellectual community of learning consisting of teachers and learners.

The first principle of Newman's (1899/1996) idea of the university is its

definition of the university as "the seat of universal knowledge," (p. 77) including both

theological and secular disciplines. Given that the object of knowledge is truth,

according to Newman (1899/1996), there may be "no natural or real limits between part

and part," (p. 41) since "omission of any one science from the catalogue prejudices the

accuracy and completeness of our knowledge altogether" (p. 46). Along with this first

principle, the second characteristic of knowledge being its own end is reminiscent of the

concept of *Wissenschaft* in the Humboldtian idea. Both the first and second principles

point to intrinsic valuation of the university and of academic knowledge, with the

university valued as a space of universal knowledge and knowledge valued for its own

sake. The idea of knowledge as its own reward is fundamental to the intellectual training

provided with a liberal education. Newman (1899/1996) held that the suitability of

students for careers or in support of societal good after a liberal arts education would be

accidental to the purpose of the university and not part of the purpose of the university

itself. This is one of the components of this idea that seems to shift somewhat with the

massification of higher education after World War II.

The third characteristic of Newman's (1899/1996) idea of the university is that of

the intellectual community of learning. This aspect is similar though not identical to the

Humboldtian teacher-student relationship, in that the community of scholars creates an environment in which students may learn and grow in the liberal arts tradition, though the equality of the roles of student and teacher present in the Humboldtian tradition is not present in Newman's idea. The focus is very much on teaching, rather than mutual support of the pursuit of knowledge on the part of both students and teachers. Where Humboldt envisions freedom for both students and teachers in the pursuit of knowledge, Newman's idea of the liberation of the mind of students is more developmental and takes place under the tutelage of professors and a specified curriculum. Faculty collegiality in Humboldt's idea seems more collaborative than Newman's (1899/1996) idea, in which solitude plays a stronger role than collaboration: "[Professors] represent their respective sciences, and attend to the private interests of those sciences respectively" (p. 220). Nonetheless, this third principle of the intellectual community of learning values the university intrinsically as an academic community, in a similar sense to the Humboldtian idea of the university.

Both the German, Humboldtian idea of the university and the British model as described by Newman understand the essence of the university as the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, supporting individual development in an intellectual community. The separation between the university and the state, or the university and societal benefits in both models of the university is distinctive.

In the next section, I analyse the idea of the university after the world wars according to the work of three thinkers: Karl Jaspers (1946/1959), Clark Kerr (1963/2001), and Derek Bok (1982). Two of these—Kerr and Bok—represent the US approach to the idealised model of the university, which draws from both the British and

German models, adapted for the US context. Jaspers offers an idea of the university responsive to the effects of the great wars in Germany

2.3.2 Post-War Models of the University

The post-war shift in the idea of the university is an important stage to examine in the development of the idea of the university. Peace-building, economic and political recovery immediately after the great wars, and the event of the Cold War in the decades following, strongly impacted the perception of the function of higher education in society. In the United States, this came with an emphasis on "serving the nation… [and] a commitment to national defense" (Marsden, 1994, p. 394). Higher education also became a tool in developing international cooperation and supporting development cooperation, in which "academic institutions were in general passive partners" (Altbach & de Wit, 2016, p. 74). These approaches following both world wars were accompanied by major national funding plans for a time supporting the massification of higher education, which gradually broke down in 1980s to more market-driven models of funding (Altbach, 2016). It is some of these ideological shifts that are necessary to explore in this time period.

Jaspers (1946/1959) offers insight into a post-war German idea of the university, while Kerr (1963/2001) and Bok (1982) present the US developments of the idea of the university. Essentially in this time, we see the definite beginning of a movement away from a purely intrinsic-value idea of the university as focused on *Wissenschaft* or knowledge as its own end to a more mixed intrinsic and instrumental-value basis for the idea or purpose of the university, related to the university as an ideological tool for societal development (Barnett, 1990).

2.3.2.1 Jaspers & the Post-War German Idea of the University

Examining the case of Jaspers' (1946/1959) contribution to the idea of the university discourse is fascinating partly because of the timing of this contribution immediately after World War II, but also because of Jaspers' personal stance of resisting and refusing support to the Nazi regime, making his insights into the German idea of the university extremely valuable and interesting (Peters & Barnett, 2018). Jaspers modernises the Humboldtian idea of the university with great care, and is more responsive to societal need, but maintains a strong intrinsic-value focus in his idea of the university. The main components of his idea include (i) a commitment to science or the pursuit of knowledge or *Wissenschaft*; (ii) a commitment to *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit* but responsive to societal need; (iii) the university as a place of communication; and (iv) an explicit commitment to academic freedom in relation to the state.

For Jaspers (1946/1959), the university is defined as a "community of scholars and students engaged in the task of seeking truth… [deriving] its autonomy… from an imperishable idea of supranational, world-wide character: academic freedom" (p. 1). The first component of his idea is that the institution of the university, through scholarly collaboration, has as its "very lifeblood" the intellectual life (Jaspers, 1946/1959, p. 5). Jaspers is committed to the pursuit of knowledge, but neither for purely utilitarian ends nor for science as an end in itself, but rather guided by "the unqualified will to know… as key to our human self-realization… [and] the oneness of reality" (pp. 20-21). The pursuit of knowledge guided by the will to know points to an intrinsic valuation of academic knowledge similar to the Humboldtian model.

The second component involves the university functions of research, the transmission of knowledge through teaching, professional training, and "education of the whole man" (Jaspers, 1946/1959, p. 40) or formation of the mind to "[prepare] each individual to be a member of society" (p. 48) and for meaningful freedom. Scholarly research and student learning are independent, but must abide by the conscientious will to know. This component demonstrates the shift to incorporate both intrinsic and instrumental valuation of the university and its functions, such that knowledge and individual transformation as intrinsically valuable are also instrumentally valorised towards formation of members of society as well as professional development.

The third component is the role of communication as inherent to the purpose of the university as an institution—communication (and criticism) must take place within the university as part of the "responsibility of thought… which flourishes much better in an atmosphere of communication than as solitary thought which meets no resistance" (Jaspers, 1946/1959, p. 63). That is, the pursuit of truth requires communication with other scholars in the community (Burwood, 2020). This requires that the university is able to hold and welcome all disciplines and all *Weltanschauungen* or worldviews. This commitment to communication extends to "those who would be intolerant if they could," (p. 68) because the university is confident in its ability to communicate with all. This component extends the intrinsic valuation of the university as a place of the pursuit of knowledge to a place of all disciplines and worldviews, as well as an intellectual community in which communication takes place between and among worldviews.

The fourth component is the relationship between the society and the university: "the university is meant to function as the intellectual conscience of an era… a place of

research… necessarily permeated with a sense of reality" (p. 121). This function of the university requires a commitment by the state to academic freedom extending to research, thought, and teaching. The extension of the idea of the university to greater interaction with society, through teaching (professional training), the preparation for membership in society, and as the intellectual conscience for the time breaks somewhat with the ideas of the university of Newman and Humboldt, in terms of the instrumentalisation of elements of the university and its functions. However, the substance of Jasper's idea still holds with the intrinsic-value property of the idea of the university, with instrumental-value properties as secondary. This seems to change with the US model of higher education in the ideas of Kerr and Bok.

2.3.2.2 The US Model: Kerr's & Bok's Ideas of the University

The US model of the university described by Clark Kerr (1963/2001) and Derek Bok (1982) represents the development of the US idea of the university from its beginning to the massified post-war university: "a whole series of communities and activities held together by a common name, a common governing board, and related purposes" (Kerr, 1963/2001, p. 1). Kerr is explicit in stating that the US university is distinct from either Humboldt's or Newman's idea of the university: "the really modern university – the multiversity," (p. 5). It is an inconsistent and multi-community organisation, including undergraduates, graduate students, many disciplines and professional schools, administrative personnel, which "serves society almost slavishly," (Kerr, 1963/2001, p. 14) with several animating principles, "a mechanism held together by administrative rules and powered by money" (p. 15). The description of the

multiversity as the post-war US idea of the university is characteristic in its essence and function, valued instrumentally for its service to society.

Bok (1982) reflects on the purposes of the US idea of the university as distinct from the British or German models, suggesting that since the mid-18th century, "Americans tended to look on higher education as a means for providing the knowledge and the trained manpower that a rapidly developing society required" (p. 62). Bok suggests that the shift in federal funding of universities after World War II, from basic research to public service, ranging from specific research, specialist training, projects addressing specific societal needs, lead to the creation of the US model of the university: the multiversity. This focus on service to society as an essential component of the university is, Bok claims, proper to the functions of the university, though the range of this function differs based on the opinion of traditionalists, modernists, or activists. Nonetheless, this focus demonstrates the clear shift to a primarily instrumental valuation of the university and its functions in relation to direct social gains.

Bok (2003/2018) also discusses the role of academic capitalism within the university, reviewing what he deems are both benefits and costs of the commercialisation of the university. Academic capitalism or the "efforts to sell the work of universities for a profit," (Bok, 2003/2018, p. 513) may result from the lack of purpose or blurriness of values within the multiversity model. However, with massification of higher education, the boom of the research enterprise with the rise of the research university model, alongside the sprawl of the multiversity, and the drastic decline in public funding of higher education, fundraising has become a professional full-time activity within the academic complex. While the commercialisation of the university and the

commodification of knowledge helps to pay the bills of the US multiversity, many fear "something of irreplaceable value may get lost" (Bok, 2003/2018, p. 523). The shift from public funding of the university to an academic capitalist funding model also contributes to the instrumentalisation of the university and its functions practically and in relation to how it is valued—the explicit commercialisation of what the university is and does materialises the instrumental valuation within the US model of the university.

It is clear that while the German model became subtly more responsive to society post-war with the work of Jaspers, the US model has historically been more focused on service to society. With the extensive policy borrowing of the modern idea of the university, and with the primacy of the US model of the university and higher education system, it may be that the applied idea or model of the university exists in a dialectic of sorts, in constant tension, attempting to serve its own purposes, as well as those of the individual, society, the knowledge economy, and the nation state. In this way, it seems that the theoretical approach to the idealised idea and the identity of the modern university has also become fuzzy and somewhat ungraspable, both to the university itself and to society. I suggest that this dialectical existence may render the contemporary university an unfulfilled social institution, as it strives with difficulty to try to achieve the full regimen of its ostensible functions.

In the next section, I review the work of Habermas (1987), Gutmann (1987), Nussbaum (2002), Ashwin (2020), MacFarlane (2021), and Barnett (2018) in their reflections on the purposes and functions associated with theoretical ideas and models of the university in order to understand how the university and its functions are valued in contemporary scholarship.

2.4 Contemporary Philosophical & Theoretical Contributions

In this section, I present the analyses of the modern condition of the idea and purposes of the university, and attempts to refocus the idea of the university and clearly isolate where its value may lie. Habermas (1986/1987) asks whether the university must "discard like an empty shell what once had been called its 'idea?'" (p. 5). Gutmann (1987) reviews the US idea of the university, suggesting that the purposes of the university may be better understood in relation to its role as "protection against the threat of democratic tyranny" (p. 174). Nussbaum (2002) examines the role of US liberal arts education in promoting citizenship, asking whether this purpose might be extended to global citizenship. Ashwin (2020) examines the teaching function of the university as transformational. MacFarlane (2021) calls for a renewal of the spirit of research in the modern university. Barnett (2018) expands the idea of the contemporary university to account for the complexity of its existence by extending the bounds of the social imaginary to an ecological imaginary of the ecological university.

Each of these philosophical examinations of the state of the idea of the university offer reactions and responses to the valorisation of the contemporary university and its functions in the present-day higher education landscape, analysing the consequences of instrumental valuations of what the university is and is for, and calling for a return to more intrinsic valuations framed within in an idealised academic model of the university.

2.4.1 Habermas & Communication in Community

In reflecting on the post-World War II university, Habermas (1970) suggests that the tendency to view the function of the modern university as purely for the production and transmission of "technically exploitable knowledge," (p. 2) may obscure three other

important functions it has traditionally held: (i) to provide students with "extrafunctional" abilities that are relevant to a professional career, but are fall outside of "professional knowledge and skills" (p. 2); (ii) to "transmit, interpret, and develop the cultural tradition of the society" (p. 2); and (iii) to "[form] the political consciousness of its students" (p. 3). In this light, Habermas calls for a democratisation of the university, such that the university is able to hold a position within society, in order for the university to contribute both to professional preparation and disciplinary specialisation as well as maintaining the three university functions he highlights within a politicised, democratic society. He expands further on the need for communication and deliberation within the university in an essay on the idea of the university (Habermas, 1986/1987).

Habermas (1986/1987) reviews the state of the modern university "on its way towards functional specialization within an ever more swiftly differentiating system of knowledges," (p. 5) as an attempt to understand whether university members must still share some level of self-understanding, if not a "normative self-image" (p. 5) or idea of the university. Acknowledging the revolution of massification of higher education both in Germany and worldwide after World War II, Habermas suggests that the resulting specialisation of the teaching and research functions of the university (rather than the Humboldtian unity of research and teaching) has disintegrated any semblance to the German idea of the university.

As such, the university has drifted from a normatively integrated institution, to a system regulated and oriented to administrative planning and to economic mechanisms—a description reflective of Bok's model of the US multiversity. The Humboldtian idea of the university, according to Habermas, included an apolitical approach to *Wissenschaft*, a

limited connection to professional training, and the importance of *Wissenschaft* for culture and for society, thus supporting institutional autonomy and *Einsamkeit* and *Freiheit* (solitude and freedom) as well as a distinct separation from "bourgeois society and the political public sphere" (Habermas, 1986/1987, p. 10). This is not to say that the contemporary university is well represented in the political public sphere, although Habermas (1986), in his analysis of academic communication, suggests that academics should translate academic knowledge and make it accessible to the public to guide and support public political decision-making.

The further loss of the egalitarian student-teacher relationship and the role of science as an "important productive force in industrial society," (p. 13) allude to the unbundling and commodification of university functions raised by other contemporary scholars. However, Habermas (1986/1987) clarifies that the self-image or self-understanding of the contemporary university would not thrive under a "normative ideal, for ideas come and go" (p. 20). He questions whether such an idealised idea is in fact necessary and/or desirable to the contemporary university. Habermas suggests that, given the normative disintegration of the idea of the contemporary university, the learning processes of the university may instead be held together by "communicative or discursive forms of scientific argument" within the "community of investigators" (p. 21).

Whether communication in community is sufficient as a constitutive idea of the contemporary university is open to debate. However, the emphasis on communication within an academic community as essential points to an intrinsic valuation of academic research as a form of communication within an academic community, rather than an instrumentalised valuation of academic research for productive/profitable ends.

2.4.2 Gutmann & Democratic Education

Gutmann's (1987) idea of the university is focused on the US context, but is worth considering here due to its relationship to a democratic ideal as necessary to the idea of the university. With the contemporary university deeply enmeshed in Taylor's (2007) modern social imaginary containing public sphere, political life, and the economy, and the pervasiveness of the US model of higher education, Gutmann's (1987) work plays an important role in fleshing out the idea of the university in service to society. Gutmann (1987) offers three main purposes of the university: (i) to "serve democracy as [an institutional sanctuary] of nonrepression," (p. 174); (ii) to act "as an educator of officeholders rather than simply a gatekeeper for office," (p. 183); and (iii) to serve as "[a community] of scholars, students, and administrators who share intellectual, educational, and [occasionally]… religious values" (p. 185). This approach to the purpose of higher education suggests that the university itself may play an instrumental role in providing a public good to society—that is, supporting and maintaining democracy.

Lehrfreiheit, or academic freedom, is held as central to the primary purpose of the university as an institution of nonrepression. In this case, the intrinsic value of the university of *Wissenchaft* of the Humboldtian ideal exists within the institution, although the pursuit of knowledge has an end of maintaining democracy. The functions of education of office-holders is certainly related to professional training, as in Jaspers' model, though Gutmann (1987) is explicit that this education must be protected from "the values of the market) (p. 183). The function of the university intrinsically valued as a space for the intellectual community is maintained, in common with Habermas, Jaspers, Humboldt, and Newman.

2.4.3 Nussbaum, Ashwin & the Academic Teaching Function

Nussbaum (2002) offers a contemporary concept of higher education's role in relation to citizenship formation through the teaching function of the university. It is based on a US liberal arts model applied more generally to modern democracies as set within a globalised, internationalised, multicultural, and multi-religious context of modern society. This idea relates to a certain extent to Gutmann's focus on maintaining democracy through democratic education and Jaspers' commitment to citizenship formation and preparation for entering society, among other purposes of the university. Nussbaum (2002) suggests that there are three main aspects of global citizenship education: (i) "critical examination of oneself and one's traditions," (p. 293); (ii) the capacity to imagine the experiences of different people; and (iii) a self-perception as locally, regionally, and globally bound as a fellow human person "by ties of recognition and concern" (p. 295). While this idea focuses on the teaching function of the university, it may function as an important foil to the idea of the unbundled, normatively disintegrated multiversity.

We see with Nussbaum's approach a return to an idealised normative identity for the idea of the university, through the academic teaching function. In this way, teaching and learning within the space of the university are instrumentally valued for their contribution to supporting global citizenship, as well as being intrinsically valued as a space of critical self-examination and transformation—with an identifiable relationship to Humboldt's theory of *Bildung* in relation to teaching, learning, and the pursuit of knowledge for one's own development.

Ashwin (2020) also raises the importance of recognising the value of the teaching function of the university as necessary to understanding the purpose of the contemporary university. The way in which the university provides access to disciplinary bodies of knowledge, "enables students to see themselves and the world in new ways… [making] that education transformational… [changing] who the students are and what they can achieve in the world" (p. 68). This underscores Nussbaum's focus on the intrinsic value of the individual experience of learning and development, which has accidental value to society as a secondary outcome. What the work of both of these scholars demonstrates is that we, as scholars in higher education studies and philosophy of higher education, continue to seek more from our modern institutions of higher education than can be offered by a commercialised, unbundled form of the university (MacFarlane, 2011)—rather, we must understand the idea of the university in relation to the intrinsic value of what it is and what it does first, and only secondarily its instrumental benefits to society.

2.4.4 MacFarlane & the Spirit of Research

MacFarlane (2021) examines the role of research as a defining characteristic of the contemporary, "highly ranked, global university of the twenty-first century," (p. 1) through a historical lens, reviewing the British and German research traditions, and calling for a re-establishment of a liberal idea of research. The concept of research, as we know it today, is a "comparatively recent reinvention of the purpose of the university," (MacFarlane, 2021, p. 1) given the primacy of teaching over research in the British tradition as held by Newman's idea of the university. The contemporary shift away and siloing of teaching from research as a main function of the professoriate and the university has, according to MacFarlane (2021), occurred "in response to the changing

role of the university as the government's research arm" (p. 2) and the specialisation and fragmentation of disciplinary knowledge within the academic complex.

MacFarlane (2021) suggests that universities "now define research as a narrowly performative activity hollowed out by neo-liberal assumptions about the purposes of higher education," (p. 3) echoing the double-hermeneutic effect. MacFarlane (2021) suggests instead that the contemporary idea of the university should "reclaim the 'spirit of research' as a scholarly activity in the liberal education tradition," that "helps to re-establish the link between research and teaching" (p. 3). This claim parallels Blakely's conception of the market polis, such that the contemporary idea of the university is overwhelmingly constructed within a modern social imaginary in which the economy forms much of the shared basis, limiting our capacity to grasp and support intrinsic value properties of an idea of the university.

Specifically, the focus on research impact in relation to grants, funding, tenure, and competition results in "a shift from cognitive rationality… to economic rationality" (MacFarlane, 2021, p. 9). Therefore, MacFarlane (2021) calls for a "wider, more inclusive, and less performative interpretation of research," (p. 9) a spirit of research that requires "being alive to new ideas and debates in one's own field of study and being a role model to help students understand what criticism means" (p. 11). As such, this critique of the contemporary approach to academic research points to a movement away from instrumental valuation of research within a competitive economic rationale, towards valuing academic research intrinsically, for itself as academic knowledge, and for oneself as a scholar, teacher, and learner.

2.4.5 Barnett & the Ecological University

The final contribution to this section is drawn from Barnett's (2018) extensive work in this area, in which he acknowledges the complexity of the modern university, attempting to weave together the demands made by different constituents and functions. While there is a focus on sustainability in this model, I would like to review how Barnett (2018) understands the university as interconnected across different ecosystems in human society. Specifically, this work offers a way to expand our social imaginary beyond the limits of the economic market polis. In this idea of the university, the university partakes in seven ecosystems, namely: "the physical environment, social institutions… the economy, knowledge, culture, learning and human subjectivity" (Barnett, 2018, p. 579). The university is thus in relationship with each of these ecosystems interiorly, and these ecosystems relate to each other exteriorly. For instance, considering the case of internationalisation, Barnett (2018) suggests it might be viewed across at least five of these seven ecologies: "knowledge, culture, social institutions, the economy, and human subjectivity" (p. 579).

The merit of this approach to understanding the university is that it permits the necessary interdisciplinarity to analyse the complexity of the modern university across these multiple spheres in which it does exist as both a human and a social institution. In this way, we are able to think effectively about the intrinsic and instrumental value of the university and its functions. Barnett (2018) suggests the ecological concept of the university permits us to consider the university as idea, the university across time and space (the history and the future), and the particularities and universals of a university. Barnett (2018) also uses the concept of networks from the work of Castells (2010) to

discuss the ecological university as a networked university. However, the idea of networks must be understood as flexible and subject to change as well as being value-laden, as relationships across spaces through university networks within various ecosystems must themselves be evaluated.

2.5 Valorisation in an Academic Idea of the University

Across the development of the early ideas of the university from Humboldt and Newman to the post-war developments by Jaspers, Kerr, and Bok, to contemporary contributions from Habermas, Gutmann, Nussbaum, Ashwin, MacFarlane, and Barnett, it is clear that there have been some shifts from more completely intrinsic value bases for the idea of the university to finding ways to incorporate instrumental bases for the same. The development of the multiversity (Kerr, 1963/2001; Bok, 1982) and the devolution of a unified, normatively integrated idea of the university, as recognised by Habermas (1986/1987), may be seen as a step away towards instrumentalisation of the university enterprise. This review also shows the deep concern of contemporary thinkers in relation to the instrumentalisation of the idea of the university and the attempt to consider different and more complex ways to understand the role and function of the university in the present time and within the modern social imaginary. Contemporising an idealised academic idea of the university to account for the developments in society over time is theoretically necessary in order to ensure that the analysis of how the university is valued reflects the theoretical and practical developments of the university of today.

From the early ideas of the university from Humboldt and Newman to the post-war theory from Jaspers, there is an identifiable and definitive purpose of the university based on intrinsic value, of the university as university, of the pursuit of knowledge for

its own sake (*Wissenschaft*)*,* and of the pursuit of knowledge driven by will to know by

the human person (*Bildung*). It seems that the more contemporary developments, as seen

in the US multiversity model and emulated in other contexts, has resulted in what

MacFarlane (2021) calls the "highly ranked, global university of the twenty-first

century," (p. 1) also seen in the isomorphic attempts of many other national systems not

so highly ranked (Altbach, 2016). The heavy focus on the economic rationale of these

universities is partly driven by the widely acknowledged need for funding, but also to

perhaps an overreach in terms of societal claims on higher education in ways that

emphasise instrumental value gains and restrict the possibility of an idea of the university

based on intrinsic value components.

Responsiveness to society and societal need may also be identified a necessary

function of the modern university, as Jaspers emphasises (1946/1959) even after the

atrocities of the second World War and the perceived moral weakness of some German

academics (cf. Heidegger). But if we are to maintain the intrinsic value basis for the

contemporary university alongside responsiveness to societal challenges, we must uphold

a primarily intrinsic valuation of the university and its functions: committing to the spirit

of research (MacFarlane, 2021), the free pursuit of knowledge as *Wissenschaft* towards

the end of inner *Bildung* (Humboldt, 1809/2018, 1969/2000; Jaspers, 1946/1959), the

freedom of teaching, research, and learning (Gutmann, 1987; Nussbaum, 2002; Ashwin,

2020), and an environment in which an academic community of communication and

learning may thrive (Newman, 1899/1996; Habermas, 1986/1987). Such an institution

may continue to be responsive to society through the recognition that it participates in

multiple ecosystems beyond the economy (Barnett, 2018)—so breaking out of a primarily economic social imaginary of the market polis.

What I am calling an academic idea of the university thus holds to an intrinsic valorisation of the university and its functions as a first step, including of the internationalisation of these academic functions. Academic knowledge is intrinsically valued, for teaching, learning, research, scholarship, as an individual and in community, driven by a will to know, with a commitment to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. There is also a secondary instrumental valuation of knowledge transmission through communication of academic knowledge, as the university is responsive to society and serves it through the academic functions of research and teaching, as individuals and professionals in society. Academic knowledge is understood and intrinsically valued for the human person as transformational, towards inner development in the sense of *Bildung*. The university is understood and intrinsically valued as a place of academic research, of all worldviews, as an intellectual academic community, and as an intellectual conscience. The instrumental valuation of these elements of the academic idea of the university may be understood within a generative intrinsic (McCowan, 2019) such that through intrinsic valuation of the academic functions of the university, instrumental ends may also be achieved over time. (This concept is discussed in depth in chapter 4.)

It is clear that such an idealised academic idea of the university is just that—an ideal—and unlikely to materialise in its ideal form in any one institution, let alone at an international level. Nonetheless, such an idealised academic idea of the university permits the analysis of the contemporary context while providing something to hold on to

in terms of the hope of approaching such an ideal to greater or lesser extents by

upholding the intrinsic value of the essence of what it is and what it is for.

CHAPTER 3: A Globalised Idea of the University

In this chapter, I review the international higher education literature to gauge the ways in which the university is valued in terms of its essence, its purpose, and its functions within an idealised *globalised* idea of the university. I begin by reviewing globalisation as a key concept that undergirds the conceptualisation of the university in the study of international higher education. In the analysis of globalisation, I draw from international political economy literature to make the distinction between globalisation and global capitalism, and to bring into the discussion the position of global inequality in relation to global capitalism. One intersection of the sphere of international higher education with forces of globalisation lies within the so-called knowledge economy (or the conception of human beings as capital, knowledge as commodity, both subject to supply and demand) (Altbach, 2016; Naidoo, 2008; Tilak, 2011).

I follow this section with a review of the concept of internationalisation of higher education, including rationales for internationalisation, the relationship to global trade in services, and internationalisation of the research function. I close this chapter review of the application of global public good theory from international relations literature in relation to a globalised idea of the university. This concept is a means to understand international cooperation through the internationalisation of higher education—an important rationale for international organisations such as the World Bank and UNESCO—that support higher education and research collaboration.

The inclusion of a globalised idea of the university to this study is motivated in part by my broader interest in the conceptualisation of the internationalisation of higher education and international academic collaboration in the contemporary context in

relation to values and ideas of the university. However, it is also an important aspect to consider given that the scope and scale of various forms of higher education in society have dramatically increased in geographic range and have arguably shifted somewhat in function as a consequence. The internationalisation of higher education, as a general group of a variety of diverse activities and approaches, is but one aspect of this growth and change taking place from the institutional level to higher education at local, national, regional, and global levels. Additionally, this theoretical idea and its associated values are important to consider given that the selected empirical context for theory-testing in this study is international organisational policy

The study of international higher education and research into the process of internationalisation have kept pace with these developments, analysing, critiquing, and predicting using a range of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, drawing from different disciplines including political science, economics, education, and sociology, to name but a few. Still, some scholars have suggested that the field of international higher education and the subfield of the internationalisation of higher education are underdeveloped in terms of theory (Lee & Stensaker, 2021; Szadkowski, 2019).

Within the philosophy of higher education, we rely heavily on the work of scholars from centuries past. Specifically, literature regarding "beliefs, value, and ideas about the purposes of higher education… is at least over 200 years old," (Barnett & Fulford, 2020, p. 2), and tends to be applied as a theoretical basis for qualitative and quantitative research as well as opinion-based public scholarship related to contemporary higher education. Similarly, the extant theoretical work on the concepts of purpose and value is limited in relation to a globalised idea of the university. Furthermore, the

contemporary academic context—including the policy context—in which we operate may have some significant differences that are worth analysing empirically, as well as theoretically, in relation to the values and ideas of the university.

As such, there is an identified need to develop "theoretical advancements that can better capture the dynamics witnessed in current internationalisation and globalisation processes" (Lee & Stensaker, 2021, p. 8). In this light, it is important to consider the issues in the contemporary global academic context that may be closely tied to international higher education and the internationalisation of higher education, such as the rise of different forms of nationalism and populism (de Wit & Altbach, 2020; Colgan & Keohane, 2017; Snyder, 2019; Inglehart & Norris, 2016), and the documented rise in xenophobia or neo-racism in parallel (Lee, 2017; Lee et al., 2017). Geopolitical conflict and instability as well as increasing anti-globalist and anti-internationalist tendencies in political rhetoric and in policy decision-making may also affect international higher education and internationalisation of higher education across different facets and functions. Some examples are the effects on mobility, research collaboration, as well as the securitisation of knowledge, and restrictions of university autonomy (Mok, 2018; de Wit & Altbach, 2020; Marginson, 2021a).

As a consequence of these contemporary global challenges, "the value of internationalisation of higher education" (Mok, 2018, p. 186) becomes a subject of debate. Studying the relationship between internationalisation of higher education and the values within a globalised idea of the university may be helpful in understanding how the university is valued and for what purpose and functions. By considering a globalised idea of the university alongside an academic idea of the university (chapter 2) and a

developmental idea of the university (chapter 4), I hope to offer a means to consider the challenges faced when multiple ideas of the university co-exist—often without clear boundaries—in policy and in academic scholarship.

3.1 Globalisation: Causes and Implications

In this section, I review the concept of globalisation, drawing mainly from international relations and political economy literature. I try to make a distinction between globalisation and global capitalism with the concept of partial globalisation, in relation to global inequality due in part to the failure of embedded liberalism and the consequences thereof. Making these distinctions clear is important for properly situating the analysis of values and concepts associated with a globalised idea of the university. The university, as Barnett (2018) usefully emphasises, is intertwined across spheres, including the economy and other social institutions. Furthermore, the function of international organisations in relation to globalisation is relevant to the study. As such, contextualising this discussion is important.

3.1.1 Defining (Partial) Globalisation

Political and economic globalisation may be understood as both a process and an outcome of certain developments, including rapid technological advances, increasing transnational exchange, and the liberalisation of national-level foreign economic policies (Garrett, 2000). Due to these causes, globalisation results in "powerful forces pressing towards convergence in policy, politics, economics, and even culture" (Deese, 2012, p. xi). However, globalisation is incomplete in both process and outcome—the world remains only partially globalised—giving rise to the institution of international public institutions and organisations to govern coordination and cooperation between nation-

states (Keohane, 2001). The relationship between political and economic globalisation and global governance through international organisations to promote cooperation situates the role of international organisations within the contemporary policy context.

International integration through globalisation also involves risks, especially for low- and middle-income countries, for instance, during periods of international financial crisis (Deese, 2012). The unequal relationship between nation states will be discussed in more detail through the lens of dependency theory (Dos Santos, 1970) in chapter 4 which analyses a developmental idea of the university. Although "it is not productive to construe globalization as simply "good" or "bad,"" (Kentor, 2001), it is important to address the alleged relationship between globalisation and rising global inequality to properly outline the intersections between a globalised idea of the university, economic globalisation, and internationalisation of higher education, as represented in political economy by trade liberalisation within the global liberal order.

3.1.2 Globalisation vs. Global Capitalism

The claim is often made that globalisation is responsible for the widespread and growing inequality in contemporary society—a claim worth investigating to determine its validity. It is important to understand the basis for this claim, because of the relationship between globalisation and internationalisation of higher education. However, it is global capitalism, often associated with (though arguably distinct from) globalisation, that has resulted in deeper segregation along income and class lines, scepticism of the professed benefits of globalism, and a populist rejection of globalisation (Colgan & Keohane, 2017). Recognising the validity of the concerns around globalisation and inequality, Sen (2006) proposes that the failure lies with the economic and social arrangements that

accompany globalisation (i.e., global capitalism) rather than globalisation itself. This is due in part to misattribution of the cause of inequality to globalisation writ large. Rather, as discussed in the next section, the ever-growing chasm segregating the global population of the very rich from the destitute is caused by the failure of embedded liberalism and welfare states to compensate those disadvantaged as a result of multilateral trade through the establishment of the global capitalist framework (Colgan & Keohane, 2017; Ruggie, 1982).

3.1.2 The Failure of the Global Liberal Order

Although the global liberal order—through multilateral cooperation, international institutions, and open markets—has advanced the economic conditions of much of the developing world, with a rising middle class in many nations, the overall wealth gains as a result of globalisation have been disproportionately seized by elites (Colgan & Keohane, 2017). In this way, even though the poor participating in the global economy have absorbed some wealth gains, they are not receiving "a fair share of the benefits of economic interrelations" (Sen, 2006). The safety net for the effects of globalisation has not been provided through embedded liberalism as promised, that is, via multilateral trade alongside welfare states and labour-market policies to compensate the disadvantaged (Colgan & Keohane, 2017; Ruggie, 1982).

It seems then that the focus of neo-liberal economic theory and practice is on markets rather than supporting democracy, education, or the needs of the poor (Sen, 2006). The failure of the global liberal order may also extend to academic internationalisation, given the participation of international higher education in these

capitalistic economic and social arrangements through the framework of trade liberalisation and open markets through trade in educational services.

3.2 Internationalisation of Higher Education

3.2.1 Globalisation & Internationalisation

In international higher education studies, globalisation has been defined as a largely inevitable trend towards integration and interdependency in the sectors of economy, technology, science, and knowledge on a global scale (Altbach, 2016). The concept of globalisation lies at the core of the field of international higher education. In relation to globalisation, the internationalisation of higher education is often defined as a response to globalisation through institutional and governmental policies and programs (Altbach et al., 2010), though, these concepts are increasingly interconnected and overlap in terms of influence on each other (de Wit, 2010; Tilak, 2011). The failure of the global liberal order may therefore extend to academic internationalisation, giving rise to inequalities in the provision of the internationalised functions of higher education, given the participation of internationalisation of higher education practices in these socioeconomic arrangements through trade in educational services, particularly in the commodification of knowledge and research.

For instance, Kwiek (2001) proposes that the "gradual decomposition of the welfare state" alongside globalisation and the simultaneously changing relationship of the nation-state to the university, the liberalisation of capital, the scale of human mobility, and the effects of the technological revolution have affected the traditional "German-inspired" university (p. 27). The growing presence of international organisations in relation to increasingly global forms of governance related to higher education includes

organisations like UNESCO, the World Bank, OECD, and quality assurance organisations such as the International Network of Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE) (McBurnie, 2001). In this function, the role of international organisations like the OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank has grown in terms of their influence on national policy, for instance, through recommendations to create systems that support lifelong learning, and encourage universal participation in higher education.

However, these recommendations also favour "increasingly market-oriented, financially independent, higher education institutions" (Kwiek, 2001, p. 28). This shift to corporatized universities, Kwiek (2001) relates to the failure of the welfare state, and move away from public provision of social services, including higher education, and the subsequent "decoupling of the university and the nation" (p. 32), and the loss of the social role of the university. In this way, we can align a globalised idea of the university to the failure of embedded liberalism and the global liberal order with the rise of global capitalism, as well as to the shift away from an academic idea of the university after World War II (see chapter 2). As such, Kwiek's (2001) analysis shows the university instrumentally valued through a market polis lens, with a focus on the university as a corporate institution driven by an economic rationale for higher education.

Yang (2003) also warns of the dangers of uncritical acceptance of globalisation, especially economic globalisation through global capitalism. Yang (2003) suggests that the "triumph of global capitalism" and the market mechanism have "gone too far in dominating social and political outcomes" (p. 272) resulting in the marginalisation of the poor and the perpetuation and expansion of global inequality. The market polis vision of society has also affected higher education, moving away from a public good model

towards the corporatisation of the provision of higher education, between students as consumers, and the university and its faculty and staff as vendors.

Yang (2003) suggests that the discourses in internationalisation of higher education have been tainted by this capitalist economic social imaginary, embodied by language such as employment skills, competence, technically valuable outcomes, and the like, with the application of "economic standards as benchmarks" leading "to an international tendency to overemphasise the practical, technical value of higher education" (p. 278). These elements affect how internationalisation of higher has been theorised and studied in the field of international higher education, shaping the way a globalised idea of the university is valued instrumentally for outcomes such as employment, competencies, and wages.

Thus, the ideological demands of the nation state and international structures of power for the university to succumb to being an institutional cog on the global capitalist economic machine must at the least be questioned in order to avoid this shift to instrumental valuation within a globalised idea of the university. Against the tendency for society and universities to "claim [or]… be asked to assume a direct role in resolving… conflicts," Sadlak (2000, p. 248) suggests universities can contribute globally through good will and elements of global citizenship, holding to the hope that universities have a universal role in the world. That role may be fulfilled through the transformational power of education, excellence in teaching and research, and commitment to institutional autonomy and academic freedom in order to protect the free pursuit of knowledge on the part of students and scholars (Sadlak, 2000).

From Sadlak's (2000) hopeful theorisation of a globalised idea of the university, it may also be valued either intrinsically as a place of free pursuit of academic knowledge by students or scholars, or instrumentally for individual non-economic benefits such as transformation through education, or for global benefits produced through the university.

3.2.2 Definitions of Internationalisation

This section moves from the relationship of the concept of globalisation and the relationship to a globalised idea of the university, to dissecting the relationship of the evolving theorisation of internationalisation of higher education to a globalised idea of the university and the changing ways of valuing the university and its functions.

The contemporary university exists at the nexus of several global trends, historical and contemporary, including globalisation, internationalisation, digitalisation, the rise of the global knowledge economy, and increasingly populist forms of nationalism. These influence the purpose and function of the university, the creation, sharing, and use of knowledge, and the rationales that drive policy and practice (Altbach, 2016). An early working definition proposed by Knight (2003) emphasised the functional component of the internationalisation of higher education as an end in itself: "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education" (p. 2). De Wit and colleagues (2015) later expanded this definition, viewing internationalisation of higher education rather as a means to an end:

> The intentional process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of post-secondary education, in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contribution to society. (p. 29)

In 2019, the emphasis of the 2015 definition of internationalisation on society was further refined to underscore the importance of service to society: "internationalisation of higher

education for society explicitly aims to benefit the wider community, at home or abroad, through international or intercultural education, research, service and engagement" (Brandenburg et al., 2019, n.p.).

This evolution of the definition of internationalisation of higher education echoes a norm-based approach that tends to be advocated more widely in international higher education scholarship. This movement is reminiscent of the work of contemporary theorists of higher education seeking intrinsic-value based theories of the university and university functions in reaction to the shifts to instrumentalisation of the essence and purpose of the university towards primarily economic ends.

Yet, there has been some debate regarding the generalisability of such a norm-based or "intentional" definition of internationalisation, particularly given the complex factors (including colonisation) that influence the process of internationalisation in some contexts (Teferra, 2019; de Wit, 2019). Teferra (2019) raises an important point, but follows it to a somewhat precarious conclusion, asking whether such a normative, idealistic definition is of use or if a more neutral, inclusive definition articulating the present status of internationalisation across different contexts would be preferable. De Wit (2019) counters that while contextual analysis of internationalisation is necessary, a norm-based definition of internationalisation still holds significance. Each of these authors offer valid insights, and so underscore two general weaknesses in this field of study, firstly, that of general undertheoretisation in the field of international higher education (Szadkowski, 2019), and secondly, the consequent limitations in the application of seminal definitions.

This challenge and the subsequent confusion has been noted by scholars, that since internationalisation of higher education is a concept that is complex and multifaceted, and constantly evolving (de Wit, 2023, n.p.), it is important to make distinctions between rationales, vertical levels of internationalisation in practice (institutional, national, regional, and global), and how paradigms change and respond to "drastically changing global contexts" to avoid sloppiness in our analytic approach to this concept (de Wit, 2023, n.p.).

Nonetheless, it is also important to recognise the risks involved in dichotomising "fact," or the reality of what internationalisation of higher education is in practice, and "value," or ideals for what internationalisation of higher education ought to be., that is, to make a distinction between these theoretical definitions for internationalisation that are derived from policy and practice, and the conceptual relationship between internationalisation of higher education and theoretically "idealised" versions according to various ideas of the university as understood in this dissertation (DeLaquil, 2020b; Putnam, 2002) . It is important to acknowledge both parts, maintaining dialogue between theoretical developments and contextualising and recontextualising to the shifting global context in which the university is operationalised in policy and practice.

3.2.3 Internationalisation as an Academic Meta-Function

Internationalisation of higher education extends to all of the traditional functions of the university: teaching, research, and service. For the purpose of this dissertation, the concept of service through higher education is primarily understood as the way in which teaching and research may play a role in service to society, rather than the university directly serving society through other means that are adjacent to the primary functions of

teaching and research (e.g., university hospitals, or student service trips or activities).

Considering the functions of the university, internationalisation of higher education may

be understood as a meta-function of the university, overlaying the teaching and research

functions of the university, and widening the scope and scale of service through teaching

and research to the global level.

The next section reviews the various rationales for internationalisation of higher

education, shifting across different spheres across which the university and its functions

overlap, including political, economic, and socio-cultural spaces.

3.2.4 Rationales for Internationalisation

The traditional rationales for the internationalisation of higher education

acknowledge the tendency towards instrumental valuation of internationalisation within a

globalised idea of the university; these are divided into four categories: (i) political (such

as foreign policy, national security, and sharing technical expertise); (ii) economic

(economic competitiveness, labour market demand, consumer demand, revenue

generation); (iii) socio-cultural (intercultural competence, developing global citizens);

and (iv) academic (extending individual knowledge and capacity for research,

institutional prestige, meeting international academic standards, and rising in the

international rankings) (de Wit, 2002; de Wit, 2010; Brandenburg et al., 2019).

The academic rationales listed above do contain some intrinsic value elements,

such as extending individual knowledge and capacity for research, which relate to the

pursuit of knowledge and academic research within an academic idea of the university.

Nonetheless, the instrumentalisation of how the university is valued within

internationalisation is linked to the devolution of globalisation to global capitalism, and

the treatment of internationalisation of higher education as trade within the global trade in services (discussed in the next section).

A fifth humanistic rationale has been proposed, which suggests internationalisation of higher education may be aligned with civil and human rights, social justice, and higher education as a public good (Streitwieser et al., 2018). This rationale also shares a normative basis for definition along with internationalisation of higher education for society, and once again suggests a development in higher education research tending towards social outcomes rather than purely economic outcomes (Brandenburg et al., 2019). Nonetheless, the strong economic rationale and its intersection with globalisation as related to liberalisation of trade policy is made evident in the policy and practice of higher education as trade in services.

If we consider the purposes of internationalisation of academic research within these rationales, academic rationales and economic and political rationales seem to be at odds, as Sen (2002) points out that "although there clearly are scientists who are thinly disguised businessmen, the general culture of science is one of sharing, rather than buying and selling" (p. 50). In this way, Sen (2002) proposes that we view this contrast as an ideological divide, with the organisational tradition of science on the one hand, one of sharing, collaboration, and learning from one another, and the ideology of the market polis and an economic social imaginary on the other, which "can… stifle independent thinking and interactive relations" (p. 50).

While Sen's (2002) proposition of an ideological divide is useful to consider in relation to the tensions between a globalised and an academic idea of the university, I suggest that there are ways of valuing the internationalised functions of higher education

and academic research that may effectively coexist, though others may be lie in fundamental opposition, especially if they are treated as equally important.

Let us consider then the co-existence of political rationales with academic rationales for international research collaboration. Rüland (2022) explores this question in an article on the effectiveness of science diplomacy when nation states are in politically adversarial positions. The co-existence of these rationales is particularly relevant given the geopolitical instability of recent decades, and the effects on international academic collaboration, and is helpful to think with in relation to different ways of valuing the university embedded within different rationales. Policies regarding international academic collaboration and knowledge securitisation have grown in number and in application recently. Rüland (2022) reviews the dimensions of science diplomacy advanced by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the British Royal Society: (i) science in diplomacy (foreign policy informed by science); (ii) diplomacy for science (constructing and supporting international academic cooperation through diplomacy); and (iii) science for diplomacy (science cooperation as an instrument for diplomacy).

The main criticism of these dimensions are made around the third—science for diplomacy—which "[paints] the picture of compliant scientists who would discard their academic ideals to support foreign policy objectives" (Rüland, 2022, p. 1). Characteristic elements that fall within academic ideals include the intrinsic value elements of knowledge for knowledge's sake, and a commitment to the transmission of research and knowledge through the university, as well as the concept of an academic idea of the university as an international academic community of scholars. As such, it seems that

political rationales and academic rationales for internationalisation of higher education may also be difficult to blend together, without academic rationales taking precedence. This is especially important when considering necessary elements for maintaining these intrinsic value elements, such as institutional autonomy and academic freedom, which can often conflict with political rationales for the internationalisation of higher education, as well as other political ends.

3.2.5 International Higher Education as Trade

The objectification of knowledge and education as internationally tradable entities through the liberalisation of trade in educational services within the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)—a key treaty of the World Trade Organisation—has certainly had an impact on international higher education (Naidoo, 2008; Tilak, 2011). According to Tilak (2011), the four modes by which trade in education exist within the treaty are as follows: (i) cross-border supply (program mobility); (ii) consumption abroad (student mobility); (iii) commercial presence (institutional mobility via joint programs, branch campuses, twinning programs); and, (iv) movement of natural persons (faculty and administrator mobility).

This conceptualisation of education as trade falls within the primacy of the (knowledge) economy within the contemporary social imaginary (Taylor, 2007), and is important to understand as part of this shift to treating higher education as trade in services. It includes a focus on the economic factor of human resources and of knowledge as intellectual capital. From this point, the focus is then on "a global market with a demand for a skilled workforce holding internationally portable qualifications. Education can therefore be commodified, both as a tradable service and as valuable

intellectual property" (McBurnie, 2001, p. 13). In this way, there is a direct impact on the way in which higher education is valued at institutional, national, and international levels.

The treatment of so-called educational services as internationally tradable objects, through the liberalisation of trade in response to open markets, shifts the essence, value, purpose, and functions of higher education towards individual, private, and commercial ends in line with the market polis aspect of the modern social imaginary (Naidoo, 2008; Blakely, 2020). In this way, there is a definitive boundary between a more academic idea of the university and a globalised idea of the university in terms of how higher education is valued in practice across different spheres. Hence, much of the content that falls within the realm of international higher education, in theory and in practice, is tinged by this development of the global knowledge economy, instantiated by the economic and instrumental valuation of international student mobility, international branch campuses and programs, and of knowledge as intellectual property.

Another example of this treatment is by the OECD (2006), an important international organisation that has a significant role in norm- and standard-setting, which also suggests four rationales for the development of international higher education programs and policies: (i) mutual understanding (including political, cultural, academic, and development aid goals); (ii) skilled migration (including recruitment of the best and brightest international students to contribute to a host country's knowledge economy); (iii) revenue-generation (privatised, full-fee higher education services); and, (iv) capacity building (using transnational higher education to support the capacity of a developing national system). Although these align with traditional rationales for internationalisation

(de Wit, 2002), the primarily economic instrumentalist valuation of the university underlying the OECD's approaches to internationalisation policy within the global knowledge economy may be influential in relation to policy and practice of internationalisation as well as the approach taken in international higher education research.

The next two sections focus more particularly on the meta-function of internationalised academic research as an important component of a globalised idea of the university, identifying how academic research collaboration is valued in international higher education scholarship. These sections also help to introduce the relationship of academic research internationalisation to IO policy.

3.2.6 Academic Research Internationalisation

The internationalisation of academic research has been defined as "the process to integrate international, intercultural, and/or global dimensions into research," (de Wit, 2020, p. 1932) and applying the idea to the field of higher education, Postiglione and Wright (2020) define the process as "the process of growing collaboration, interconnectivity, and influence of higher education research around the world" (p. 1885). This second definition may also be considered for application to the idea of the internationalisation of research beyond the field of higher education, as the dimensions highlighted in both definitions are important. While de Wit (2020) focuses on internationalisation within research, Postiglione and Wright (2020) focus on the internationalisation of the research process. The internationalisation of research may include elements such as student and scholar mobility, scholarly research, institutional policies supporting research internationalisation, international research collaboration

(including through international research funding and international co-authorship in academic scholarship), and the internationalisation of research benchmarks (Woldegiyorgis et al., 2018; de Wit, 2020).

The internationalisation of research is generally motivated by the concept of international relevance, addressing complex societal challenges through international research collaboration, and serving the function of the university purposed towards knowledge dissemination (Woldegiyorgis et al., 2018; de Wit, 2020). As such, there are national and international rationales at play in the internationalisation of the research function of the university (Woldegiyorgis et al., 2018; de Wit, 2020, Postiglione & Wright, 2020). The analysis of the rationales for the internationalisation of research point to the instrumentalisation of academic knowledge for societal benefits either through meeting societal challenges or knowledge dissemination (which can have an intrinsic valuation also, supporting a globalised pursuit of academic knowledge in the case of open access research especially). International research collaboration can similarly be valued intrinsically or instrumentally, for the pursuit of academic knowledge or for an end of international co-authorship or pooling research funding sources, instruments, or facilities.

3.2.7 "Global Science" & Academic Research Internationalisation

Internationalisation of academic research is not taking place in isolation—other sources of research also exist and complicate the international research collaboration space. The concept of "global science" (Peters, 2006) is generally understood to incorporate elements such as open science, transparency for reproducibility, and public access to knowledge, which tie to some of the rationales that Woldegiyorgis et al. (2018) iterate. Peters (2006) links this narrative of global science as "universal knowledge" and

"international collaboration" constructed on a so-called golden-age of the scientific revolution in the 17th and 18th centuries during the advent of scholarly journal publishing. However, as seen in the approach to internationalisation of academic research and the treatment of internationalisation of higher education as trade in services, this "(older)… meta-narrative of science has now been submerged by official narratives based on an economic logic linking science to national purpose, economic policy, and national science policy priorities" (Peters, 2006, p. 225).

Characteristic elements within these official national- and global-level narratives include quality assurance, globalised corporate science, patents, international competition for international research funding, intellectual property rights, and unpublished commercial research, in which "science belongs to a knowledge economy and is the source of innovation and growth in productivity" (Peters, 2006, p. 226). This demonstrates an expansion beyond the narrative of academic research internationalisation and open global science, to a far more marketised conception of global science within an economic social imaginary, underscoring the boundary between an academic and a globalised idea of the university. This movement to "big science" parallels the shift to more government public scientific research enterprises post-World War II in the 1950s, and is geographically unequal, skewed towards the US and Europe, and but with other actors rising, including China and India. This is a clear shift to an almost entirely instrumental valuation of the meta-function of academic research internationalisation within a market polis vision of a globalised idea of the university.

Notably, international organisations also have played a role in supporting scientific collaboration in this way, through global research programmes for responding

to global challenges (Peters, 2006). UNESCO, for instance, was instrumental in developing international copyright legal frameworks, and the Universal Copyright Convention, including the © symbol (Valderrama, 1995). However, it is arguable whether intellectual property right and copyright systems do more or less for research collaboration, academic or otherwise. For instance, within a rationale for international development, Sen (2002) suggests that intellectual property rights are "another barrier to development" with "a profoundly negative effect on the lives and freedom of many deprived people in the world," (p. 51) especially in spaces of healthcare and education.

As such, valuing academic knowledge for its own sake and the dissemination of knowledge to support democratic decision-making within an academic idea of the university on the one hand, and valuing academic knowledge as intellectual property within a globalised idea of the university on the other, seem to lie in opposition to a certain extent. In the next section, I bring together the problems of global capitalism in relation to global inequality to internationalisation of university functions and the international higher education space.

3.2.8 Global Inequalities in International Higher Education

Given the rise of populist nationalism, it is important to recognise and address the role of the internationalisation of higher education in the alleged relationship between globalisation and global inequality (and the real relationship between global capitalism and rising socioeconomic inequality), which are often cited as driving forces for populist insurgence. Although international higher education has benefitted from globalisation and increased in scale due to global capitalism and trade liberalisation, the benefits of internationalisation of higher education have also been disproportionately allotted to the

elite; less-resourced nations, communities, and individuals are limited in their capacity to participate in the global academic community.

Global inequalities that continue within the current framework of international higher education include the primacy of English as the preferred medium of instruction and of academic scholarship and publication; the cost of knowledge consumption due to the academic publishing industry; the perpetuation of intellectual centres and peripheries (and the margins within both centres and peripheries), as visible in the international rankings of universities; and the inability of all to easily and equitably participate in international research and scholarship, to name a few examples (Altbach, 2016; Marginson, 2021b; Naidoo, 2008). In response to the disagreement between de Wit (2019) and Teferra (2019) in relation to defining internationalisation (see section 3.2.2), Adriansen (2020) suggests that "internationalisation is far from a neutral act, but is embedded in and enhances global inequalities," (n.p.) thus, situating internationalisation within contemporary society, without dismissing the merit of a value-based definition of internationalisation of higher education bringing together elements of an academic and a globalised idea of the university.

By such an approach, internationalisation of higher education for society may work towards the achievement of academic values by which it is defined by: (i) recognising the worth of the internationalisation of higher education in response to increasingly global challenges faced by a globalised, interconnected society; (ii) acknowledging and identifying the complicity and contributions of the internationalisation of higher education to global inequality; and, (iii) striving for a future in which internationalisation does indeed benefit the community at home and abroad.

However, correcting injustice requires both recognition of inequalities and then practical steps to make reparations in order to achieve these idealised ideas of the university based in a more distributive justice framing (Mills, 2017). In relation to the injustices related to global capitalism and elite capture, Sen (2006) recognises that we need to create an environment in which global voices can be heard—a notion that translates easily to the global academy, such that the dissemination and production of "ideas, understanding and knowledge… can help all people in the world" (Sen, 2006, p. 124).

In the next section, I review global public good theory, drawing from international political economy literature, which is a useful way to think about internationalisation of higher education and internationalisation of research, in relation to the function of international organisations and international cooperation.

3.3 Global Public Good Theory & Academic Research

3.3.1 Why Global Public Good Theory?

It is worth addressing why global public good theory is worth including in this review of the literature, in relation to international higher education and internationalisation of higher education. The main reason is the efficacy of this conceptual construction in understanding the internationalised functions of the university, especially academic research internationalisation, in relation to international organisations and international cooperation via these organisations. Global public good theory is not without criticism. Arguments against this theory include questions around scientific rigour (given the extension of a national public good theory to the global level), as well as whether this is an unqualified application of the economic theory of public goods to the global level, without recognition of issues of practical application (Menashy,

2011). Nonetheless, the extensive application of global public good theory to other international-level policy issues, such as nuclear non-proliferation, global financial stability, and global climate disruption, and global socio-economic equality, suggests the enduring value of this theoretical framework (Kaul et al., 2003).

As described earlier in this chapter, an often misunderstood conceptual relationship exists, between the concepts of globalisation and the global liberal order on the one hand, and global inequality on the other. Proponents of neo-nationalism, or populism, often attribute rising inequality within national borders to global liberalism, setting nationalism at odds with liberalism (Snyder, 2019). Even if nationalism and liberalism have been complementary in the past and could be complementary in the future, globalism and internationalisation may be perceived as present threats to nationalism. As knowledge and education have become internationally tradable entities through the liberalisation of trade, the internationalisation of higher education may also be perceived as a threat to nationalism. In this way, the concept and theory of global public goods are highly relevant to this moment in international higher education.

3.3.2 Global Public Good Theory: Publicness and Globalness

Public goods are defined as being non-rival and non-exclusive in nature. A public good or "collective consumption good" is defined as a good "which all enjoy in common in the sense that each individual's consumption of such a good leads to no subtraction from any other individual's consumption of that good" (Samuelson, 1954, p. 387). Public goods are also defined in relation to public interest—they cannot be provided through market mechanisms, and must be provided through public provision or by collective action (i.e., taxation) (Deneulin & Townsend, 2007; Hudson & Jones, 2005;

Kaul et al., 1999). Pure public goods rarely exist in practice (Hudson & Jones, 2005;

Deneulin & Townsend, 2007; Marginson 2016), though examples may include

knowledge, law and order, or traffic lights (Kaul et al., 1999; Marginson, 2011).

Kaul and colleagues (2003) extend this definition for global public goods, as

"goods with benefits that extend to all countries, people, and generations" (p. 23), such as

market efficiency, financial stability, equity, health, environmental sustainability, cultural

heritage, and peace (Deneulin & Townsend, 2007). The purity of global public goods is

similar to public goods, in that the benefits of global public goods apply to all categories

(all countries, population groups, and generations), while the benefits of impure global

public goods may apply to certain groups of countries over others (Kaul et al., 1999).

Global public goods may be gained through public or private actions, a feature that

certainly applies when considering higher education.

3.3.3 Provision of Global Public Goods

The provision of global public goods requires international cooperation and

negotiation by national governments, nongovernmental organisations, and international

organisations. However, collective action at this scale is fraught with problems: a

jurisdictional gap, which is the discrepancy between global problems and solutions and

national governments and policies; a participation gap, which, similarly to public goods,

is a "failure of collective action," (Deneulin & Townsend, 2007, p. 21) or a failure in

international cooperation; and, an incentive gap, which relates to strategies involved in

international agreements and the willingness to be interdependent (Kaul et al., 1999).

Nonetheless, it is possible to achieve successful international cooperation and gain global

public goods, although the questions of prioritisation of various global public goods in

terms of resource allocation and accessibility without discrimination must be determined (Kaul et al., 1999). This relates to the rise of international organisations as a space for international cooperation and global governance.

Rationales for international cooperation at the national level may include cooperation in order to provide a public good at the national level, to meet international norms, or to participate in and receive benefits from a network (Kaul & Le Goulven, 2003). Motivations for international cooperation at the international level may include cooperation in order to provide a global public good as mediated through an international organisation, to provide developmental aid, or to cooperate for payment through exchange of goods and services, that is, to support and facilitate international trade (Kaul & Le Goulven, 2003). These rationales seem to align with the traditional rationales for the internationalisation of higher education, described earlier, at institutional, national, and international levels, including political, economic, socio-cultural, and academic rationales (de Wit, 2002).

Applying these rationales to internationalisation of higher education, within an international cooperation framework, point to the instrumentalised valuation of internationalised academic functions within a globalised idea of the university. Viewing and valuing the university as an instrument to achieve international cooperation and motivated by economic and developmental ends again help to distinguish between an academic and a globalised idea of the university and their related value spheres.

3.3.4 International Academic Cooperation & Research Collaboration

In this section, I show how the internationalised function of academic research may be usefully understood within a global public good construction, to help understand

some of the ways of valuing internationalised academic research within a globalised idea of the university. International research collaboration is a significant component of academic and non-academic knowledge as a global public good—in terms of creation (production) and dissemination—as it overlaps with the concept of internationalisation of academic research. International research collaboration, closely tied to the internationalisation of research, is a component of international academic cooperation, a concept that is often used in international higher education literature, but is usually defined by categorising forms of internationalised activities. By adapting Martin's (1999) definition of international cooperation, I define international academic cooperation as "…the willing participation of national governments in policy-making related to higher education with the purpose of achieving globally desirable outcomes," (DeLaquil, 2020a)—a process often mediated by international organisations that provide a space for cooperation.

The institutionalisation of international academic cooperation may be manifest in national or supranational or international organisations, non-governmental organisations and epistemic communities. Furthermore, international academic cooperation may take place in different ways, including research collaboration, such as grant applications and co-authorship, international research funding structures, international partnerships, the development of common values, standards, or reference systems, pooling of expertise and resources, international data exchange, as well as student and scholar mobility and exchange. So also different actors are involved in collaboration, including higher education institutions, industrial partners, research organisations, national governments, regional governance structures, and international organisations.

Understanding the direct and indirect benefits of international research collaboration treated as a global public good helps to understand how and why this internationalised academic function is valued. Direct benefits may accrue in different forms such as higher quality, broader scope and scale, more rapid completion, lower levels of individual or national financing of a project, and other efficiencies. The notion of efficiency is tied to the corporatisation and competition in a more instrumentally valorised global idea of the university. Indirect benefits (occasionally rendering to the individual as well as the institution, nation-state, region, etc.) include prestige due to increased citation impact or expanded market access, increased research funding, and political and social benefits such as shared understanding, trust, and commitment (Amaratunga et al., 2018; Georghiou, 1998). Additionally, global societal challenges and goals, for instance, progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals, increasingly require international research collaboration in order to be feasible given limitations in research funding worldwide.

These indirect benefits and related motivations show that these are primarily instrumental ways of valuing the internationalised function of academic research, but with some overlap to an academic idea of the university in relation to political and social benefits of share global academic knowledge creation and dissemination.

3.4 Valorisation in a Globalised Idea of the University

Through the review of the literature within this chapter, it seems that the conceptualisation of the internationalisation of higher education is developing in tension with its responsive and active interaction with global forces of capitalism and the corporatisation of the university on the one hand, and the simultaneous call to support

global public good ends (de Wit, 2010; Tilak, 2011). In this way, the university is instrumentally valued in relation to economic ends, in response to global capitalist tendencies through the liberalisation of trade, supported by the shift from national to global governance structures—within a globalised economic lens. Through this lens, we see an instrumental valuation of the university for elements including economic prosperity within a market polis social imaginary, through skilled migration, and economic development of the global, regional, and national labour market. This is emphasised by the rise of rankings culture in international higher education policy and practice—in which institutional and national economic rationales rely on institutional prestige to attract students as consumers of international higher education.

We also see the instrumental valuation of the university within a globalised developmental framing, which interacts with economic development alongside social and political development. By this view, the university is viewed as instrumentally valuable in relation to developing national or regional research capacity through international research collaboration or via the sharing of resources or expertise. This may also be framed within globalised political rationales, including soft power, developing legitimacy regionally, or as a support to a wider trade policy. A movement towards political technocracy (rather than the support of democratic participation within an academic idea of the university) may also understood within this lens, through the concept of technology transfer and nationally or regionally relevant research, which can also be achieved collaboratively between nations.

In relation to international academic cooperation and global public good provision (used for either political, economic, developmental, or humanistic ends), the university is

instrumentally valued for its role in meeting globally desirable ends, responding to inequalities, and contributing to the solutions of global challenges (e.g., through the Sustainable Development Goals). In the case of academic knowledge viewed as a global public good, there may be an instrumental or an intrinsic value basis in relation to either an academic or a globalised idea of the university—dependent on whether the internationalisation of academic research is purposed towards political ends via international cooperation, or for the sake of knowledge itself and widening participation in the global academy and in the creation and pursuit of academic knowledge.

The university is also valued instrumentally for humanistic and social justice ends, with internationalised academic functions contributing to developing global citizenship, intercultural competence, or cosmopolitanism through an internationalised curriculum, or virtual or physical mobility—within a globalised cosmopolitan framing. The concept of internationalisation of higher education for society also supports this rationale as well as the human rights perspective—viewing higher education as an extension of the right to basic education. The instrumentalisation of the university towards "societally-relevant" research and for solutions to global challenges and inequalities may also be viewed as contributions to social justice and human rights.

As de Wit (2023) suggests, it is clear that the internationalisation of higher education is a messy space, with fuzzy, overlapping concepts, and that it is a concept and an area of study in flux, evolving and responding to changes in the global, regional, and local contexts in which international higher education operates. In contrast to an academic idea of the university, which seems more cohesive overall, even as it evolves over time, a globalised idea of the university draws from across disciplinary boundaries,

is influenced by policy and practice, and is responsive to the movements in these spaces. As such, a globalised idea of the university as derived through this literature encompasses several iterations or frames that interact, overlap, and conflict within it—these might include a globalised economic frame, a globalised cosmopolitan frame, a globalised humanistic frame, a globalised academic frame, globalised political frame, or a globalised developmental frame. The complexity of the globalised idea of the university is useful as an umbrella concept for understanding how the internationalisation of higher education functions within this space, and the ideologies that work within it.

CHAPTER 4: A Developmental Idea of the University

In this chapter, I move from the construction of idealised academic and globalised ideas of the university to setting the political and economic stage upon which international academic cooperation takes place through international organisations, in order to gauge what values and characteristics are distinct to a developmental idea of the university. To do so requires a discussion of the economic theories of international development which correlate to a developmental idea of the university. Additionally, understanding the role of IOs themselves in the contemporary global order helps to clearly stage the relationship between IOs, higher education, and national and/or regional governments.

International development as governed via IOs in partnership with national governments is one means by which global leaders attempt to alleviate the burdens of those left behind by global capitalism. Higher education has been picked up, dropped, and picked up again as an important tool to support international development. Internationalised academic activities play a significant role within international development. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that both international development and internationalised academic activities have failed to actively confront causes of contemporary inequality or the inequality itself, and have in some cases perpetuated or exacerbated the wealth and capability gap. This is related to the contemporary economic social imaginary which influences and is influenced by scholarship, and has impact on international policy and practice. However, the inevitably conflicted relationship between "developmental" universities, national governments, and international

organisations may complicate how the functions of the university are valued and to what ends, including meta-functions such as internationalisation of teaching or research.

To clarify how the university is valued in a developmental idea of the university, I begin by reviewing several economic theories of international development, including dependency theory (Dos Santos, 1970), world systems theory (Wallerstein, 1998), cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986/2004), and capabilities theory (Nussbaum, 2003; Sen, 1999). Understanding the theoretical foundation is necessary for clarifying the political-economic context, as these ideas have influenced and are influenced by the historical stages in international development policy. I then explore the relationship between international development and the developmental idea of the university (Coleman, 1986), using the French model and the US land-grant model as examples, thinking with McCowan's (2019) concept of the generative intrinsic. I conclude by discussing the multiplex world order and the role of international organisations within it—especially the World Bank and UNESCO (Acharya, 2017b; Cox, 1970)—as well as the role of international organisations in mediating international academic cooperation (Altbach, 2009; Shahjahan, 2012; Shahjahan & Madden, 2015), in relation to a developmental idea of the university.

4.1 Economic Theories of International Development

The economic theories of international development, ranging from liberal capitalist to Marxist to liberal egalitarian paradigms, are essential to understanding the assumptions that form the basis of policy and practice in international development. Higher education is often instrumentalised in international development policy and practice within a liberal capitalist paradigm, through the application of neoliberal

ideology (that is, development purposed towards economic growth through the free market and trade liberalisation), modernisation theory (that development from a lower to a higher economic stage may be achieved by "less-developed" states simply by policy mimicry of "advanced" states), and human capital theory (that is, the objectification of the individual, developed via education, into a useful cog in the machinery of economic growth) (McCowan, 2015; Wallerstein, 1998). Classical modernisation theory is especially problematic due to its deterministic conception of development with a single developmental pattern with stages from traditional to modern societies, culminating in more democratic political participation (Goorha, 2017). International organisations such as the OECD and the World Bank are perceived as reliant on human capital theory in their approach and operations in the international development space for education and higher education (Elfert & Draxler, 2022).

Globalisation theories (see chapter 4), including the failure of the liberal order and the abandonment of embedded liberalism (Colgan & Keohane, 2017; Ruggie, 1982), also approach the problem of global inequality that results from liberal capitalist paradigms. The economic theories of international development provide a particularly useful lens to consider the influence of international organisations and the imbalance of power in the relationships between lower-income contexts, higher-income nations, and the international organisations that hold power in the definition of norms, standards, and policies in the application of international development (McCowan, 2015).

In this section, I review two theories at the system level, dependency theory (Dos Santos, 1970) and world-systems theory (Wallerstein, 1998), and two theories at the level of the individual, theoretical forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986/2004) and capabilities

theory (Nussbaum, 2003; Sen, 1999). These theories are useful to consider because they draw from Marxist and liberal egalitarian paradigms, and are critical of more traditional approaches such as modernisation and human capital theories, and help to think through the acknowledged inequalities that exist within international development, especially those that can be linked to the dominant liberal capitalist paradigm (McCowan, 2015).

4.1.1 Dos Santos' Dependency Theory

Dos Santos' (1970) dependency theory is conceptually important to understanding international development, as it signals a shift to more complex approaches to international development, accounting for the effects of the relationship between dominant and dependent countries. Specifically, that the dependence of poorer countries on economic shifts in independent, self-sustaining dominant countries creates a structural and systemically unequal relationship due to historical and contemporary forms of dependence with ongoing effects.

Historical forms of dependence include the long-term after-effects of colonial domination through trade, finance, and the hijacking of resources, as well as of industrial dependence linked to a focus on producing primary products in dependent contexts for export and consumption in dominant countries. Contemporary dependence is related to technology, the role of multinational corporations, and trade liberalisation. This technological-industrial dependence leads to a reliance of foreign currency through export, a monopolisation of the international and local market by dominant countries resulting in locally-earned profits in dependent contexts being repatriated to dominant countries, as well as a reliance on foreign loans for development. In this way, "capital and foreign "aid" … fill up the holes that [dominant countries] themselves created" (Dos

Santos, 1970, p. 233). As such, this theory allows for a critical approach to higher education as a function of international development in the form of loans and foreign aid, clarifying the structural inequalities that are otherwise left in the dark.

4.1.2 Wallerstein's World-Systems Analysis

World-systems theory offers another means of critique of the limitations of liberal capitalist paradigms, particularly of modernisation theory (Wallerstein, 1998). Wallerstein (1998) offers two principles worth reviewing as part of the basis of world-systems analysis: that (i) globalism or analysis must necessarily "[see] all parts of the world-system as… impossible to understand or analyse separately" (p. 106); and that (ii) historicity is essential to analysis of world systems. The other two principles, unidisciplarity, or the view of "totalities" in systemic analysis (Wallerstein, 1998), and holism, that is, the opposition to "boundary lines within the social sciences" (p. 107) relate to Wallerstein's broader critique of the social sciences.

Furthermore, Wallerstein (2000) suggests that the cycles of the world economy point to crisis, due to multiple challenges within the system, including rising taxation, costs of production, and ecological pollution. Wallerstein (2000) also seems to recognise the failure of embedded liberalism, raising the issue of the ongoing "capitalist world-economy," (p. 263) delegitimising the promises of development of egalitarian policies and structures. Overall, the principles put forward by Wallerstein's analytic approach offer conceptual means to further critique the contemporary political and economic context, including the limitations of effective international development in the face of global capitalism.

4.1.3 Bourdieu's Forms of Capital

Bourdieu's (1986/2004) theory of the forms of capital attacks the root of the economic social imaginary of the market polis and the *homo economicus*—that is, apparent perfect competition with "instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents… treated as interchangeable particles" (p. 15). Bourdieu (1986/2004) views capital rather in three forms: (i) economic capital, "immediately and directly convertible to money and… institutionalized in the form of property rights"; (ii) cultural capital, "convertible… into economic capital and… institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications"; and, (iii) social capital, "social obligations ("connections") … convertible… into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility" (p. 16). The expansion beyond economic capital to include nonquantifiable cultural and social forms of capital add nuance to the analysis of international higher education, individual privilege, and academic and economic success through wealth-related social opportunity, for instance around issues such as access, persistence, outcomes, as well as of the inequalities between and among higher education institutions in different contexts.

However, the theoretical approach continues to be reliant on the concept of capital, treating it as predictive of human capabilities or potential for success, and is thus still subject to the restrictive transactional characteristics of the *homo economicus*. Alternatively, human capability theory or human freedoms, as discussed by Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2003), may offer a useful foil to think alongside Bourdieu's forms of capital.

4.1.4 Sen, Nussbaum, & the Capability Approach

Sen (1999) first introduced the concept of development as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy," (p. 3) resulting in the "expansion of the "capabilities" of persons to lead the kind of lives they… have reason to value" (p. 18). This is a movement away from forms of capital, an economic social imaginary, and a *homo economicus* approach to individuals in society, towards the potential and agency and values of the individual person in the determination of personal achievements, kept separate from national or international economic growth outcomes, allowing for an important alternative to typical variables used in the evaluation of international development.

This perspective is critical to understanding policy development and program evaluation related to higher education in international development projects through international organisations, underscoring the significant limitations of "evidence-based" policy decision-making and evaluation using a restricted list of (often-quantified and apparently "measurable") metrics or outcomes. Indeed, Sen (1999) identifies this challenge within capabilities theory as used in international development, identifying the danger of "[interpretation] in terribly exacting terms" (p. 85) in its application to practical and policy situations.

Nussbaum (2003) further expands capabilities theory to better incorporate the particular position of women within the economic system, and the inability of economic growth to predict the expansion of women's capabilities and opportunities. Nussbaum (2003) proposes "commitments about substance (that is, which capabilities a society ought most centrally to pursue)," (p. 35) offering a list of capabilities essential to

achieving social justice and gender justice: (i) life; (ii) bodily health; (iii) bodily integrity; (iv) senses, imagination, and thought; (v) emotions; (vi) practical reason; (vii) affiliation; (viii) other species; (ix) play; and (x) control over one's environment. While Nussbaum (2003) proposes the list as a starting point for democratic deliberation, Nussbaum also recognises Sen's concern that such lists may limit freedom of discourse. A further limitation of Nussbaum's identified central human capabilities list is the lack of explicit attribution to the selection of particular values. This hearkens to the problems that arise in relation to value propositions that exist in the policy and norm-setting documents issued by international organisations, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a point that is further discussed later in this chapter.

In addition to providing a critique of the dominant paradigm and theories of liberal capitalism, each of the above theorists offer conceptual principles that support the process of critical discourse analysis of the documentary and interview data and the identification of relationships of power, inequality, and ideology that may otherwise be more difficult to detect. International development is an important field of study that intersects with international higher education research, with "the main assumption… that higher education has been a catalyst for international development" (Chankseliani, 2022, p. 458). In the following section, I review the French and US land-grant models of the university as significant moments in the relationship between higher education and development, alongside the developmental idea of the university as an application of (inter)national development within higher education, as a space to analyse how the university is valued in a developmental frame.

4.2 An Idea of the Developmental University

In this section, I review the development of the idea of the French model of the university and the US land-grant model of the university. Both models provide an alternative to academic and global ideas of the university reviewed in chapters 2 and 3. Within a developmental idea of the university, the university tends rather to be treated as a tool for nation-building and citizen formation, and is valued as such. Both the French and the US land-grant models also have a strong connection to the contemporary public service function of the university, and for that reason too are important to review in relation to the ways that the university is valued within this idea.

In reviewing the French model of the university, I briefly refer to the work of Denis Diderot, and also survey the shifts in the French higher education system to demonstrate the model. In reviewing the US land-grant model, I relate this movement in US public higher education to the rise of the service function within a developmental idea of the university. I use each of these cases to think through the ways of valuing the university and its functions within an idea of the developmental university (Coleman, 1986), as well as to introduce McCowan's (2019) concept of the generative intrinsic, which I believe may offer a path for the university to help meet the challenges of our contemporary society without abandoning the strengths of the academic idea of the university. The concept of the generative intrinsic is also supported by Chankseliani's (2022) analysis of the state of international development higher education studies.

4.2.1 The French Model of Higher Education

It has been challenging to seize on a single thinker to bring the idea of the university forward clearly in the French model, as in a similar fashion to the Russian

model of the university, it relies primarily on the founding principles of the idea of the nation-state rather than a foundational idea of the university itself. As such, the idea of the university in this case is derived from the development of the French higher education system rather than being a conceptual foundation for the development of the system. I refer briefly to the work of Denis Diderot (1782), a French philosopher, who wrote a plan for universal public education requested by the government of Russia. Even so, the concepts introduced in Diderot's (1782) text and the historical survey may provide a basis to think through the relationship between the ideals of the French republic and an idea of the university related to public service.

Diderot (1782), writing just prior to the beginning of the French Revolution and the First Republic, in his definition of the university, seems to react to the dire economic and political situation of France at that time. Diderot (1782) suggests that a university is a school that indiscriminately opens the door to all children of a nation, in which state-hired faculty provide instruction of universal basic knowledge, comprehensive of all disciplines, although, he hazards the odds of finding genius, talent, and virtue in a cottage rather than a palace are ten million to one. While the language of his text operates within the imperial structure of France of the time, widening participation beyond the elite appears to be conceptually revolutionary. The purpose of such an institution, says Diderot (1782), would be the formation of intellectually liberated and virtuous individuals. In comparison to an academic idea of the university, Diderot's (1782) work demonstrates the clear shift to an instrumental valuation of the university for economic and political national development of France. However, it overlaps in part with an academic idea of the university in relation to instrumental value of teaching and learning

as transformation for the individual, as well as an early version (albeit within an assumed imperial system) of a human right to a universal basic education.

The following centuries transformed the French universities of the Middle Ages, moving from an institution that is clearly identifiable as "university" to what Musselin (2004) terms the institutionalised university corporation. Indeed, Musselin (2004) makes clear that the interaction between the university and the nation state may be seen as early as the fifteenth century. However, the rapid overhaul of the French educational system during the Napoleonic era "instated a minimalist, strictly utilitarian concept… that would sterilize higher education and produce a national, centralized system" (Musselin, 2004, p. 10) such that the fundamental idea remained constant even in later iterations in the 19th and 20th centuries—corporatized, "centralized, national, part of the state apparatus" (p. 23). From this pragmatic shift in the structure of the French model of higher education, the idea of the university is stripped down to be at "its very essence a public service… in the hands of the state" (Boudon, 1977, p. 94).

With this developmental approach to the university as a public service institution, we see an extreme transformation of Jasper's call for the university's responsiveness to society. In this transformation, governmental oversight, control, and centralisation of the university shifts to an entirely instrumental valuation of the university which is ultimately at odds with an academic idea of the university and an intrinsic valuation of academic knowledge for its own sake. Indeed, the academic reforms of the French university system in the 19th century were influenced by the Enlightenment, positivism, and the German, Humboldtian model of the university, motivated by national competition and rivalry with Germany, aiming (unsurprisingly and unsuccessfully) to engender the

flourishing of an academic community, though without dismantling state centralisation of governance or disciplinary isolation (Musselin, 2004; Weisz, 1983). This reflects on the necessity of elements such as academic freedom and institutional autonomy for the university to thrive as an (international) academic community as an intrinsic value element of an academic idea of the university.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, driven by an interest in economic development and expansion, the rise of applied research (particularly in the sciences), and a desire for financial autonomy, universities shifted somewhat in academic focus to incorporate technical training and so-called new professions in industry (Weisz, 1983). This shift echoes some of the instrumentalisation observed in a globalised idea of the university, in which societal relevance of academic research lies at odds with the free pursuit of academic knowledge through research in an academic idea of the university. The focus on technical training also treats the university as instrumentally valuable as a means to support the human capital needs of industry and the market.

Universities also acquired a "social mission" as politicians viewed higher education as a means to "fostering social integration," by uniting "elite recruited by virtue of individual merit," towards "gradual change and social order" (Weisz, 1983, p. 270). The Faure university law, created following civil protests in 1968, was based on three principles: autonomy, multidisciplinarity, and participation (Condette, 2020). This idea continues to the present, as "the missions of the French public service of [higher education] are specified by laws in the code of education," are "associated, and… in tension with the principles of the French republic model of [higher education] … '*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*'" (Carpentier & Courtois, 2003, p. 4).

Faure went on to chair an International Commission on the Development of Education for UNESCO in 1971, and the report produced in 1972, *Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow*, was widely known as the Faure report (Locatelli, 2022). The conceptual foundations of the report rest on the philosophical context of reform of French higher education at the time, particularly notions of democratisation and life-long learning, "reinforcing UNESCO's humanistic approach to education, embedded in its Constitution" (Elfert & Draxler, 2022, p. 2). The report responded to trends in education and society, with the focus on lifelong education proposed as a humanistic solution with an end of individual human self-knowledge and completeness—hence "learning to be." This relationship will be revisited in the case study of UNESCO in chapter 6.

Diderot's (1782) idea of the university may also be related to the broad, free access to French higher education, although elite systems do exist in the highly selective *Grandes écoles* (Boudon, 1977; Carpentier & Courtois, 2003). Thus, it is possible to see the continued distinction between a developmental idea of the university as derived from the French model of higher education and the French system of higher education itself. While this idea upholds instrumental value elements that overlap with an academic idea of the university, such as widened participation, equality of access, and public service, it lies in conflict due to the extreme materialisation and centralised operationalisation of the French university system valued instrumentally for primarily nationalist ends.

4.2.2 The Idea of the US Land-Grant University

The land-grant university model as implemented in the US context is an essential component of the contemporary US idea of the university, significant to the function of

the US model of the university in service to society, "[introducing] the notion of service and research to American higher education" (Vincent, 2003, p. 3). It is discussed in this chapter within a developmental idea of the university because of the distinct essence and purpose of this idealised model of the US university designed to be a public service institution and an engine of national development and military research. The Land-Grant College Act, authored by Senator Justin Morrill and signed by President Abraham Lincoln in 1862, "distributed public land… in support of creating [comprehensive] public universities" with a focus on agricultural, technical, and mechanical subjects, "to broaden participation to the progeny of workers and farmers… to expand opportunities to underserved populations" (Sorber, 2020, p. 2716). The intended developmental functions of the land-grant university model included the application of science to societal needs, particularly in relation to agriculture and nationally important industrial development, as well as military strategy (Cloete et al., 2020; Gavarri & Gee, 2018).

The land-grant university model may also be related to be the foundation of the US flagship public research university model. This idea seems to share central characteristics with the French model of the university, being centralised, publicly supported through federal land-grants and state-funding, encoded in national law and policy, service-oriented, aimed towards widening access and participation, as well as towards economic development (Sorber, 2020; Vincent, 2003). The relationship of these functions to the idea of the developmental university is discussed in more detail in the following sections on higher education and international development.

The focus of these functions still point to the instrumentalisation of the way in which the university is valued, tending away from the intrinsic value elements within an

academic idea of the university. Yet, Sorber and Geiger (2014) emphasise the tension of extreme and opposed philosophical views within the idea of the land-grant university, in the attempt to simultaneously provide focused technical and agricultural training as well as broad classical, liberal, and scientific education within a single institution. This tension in the idea of the land-grant created a gap in which interpretation of this model varied to suit regional needs. Additionally, it seems that international models of the partnership between science and agricultural research, particularly in Germany, may also have influenced and motivated the development of the idea and implementation of the US land-grant university (Marcus, 2015).

The distinction between the idealised idea of the land-grant and the weaknesses in practical implementation are useful to consider in the attempt to understand how the university is valued: Is the idea a reflection of a populist desire for higher education or that of a modernist desire to advance science? Did the operationalisation of the land-grant idea actually widen participation or exacerbate existing inequalities for marginalised populations (including low-income agricultural families, African-Americans, and women)? (Sorber & Geiger, 2014; Gavarri & Gee, 2018). It seems rather that in its application, the land-grant university model reshaped itself to respond to these tensions, such that the post-1900 land-grant landscape "[nurtured] traditional undergraduates as "state colleges"; [advanced] knowledge as flagship, research universities; and [served] the people of the state through extension and outreach." (p. 395). This is reflective rather of Kerr's multiversity model derived from observations of the University of California system, which was a land-grant university (Gavarri & Gee, 2018; Kerr, 1963/2001; Vincent, 2003).

Nonetheless, the idea of extension included "making the production of knowledge created through research available to the surrounding community," (Collins, 2012, p. 100) and breaking out of the ivory tower into society, with a focus on the public good (Gavarri & Gee, 2018). In this way, instrumentally valuing the university for the dissemination of academic knowledge to the public is shared with by both academic and developmental ideas of the university. However, the shift of the university towards service to society also suggests that the onus for the university shifts such that the government "must take more responsibility for the overall welfare of the research university" (Collins, 2012, p. 101). Depending on the level of governmental oversight, the necessary institutional autonomy to support freedom of research, teaching, and learning may be jeopardised, putting academic and developmental ideas in opposition. Furthermore, the tendency to academic capitalism and commercialisation in the contemporary university may threaten the extension or service function of the idea of the land-grant university—indeed, contemporary US public universities little resemble the original land-grant idea (Gavarri & Gee, 2018; Marcus, 2015).

4.2.3 Coleman's Idea of the Developmental University

Coleman's (1986) idea of a developmental university provides a conceptual framework for the analysis and critique of the French model of higher education and the US land-grant university model as nationalistic ideas of the university, in addition to the principles identified in the ideal academic idea of the university developed in chapter 2. Coleman (1986) defines the developmental university as "an institution that in all its aspects is singularly animated and concerned… with the "solution" of the concrete problems of societal development" (p. 477). Within this idea, Coleman (1986) identifies

four driving forces towards a developmental emphasis of the university: (i) a commitment to civil or national responsibility by university constituents; (ii) national governmental goals instrumentalising the university to obtain national service by students, civil servants, and the ability to contract research; (iii) the sense of obligation due to financial dependence on public funds; and (iv) the instrumentalisation of the university within foreign aid programming and the obligation to the international donor community

Coleman's (1986) idea of the developmental university moves beyond the purely nation-building motivations underlying the French and US land-grant models in their original contexts, to account for the contemporary developmental university within the sphere of international development higher education. In this way, the university is instrumentally valued for achieving developmental ends not only by the national government and university constituents, but also by the international development community, ranging from international organisations to public and private donor organisations. But it is worth noting that these models have had and continue to influence the shaping of universities in dependent and often post-colonial settings, through the relationship of national leaders with former colonisers and the continued challenges identified in dependent, formerly colonised contexts (Dos Santos, 1970; Fanon, 1963).

Within the developmental university model, the focus on social development may also shape teaching (towards developmental, practical outcomes), research (towards applied, government-contracted projects), and service (towards public policy, and evaluation). It is not difficult to see the clash of this idea with the idealised academic idea of the university, as there would be restrictions on knowledge-production and extent

of responsiveness to society as well as the agency of the academics in the tone and direction of response to societal challenges. In this way, there is a distinct boundary in how the university is valued across these two ideas, particularly around the intrinsic valuation of academic knowledge, the free pursuit of academic knowledge, and to a certain extent, to participation in an international academic community. As such, Coleman (1986) warns of the risk of functional overload, that is, "the dominant belief that the university must become an omnifunctional developmental institution, that it should assume responsibility for all functions" (p. 493). Indeed, this appears to be an unavoidable and easily recognisable consequence of the instrumentalisation of the university towards national, economic, and developmental ends.

4.2.4 McCowan's Idea of the Generative Intrinsic

In his text *Higher Education for and Beyond the Sustainable Development Goals*, McCowan (2019) delves deep into questions of the purpose of higher education with relation to development, asking "… which higher education for which development?" (p. 5). By critically examining the consequences of the influence of international organisations such as UNESCO and the World Bank in positioning "universities as instrumental in driving all the goals of development," (p. 5) through the Sustainable Development Goals, McCowan (2019) is able to identify the tension inherent in international organisational participation in higher education. This tension is due to underlying theoretical commitments to human capital theory and other liberal capitalist paradigms by international organisations, resulting in attempts to evaluate measurable, short-term, typically economic outcomes (Tilak, 1992), which seem to be contrary to the natural function of unpredictable inquiry of the university. This notion of unpredictable

inquiry is drawn from how academic functions are valued within an academic idea of the university—such that intrinsic valuation of academic knowledge, whether in teaching or research, allows for the kind of freedom to pursue knowledge without constraint.

McCowan (2019) proposes an alternative concept—the generative intrinsic—that better suits the innate elements of a somewhat ideal vision of the university (given the inefficiencies of attempting to produce developmental impact through universities): The impact of universities may be best understood, rather, by considering the non-measurable, unpredictable, and uncontrollable outcomes of the functions of teaching, research, and open-ended inquiry in society over years, if not centuries. This concept is foundational for understanding the functionality of the academic idea of the university beyond an idealised form, and finding room for the ways in which the university is valued in globalised and developmental ideas of the university. As such, the generative intrinsic makes possible an idea of the university in contemporary society that supports international development through the university's innate functions, including internationalised functions such as academic research collaboration.

4.2.5 Chankseliani on International Development Higher Education

Chankseliani's (2022) analysis of the international development higher education space within higher education studies is an important synthesis of the conceptual approaches in international development and higher education scholarship, given a relationship between this research space and norms in international development, and the subsequent impact on international development higher education policy and practice. The proposed set of conceptual approaches include foundationalist (essentialist and anti-essentialist understandings) and post-foundationalist (post-development) understandings.

It is worth briefly reviewing the three categories in a little more depth, as they offer a means to categorising and synthesising the theories of development reviewed in this section.

The essentialist approach represents the majority of scholarship in this space, and sees higher education as an essential function in human capital development and so-called modernisation of societies, including modern value systems (Chankseliani, 2022). It is reliant on human capital theory and "neoliberal ideals of limited state and free market (p. 465). The anti-essentialist understanding offers a fuzzy approach to the link between higher education and international development, with a range of possible stakeholders—from individuals to states—with agency to freely select how higher education supports development. It is reliant on capability theory and effective freedoms (Sen, 1999) discussed earlier in this chapter. Chankseliani (2022) suggests that incorporating both essentialist and anti-essentialist approaches is key to a more comprehensive and balanced approach to international development and higher education. A post-foundationalist approach takes a critical stance to assumptions inherent to development paradigms and moves towards post-development, post-economic ideas, and is presently under-represented in scholarly approaches in international development higher education. McCowan's (2019) generative intrinsic moves between anti-essentialist and post-developmental categories, in terms of resisting the traditional development paradigm, while elements of an academic idea of the university drive the relationship to international development.

In the following section, I explore the rising role of international organisations in global governance in international higher education. I discuss the concept of the

multiplex world order, the relationship between international organisations and higher education, and the shifting roles of international organisations in the higher education space, and briefly introduce UNESCO and the World Bank, along with a short critique of the problematic use of indicators, such as the Sustainable Development Goals. I also discuss the sociology of values as applied to organisational contexts in relation to the approach to organisational values of this study.

4.3 The Rise of IOs & the Multiplex World Order

In order to justify the study of international organisations in this dissertation, and to describe their significance to international higher education and international academic cooperation, I draw from international relations and political economy to review the theoretical shift to a multiplex world order, after World War II, from the hegemonic stability theory (or the dominance of a hegemonic power, which was the US at that time, as necessary to ensure ongoing stability of the world order) (Keohane, 1984/2005), alongside the rise of international regimes to provide a space for cooperation after hegemony. In this section, I also discuss the role of international organisations with regards to higher education, explore critiques of development indicators and their impact on higher education, and discuss organisational value theory.

4.3.1 The Multiplex World Order

The limitations of hegemonic stability theory—a liberal world order and cooperation within it—maintained by the US include that: (i) it is state-centric in its vision of the world order (as opposed to regional or international governance); (ii) international organisations are treated as neutral actors; (iii) it is unable to account for

non-Western multilateralism or regional multilateralism, for instance, the effectiveness of ASEAN in balancing between the powers of the US, the EU, and China (Acharya, 2014).

Given the failure of the liberal world order and embedded liberalism, Acharya (2017b) proposes a pluralistic form of global governance (post-hegemonic multilateralism) due to regionalism, shifting power to emerging nations, and transnational movements and actors (e.g., human rights movements and the United Nations). The decline of the US as a hegemony is characterised in the threat to its "status, legitimacy, and influence," (Acharya, 2017a, p. 2), leading to multiplexity, that is, a shift away from primary leadership by powerful, typically Western (European/North American) nation states to include non-Western nation states, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, and multinational corporations.

This shift to a multiplex world order creates more complex interconnections and relations that move beyond trade, and extends the forms of governance to occupy "multiple layers… including global, interregional, regional, domestic, and substate levels" (Acharya, 2017b, p. 40). Thus, multiplexity incorporates both vertical and horizontal differentiation in governance including private actors, such as "corporations, NGOs, [and] international standard-setting bodies]" (Kahler & Lake, 2004, p. 201). As such, we see the rise of IOs in their role in global governance, stability of the world order, and the provision of space and mechanisms for cooperation. The rise of IOs in global governance, including higher education as a policy area, makes IO policy an interesting context to consider in relation to how theoretical values and ideas of the university are applied (ideologically) and in relation to the organisations and their own priorities.

4.3.2 The Rise of IOs

Due to the rise of international organisations within the structure of global governance and the provision of international cooperation, it is important to understand the role and functions of international organisations. Cox (1970) defines the international organisation writ large as "a transmitting and receiving mechanism," working towards a task or mission set by "member states… [with] contradictory interests" through "specific activities of international organisations" (p. 11). Since World War II, the range of tasks assigned to international organisations, as well as the resources allotted to them, have significantly widened, incorporating security, finance, trade, health, science, and education. This expansion in the scope of the functions of international organisations can be traced to the effects of globalisation (see chapter 3) as well as the underlying commitment to economic development and human capital theory.

The mechanisms of international organisations may vary by the economic and political power of a nation-state, such that emerging economies may rely on international organisations to reach developmental goals, while dominant powers may use international organisations to maintain political power (Cox, 1970). Still, decision-making processes involving international organisations for specific tasks bring together the local (interest groups), the national (government interests), and the regional (government interests), which may require "bargaining between divergent interests," across these various levels (Cox, 1970, p. 16). In the next section, I review the role of international organisations with regards to the specific task of higher education.

4.3.3 IOs & Higher Education

In research and scholarship in the field of international higher education, international organisations are perceived as significant actors in terms of policy and practice, they are seen as "forces for convergence… mechanisms for influence… and as dynamic networks" (Shahjahan & Madden, 2015, p. 706). In terms of convergence, international organisations may drive higher education policy isomorphism in both national and regional policy contexts. In terms of influence, international organisations may persuade through tools such as comparison, competition, technical expertise, funding and compliance (Shahjahan & Madden, 2015). Four key international organisations are viewed as primary channels and policy actors for a cooperative space for international higher education policy: UNESCO, the OECD, the World Bank, and the European Union (Shahjahan, 2012).

The role of international organisations in international development higher education may be understood in three stages: firstly, funding for infrastructure, technical assistance, and scholarships in the 1960s and 1970s; secondly, the rhetorical shift away from higher education due to apparently low economic and social rates of return on investment reported by the World Bank, and the concept of brain drain in the 1980s and 1990s; and thirdly, a return to funding of higher education in the late 1990s with the conception of the knowledge society and economy and the renewed relationship of higher education to development (Hydén, 2016). In the contemporary international development space, within the multiplex world order, there are many actors ranging from international organisations (like UNESCO and the World Bank), to regional organisations (like the

European Union), to national governmental organisations ("traditional" Western donors and newer players, such as the United Arab Emirates, China, and South Korea).

The two organisations selected for this study—UNESCO and the World Bank—despite distinctions in institutional functions, are selected as key, exploratory, theory-testing cases conducted in parallel, due in part to their key roles in the international development higher education global governance space, as well as their comparability given their shared historical timeline, level of participation (189 member countries in the World Bank and 193 member countries in UNESCO), and the focus on development within their missions. UNESCO was founded in 1946, and the World Bank was founded in 1944 (as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, IBRD), each following World War II as means for reconstruction post-war and prevention of future war. The World Bank has as its goal to end poverty and boost prosperity, while UNESCO aims to build peace through international cooperation and the attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals. I expand on theory-testing, theory-testing cases, and the forms of comparison used in chapter 5 on the study methods. Given the focus of this study on these two organisations, I provide short introductions to each, as well as to their work in the higher education sector.

4.3.4 UNESCO

UNESCO was established in 1945 as an internal branch of the United Nations, focusing on education, science, and culture, with a vision "to achieve lasting peace… through mutual understanding and dialogue between cultures" (UNESCO, n.d., n.p.). The idea of UNESCO emerged as "an organization… to address issues of transnational education," (Bassett, 2020, p. 1854) during World War II, during a meeting considering

the reconstruction of education in Europe. Higher education was not the primary focus, and arguably is still side-lined to a certain extent. Still, in the concern for higher education, UNESCO has worked in the area of international qualification recognition since the 1970s, an area which is still important today, with the recent ratification of the Global Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications, which entered into force in March 2023 (UNESCO, 2023). Other areas of interest include mobility and academic exchange, employment, sustainable development, education as a human right, curriculum, gender equality, teacher development, and quality assurance, and the hosting of the World Higher Education Conferences, where UNESCO creates "a forum for examining issues within international higher education" (Bassett, 2020, p. 1855). UNESCO, "as the only United Nations agency with a mandate in higher education," (UNESCO, 2023b, n.p.) is one of the most important international organisations acting in the international higher education space. The UNESCO case is presented in detail in chapter 6.

4.3.5 The World Bank

The World Bank is another supranational multilateral organisation that hails from World War II era—initially established in 1944 as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Similar to the United Nations, the World Bank counts among its member-states nearly all recognised countries of the world. The Bank supports international development through "low-cost loans to nations working to improve their economic conditions" (Bassett, 2020, p. 1857). Tertiary education has never been a priority at the World Bank, and indeed was deprioritised in the 1980s and 1990s due to a disputed World Bank study on rates of returns on education (Hydén, 2016). This was

redirected in the years following, as tertiary education was viewed as essential to the holistic development of national education systems. The World Bank support to higher education includes reports, publications, and technical assistance via projects affiliated with loans (Bassett, 2020; Hydén, 2016). Along with UNESCO, and in its own right, the World Bank helps to shape how tertiary education is viewed at a global level—for instance, in the reprioritisation of tertiary education in 2000, calls were made for differentiation and a knowledge revolution in higher education. The World Bank case is presented in detail in chapter 7.

In the next section, I review the discussion of the issues with development indicators in international development, related to higher education, specifically the UN Sustainable Development Goals. This analysis in the literature offers an initial entry into some of the problems in the international organisation policy discourse related to higher education.

4.3.6 Development Indicators & Higher Education

Both the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals make very limited reference to higher education within the international development agenda overall (Schendel & McCowan, 2016). One consequence of this omission is the frequent focus on short-term returns on investments from primary education, within the developmental approach taken by international organisations, which results in restrictions to national autonomy "due to the influence of supranational organisations and external donors on policy agendas" (Schendel & McCowan, 2016, p. 407). Most famously, the faulty measurement of the rates of return of higher education by the World Bank led to "recommended reallocation of public resources away from higher education… [resulting]

in the absence of higher education in poverty reduction strategies in all but a few African countries… and overall neglect of… higher education in many developing countries" (Tilak, 2010, pp. 24-25).

This concern is echoed by Heleta & Bagus (2021) in the lack of clear targets within the SDGs for higher education reform at a national system level. Instead the focus is on limited scholarships to foreign institutions in high-income contexts, "[leaving] many behind through the neglect of higher education in low-income countries" (p. 165). This approach also maintains a "tied aid" model, returning the investment to high-income countries through foreign aid, not to mention the potential for brain-drain, and the "continuation of chronic lack of capacity in many low-income countries" (Heleta & Bagus, p. 165). This approach seems contrary to the understanding that higher education would play a significant role in meeting some of the contemporary global challenges and achieving some of the sustainable development goals.

The limitations of international organisations in the very role that they are meant to play in the multiplex global order, in the support of cooperation and international development in meaningful ways, is made clear through the weaknesses of the Sustainable Development Goals. Heleta & Bagus (2021) conclude that "countries and regions… facing challenges in their higher education systems and institutions will have to look beyond the SDGs" (p. 171), suggesting that international organisations must seek to improve their current approach to international development to continue to contribute to in their function within contemporary global governance.

Analysis of the production process of global indicators suggests that while it seems that "international organizations operate as all-powerful agents deliberately

instrumentalizing quantification practices as part of self-serving agenda," (Fontdevila, 2023, n.p.) there is less coherence (and even contradiction) in terms of IO rationales and ends for indicator production. Fontdevila (2023) also points to the technical difficulty of producing globally comparative harmonised data via the SDG agenda (hosted by the UNESCO Institute of Statistics) alongside the political challenges of "the collective nature of indicator-making" (n.p.). The concept of "good enough data," (Fontdevila, 2023, n.p.) is introduced to describe the procedural dynamics of global indicator production, namely "the specificity of data recognized by both producers and consumers as imperfect (or even prone to error) but accepted as an authoritative source by virtue of their practicality or convenience" (n.p.). Yet, the production of global indicators has external effects in relation to the organisation's position of authority (its branding), and internal effects in the positioning of particular units of the organisation. In the case of UIS, the imperfections of the data have functioned to rebrand the organisational unit as an "honest broker and standard-setter," (n.p.) rather than gaining its authority from the data production itself.

As Chankseliani (2022) points out, the intersection of the assumptions at the heart of this developmental idea of the university in the space of international developmental higher education research makes it "one of the most normative spaces in higher education studies" (p. 458). The efforts of Tilak (2010) and McMahon and Oketch (2013) to shift the focus away from economic growth indicators for development, to private and social non-market benefits, including poverty reduction, suggest that there are alternative ways to think about development that may align more closely to McCowan's (2019) generative

intrinsic, bringing together the norms of international development and the ways of valuing the university within an academic idea of the university.

4.3.7 Values & IOs

Given that this study is focused on how ideas and values of the university are applied within international organisations, I briefly review how values are discussed sociologically. Beyond the philosophical distinction of intrinsic and instrumental values, it is important to understand how values can be gauged from an analysis of international organisations and their work in higher education and its internationalisation. Firstly, organisational values are "mostly social in origin," "[helping to] give organisation and direction to behaviour," and may not be "explicit, deliberate, or even conscious" (Rose, 1956, pp. 6-7). Other definitions describe values as implicit or explicit concepts that are distinctive or characteristic of an individual, group, organisation, or society, that influence action (Spates, 1983). In this way, individuals, group, organisations, or society "may hold ambivalent and/or essentially contradictory values" (Rose, 1956, p. 7).

Weber also makes a distinction between individual value-orientations and social value-spheres, such that a value-sphere is an "internally-consistent framework of decision-making and action that… may introduce value conflict at the individual or collective level" (Ratner, 2004, p. 55). This framework aligns with the concepts of the double-hermeneutic effect and the modern economic social imaginary, in terms of values being social in origin and giving organisation and structure to society. This also aligns with the focus of the study on analysing ideas of the university and the related values, given that values may be implicit or unconscious within the structure and behaviour of the IOs and the IO policy context.

From this definition of values and their characteristics, it is proposed that values may be gauged from the actions of an organisation: "the values in an object are known only by the way the object is being acted upon… thus action is the only empirically knowable aspect of value" (Adler, 1956, p. 276). From the sociology of values, there are different ways to approach the analysis of values of an individual or a collective like an international organisation. Firstly, through a "systematic description of the position of the [organisation] studied, and the correlation of this position with… attitudes and behaviour choices" (Rose, 1956, p. 8). Secondly, by description and comparison, between organisations or time periods of a particular organisation. And thirdly, through content analysis to "detect implicit value premises… by formulating significant categories and counting the number of occasions in which the material analysed fits into these categories" (Rose, 1956, p. 9). While this study does not apply quantitative content analysis, ideas of the university are used as categories for sets of values in critical discourse analysis of organisational policy content, attitudes, and decisions.

International organisations may be understood as systems consisting of different levels—at the highest level as an organisation, then as departments, then as units, and then as individuals. Values may then be considered in two ways, as a sub-system of individuals or as part of the highest level, as organisational values that "permeate all the 'levels'" (Mowles, 2008, p. 7). The relationship between individuals and the organisation is important to consider with an analysis of values, as there is "a burden on the individual… to align his or her attitudes and behaviour… with the explicit policies of the organisation" (Mowles, 2008, p. 8). Collective purpose-making or collective promises are an Arendtian concept towards collective action—this relates to values in international

organisations as it requires "individuals [to] voluntarily give up their desires in favour of the collective whole" (Mowles, 2008, p. 11). For Arendt, collective values are then a starting point that must constantly be revisited and renewed to be active (Mowles, 2008). While this study does not attempt to analyse the movements within collective purpose-making in relation to individual values, one of the research questions asks how individuals articulate organisational discursive value constructions, and some analysis of the individual articulations of collective values is discussed in chapter 8.

Sustainable development is a useful example of a contemporary collective value sphere frequently applied within international development organisations. Ratner (2004) suggests that depending on how sustainable development frameworks are conceptualised and operationalised, the relationship between values and actions change. Three main tendencies are discussed: (i) a technical consensus approach; (ii) an ethical consensus approach; and (iii) a dialogue of values approach. These are useful to understand in relation to how international organisations move from values to action.

The technical consensus approach assumes that a single unified framework is possible for understanding sustainable development and leads to "an expert-driven and technocratic project" operation. The ethical consensus approach assumes a "coherent set of values" (Ratner, 2004, p. 59) with "dimensions of sustainability as mutually reinforcing" (p. 63) with few if any conflicting social values. The dialogue of values approach is more complex and requires more time for dialogue across competing social values before the transition to decision-making and action—wherein "value consensus will always be incomplete" (p. 63).

From these starting points, this study of values of international organisations may be approached via an analysis of the categories of ideas of the university, whether implicitly or explicitly expressed through sets of values that may conflict, alongside the decision-making processes and actions and initiatives of the organisation treated as behaviour choices in relation to policy, initiatives, structures, and processes in higher education and its internationalisation.

4.4 Valorisation in a Developmental Idea of the University

Reviewing the literature in this chapter suggests that the developmental idea of the university may be dependent on which theory of development lies at its foundation. The purposes of the university are largely instrumentalised towards developmental ends, however, in post-developmental approaches to international higher education development, it is possible to work between intrinsic and instrumental valorisations of the university from across different categories of ideas of the university. For instance, McCowan's (2019) generative intrinsic offers a means to incorporate both approaches in a meaningful way, drawing from academic, globalised, and developmental ideas of the university.

Within a developmental idea of the university, as discussed in this chapter, the university is primarily instrumentally valued as an institution for national public service, including a commitment to social responsibility and national (and sometimes global) priorities, which may be operationalised through applied research and technology transfer. The obligation between the university and society is stabilised by public funding of the university and of academic research, whether nationally, regionally, or globally. The instrumentalisation of the university as utilitarian also falls within this

view. The omnifunctional university is an extension of this conception of the university towards public service, with a greater focus on the functions of the university moving beyond intrinsically valued academic functions to public-service functions for economic and social development, and technical innovation, towards solutions for global challenges. One of the priorities of such an institution includes widening participation in higher education for marginalised populations in society, especially within a democratic nation-state, which supports equality of access and intellectual formation of the citizenry. As such, the organisational values of the university are required to be in alignment with national values.

From the standpoint of a more economically-focused theory of development, such as modernisation theory, focused on human capital development and measurable economic outcomes, the university functions may be skewed towards more industrial or scientific disciplines, valued instrumentally for economic and technical innovation for national development as observed in the land-grant model of the university. This also extends to teaching, in which the focus is on human capital formation. The success of the university as an institution is measured based on competitive economic outcomes, which relate to a globalised idea of the university in terms of the understanding of society as a global knowledge economy within a market polis vision.

As such, within this conception of the university, academic research becomes instrumentally valued for societal service, for developmental and economic outcomes, with a special focus on agricultural, technical, mechanical, and scientific-technological disciplines. Knowledge transmission and communication and public access to knowledge is instrumentally valued for democratic participation for policy formation at

national, regional, or global levels, a notion that may overlap with an academic idea of the university. Drawing from a globalised developmental idea of the university, internationalised research and research collaboration may become instrumentally valued for social and global public good outcomes, including solutions for global challenges, and are supported via regional and international research funding schemes. The relationship between globalised and developmental ideas of the university are useful for thinking with in the analysis of international organisational policy and international development higher education research.

It is important to note that a developmental idea of the university need not be in conflict with the academic idea of the university, as suggested by Chankseliani (2022) and McCowan (2019). However, depending on how the university is valued and for what purposes, academic valorisation of the university may be replaced and/or restricted, especially with functional overload within an omnifunctional developmental university approach. As such, the developmental idea of the university is also complex and overlapping with other ideas of the university, with conflicts and tensions between approaches, depending on the theorisation of development itself. This is an important approach to higher education and its internationalisation in consideration of the theory-testing cases in this study, and from this chapter, and across the literature review as a whole, it is possible to apply different aspects of a developmental idea of the university to the cases, including economic-developmental, political-developmental, and globalised-developmental frames of a developmental idea of the university.

CHAPTER 5: Methodology & Methods

In this section, I present the epistemological foundation, methodological approach, and specific methods selected for this study. The research questions aim to test the theoretical values derived from the literature review associated with idealised ideas or models of the university drawn from philosophy of higher education, international development, and international higher education, in terms of whether and how these values and ideas of the university shape IO policy.

From the analysis of the idealised models of the university in the literature review, it was possible to develop a set of theoretical values characteristic of related ideas of the university: academic, developmental, and globalised (see Figure 1 below and Table 1 in section 5.2), as described at the end of each related chapter of the literature review. By applying critical discourse analysis to public-facing documents from IOs regarding higher education and the internationalisation of academic functions, these theoretical values from the literature were tested in the policy context of IOs. In this way, I moved between the theoretical and the applied, between the philosophical and the qualitative, to "bridge the gap" (Habermas, 1988, p. 2) in the study, working from theoretical ideas and values in the literature to discourses in the text to test the validity of the theoretical ideas and understand their effect, if any, on policy and practice in IOs—thus demonstrating the fact-sensitive contextualised limitations of idealised ideas of the university.

The epistemological and methodological approaches—critical realism, critical social theory, and critical discourse analysis—are described as part of the methodological approach of this study. These approaches suit the particular context of this study as a

study of the influence of values and ideas of the university considering the societal

structures of the contemporary international political environment within the theory-

testing context, in which IOs operate (Fairclough, 1993; Martínez-Alemán, 2015;

Nokkala & Saarinen, 2018).

5.1 My Position as an Analyst

Doing critical discourse analysis includes stages of interpretation and explanation

of the data, which draws on my own interpretive procedures or member resources in my

position as an analyst, because "… if analysts are drawing upon their own MR [member

resources] to explicate how those of participants operate in discourse, then it is important

that they be sensitive to what resources they are themselves relying on to do analysis"

(Fairclough, 1989, p. 167). Being self-conscious about my interpretive procedures, and

the social theories they are derived from is "important if one is to avoid importing

untheorized assumptions about society, or acting as if explanation could be theory-

independent or theory-neutral" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 167). As such, laying out the

theoretical and analytic frameworks I use, and making clear how my approach affects my

interpretation and analysis of the data and the narratives that I discover through discourse

analysis, is meant to "increase the credibility" of the study (Nokkala, 2007, p. 98).

Figure 1

Map of conceptual approach to research problem

The three literatures help set a theoretical foundation to identify implicit values related to ideas of the university in international organisational policy discourse.

Lit Review 1: Philosophy & Theory of Higher Education

Lit Review 2: Internationalisation of Higher Education

Lit Review 3: International Development

An academic idea of the university

A globalised idea of the university

A developmental idea of the university

Theoretical construct to test how values and ideas of the university influence international organisational policy discourse

Applying critical discourse analysis to IO policy documents tests the theoretical values identified through reviews of the three literatures.

For this reason, I share the philosophical assumptions I make of the purposes and values of the university, which tie closely to an idealised academic idea of the university—with the essence of the idea of the university as intrinsically valuable in relation to academic knowledge, as an academic community, for the free pursuit of knowledge through teaching, learning, and research. I acknowledge that the university has a significant role in society, especially in the understanding that Jaspers' (1946/1959) raises in his idea of the university. As such, part of this study aims to try to understand how that role is conceptualised in a way that starts with the essence of idealised ideas of the university, but contextualised in contemporary society. It seems to me that we are in danger of losing that essence with the functional overload of the university through the multiple roles it has been given and has taken on in contemporary society.

In my approach to knowledge and research, I understand reading, writing, and research as processes of encounter and dialogue with other researchers in my field and beyond. I find it difficult to state a single interpretive position as I find that I am constantly learning and changing my ideas through this process of encounter. However, in relation to the internationalisation of higher education, I can say that while I support it as intrinsically valuable to the academic idea of the university, I recognise the ethical downfalls of the ways in which internationalised forms of higher education are presently carried out as I emphasise in chapter 3. I advocate for corrective and distributive justice, as Mills (2017) outlines for racial justice, in the practice of internationalisation of higher education and hope to develop my future research towards that end.

The goal of justice is a first end, but a second end would be to a commitment to responsibility beyond justice. I find the theoretical concept of implicated selves

(Rothberg, 2019) very compelling in this regard, that we hold responsibility to each other in society through solidarity, to be conscious of the mass of inequities in our time and their historical origins, and to actively work to improve what we can, beyond simply what is due one another. This study offers a first step in that direction.

The next section introduces the research questions based on the conceptualisation of values and ideas of the university (Table 1, below) and the conceptual map of the research study (Figure 1, above).

5.2 Research Design

Drawing from the literature reviewed from the fields of international higher education, philosophy and theory of higher education, and international development, I derived characteristic values related to "bundled" ideas of the university to understand how the university is valued intrinsically and instrumentally in theory (see Figure 1 above; Table 1 below). The claim I aim to test in this study is that *the values held by IOs with regards to higher education and its internationalisation will practically shape the policy and programming coordinated by the organisations*. Effectively, in an attempt to develop a fact-sensitive understanding of the context of internationalisation of higher education and academic research by IOs through critical discourse analysis of documents and interviews, I aimed to test whether and how values and ideas of the university shape IO policy related to higher education and academic internationalisation, while also testing the efficacy of the derived theoretical values and ideas of the university in the analysis of IO policy.

As well as identifying whether and how these values are applied in the language used in IO discourse, analysing whether the values identified in the discourse function intrinsically or instrumentally also shed light on their relationship to idealised ideas and models of the university in policy and practice. There is overlap across the sets of values by field of scholarship, as indeed, the theoretical foundations and applications of each field have informed the others over time, from theory to application and back to theory, and so also, from policy and practice to research and scholarship and back. Nonetheless, the action of deriving the values was useful for thinking about what underlies the scholarship explicitly and implicitly, and aided the process of critical discourse analysis of the document and interview data to source and identify values/ideologies in practice.

Table 1

Categorising ideas of the university by values and ends, derived from literature review by field of scholarship

Field of Scholarship	Intrinsic and Instrumental Valuations of Higher Education
An *academic* idea of the university from philosophy & theory of higher education	**Intrinsic valuing of *knowledge for its own sake***: *Wissenschaft* developed through intellectual solitude and collaboration in a community; teaching and learning as collaborative towards development of *Wissenschaft*; knowledge as its own end/ a will to know; knowledge as individual development/education as transformational/*Bildung*; commitment to a pursuit of knowledge; commitment to communication of knowledge/knowledge transmission; university as place of research **Intrinsic valuing of *the university* as *academic community*:** university as intellectual community/community of scholars; faculty collegiality; the university as a place of the intellectual life; the academic community vs. individual as providing "responsibility of thought" (Jaspers, 1946/1959, p. 63); the university as a place of all *Weltanschauungen*; the university as a space of communication within a community of scholars **Instrumental valuing of *the university in service of society***: university autonomy; academic freedom; university as responsive to societal need; knowledge communicated to support society; knowledge

	transmission for individual development/formation towards societal membership and meaningful independence/freedom; knowledge transmission for professional training; the university as "intellectual conscience of an era" (Jaspers, 1946/1959, p. 121); education/research helping students learn to be critical
	Instrumental valuing *of the university in service of the state*: the university as a means for providing trained labour and knowledge for national development; academic research as public research; knowledge commodification as necessary to fund higher education; citizenship formation for maintaining democracy
A *globalised* idea of the university from international higher education	**Instrumental and intrinsic valuation for *globalist* ends**: interculturality; pluralism; cosmopolitanism/global citizenship; service to global community; international collaboration; international cooperation (political cooperation to support globally desirable ends and/or in response to global inequality, e.g., via human capability approach) **Instrumental and intrinsic valuation for *academic* ends**: knowledge as a global public good; addressing global questions; sharing resources/expertise to increase research capacity, individual/institutional prestige through rankings for academic capitalist ends; academic internationalisation (of research, curriculum, service, etc.) linked to globalist values (human flourishing for individual, academic community, and wider global public)

Instrumental and intrinsic valuation for *political/developmental/economic* ends: soft power (including internationalisation of higher education as development aid), labour market needs, national prestige and economic/political power, technical expertise for national development (capacity building); economic value of internationalisation in support of the global knowledge economy (including skilled migration, as mutual benefit, economic prosperity related to a market-based social imaginary); higher education as a private good (*homo economicus* and market polis vision of society)

Instrumental and intrinsic valuation for *humanist* ends: higher education as a global public good/universal human right; international/social justice through higher education; internationalisation of higher education for society (for all)

A *developmental* idea of the university from international development higher education	**Instrumental valuing *of higher education for the nation state***: the university as a public service institution; higher education as utilitarian; the values of the nation state as the values of higher education (e.g., France); equality of access as essential to higher education; commitment to civil/national responsibility; instrumentalisation of the university for civil service and contract research (applied/technical); obligation of the university towards nation state due to reliance on public funding; omnifunctionality

Instrumental valuing *of higher education for economic development*: applied/technical disciplines are more economically significant; commitment to human capital theory; university valued by measurable economic outcomes; measurability for comparison, competition, development of technical expertise, evaluation; economic growth as indicator of development

Instrumental valuing *of higher education for society*: social mission: fostering integration, meritocracy, social order; research for service to society (focusing on technical, agricultural, mechanical disciplines); widening university participation for individual intellectual formation, for participation for the underserved; knowledge communication to and knowledge access for the public; obligation of the university towards global society due to reliance on international funding (global challenges, goals)

From Table 1, I suggest that categorising the values and ends derived from each literature helps to demonstrate the distinctiveness and the overlap of each field-related idea of the university (academic, globalised, and developmental) and to clarify the related intrinsic or instrumental approaches to valuing the university. It also shows that these ideas of the university are not pure—the complexity of the values shows intersections between the literatures as well as potential areas of intersection between the theoretical ideas and values and how they are used in context. The complexity of these categories of ideas of the university and ways of valuing inherent to each field within higher education studies more broadly provide nuance to the affiliated ideas of the university in thinking through ways of valuing.

In this way, I attempt to simplify and categorise the purposes that are related to these ways of valuing and these bundled ideas of the university. I do recognise that simplified categorisation of the ideas of the university may not be fully representative of complex values at the foundation of each, but simplification offers a means to treat them simultaneously and to see the connections between them. Simplified categories are also useful given the aim of theory-testing theoretical ideas and values of the university in the IO policy context.

As described throughout chapter 2, the ways of valuing an *academic* idea of the university (derived from the philosophy and theory of higher education literature) consists of knowledge for its own sake, the university as an academic community, the university in service of society and the state. The term 'academic' was selected as the focus in each of these categories of elements points to the primacy of education and academic knowledge in this literature. This category includes both instrumental and

intrinsic valuations of the university and of higher education functions. Characteristic purposes include *Wissenschaft* and *Bildung*, knowledge for its own sake, the university as an academic community, which point to intrinsic valuations of the university and its functions. Characteristic purposes like knowledge for national development, the university as responsive to social need, and the university for formation for societal membership instrumentalise the university for other ends.

As discussed in chapter 3, the ways of valuing a *globalised* idea of the university (derived from the international higher education literature) consist of a valuative jumble including globalist, humanist, political-economic, and academic components. I selected the term 'globalised' as it encompasses different aspects of each set of components: cultural pluralism, international collaboration, knowledge as a global public good, the global knowledge economy, and the internationalisation of higher education for society (for all). This category points to an overall instrumentalised valuation of higher education for various purposes within these groups.

As discussed in chapter 4, the ways of valuing a *developmental* idea of the university (derived from the international development higher education literature) instrumentally value the university such as higher education for the nation state, for economic development, and for society as shown by the Coleman's (1986) framing of this model. These purposes have some overlap with those in *academic* and *globalised* ideas of the university, however, the primacy of economic and political ends shows a highly instrumentalised valuation of the university and of its function, with the university conceptualised as a public service institution focused on supporting the nation state, economic and political development, through a human capital lens.

These purposes, ways of valuing, and related ideas of the university were tested via the analysis of IO policy through a critical discourse lens, using this framework as a set of deductive codes (see Appendix D). In the following sections, I list the research questions, then outline the methodology and methods applied in this study.

5.3 Research Questions

As a brief note, given the breadth of the role of IOs in global governance of higher education, I opted to focus on internationalisation of higher education and academic research collaboration as a specific policy area for theory-testing. Critical discourse analysis is also a method that requires intensive, contextualised analysis; thus, by concentrating on academic internationalisation via research collaboration, I was able to ensure more depth in the analysis and interpretation of the data.

i. How do IOs, such as the World Bank and UNESCO (theory-testing cases) discursively construct values and ideas of the university in policy relating to the university and the internationalisation of higher education in their public-facing documents?

ii. How do individuals working to coordinate higher education within the World Bank and UNESCO articulate organisational discursive value constructions?

iii. How does the discursive construction of values and ideas of the university in policy relating to the university and the internationalisation of higher education by IOs influence socio-structural processes of academic internationalisation and international research collaboration as governed through IOs?

iv. How do theoretical ideas and values compare to ideas and values in the real policy context within the theory-testing cases of the World Bank and UNESCO?

5.4 Methodological Approach

The methodological approach to this study relies on critical theory as a philosophical basis. As a school of thought, critical theory has several variations—I rely on Habermasian critical theory in particular, as it supports analysis of society at macro- and micro-levels, systemically and socially, of economic, political and sociocultural sub-systems, and includes consideration of a globalised society. Habermas (1975) proposes a critical social theory which consists both a social lifeworld in which subjects interact through communicative action which is connected to these structured functional sub-systems which operate through strategic action. Within this view, money and power operate as the most important forms of steering society within the functional sub-systems, but with less and less connection to the social lifeworld, and thus less space for communicate action between individuals in society in order to determine collective goals (Frøslee Ibsen, 2023).

This is exacerbated by global capitalism and the contemporary rise of the economic sub-system—the consequence of which is a loss of legitimacy for structures of power in society, "due to the transfer of regulative competence from the nation-state to intergovernmental organizations… necessary for meeting transnational steering problems," (Frøslee Ibsen, 2023, pp. 202-203)—reflective of the complexity of the multiplex world order. However, the supranational political and economic structures of power face challenges in the creation of a practical public sphere in which democratic

discourse could determine the will of the global public in order to shape social and political structures and steering.

A combined analysis of micro-level communication through *critical discourse analysis* of document alongside macro-analysis of the organisations as cases, and the systems in which they exist, allowed me to better understand the influence of values and ideology in IO discourse on ideas of the university as applied in policy and programming. A theoretical understanding of the governance role of IOs in a multiplex world order at the macro-level, including the modern social imaginary (with concepts such as the market polis, *Homo economicus*) (Blakely, 2020; Taylor, 2007) alongside an analysis of the social and political influence of IOs through policy, programming, and advisory functions, helped to set up the actual context in which the university and its internationalised activities are in operation.

Epistemologically, I applied a critical realist approach to the overall project—an epistemology that I find compelling as a researcher and one that is also commonly applied in both international higher education, international relations, and international political economy scholarship. Critical realism is a philosophical paradigm that is ontologically realist, "[acknowledging] that world is real," and is epistemologically subjective, viewing "knowledge production as fallible and theory-dependent but not theory-determined" (Fryer, 2020, p. 19). Critical realism is a recommended philosophical paradigm in the field of international comparative higher education, due to its flexibility and support of a pluralist epistemological and methodological approach, permitting a realist ontology and the recognition of "real causal mechanisms and [societal] structures," (Tikly, 2015, p. 246) alongside an acknowledgement of the limits

of what is observable, and thus what may be implied as causational in research interpretation. The approach of this project and the application of critical realism as a paradigm in the fields of political science and international higher education are additional reasons why this was a suitable epistemological and ontological stance to take in this study.

The theoretical proposition I put forward is that *the values held by IOs with regards to higher education and its internationalisation practically shape the policy and programming coordinated by the organisations*. In order to test this theoretical claim (theory-testing), I used the theoretical set of values derived from the literature (see Table 1 above) across two theory-testing cases (using public-facing documents of UNESCO and the World Bank as data sources) conducted in parallel, and applied critical discourse analysis to analyse and interpret the values and ideology within each set of case data. I used juxtapositional and perspectival comparison as a means to help surface the influence of theoretical values and ideas in the data. I conducted key informant interviews as a supplementary and secondary source of data to gain insights into case history, case structures/processes, and to gauge how individuals articulate organisational discursive value constructions.

5.4.1 Theory-Testing & Theory-Testing Cases

Given the purpose of this study to the theoretical claim that values and ideas of the university are influential in an IO policy context, I use theory-testing as a primary method. Theory-testing is "the process of ascertaining whether the empirical evidence in a case… either supports or does not support a given theory," (Mills et al., 2010b, p. 937) and comparison allow for iterative analysis towards "extension or surfacing of theory"

(Mills et al., 2010a, p. 175). Testing the theory for the actual real-world context of internationalisation of research can also be understood within the concept of the double-hermeneutic effect discussed in chapter 2—that the social sciences are performative, not only descriptive. The empirical data used for testing the theoretical proposition in context is drawn from public-facing documents of two theory-testing case studies: The World Bank and UNESCO.

I selected these two international organisations as key cases—subjects that are classic cases of IOs in positions of global governance in higher education policy—offering "exemplary knowledge" (Thomas, 2019, n.p.) towards the object of interest in this study: the influence of intrinsic and instrumental values and associated ideas of the university in IO policy. The two key cases are purposed towards exploration via theory-testing, i.e., as theory-testing case studies "assessing the validity and scope conditions of single or competing theories" (Thomas, 2019, n.p.). The two case studies are treated in parallel, as "happening and being studied concurrently," (Thomas, 2019, n.p.) consisting of public-facing data originating from the same time period (from 1997 to 2022). The case studies include historical information beyond this time period drawing from scholarly sources in order to clarify the connection between the foundation of the organisations and the particular work that they do in the higher education space.

Theory-testing using case study faces similar challenges to other case study applications around generalisation of findings beyond the case boundaries (Thomas, 2019). This limitation is dealt with in part by having two case studies conducted in parallel, as well as the inclusion of data for analysis over the 25-year period for both cases. Nonetheless, the expansion of this study with a wider number of studies over time

would better support generalisation. Additionally, as this is a theory-testing study, the theoretical basis for the framework of the subject of the study stabilises the approach as well. Thus, the logical inferences made through the cases remain important findings (Thomas, 2019), especially with the use of critical discourse analysis.

5.4.2 Juxtapositional & Perspectival Comparative Analysis

The two international organisations proposed as theory-testing cases conducted in parallel are UNESCO and the World Bank (as iterative case analysis is more robust for theory testing). Attempting further comparative analysis across the UNESCO and World Bank cases is made more complex due to the diversity of internal organisational rationales for decision-making and the external influence of global and local political, economic, and social forces. However, using the theory-testing case study method ensures that the distinctions of each case (chapters 6 and 7) are well detailed and accounted for prior to comparative analysis (chapter 8). Critical discourse analysis as the method of data analysis in the individual cases requires contextualised data, as historicity is an important factor in the analysis (Blommaert, 2005). In this way, the comparative analysis of the two complex theory-testing cases is stabilised by in-depth contextualisation and nuanced interpretation of the data.

When doing comparisons, we tend to do comparisons "juxtapositionally," that is, "to place like kinds of things side by side to catalogue their similarities and differences" (Schaffer, 2021, p. 49). However, Schaffer (2021) argues that perspectival comparison, by comparing "one kind of thing to a different kind of thing," helps to change the perspective from which it is observed, and surfaces implicit comparisons, extends implications of the comparison, and reimagines new comparisons within our analysis, by

"[drawing] an analogy between different things as a way to establish an outside vantage point… to view one kind of thing in terms of another" (p. 49).

In analysing the World Bank and UNESCO as theory-testing cases, I aimed to examine them juxtapositionally as like types of cases, but also perspectivally, given their differences as organisations with distinct purposes and norms, styles of operation and procedures, and approaches to higher education. In terms of juxtapositional comparison, the two organisations (UNESCO & the World Bank) hold a similar position in the global governance & supranational operational normative space for higher education and international higher education. They also hold some overlapping functions and roles: In terms of perspectival comparison, the two organisations have distinctive roles: UNESCO in catalysing international cooperation through its convening power and the World Bank as a bank, in its direct relationship with countries, institutions through loans/grants for specific projects. As a result, they also have distinct types of relationships with national governments and representatives. The examination of values and ideas of the university also offered a conceptual basis to make an analogical comparison and to delve more deeply into each of the cases individually and in comparison.

The individual theory-testing cases are presented first, with the UNESCO case in chapter 6 and the World Bank case in chapter 7. The individual cases were analysed in terms of foundational documents, structures and processes, and identified discourses, towards a first set of answers to the research questions. In chapter 8, the findings of the comparative analysis are presented to iteratively surface the influence of values and ideas of the university across the data sets of the two cases. For the comparative analysis chapter, I analysed the cases alongside each other as like and unlike organisations, in

terms of structures, processes, and discourses, and reflected on the implications of ideas and values on the university in the context of these two international organisations, and for internationalisation of higher education within these contexts.

5.4.3 Data Sources

Given the aim of the research questions, I elected to use public-facing documents related to higher education available through the organisations as the main source of data for analysing how the organisations present themselves in terms of ideas and values of the university. Elite key informant interviews were used as a complementary and secondary source of data, as this would provide additional insight not necessarily available in public-facing documents—regardless of the transparency of the organisations—particularly around questions of structures and processes behind the development and application of these ideas and values in relation to their influence in day-to-day activities and policy documents related to higher education-specialised units and positions within the organisations.

5.4.3.1 Public-Facing Documents & Document Analysis

Public-facing documents were selected from between 1997 and 2022 from the document archives of both organisations addressing tertiary education at the international level. 1997 was chosen as a starting point as it is the year just prior to the first World Conference on Higher Education and functions as a general turning point for IO support to higher education through international development. The process of data gathering is described in detail in section 5.4.3.3 below. In broad strokes, both organisations have extensive document databases, as part of their commitment to transparency, which were used to obtain public-facing documents. The websites of the education and higher

education units within the two organisations were also searched for relevant data. Through critical discourse analysis, explicit intertextual references made lead to more documents that were also included when relevant.

Parameters for inclusion (Gross, 2018) were the age of the documents (1997-2022, the past twenty-five years), the context of the document (global- and regional-level reports rather than national-level reports), and the types of documents (public reports produced by the organisations). Documents and relevant literature were used to build the case narratives, and critical discourse analysis was applied to a critical case selection of documents to ensure a feasible number of documents for discourse analysis (I selected an upper limit of approximately 25 per organisation) as well as in terms of depth of significant representative documents (Emmel, 2013).

The upper limit was set as critical discourse analysis analyses text in context, and there were too many documents identified within the time range parameters to analyse all of them in depth. As such, I skimmed all the documents obtained via the database searches and identified those that included salient sections of text relevant to the research object. Throughout the data gathering process, documents were skimmed to provide the necessary details for crafting interview questions. For instance, I was able to ask UNESCO interviewees about collaboration between the Education Sector and the Science Sector, as I found that initiatives around internationalisation of research, beyond a focus on mobility, seemed to be significantly more active in the Science Sector.

In this way, through the interviews, I was able to check with the participants, as experts in the area of higher education in their respective organisations, whether I had correctly identified significant documents and events within the timeline, while obtaining

information about internal structures and processes. The critical case sample of documents I selected for critical discourse analysis application were thus also verified in the interviews with elite key informants within each organisation (see Appendix A for sample interview questions) to ensure that the most significant documents were included as per a critical case selection approach. These discussions also lead to additional documents which were included after the interviews were completed.

5.4.3.2 Elite Key Informant Interviews

Elite interview methods were deemed applicable to these cases as the selected participants "command a position of authority or privilege, and often have or had some influence of decision making," though the wielding of power varies across interviewees (Wicker & Connelly, 2014, n.p.). Elite interviewing is also a method frequently used in political science and international relations, and was thus considered appropriate for this study in international higher education (Peabody et al., 1993).

In these interviews, the power dynamics between the researcher and the interviewee can be quite complex, though elite interviewees are generally viewed as "experts on the topic in question and therefore more influential and powerful relative to the researcher" (Wicker & Connelly, 2014, n.p., Welch et al., 2002). Conducting these interviews required careful preparation and procedures prior to, during, and after interviews. Before the interview, it was essential to cautiously plan the mode of access to elite interviewees. As Wicker & Connelly (2014) recommended, I ensured advance contact of specific individuals (rather than generic departments) by at least a few weeks with much flexibility around appointment dates and times, and was strategic and

persistent in my pursuit of scheduling interviews, as individuals in these positions of leadership tend to be more difficult to access.

Purposeful sampling was used to find potential interviewees within these elite key informant populations, given the focus on obtaining information-rich cases by identifying and selecting individuals who are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with the phenomena of interest, that is, the motivations of IOs in their tertiary education functions (Palinkas et al., 2015). Once the groups of potential interviewees from each organisation were identified, convenience sampling and snowball sampling methods were used to invite interviewees within these groups, initially through the Center for International Higher Education community network, and then through connections made via the first round of interviewees. In this way, a total of ten interviews were obtained— five at the World Bank and five at UNESCO—each between 40 and 90 minutes. These experts were invited for interviews as key informants who hold or held positions within the two case organisation affiliated with tertiary/higher education over the period of time selected for the case studies (from 1997 to 2022), in order to obtain information-rich data through these conversations. The invitation letter and sample interview questions used are included in the appendices (see Appendix A, B).

Providing anonymity was also important, especially since the topic could be politically sensitive, given the critical approach in this study. The higher education community within international organisations more broadly is small and individuals may be easily identified. Furthermore, participant identities were not relevant to the focus on organisational valuation of the university. Thorough preparation regarding each interviewee and the organisation prior to the interview was useful in order to focus the

limited time of the interview on what was relevant (Mikecz, 2012; Peabody et al., 1993; Wicker & Connelly, 2014). Given the challenges of access and the typical geographical spread of leaders of international organisations, these interviews were conducted via Zoom, and permission was granted by the interviewees to record the interviews for transcription. The Zoom auto-transcription function was used to save full transcripts of each interview. These transcripts were then cross-checked with the recorded videos to ensure accuracy, and that any personal or identifying information was removed.

The interview questions were constructed using elite interviewing methods, including a conversational style, a balance of knowledgeability and "seeming unknowing," and "academic neutrality" alongside academic expertise in order to encourage responsiveness and to contain any power imbalance between the interviewee and myself (Mikecz, 2012; Welch et al., 2002; Wicker & Connelly, 2014). I used a semi-structured interview format with questions developed using information from data-gathering and early document analysis. As described in the previous section, the initial data gathering process was important to properly understand the roles within the organisations, and the functions and units related to higher education and academic internationalisation, and to ensure that the interview questions were as detailed and as useful as possible. My goal was to derive insight into the cases, especially into the history, structures, and processes of the higher education-specialised units, and to understand how individuals articulate organisational ways of valuing and constructing the university ideologically.

In the questions (listed in Appendix A), I avoided explicit mention of values or ideas of the university, and instead used the frame of motivations for supporting either

higher education or internationalisation of higher education. My aim was to understand how the higher education-specialised units within the organisation were positioned in relation to the rest of the organisation, as well as the motivations for supporting higher education and its internationalisation within these units and at the organisational level. I also wanted to understand how significant frameworks and policies influence contemporary activities in the higher education internationalisation arena, and to check with the participants that I had correctly identified significant events and documents.

I also asked about whether the approaches and characteristic roles of the organisation created any challenges in their day-to-day work in higher education. The interview transcript was shared with interviewees who requested a copy to ensure they were comfortable with quotations from the interview—one request was made to exclude quotations from one section of a transcript in order to ensure anonymity. I pilot tested the interview questions with a peer PhD researcher within the department, to gauge the clarity of the question format and whether the kinds of answers received seemed to provide the information I sought.

The interviews were treated as a different type of data from the public-facing documents. Given that the interview data was obtained from a set of key informants, I treat it as supportive to document data, rather than as a primary source of evidence. In this way, the interview data was viewed as supplementary evidence in the interpretation of case findings and the comparative analysis. As a result, the interview data was not subject to critical discourse analysis or analytic coding.

In the findings chapters that follow, whether within the narrative case studies or critical discourse analysis results, the key informant data is used to support claims based

on the analysis of document data, and not as the primary sources for claims themselves. This is due in part to the key informant data and the interviews being informal conversations, and the genre and style being different. Also making broader claims based on the key informant data about the organisations, or individuals working within international organisations, would require more representative data, with conversations across levels (vertically and horizontally) within the organisation. This was not the aim of this study, and may be an interesting avenue for future research.

5.4.3.3 Data Gathering Stages

Working with the World Bank and UNESCO as theory-testing cases is not always clean, as in some ways they are not independent of each other. Accounting for interdependence between these actors and other relevant actors is part of the construction of the cases and allows for more nuanced comparative analysis (Obert, 2021). In gathering and selecting documents from databases across complex cases, it is useful to work in several stages. Obert (2021) proposes four stages of analysis: (i) classification, re-classifying documents into categories that have meaning; (ii) contextualisation, identifying contexts of time, place, person, etc. of the document; (iii) layering, relating documents to scholarly interpretations of the case; and (iv) linking documents towards the argument of the study. In the data gathering steps below, and the analytic stages in section 5.4.5, I use classification and contextualisation approaches. Layering and linking of documents take place in the discourse analysis and interpretive stages of the study.

1. *Analysis of the literature* in relation to the research questions to develop the conceptual framework of the study (Table 1). The conceptual framework of the

study informed the a priori code template for the deductive codebook (Appendix D) for analysis.

2. *Database search process:* UNESCO, UNESDOC archive

   a. Search terms included "higher education," "university," "World Conference on Higher Education," "forum on higher education and knowledge," "IESALC," "international research collaboration," and "internationalisation."

   b. Subject topic "higher education," "universities," language "English," available online, excluding years from 1946-1996, and selecting programme and meeting, conference material, thematic session documents, working/background documents, plenaries/speeches, and reports.

   c. The Education Sector and Higher Education section websites were also searched for public-facing data relevant to the case.

3. *Database search process:* World Bank, Open Knowledge and Documents & Reports

   a. The Open Knowledge archive advanced search functions were limited, and so the search parameters were not as useful. Search term "tertiary education," topic "tertiary education," and language "English."

   b. The Documents & Reports archive: keyword "tertiary education," from 1997 to 2022, region "World region," Education topics selected related to tertiary education, excluding basic and secondary education topics, with types of documents limited to publications & research (reports, briefs,

financial flows, evaluations, policy paper, public policy, publication, report, working papers).

    c.   The World Bank Higher Education website was also searched for public-facing data relevant to the case.

4. *Document selection process*:

    a.   Documents related to higher education and/or topics related to higher education and education (quality assurance, accreditation, qualifications, World Higher Education Conference, displacement, migration, knowledge societies, etc.) were selected.

    b.   Documents published after 1996 were selected.

    c.   Documents that were international in scope, rather than regional or national were selected.

    d.   Documents that were broader in scope that higher education, i.e., education-related, were selected if there were portions that were higher-education related and were deemed significant.

    e.   Documents that were "institutional" rather than "opinion-based" or "academic" were selected.

    f.   Scholarly occasional papers, scholarly articles or journal issues, academic books or book chapters, magazines and newsletters, regionally-focused or otherwise deemed irrelevant, higher-education adjacent, or duplicates were discarded.

5. Additional document selection via interviews with key informants and elite members of the organisations, as a form of member-checking the document

selection process. Interviewees were asked to suggest other significant documents during the period from 1997 to 2022, beyond those I had identified as important and listed in the interviews; these were added to the corpus if they were not already present.

6. Documents were classified in a year_organisation_event_title format (e.g., 1998_UNESCO_WHEC_declaration_vision-action_framework-priority-action) and saved in either World Bank or UNESCO folders as appropriate to facilitate the transition to importing the files and analysis in NVivo.

5.4.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

I selected critical discourse analysis due to the focus of my study the influence of IOs due to their role as governing institutions in the contemporary multiplex global order—that is, an analysis of the effects of their power in society through their influence on policy and practice in higher education internationalisation. As discussed in chapter 4, IOs have become major actors in global governance of higher education, and as a result, have the capacity to influence policy debates across institutional, national, regional, and global levels (Pusser, 2015). Given my interest in understanding the influence of ideas and values of the university in IO policy, critical discourse analysis offers a means to analyse text as data when the target of concern is meaning, rhetoric, power relations, hidden biases, and/or symbolism (Curini & Franzese, 2020).

5.4.4.1 Theorising Critical Discourse Analysis

In a position of power, ideas can be ideological and be presented and received as universal forms (Bourdieu, 1991). Universalisation of ideas through IOs in particular is materialised geographically in the case of IOs, as ideas and values have the potential to

be globalised as a "global vulgate… [transformed] into universal common sense" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999, p. 42). The power of the two IOs selected for this study, as leading institutions in the global governmental space, are worth considering given the unequal distribution of linguistic resources (Bourdieu, 1991) across actors in this space, for instance, in comparison to less resourced countries, governments, and institutions. In this way, in the global governance of higher education, IOs hold significant linguistic capital, especially in relation to norms and global goal-setting, the standardisation of values and ideas, and measurement, evaluation, and data collection. Elite capture (which applies to political power, knowledge, and values) of linguistic capital and subsequently of power, ideas, and values enables IOs to "describe, define, and create political realities (Táíwò, 2022, p. 32).

Thus, critical discourse analysis provides a useful means to analyse "the outcome of power… [on] people, groups, and societies and of how this impact comes about" (Blommaert, 2005, pp. 1-2), which in this case relates to ways of valuing and understanding the university, defined ideologically, as the linguistic capital wielded by IOs represented in public-facing policy documents.

Fairclough (1993) defines critical discourse analysis as "discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes," (p. 135) in order to determine the influence of ideology and power in discourse and the maintenance of the hegemonic societal status quo. This is reiterated by Martínez-Alemán (2015), who suggests that critical discourse analysis "is not a singular method that can be outlined in a step-by-step way," (p. 25) but

has as its goals to identify ideology related to the structural power relations and to provide a potential path forward for correction.

Thus, I aimed to understand how these organisations use language in policy and program support, and whether and how values and ideas of the university are ideologically presented as universal in terms of the essence and purpose of universities and internationalised academic activities. Furthermore, given that "the deepest effect of power is inequality, as power differentiates and selects, includes and excludes," (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2) the analysis of the influence of values and ideas of the university in IO discourse is intended to understand potential inequality by clarifying the policy context in which these ideas are operationalised.

The conceptual commitments in the use of CDA include a belief that discourse can be a channel of power operating through powerful systems and societal structures, language is understood as language in use, and that context matters (language-in-action), and that globalisation expands the "threshold of contextualisation," in discourse analysis (Blommaert, 2005, p. 15; Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, the relationship between the text (micro-level) and the context (macro-level) is part of the analysis. Through his definition of language, Habermas (1990) suggests that in addition to the influence of societal context, "language is also a medium of domination and social power… [serving] to legitimate relations of organised force… Insofar as the legitimations do not articulate the power relations whose institutionalization they make possible… language is also ideological" (p. 239). In this light, the importance of understanding the relationship between ideas and values in language and the channels of social power through policy is made clear, and this study aimed to understand ideas and values (ideological language-in-

action) as held by IOs (societal structures) through discursive channels of power (public-facing documents) and to analyse their effects in IO policy/programming in a globalised, interconnected society

Bourdieu (1991) also recognises the role of ideological power in utterances, with the instruments of domination being power, the division of labour, and ideologies. As discussed in the introduction, Bourdieu (1991) defines ideologies as "[serving] particular interests which [the dominant class tends] to present as universal interests" (p. 167). Similarly, Arendt (1953) defines ideologies as "isms which to the satisfaction of their adherents can explain everything and every occurrence by deducing it from a single premise" (p. 315). The concept of ideology functions at the foundation of the problems inherent in the universalisation of ideas and language by those in power, and the particular challenge that takes in a globalised policy context.

I found particularly useful Bourdieu & Wacquant's (2001) short essay on the "imperialism of neoliberal reason," (p. 5) and the consequences of the international circulation of ideas, that are "everywhere powerfully relayed by supposedly neutral agencies ranging from major international organization (the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, European Commission and OECD), conservative think-tanks… and philanthropic foundations, to the schools of power…" (pp. 2-3). In this application of Bourdieu's (1991) theory of symbolic power, Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) identify the case of the universalisation of neoliberal terminology as "cultural imperialism… a form of symbolic violence" (p. 2). As such, cultural imperialism achieves its goal through both action and omission—by the performative imposition of ideological categories and concepts on the whole of society, actively shaping policy and decision-making, and by

concealing the "historical roots of a whole set of questions," including "the 'efficiency' of the (free) market" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001, p. 3).

Recognising the role of power and ideology in IO policy-decision making includes addressing the role of power and ideology in "shaping the debate," and "[imagining] a different world," by bringing "critical imagination… to bear" on this problem (Pusser, 2015, pp. 62-65). The relationship of ideology to the problem of the detachment between the structures of power in modern society on the one hand, and the social lifeworld on the other (in which communication should take place in order to form the public will) is thus closely tied to the function of ideology in this space (Habermas, 1975). International organisation as structures of power in an increasingly globalised society may perpetuate ideology, especially if spaces for public will formation and discourse towards norm consensus are difficult to create in ways that ensure participation. This understanding of language as a means of domination and power, and as ideological, comprises some of the main commitments I make in the application of critical discourse analysis within this study of IO policy and internationalisation of higher education.

In this way, it is possible to understand language itself as a space of domination and injustice, such that the unequal distribution of linguistic capital results in inequality, and recognise the warranted application of critical discourse analysis to the study of ideas and values as ideological language in the IO policy context. Thus, applying critical theory to the study of international policy relating to higher education offered a means to understand these issues without having to sacrifice the complexity of the social or historical contexts (Martínez-Alemán, 2015).

5.4.4.2 CDA in International Higher Education Research

While still somewhat underused in international higher education research, critical discourse analysis is increasingly applied as a method in this field (Blanco Ramírez, 2015; Buckner, 2017; Deuel, 2021; Fairclough & Wodak, 2008; George Mwangi et al., 2018; Haapakoski & Stein, 2018; Kandiko Howson & Lall, 2020).   The studies identified typically focus on document and policy analysis, including comparative case studies of national level higher education policy, regional governmental policy, systematic reviews of international higher education literature, and international organisational documents. The application of critical discourse analysis seems typically to be used in the field of international higher education to analyse ideological discourses within different societal structures across the levels of the globalised space in which higher education operates. The research methods of this study parallel previous applications of critical discourse analysis, with an analysis of power in societal structures, in relation to international higher education, accounting for the effects of globalisation, and investigating ideological discourses via document analysis.

5.4.4.3 Identification of Discursive Phenomena

Values and ideology are important to consider as they shape the context historically and illuminate the potential for inequality. In this way the theory-testing study framework supported the application of critical discourse analysis in this study— both methods account for a globalised social context, which fits the focus of this study. Some of the discursive elements identified in the analysis include:

- *Indexicality*: the relationship between the context, role, and the type of utterance, and the effect on how it is interpreted

- *Historicity*: the history of an utterance, with a focus on ideology as "that which makes history semiotically meaningful" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 174)

- *Intertextuality*: the external reference of one text to another, this is related to history as well as interdiscursivity or the relationships between different discourses

- *Interdiscursivity*: "the constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres" (Fairclough, 2013b, p. 96)

- *Assumption*: examining assumption implicitly represented internal to the text, shaping the scope of what is apparently common ground across three basic categories of assumption: existential (what does or does not exist), propositional (what is or is not the case), evaluative/value (what is good) (Fairclough, 2004)

- *Entextualisation*: the action of decontextualisation and metadiscursive recontextualisation of a discourse in order to apply it to "a new context… accompanied by a particular metadiscourse which provides a sort of 'preferred reading' for the discourse" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 47)

- *Genres and formats of communication:* as part of contextualisation, the following document characteristics were recorded: authors (unit affiliation), internal reviewers (which units contributed), external reviewers (affiliation, expertise), intended audiences, genre of document (global report, declaration, recommendation, convention, director-general note or address, website)

- *Coherence*: context-dependent interpretation by the reader, relating intentions of the discourse producer, causes, references, and other relations, as a property of the text (Bublitz, 2014).

In this way, I analysed the function of the "voice" of the organisations with relation to the values and ideologies embedded in the discourse they produce, and so better to understand the potential power effects on higher education and internationalised academic activities, especially research. I used NVivo to compile my document and interview data, and classification and coding tools to analyse the data. I follow the understanding of Woolf and Silver (2018) that NVivo functions as "a program for managing concepts," where I "provide concepts, and NVivo provides... [tools] to organize, display, and work with them according to [my] instructions" (p. 2). As such, in the analytic process, I translate between the analytic strategies of the project itself and the tactics used via NVivo tools.

5.4.5 Analytic Process Stages

The examination of the documents and interview transcripts included several stages including classification, contextualisation, and identification of significant passages in the pre-coding stages, as well as preliminary coding during document selection and transcription of interviews.

The first round was a hybrid inductive-deductive coding approach (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006): Deductive coding followed a codebook based on the values and ideas of the university (see Appendix D) from Table 1—as part of the theory-testing process—and inductive coding to identify new understandings of value elements and ideas of the university that were not theoretically identified. The second round of coding focused on identifying discursive phenomena in the text from both within the text excerpts identified through the hybrid inductive-deductive process of round 1. Through the analysis of the codes, I identified the emergent discourses, especially the linking

between discourses and external texts, implicitly and explicitly, and analysed the layering of the set of values and ideas of the university in scholarship to policy documents for each organisation. Juxtapositional and perspectival comparison methods were used to compare the cases to each other.

1. *Pre-coding*: This consisted of classification and a preliminary skim of the documents and of interview transcripts to identify "rich or significant participant quotes or passages," (Saldaña, 2013, p. 19) relevant to the research questions and conceptual framework, that is, values and ideas of the university (what higher education is for, why support higher education, etc.) and internationalisation of higher education (in all functions).

2. *Preliminary jottings*: Analytic memos were written following each interview, as well as through the document-selection and pre-coding process, including any preliminary codes that were identified during the interview transcription process (Saldaña, 2013).

3. *Coding, round 1*: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding was applied, using a codebook based on the conceptual framework in Table 1 (see Appendix D), as well as preliminary codes identified in Stage 1 of the analytic process.

4. *Coding, round 2*: Discursive phenomena were identified that contribute to understanding the discursive construction of values and ideas of the university as identified in the first round of coding, and the associated discourses. For example, intertextual references from recent documents to the UNESCO

constitution point to intellectual cooperation as a constant value element within a globalised idea of the university.

5. Consultations with a peer also using CDA methods at regular intervals to discuss challenges along the way helped to articulate my process and clarify my ideas.

6. *Identifying discourses and theory-testing*: I used the second round of coding to identify the discourses around values and ideas of the university in the documents, in order to test that the original theory is validated by the data.

Throughout the data gathering and analysis processes, NVivo was used as a tool to support classifying and contextualising the documents, and to code and identify discourses in the text.

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5.5 Ethics & Trustworthiness

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To close this chapter, I discuss the ethics and trustworthiness of the study design. I used the framework of trustworthiness in qualitative research design and practice from Marshall and colleagues (2021), bringing together ethics, participant relationships, and transparency.

5.5.1 Ethics

While there was limited risk to participants as they were interviewed as key informants of their organisations, it was important to me, and required by research ethics, to ensure that the participants were comfortable with my use of the interview data, and that I would be able to provide anonymity given that the study asks questions of values and ideas. The participants were provided an informed consent form (Appendix C) along with the invitation letter (Appendix B). The participants provided consent via email and I also reviewed the interview protocol at the beginning of each interview to verbally ensure

that the participants understood the study and their contributions. I was persistent in trying to obtain interviews with at least five people from each organisation to ensure anonymity for the individual participants.

The interviews were conducted on Zoom and recorded, the recordings were kept only for transcription and analysis and stored in a secure server, to be deleted after the study. Transcripts were sent to participants who requested them to review—one request was made to avoid quoting from a section that might be identifiable. Other participants clarified during the interview when certain parts of the conversation were not to be included. The recordings, transcripts, and my field notes are understood to be participant data, as such, should participants prefer to withdraw at any time, their data would be deleted and withdrawn from any publications. These principles apply within the European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), and were explicitly included to ensure that any participants in that region were adequately covered, but applied to all participants, regardless of location.

Communication and transmission of knowledge from academic research within the university community to policy-makers, practitioners, and the public is one of the important functions of the university to which I aspire to contribute (Habermas, 1986). I intentionally incorporated this stage into the ethical principles of the study. I also wanted to ensure that the participants would benefit in some way from this participation, especially since the study was of interest to them, and indeed, they were generous with their time and provided much insight into my queries during the conversations. I offered to share any publications that resulted from the study with them, and invited them to attend my defence as the first presentation of the finalised study. Finally, I offered to

present organisation-specific findings with the World Bank and UNESCO after the dissertation defence.

5.5.2 Trustworthiness

In terms of trustworthiness, I focused on ensuring transparency, transferability, and credibility within the study design (Marshall et al., 2021). Critical discourse analysis tends to be somewhat obscure in reporting of procedures, given the multiple potential approaches to critical theory, to understandings of discourse, and to types of analysis. In this study, I have attempted to be rigorous in recording the steps in applying critical discourse analysis to the data. It is my hope that the transparency and rigour in the methods will support transferability of the methods for future studies by others as well as myself. This would be especially relevant for future studies, should I look to other potential cases, or to incorporate institutional, national, or regional levels of analysis. Another element of transparency lies in my own approach to the study which I included in this chapter in section 5.1. I am aware that as I encounter concepts and ideas that challenge the ones I hold, that I am open to changing and developing my own worldview, but I share what I think holds and will hold constant in terms of my commitments within this worldview and I hope that what I have included will clarify my theoretical approach, design choices, and analysis in this study.

In considering the credibility or dependability of the study design, I have found the concept of crystallisation to be useful—by the "gathering data from multiple sources, through multiple methods… using multiple theoretical lenses" (Marshall et al., 2021, p. 51). My theoretical approach to the study has aimed to draw across different pools of literatures with the goal of providing more nuance and context to the examination of

ideas of the university in theory and in context, given the embeddedness of the empirical policy context in different political and societal realms. Within each pool of literature, I drew from foundational as well as topical theoretical and applied works, to ensure that I had multiple theoretical lenses to draw upon in the analysis of the data. In my application of the critical discourse analysis method, I also spent time with foundational theoretical writings to ensure that I understood the critical social theory upon which I was building.

Additionally, through layering—or bringing scholarship and data into dialogue—in the construction of each organisational case study, I aimed to ensure depth of analysis. Through reflective memo-writing as well as regular peer debriefing, reflexivity was built into the critical discourse analysis process. Finally, using theory-testing as a method alongside critical discourse analysis also solidified the crystallisation process of the design of this study.

CHAPTER 6: The UNESCO Case

This chapter presents a theory-testing case study (section 6.1) of UNESCO's work in the area of higher education and its internationalisation, followed by the interpretation of discourses (section 6.2) identified in the document analysis data of this organisation in relation to ideas and values of the university. The case study draws from UNESCO documents, and is supplemented by secondary sources and from the interviews with key informants, setting the necessary context for critical discourse analysis of the data.

Reference to secondary sources ensures my interpretation of the case is "layered" (Obert, 2021) in dialogue with other scholars. The interview data also adds a layer to the case study, as key informants are also experts in the focus of this study—the role of the organisation in the higher education and academic internationalisation space. The identified discourses are derived from the critical discourse analysis of a critical case selection of UNESCO documents (see Appendix E) that were selected based on their significance within the time-frame of 1997 to 2022, including recommendations by key informants during the interviews. I present the case study and the discourses identified in the UNESCO data together as a first stage of response to the research questions within this chapter. The research questions are discussed using comparative analysis of both case studies and discourses in chapter 8.

6.1 Case Contextualisation

I present the case of UNESCO in three main sub-sections: (i) the structures specialised to support higher education; (ii) significant historical documents and events; and (iii) selected initiatives for the internationalisation of higher education specifically.

Using documents selected during the data gathering stage, as well as information

gathered during the interviews, I focus on these areas in the case study of this

organisation in order to provide the necessary context for the critical discourse analysis of

the study data. There are many ways to examine the case of such a complex organisation

as UNESCO and its work in higher education, and I have elected to focus on structures,

processes, and events that seem to contribute to the understanding of ideas and values of

the university are embedded within the organisation, and internationalisation of higher

education.

Two of the questions during the interviews aimed to confirm the significance of

the selected events and documents, and sought the insights of the key informants as to

other important documents to reference. References to these moments in secondary

sources confirm that other scholars who study UNESCO also identify these documents

and events as significant.

6.1.1 UNESCO Structures Specialised to Support Higher Education

Given the complexity of the UNESCO organisation, it is useful to present a

general overview of how it operates to properly position the significant elements relevant

to higher education. In this section, I review the structures within UNESCO specialised

in higher education—focusing on their roles and functions. Figure 2 below is a diagram

representing a simplified contemporary structure of UNESCO, highlighting the

significant elements of the structure that are related to higher education. Mundy and

Madden (2009) include an expansive and detailed figure in their chapter of "UNESCO's

footprint in higher education" (p. 54), which was a useful reference. In Figure 2, I also

make note of the Natural Science Sector which participates in internationalisation of

academic research, although it is not connected to the Education Sector. While the Natural Science Sector is not analysed in this study, its role in internationalisation of academic research is referenced in this section. A brief note on the International Association of Universities (IAU)—while IAU has supported UNESCO initiatives in higher education internationalisation, it is a non-governmental organisation which operates as an official partner of UNESCO, not as a unit of UNESCO itself. As such, it was not included in the analysis of UNESCO higher education-specialised structures.

Figure 2

Simplified general and higher-education specific structures and processes within UNESCO
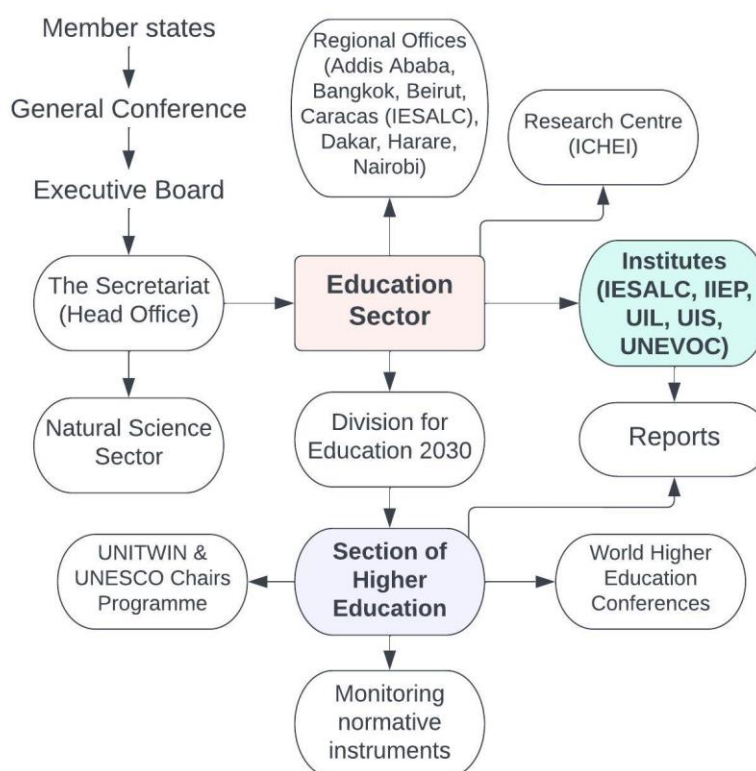
Note. This diagram was developed primarily with information provided during the key informant interviews, with a focus on the specialised units for higher education. The UNESCO Education Sector website provided information on the most recent structure and position of the Higher Education section (UNESCO, 2021).

6.1.2 Significant Historical Document and Events

In order to analyse the values and ideas of the university that prevail within UNESCO and its work in higher education, it was important to contextualise the organisational case historically in relation to the events surrounding its establishment (Obert, 2021). Historical contextualisation is also necessary for applying a critical discourse analytic lens to the data (Martínez-Alemán, 2015), and especially in the identification of phenomena such as indexicality (the context of an utterance and its effect on interpretation), historicity (the history of an utterance and its relationship to ideology), and intertextuality (external reference between texts, historical or contemporary).

In this section, I review with the early history of UNESCO as an organisation: the UNESCO constitution, and two early global reports on education, described as "two very significant landmarks in UNESCO's intellectual contribution to education," (Uvalić-Trumbić, 2009, p. 31) the Faure (1972) and Delors (1996/1998) reports. The principles of UNESCO, through each of these stages, shape the foundation for the discourse analysis of the UNESCO texts and interviews from 1997 to 2022. The two global reports were also recommended by a key informant as essential to understanding the directions UNESCO has taken in terms of higher education.   Both reports continue to be deeply influential on UNESCO's contemporary approach to higher education and its

internationalisation, and intertextual references to both are made explicitly and implicitly, with concepts like 'learning to be,' 'the learning society,' and 'the four pillars of education'. They continue to form the basis for contemporary renewal of UNESCO's understanding of education and higher education as seen in recent reports.

6.1.2.1 The Constitution of UNESCO

UNESCO was constituted on the 16th of November, 1945, following the end of the second World War. The setting of the UNESCO constitution in the aftermath of two world wars strongly influences the rationale for and purpose of the organisation, "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" (United Nations, 1947, p. 276; Hoggart, 1978; Uvalić-Trumbić, 2009). Education is presented as an instrument to achieve this goal through means including equitable access to education for all, the pursuit of knowledge without restriction, and the transmission and exchange of knowledge across the bounds of nation-states. UNESCO was founded to accomplish these means with an end "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture…" (United Nations, 1947, p. 278).

The constitution expands on the means by which UNESCO is to accomplish this, with a particular focus on international academic collaboration in order to "maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge… by encouraging cooperation among all nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture and the exchange of publications" (United Nations, 1947, p. 278). It is clear that at least in its constitution, that the end of global peace is achieved via UNESCO in part through the internationalisation of higher

education, including internationalisation of research through maintenance, increase, and

diffusion of knowledge, international mobility of students and scholars, and through free

exchange of scholarly publications. This echoes the conceptualisation of international

collaboration through intellectual activities, as defined by the International Institute of

Intellectual Cooperation (see Appendix G), corroborating Valderrama's (1995)

suggestion that the precursor organisation influenced UNESCO's mission and activities.

In conversation, several UNESCO key informants referenced the constitution and

its mission as something foundational to the organisation overall, as well as to the units

supporting higher education, influencing day-to-day technical decisions in their work,

and deeply meaningful to themselves as individuals within the organisation. This aligns

with the necessity of individual commitment to collective values for collective purpose-

making (Mowles, 2008).

> I think that is very important when it comes to values, because… [the
> constitution] does state that… agreements between governments and economic
> concerns are not enough, and that UNESCO was created for the human and
> intellectual solidarity of humankind, which I find very inspiring. [UNESCO2]
>
> We believe all that [the UNESCO constitution]. That's why we are here.
> [UNESCO3]

Although, according to key informants, in spite of this commitment to the constitution,

the organisational bureaucracy of administration, the needs of the member states, and

global politics also influence UNESCO, which is ultimately a political organisation. As

one key informant stated "no institution or organisation is value-free… UNESCO has

values" (UNESCO1), but which set of values set the tone for the organisation is arguable.

Still, the foundation of the organisational mission of peace-building from the constitution

suggests that the globalised idea of the university—especially the instrumental valuation

of international cooperation for globally desirable political ends, global public goods,

global citizenship, interculturality, pluralism, and human rights—continue to contribute,

at least rhetorically, to the basis of the work that UNESCO does in the space of the higher

education and its internationalisation.

6.1.2.2 The Faure Report

The Faure Report (1972), titled *Learning to be: The world of education today and*

tomorrow was written by members of the International Commission on the Development

of Education, chaired by Edgar Faure, former prime minister of France (see chapter 4, on

the French model of higher education). The report was intended to provide a strategic

model for national systems of education (Valderrama, 1995). The Faure report (1972)

sets the context for this report as a time of growth and conflict in society, independence

for colonised nations, persistent inequalities in socioeconomic growth, civil movements,

and what the authors call the "scientific-technological revolution" (p. xxii).

The report advocates for a primary intrinsic-value based purpose of education "to

enable man to be himself, to 'become himself,'" (i.e., the title concept of 'learning to

be'), with secondary instrumentalist and intrinsic valuations of education to "'optimise'

mobility among the professions and afford a permanent stimulus to the desire to learn and

train oneself" (Faure et al., 1972, pp. xxxi-xxxii). These relate to both academic and

developmental ideas of the university, in relation to understanding knowledge as

transformational through *Bildung*, a will to know and learn, and to the "physical,

intellectual, emotional and ethical integration of the individual into a complete man,"

(Faure et al., 1972, p. 156). However, there is also a relationship to human capital

development. To achieve this purpose, the report introduces two concepts that continue

to form the basis of UNESCO's approach to higher education and its internationalisation:
the idea of lifelong learning in an open and flexible education system, and the idea of the
learning society (rather than the information society), with adult education moving
beyond (and not in opposition to) basic education and literacy.

In the analysis of the Faure report, Biesta (2021) categorises the intrinsic value
elements I list above as humanistic in character—due to the focus on lifelong education
and the underlying assumptions of the report which Faure spells out in the opening letter,
including an international community, solidarity, democracy, and the "complete man"
being the purpose of lifelong education (Faure et al., 1972). Biesta's (2021)
interpretation of the Faure report aligns with my analysis of the Faure report above, but
also of UNESCO's constitution earlier in the chapter, which aims for peace, security, and
welfare, through an instrumental valuation of a globalised idea of the university in which
internationalisation of higher education purposed towards such humanistic ends.

6.1.2.3 The Delors Report

The Delors report (1996/1998), *Learning: The treasure within*, begins with an
introduction titled "Education: The necessary utopia." This utopian vision of education is
constructed upon the following concept:

> *learning to live together*, by developing an understanding of others… creating a
> new spirit which… would induce people to implement common projects or to
> manage inevitable conflicts in an intelligent and peaceful way. Utopia, some
> might think, but… a necessary Utopia. (p. 22)

This utopian vision of learning to live together, through education, echoes the aims of
education in the UNESCO constitution—peace created through learning in the minds of
men and women—and is one of four pillars presented as the foundations of education.

The other three pillars are: (i) learning to know (education in breadth and depth sufficient to build a foundation for lifelong education); (ii) learning to do (particular skills for a career as well as competences and skills for work); and, (iii) learning to be (the aim of education with an explicit intertextual reference to the Faure report). The focus on lifelong learning especially is underscored, with a focus on ensuring accessibility and education for all, encouraging diversification of higher education offerings to include applied and basic research and teaching, professional qualifications and skills, as well as international cooperation through faculty and student mobility.

This proposal for higher education is intended also to allay the perception that higher education and the labour market are at odds. It also acts as a rhetorical bridge between academic, globalised, and developmental ideas of the university, with intrinsic valuation of the pursuit of academic knowledge, and instrumental valuation of skill development for the labour market as well as international academic cooperation. However, the functions of higher education discussed below point to an emphasis on developmental and globalised ideas of the university and associated ways of valuing higher education.

Of note are the listed functions of higher education and the explicit relationship made to developmental and globalised ideas of the university, to "...unite all the traditional functions associated with the advancement and transmission of knowledge: research, innovation, teaching and training, and continuing education. To these one can add another function that has been growing in importance in recent years; international co-operation" (Delors et al., 1996/1998, p. 131). The authors emphasise that these functions of the university, as an "autonomous [centre] for research and creation of

knowledge," (p. 131) are essential for sustainable development, through education and training, as a societal critic or conscience, preservation and dissemination of knowledge and culture, and responding to societal challenges. Additionally, this understanding of development and higher education returns some agency to poorer countries, where Delors and colleagues (1996/1998) insist that the role of research in universities is closely tied to development, policy-work, and training.

In the next section, I review the structures of UNESCO, particularly those related to higher education. I begin with a brief overview of the general structures and processes of UNESCO as an organisation, and then dive into the structures and processes that are especially relevant for higher education.

6.1.3 UNESCO's Higher Education Units

At the present time, UNESCO's higher education-specialised units are represented mainly by the Higher Education Section within the Education Sector at the Head Office in Paris, and by the International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (IESALC). The European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES) was a former higher education-specialised unit, no longer in existence. Other institutes also contribute to UNESCO's higher education program, collaborating on reports and other efforts, but are responsible for general education as well as higher education (the International Bureau of Education (IBE), International Institute for Education Planning (IIEP), UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL), and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS)).

The Higher Education Section. The Higher Education program within UNESCO started in 1947 at the second General Conference with the mission of promoting international cooperation and international understanding, and is responsible for coordinating higher education initiatives across UNESCO, with the regional offices, with other sections, divisions, and institutes, and with other international organisations, such as the World Bank and the OECD. The present Higher Education section is responsible for the design, preparation, and coordination of the World Higher Education Conferences (convening members and creating a space for dialogue and international cooperation in higher education), international cooperation through the UNESCO Chairs/UNITWIN program, coordinating with regional bureaus and institutes through a "coordinated umbrella approach" (UNESCO3), and administering and monitoring normative instruments, that is, recommendations, declarations, and conventions.

International normative instruments have varying degrees of legal force. A declaration is "an international statement of good intent… not signed… no legal force," a recommendation is more detailed and "is a code of good practice and can have a lot of force," through the persuasion of education specialists in each member state, and a convention "is binding on the governments which sign it" (Hoggart, 1978, p. 38). The recently ratified Global Convention on the Recognition of Qualification in Higher Education is the first international higher education convention and is discussed in this section (UNESCO, 2023b).

This range of activities is related to UNESCO's five functions or functional identities in education: a laboratory of ideas to "[anticipate and respond] to emerging trends and needs;" a clearinghouse to design and implement policy "based on data

collection, monitoring and dialogue;" a standard-setter to "[develop and monitor] legal frameworks and normative instruments to ensure the right to education;" a catalyst for international cooperation to use "its convening power for international cooperation… [including] global conferences that set the agenda;" a capacity-builder to "[provide] technical advice and support to develop institutional and human capacity" (UNESCO, n.d.b).

CEPES. CEPES, when it existed (between 1972 and 2012), was a Category 2 institute focused on higher education cooperation in Europe, with a particular focus on Central and Eastern Europe, but also included the US, Canada, and Israel (UNESCO, n.d.c), given the restrictions due the Iron Curtain prior to the end of the Cold War (Maassen & Vabø, 2006). It focused on quality assurance and enhancement systems, institutional capacity building, policy recommendations, and the development of a regional convention on qualification recognition in higher education (the Lisbon Convention). In an evaluation of CEPES, evaluators found that due to its regional location in Europe and its focus on higher education, "CEPES has limited direct relevance for UNESCO's efforts to realize the EFA goals" and that "the main strand of the activities of CEPES lies outside the priority areas of UNESCO," (Maassen & Vabø, 2006, p. 7). The priority areas at the time related to the Education For All goals, which focus on access to education for marginalised populations.

The evaluation also found that CEPES' particular specialisation in higher education was valuable due to the extension of its global network beyond Europe— geographically, and to other non-governmental and international institutions—that "there is no other UNESCO field unit that is so well connected in the area of higher education…

as CEPES" (p. 7). Still, the decision was taken to close the Centre at the end of 2011 (deferred from the end of 2009 with a last-ditch attempt to level it up to a Category 1 institute), "with higher education in Europe being covered by Headquarters and resource savings being reallocated to IICBA and BREDA in Africa," (UNESCO, 2010, p. 27) which are an international institute for capacity building and a document centre focused on public information dissemination.

IESALC. In 1998, IESALC was established as a Category 1 institute, converted from a regional centre (CRESALC, established in 1978) with a continuing regional focus on Latin America and the Caribbean (Davis et al., 2006), and an aim of acting as a clearing-house and information disseminator, providing national and regional research and technical assistance to member states of the region, and contributing to UNESCO's function in the Latin America and Caribbean region. As an institute, it is "the only specialized institute in the entire UN system, beyond UNESCO as well, that specializes in higher education improvement" (UNESCO1), especially given the closure of CEPES in 2010.

At the 41st General Conference, IESALC's institutional mandate was extended to include "an increasingly global mandate," (UNESCO5) beyond its regional responsibilities—an "important [change] in UNESCO bureaucratic terms," (UNESCO1), such that one of its priority objectives is now to:

> expand the global relevance of the contributions of the IESALC as the only
> UNESCO specialized institute in higher education by providing capacity
> development opportunities, promoting South-South cooperation, and contributing
> to expand the knowledge base about higher education policies worldwide.
> (UNESCO, 2021, p. 11)

This vision is reflected in the medium-term strategy of IESALC for 2022 to 2025 "to become the United Nations leading source for evidence, advice, and capacity development on higher education worldwide" (UNESCO-IESALC, 2021, p. 6), and is deeply optimistic of the future prioritisation of higher education within UNESCO.

> Higher education continues to be one of the most important pending agenda items for the enforcement of the universal right to education worldwide… no other education subsector has more potential than higher education to contribute to each Sustainable Development Goal, mainly through the three missions that universities pursue: teaching, research, and the contribution to social and economic development. (p. 3).

This takes a particularly developmental approach to the university, aligning with the general contemporary approach to higher education within UNESCO.

6.1.3.1 Sectoral Fragmentation

Coordination within any complex organisation can be challenging—and given the mission of UNESCO, intersectoral coordination seemed to be of importance. Through the document gathering stages, it became increasingly evident that internationalisation of research was present more explicitly in documents from the Science sector than the Education sector. During the key informant interviews, I was able to inquire as to whether there were opportunities to coordinate with the Science sector, given the shared interest in research. However, it seems that there is little coordination across sectors within UNESCO overall, and that internationalisation of higher education is thus conceptually broken and functionally divided (with teaching and learning separated from research) by sectoral fragmentation in the organisation.

Although this study was limited to the higher education-specialised units within UNESCO, in particular, the Higher Education section and IESALC, given my interest in

internationalisation of academic research, I came across several documents during the data gathering phase that related to internationalisation of research and academic research collaboration from the Science sector, specifically the Natural Sciences. The document, *Sixty years of science at UNESCO*, showcases several international research collaboration initiatives in which UNESCO played a significant role (Petitjean et al., 2006). From its foundation, the Science sector was dedicated to supporting scientific unions, establishing regional UNESCO offices for science, and the "creation of new forms of scientific cooperation" (p. 30).

One interesting example that is worth exploring is the role of UNESCO in the founding of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN)—now one of the largest international research centres in nuclear physics. The original project was planned by European physicists, but the director of UNESCO's Natural Science sector used his network to push the project through as a mediator. UNESCO hosted a meeting of consultants and finalised the project plan, which was reviewed during a UNESCO General Conference, and then implemented over the course of two intergovernmental conferences. Through this process, the CERN laboratory came into being, with "UNESCO [playing] to perfection its role as initiator of an international cooperation project" (p. 60).

In the basic sciences, the Science sector worked to develop regional and international disciplinary networks in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and inter-disciplinary fields. It is also supported the development of the Recommendation on Science and the Use of Scientific Knowledge which advocates for international research cooperation via research networks and the participation of poorer countries, as well as the

Recommendation on the Status of Scientific Researchers, which advises "North-South-South partnership in scientific research" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 74). Notably, it relies on a human capital theory system as "the principal pillar of a sound science system," (UNESCO, 2017, p. 76) for member states to build policy around career development, lifelong learning, and researcher mobility. Together with the International Council of Scientific Unions, the Natural Science Sector supported the development of Global Observing Systems for climate, the ocean, and the terrestrial ecosystems.

All this to show that UNESCO, through its Science sector, is supporting internationalisation of academic research, although in a blend with public (governmental) research institutes, and private research. It seems that even in this sector, the organisational mission colours the idea of the university upheld towards developmental and political ends. For instance, in the tension between open science on the one hand, and intellectual property and knowledge securitisation on the other. However, conceptions of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, the commitment to fundamental research and the pursuit of knowledge, open knowledge transmission, the university viewed as a space for academic research and an international intellectual community, that fall within an academic idea of the university, come through strongly in the publications of this sector.

The primary initiative that seems to have cross-sectoral collaboration between the Science sector and the Education sector, specifically the Higher Education unit, is the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs program. Still notably, the sectoral fragmentation extends to the other sectors as well—Communication and Culture.

> I think that this [internationalization of academic research] is not so much for the Education sector where we are located, but for the Science sector… But, unfortunately… our vision of what higher education is—because you are talking to the Education Sector—is mostly focused on... the training or… the education function of higher education. (UNESCO5)

The state of sectoral fragmentation was lamented by key informants across the board, suggesting that bureaucracy, budgetary restrictions, and a territorial mentality that makes cross-sectoral cooperation within the organisation challenging.

> … there's this bit of this territorial kind of mentality you keep here, because, of course, you're concerned about the budgets, and everybody keeps talking about the budget, but it comes back to money. (UNESCO2)

While there are multiple factors involved in sectoral fragmentation, it is also possible to view this through the lens of an organisational commitment to a developmental-economic idea of the university, and the challenge of simultaneously holding multiple approaches to valuing the university. As such, instrumental valuation of scientific research, the potential for technological transfer and innovation, and the commodification of knowledge conflicts with the elements of the academic idea of the university, namely, the intrinsic valuation of knowledge pursued for its own sake, within an international academic community, shared with the global community.

6.1.4 Initiatives in Academic Internationalisation

In this section, I analyse activities operated via higher education-specialised structures that fall within the realm of the internationalisation of higher education. These include the UNESCO Chairs and the UNITWIN network, the World Higher Education Conferences, and the Global Convention on Recognition of Qualifications. Understanding the interactions between the ideas of the university, in terms of how the university is valued, and the approach to these programs by UNESCO, supports the

interpretation of the discourses constructed within the organisation related internationalisation of higher education discussed in section 6.2.

6.1.4.1 UNESCO Chairs Program & the UNITWIN Network

The UNESCO Chairs and UNITWIN Networks program is geared towards international cooperation in higher education, building an inter-university network for cooperation in "UNESCO fields of competence" (Perrier, 2006, p. 11). The program is thus intended to support the engagement of universities in international development. The UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs program is run through the Higher Education section within the Education Sector, which involves processing proposals for new chairs, tracking program data, and communicating with relevant sector programs.

In its creation, the program was intended to operate within a "comprehensive intersectoral policy of UNESCO for the whole field of higher education" (UNESCO, 1993, p. 2) given "the constant internationalization of higher education, and the potential of UNITWIN as a major instrument for UNESCO in fulfilling its role as a promoter of inter-university co-operation worldwide" (p. 3). The UNESCO Chairs program was mentioned by several key informant participants as being one consistent means for international academic cooperation, specifically internationalisation of the research function, via inter-university cooperation and cross-national knowledge exchange.

The aim of this program points to an economic-developmental idea of the university, with national capacity-building within a knowledge society conceptualisation as a main purpose, suggested by an explicit disciplinary focus on UNESCO's priority areas, towards "innovation, knowledge sharing, and capacity development" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 17). A relationship is also made to UNESCO's responsibility "for helping its

Member States to overcome the obstacles to the construction of information and
knowledge societies" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 7).

Within this context, the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs Programme functions as a
modality of UNESCO support to higher education internationalisation, "strengthening
international cooperation and facilitating the transfer and exchange of knowledge and
technology among nations," (UNESCO, 2005, p. 41) such that chairs provide support
through teaching, training, research, and service. In practice, however, outside the
Education sector, it seems that the chairs are fairly inactive, although there have been a
few reports published with contributions from UNESCO chairs, and chairs occasionally
acting as peer reviewers. This is confirmed by an internal evaluation in 2021, stating that
the program was not properly owned by any sector and had grown too large for proper
coordination, leading to "[impaired] coordination, monitoring, and quality of the
network… [increasing] UNESCO's reputational risk" (UNESCO, 2021b, p. 7). It is
unfortunate that as the main research internationalisation activity of the Higher Education
section, UNITWIN and the UNESCO Chairs program are struggling to effectively
contribute to the aims of the organisation as well as to academic research
internationalisation more broadly.

6.1.4.2 World Higher Education Conferences

The UNESCO World Conferences on Higher Education are one of the activities
most recognised as a substantial contribution to internationalisation in higher education,
especially in relation to the mission of UNESCO—both for the organisation, in terms of
providing frameworks for approaching its work in higher education, but also for member
states in providing a space for international cooperation through UNESCO's convening

power. The outputs of the conferences typically provide some of the frameworks by which higher education activities are guided over the years ahead, with more or less support and buy-in from the conference participants. The 1998 conference ended with a normative instrument—the World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-first Century; the 2009 conference ended with a conference communiqué; and the 2022 conference ended with a "working version" of a Roadmap.

The 1998 World Higher Education Conference: *Higher Education in the 21st Century*. In his opening address, the Director General of UNESCO for the first World Higher Education Conference in 1998 set up the global context as the turn of the new millennium as a time when "genuine democracy… can only come of age with the help of higher education," and "in a society which has become a 'knowledge society'" (Mayor, 1998, pp. 2-3). It is this theme that forms the foundation for the World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-first Century, responding to this context with a primarily developmental-economic idea of the university, with value elements of globalised and academic ideas of the university taking deprioritised. International cooperation and the internationalisation of higher education, understood as the sharing of knowledge are supported in relation to the function of higher education as inherently developmental:

> Without adequate higher education and research institutions providing a critical mass of skilled and educated people, no country can ensure genuine endogenous and sustainable development and, in particular, developing countries and least developed countries cannot reduce the gap separating them from the industrially developed ones. (UNESCO, 1998, p. 1)

The declaration positions developmental (sustainable development), humanistic (human rights), and political (democracy, peace) ends as dependent on education, and so

requiring access to lifelong learning. It also includes a commitment to "international co-operation and exchange" as part of this mission (UNESCO, 1998, p. 3).

While the missions of higher education in this declaration are wrapped in the language of traditional functions of an academic idea of the university—"a mission to educate, train, and undertake research" (p. 3)—the core of the mission is dominated by a mix of economic-developmental and globalised-developmental ideas of the university. In this way, the university is viewed as omnifunctional, as a public service institution, and operating in the service of society through teaching and learning. Some valuative elements of an academic idea of the university remain, for instance, the university understood as a place of academic research, an intellectual conscience, a place of all worldviews, and the idea of knowledge as transformation in the sense of *Bildung*, but these seem to be subsumed within a primarily developmental idea of higher education. Between 1998 and the following World Higher Education Conference in 2009, six regional conventions of the recognition of qualifications in higher education were ratified, UNESCO collaborated with the OECD to produce guidelines for quality provision of cross-border higher education, and with the World Bank on a Global Initiative for Quality Assurance Capacity.

The 2009 World Higher Education Conference: *The New Dynamics of Higher Education and Research for Societal Change and Development*. The 2009 World Higher Education Conference was preceded by six regional conferences which along with the Declaration from the 1998 conference, contributed to a final "Conference Communiqué" as a primary output adopted by the participants of the conference. With reference to the conference title, it is suggested that "new forces are transforming higher

education at a speed that could not have been foreseen ten years ago," including a growth in demand for higher education, diversification of higher education institutions (such as a trend to privatisation), the growing role of technology in education, and the impact of globalisation through internationalisation of higher education (mobility of students, off-shore programs, branch campuses, and university partnerships), and that "an ethical purpose underpins the mission of higher education" (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 2-3).

Internationalisation of higher education is also presented as a necessary instrument for solving global challenges, with the university perceived primarily as a global public service institution, across both teaching and research functions, "to achieve internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals aimed at eradicating extreme poverty and the goals of Education for All" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 6). Similarly, the rationales for international cooperation through higher education are framed with economic and developmental ends, "through sharing ideas and knowledge that our societies will become more prosperous and sustainable" (p. 7). Framing higher education and internationalisation of higher education through the lens of crisis and global challenges seems to forcefully instrumentalise higher education within an economic-developmental idea of the university.

The 2022 World Higher Education Conference: *Reinventing Higher Education for a Sustainable Future.* The set of challenges within which the 2022 World Higher Education Conference is contextualised spans both new and old challenges, including climate change, geopolitical conflict, inequality, and the decline of democracy. Higher education is then positioned as an instrument to sustainability and peace in a global society, referencing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (the SDGs)

and the new Futures of Education Initiative. The academic functions of the university are reviewed from this position: teaching for "well-rounded professionals" as well as citizens working in cooperation to solve global challenges; knowledge produced through research and innovation (which is noticeably distinct from research); and an institution actively fulfilling local and global social responsibilities as a public service institution.

The particular roles assigned to higher education range from meeting relevant SDG4 targets, support the development of quality through the differentiated educational system, and through research, teaching, and collaboration "achieve all the SDGs" (UNESCO, 2022a, p. 6). These roles are to be achieved through a vision of higher education as a right and a public good, including lifelong education, flexible learning pathways, internationalisation, "technology-enriched higher learning experiences," (p. 10) (including artificial intelligence and machine learning, among other contemporary technological trends), transdisciplinarity, research, and innovation for solving global challenges, capacity-development, professional training, citizenship development, and "social responsibility… embedded within the ethos" (p. 10) of higher education institutions.

A background paper for the conference titled *Higher Education and the SDGs* (UNESCO, 2022b), brings in some of academic values typical to an academic idea of the university:

> … it is important for universities and HEIs more broadly to retain their positions as arenas for developing and debating critical ideas, basic research and education, and academic freedom, it is crucial that they now strengthen their role as providers of knowledge and solutions…in the name of [the 2030 Agenda]. (p. 9)

Higher education institutions are defined here as "plural institutions" (p. 9) which can theoretically and technically support achievement of the SDGs, as well as convene societal actors for cooperative dialogue. While this is not reflected strongly in the Roadmap (2022a), this vision of the university suggests a balancing act between developmental and academic ideas of the university, both in mission and in function, tilting towards a globalised-development framing of the university.

6.1.4.3 Global Convention on Recognition of Qualifications

The global convention on higher education qualifications recognition was adopted in 2019 and entered into force in 2022. Its purpose, as related to UNESCO's broader mission, is:

> … to facilitate international academic mobility and promote inclusive access to higher education, by ensuring the right of individuals to have their higher education qualifications evaluated through fair, transparent and non-discriminatory mechanisms… to strengthen international cooperation in higher education and contribute to raising the quality of higher education worldwide. (UNESCO, 2019, p. 1).

It references the constitution and the regional qualifications recognition conventions, among several other education and higher education-related conventions and recommendations, such that forms of internationalisation of higher education—student, scholar, researcher, staff mobility, research internationalisation, and internationalisation of teaching and learning—are all included within international cooperation (the word 'internationalisation' is not used in the text of the convention).

Developmental, economic, political, humanistic, and academic rationales for internationalisation may be identified as motivation for the international convention, including education for comprehensive sustainable development for all countries,

institutional autonomy, equitable access to higher education (especially for refugees and displaced persons), access to employment, "interdependent learning and knowledge development via mobility" (UNESCO, 2019, p. 5), academic integrity, fairness and transparency in recognition of higher education qualifications internationally, international cooperation, and supporting quality assurance. The overarching framing is higher education as a public good. In this document, it seems that internationalisation of higher education is framed primarily within the organisational mission of cooperation, within a developmental idea of the university with humanistic and political frames.

6.2 Discourses of Higher Education Internationalisation

In this section, I describe the discourses identified through critical discourse analysis of the critical case selection of documents for UNESCO listed in Appendix E. The case study provides the contextual and historical structure for the analysis of the language in relation to values and ideas of the university in UNESCO public-facing policy documents. There seem to be two main categories of discourse constructed within the selection of documents reviewed. The first category consists of discourses arguing for particular purposes of higher education and related rationales for internationalisation of higher education, as defined by UNESCO. The second category consists of discourses related to relationship between UNESCO developmental priorities and the policy language use in relation to higher education and its internationalisation.

Within the first category on purposes and rationales of higher education and academic internationalisation, there are two main discourses, (A) and (B). Discourse (A) is an argument for internationalisation of higher education driven by a changing world, with sub-discourses discussing rationales for this argument: (AI) global socio-economic

changes, and (AII) global crises. Discourse (B) is an argument for internationalisation of higher education for capacity-building in poorer countries, with two sub-discourses, (BI) on the alignment with a developmental idea of the university for poorer countries, and (BII) on restrictions to research internationalisation. Within the second category related to structural decisions about higher education, there is one main discourse (C) on how internationalisation is shaped by UNESCO priorities, and two sub-discourses, (CI) on the absence of higher education as a developmental priority, and (CII) on UNESCO-defined developmental priorities underlying the approach to higher education.

The discourses are identified primarily through the use of propositional and value assumptions, given the focus of the research questions on ideas and values of the university. Intertextual relationships are also identified as part of the development of the value assumptions especially references to historically significant documents. The texts are also interpreted with reference to indexical relationships—between the context and the text, especially the historicity of the utterances. Entextualisation of concepts over time (that is, the decontextualisation and recontextualisation) and interdiscursive conflation across the documents analysed also supports the interpretation of discourses in this section.

6.2.1 Discourse A

Internationalisation of Higher Education in Response to the Needs of a Changing World

The discourse framing internationalisation of higher education and the purposes of the university as responsive to and determined by the needs a changing world appears across the set of documents examined, from foundational documents, such as the constitution and the Faure report, to the most recent documents from the World Higher

Education Conference in 2022. This was identified most frequently through the use of propositional assumptions and related value assumptions, that is, statements related to the state of the global social, economic, and political contexts linked to particular valuations of the university.

The well-known of oft quoted statement from the UNESCO constitution (United Nations, 1947) is a good example, "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" (p. 276). Historically contextualised immediately following the second World War (and the subsequently changing world), the educational mission of the organisation is shaped to respond to this context, "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture…" through academic collaboration to ""maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge… by encouraging cooperation among all nations in all branches of intellectual activity" (p. 278). This illustrates how the conceptualisation of the university and how it is valued, especially in terms of its internationalised functions (a value assumption), are framed in response to global crisis (a propositional assumption).

In this utterance, elements of academic and globalised ideas of the university may be identified—in which higher education is instrumentalised as international cooperation for the end of peace as a global public good. In the sub-discourses below, I present similar linked propositional and value assumptions identified in the data, around global socio-economic changes as well as global crises, which point to an apparent need for a developmental conceptualisation of the university and rationales for internationalisation of higher education.

6.2.1.1 Sub-Discourse AI

Global Socio-Economic Changes Require a Developmental Approach to

Internationalisation of Higher Education

The notion of global socio-economic changes is raised repeatedly through the documents in order to frame the missions and functions of the university. Given the context of global socio-economic change, the most prevalent idea of the university is an economic-developmental form with political and academic value elements woven in. In foundational historical documents, this is very clearly stated in the Faure report (1972), in which the post-war context is paralleled to inequalities in socio-economic growth resulting in a developmental gap between nations, and the "scientific-technological revolution" perceived as "[affecting] everyone everywhere" (p. xxiii). The propositional assumption around the state of society is followed by a value assumption around the functions of the university and internationalisation of higher education: "The scientific-technological revolution therefore places problems of knowledge and training in an entirely new light" (p. xxiii). This value assumption is reliant on the interpretation of the developmental response required by higher education—which relies on the theorisation of development as understood at the time.

The Faure report suggests that the scientific-technological revolution and the availability of means of communication have led to the call for education by the masses—a demand, the authors claim somewhat strangely, that was previously held in balance along with the economy and politics. As such, the authors correlate a lack "of great demand for democracy from the peoples" and the "backwards"-ness of the countries developmentally with an apparent previous lack of demand for education (Faure et al.,

1972, p. xxiii). This suggests that the theorisation of development and the relationship between development and education applied assign little agency to people living in poorer countries, most likely deriving from a modernisation theory of development (Goorha, 2017).

Alongside this interpretation of development, Faure and colleagues (1972) bring in the intrinsic academic and instrumental economic value elements—for a commitment to the pursuit of knowledge for transformation (*Bildung*) within higher education towards "the complete man" (p. 156) through lifelong learning and a flexible education system, for professional mobility. I suggest that the primacy given to economic progress in the Faure report, as the impetus for a demand for education and democracy sets the foundation for the long-term functionalist instrumentalisation of higher education that Biesta (2021) identifies as arising over time. As such, this early instrumentalisation of higher education within a modernisation theory of development seems to co-exist with humanistic ends in the Faure report.

The Delors report (1996/1998) frames the global socio-economic context as one in which economic progress continues, within a "learning society" model shaped by rapid and unprecedented economic and technological expansion alongside extreme international competition for human capital. The relationship between higher education and economic development has moved away from the Faure report's primacy of economic progress in the ordering of the relationship and the driver of the demand for education. This seems to have changed in two ways, firstly, education (and science) are seen as "the main driving forces of economic progress" (Delors et al., 1996/1998, p. 69) and secondly, in the shift from a focus on economic progress to human development, "…

the Commission wishes to define education not, as hitherto, solely from the point of view

of its impact on economic growth, but from the broader perspective of human

development" (p. 69). This points to a shift from a modernisation theory of development

focused on economic development to a more comprehensive social development

framework. In terms of internationalisation of higher education, this vision of society

and theorisation of development results in university functions being treated more

expansively than the Faure report:

> It is primarily the universities that unite all the traditional functions associated
> with the advancement and transmission of knowledge: research, innovation,
> teaching and training, and continuing education. To these one can add another
> function that has been growing in importance in recent years; international co-
> operation. These functions can all contribute to sustainable development. (Delors,
> 1996/1998, p. 131)

With the propositional assumption the ongoing economic progress in relation to the

global socio-economic context, and the theoretical shift from a modernisation theory to a

broader social development framework, we see the impact on how the university and its

functions are valued within a developmental idea of the university shaped by this

theoretical shift.

The 2009 World Higher Education Conference is also set within this notion of

global socio-economic change, with explicit intertextual reference to the setting of the

conference in 1998, with "a true revolution" affecting higher education due to

massification, economic globalisation of society, technological advancements,

geopolitical transitions, and the emergence of new economies to power (UNESCO, 2009,

p. 1). Again the impetus for supporting higher education is framed within a context of

crisis and a need for member states to respond to global challenges. As such, the

relationship between global socio-economic changes, a shifting theorisation of

development to a sustainable development framework, and the functions of higher

education, including internationalisation of higher education instrumentalised for

international cooperation, within a developmental idea of the university including

academic, globalised, and humanistic-developmental value elements:

> The world needs the engagement of higher education institutions to achieve internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals aimed at eradicating extreme poverty and the goals of Education for All. We need higher education institutions to train teachers and planners, to conduct pedagogical research and develop relevant curricula that integrate the values of sustainable development. Higher education offers diverse paths to learning, but all must be grounded in a sense of civic engagement and social responsibility. (UNESCO, 2009, p. 8)

In this way the relationship between a propositional assumption of revolutionary global

socio-economic changes, and a value assumption bringing in value elements associated

with a humanistic-developmental framed idea of the university and related value

elements that abide to a sustainable development theoretical framework.

6.2.1.2 Sub-Discourse AII

Global Crises Require a Developmental Approach to Internationalisation of Higher

Education

The propositional assumption of a state of global crisis is used alongside that of

global socio-economic challenges in order to frame developmental purposes and

functions of the university as a value assumption. For instance, in the medium-term

strategy for the Education Sector (UNESCO, 1996), global crisis is presented as

"threats… to international security," including "exclusion, poverty, rural decline, urban

decay, mass migrations, environmental degradation, new pandemics, and arms and drug

trafficking…" (n.p.). Also, the social context described during the opening address of the

first World Higher Education Conference is one in which a "digital revolution" has led to "higher education—for the first time ever—[having] to cope with radical, rapid and probably irreversible changes," (Mayor, 1998, p. 2) while supporting the development of a learning society. The World Declaration on Higher Education in the 21st Century that follows this conference takes an "endogenous and sustainable development" (UNESCO, 1998, p. 1) perspective on the purpose of higher education, committing to international cooperation and student and scholar exchange within this mission.

Priority actions for UNESCO in response to this context of global crisis, given this role and these functions related to specific organisational priorities—education for all to narrow the developmental gap between member-states, responding to the liberalisation of trade in higher education as a service through the GATS treaty, by developing guidelines for internationalisation of higher education focused on quality provision, through policy solutions around standards, quality assurance, accreditation, and qualification recognition, and addressing academic mismatch between higher education outcomes and the world of work, and the quality of academic research. These all seem to fall within a primarily economic-developmental instrumentalised valuation of the university.

A few priorities also point to some preservation of academic values, for instance, collaboration with the Communication and Information Sector around academic freedom and access to information and open educational resources as part of internationalisation of higher education for development, and global support for academic freedom and institutional autonomy through the monitoring of the 1997 normative instrument, the *Recommendation on the Status of Higher Education Personnel*. This is also emphasised

in the Conference Communiqué for the 2009 World Higher Education Conference (UNESCO, 2010a) through explicit intertextual references to the Millennium Development Goals and the Education for All initiative, and a distinct orientation to crisis due to economic recession, "The current economic downturn may widen the gap in access and quality between developed and developing countries… presenting additional challenges to countries where access is already restricted" (p. 47).

Subsequently, the value proposition for higher education may be understood through the distinctly economic-developmental purposes of the university as proposed in the communiqué. These include (i) the university's obligation to a global society in addressing global challenges through teaching (for skills, global citizenship, and critical thinking) and research (for solutions to societally-relevant problems); (ii) the relationship between achieving equity in access and completion through higher education and ensuring relevance in training ("respond to and anticipate societal needs" (UNESCO, 2010a, p. 50) and creating a quality culture; (iii) a special focus on scientific, technical, engineering, and mathematical research and skills training, entrepreneurship, and lifelong learning; and (iv) internationalisation of higher education for international cooperation "to bridge the developmental gap," with a focus on quality assurance of cross-border higher education and the recognition of qualifications (p. 51). These purposes of the university can be understood primarily within a developmental idea of the university, with some globalised-economic value elements, such as the focus on global systems of quality assurance, professional training, and entrepreneurship.

The 2022 World Higher Education Conference Roadmap also makes a propositional assumption of global crisis, such that alongside "… new and interconnected

global threats… the COVID-19 pandemic has widened inequalities. The digital revolution is disrupting jobs and polarizing societies… transforming every aspect of our lives, including access to knowledge" (UNESCO, 2022a, p. 3). Within this framework, internationalisation is then presented in terms of "mobility, recognition, and cooperation" (UNESCO, 2022a, p. 35), with reference to regional and global qualification recognition conventions as supports to international cooperation and mobility (including both physical and virtual forms as a contribution to sustainability). This is framed within a value proposition in which the purposes of the university are presented in a strongly developmental frame, with economic development set within a sustainable comprehensive conception of development. As such, within the context of global crisis, the university and its functions are instrumentally valued for a sustainable development-related end.

6.2.2 Discourse B

Internationalisation of Higher Education for Capacity-Building within a Developmental Idea of the University

The discourse of internationalisation of higher education and the functions of the university purposed for capacity-building within a developmental idea of the university appears throughout the critical case sample of UNESCO. The conceptualisation of participation in internationalisation of higher education, particularly around research internationalisation also seems to change depending on the related theorisation of development. Given shifts in development theories over time, the purposes of higher education also seem to shift with a range of value elements incorporated from across different theoretical ideas and models of the university. The two sub-discourses related

to this are that higher education and its internationalisation must be aligned to a developmental idea of the university in poorer countries (BI) and that academic research internationalisation in poorer countries is limited to capacity-building ends.

6.2.2.2 Sub-Discourse BI

Higher Education and its Internationalisation in Poorer Countries Must Be Aligned to a Developmental Idea of the University

The priorities around higher education and internationalisation of higher education have not shifted drastically, despite changes since the Faure (1972) and Delors (1996/1998) reports, to shift away from economic progress as the foundation of development to a more comprehensive conceptualisation of development, to the focus on knowledge and learning societies, to sustainable development frameworks in education, to a focus on human rights and higher education futures in contemporary documents. Capacity-development with regards to economic, social, political, and cultural development through higher education tends to be prioritised, especially for poorer countries. However, given the shifts in the theoretical approach to development, and the subsequent shifts in how the functions of higher education are defined, the way capacity-building is understood does seem to change.

While the Faure report (1972) does recognise the significance of education and higher education to poorer countries in post-colonial states, it is suggested that in their poverty, wealthier countries must step in to support the aspirations of the poor:

> When they emerged from the colonial period, the Third World countries flung themselves whole-heartedly into the fight against ignorance, which they quite rightly viewed as the all-important condition for lasting liberation and real development… Their investments in education have become incompatible with

their financial possibilities... This is the kind of situation which calls for an effort by the better-endowed nations in favour of solidarity. (pp. xix-xx)

The Delors report (1996/1998) allows more agency for poorer countries with regards to university, but limits academic research to "their countries' difficulties, aimed at finding solutions to the most acute among them," and suggests that teaching and learning should be focused on vocational and technical training "if their countries are to escape from their present treadmills of poverty and underdevelopment" (p. 28).

In the era of sustainable development theorisation of development, for instance in the 2021 *Recommendation on Open Science* (UNESCO, 2021c), international collaboration is framed towards the solution of global challenges, with "the full and effective participation of societal actors and inclusion of knowledge from marginalized communities" (p. 18). The focus on capacity-building is especially explicit through this lens, presenting the mission and functions of the university through a sustainable developmental idea of the university:

> Higher Education or Sustainable Development is essential at all levels—to mobilize research for decision-making and capacity-building, to catalyse synergies for integrated problem-solving approaches through science and engineering. (UNESCO, 2014a, p. 4)

The focus on capacity-building though research prioritises the science/STEM disciplines as essential for meeting global challenges. The UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs program is also explicitly referenced as an instrument for internationalisation of higher education to this end.

The 2021 report *Reimagining our futures together: A new social contract for education* (UNESCO, 2021d) makes an implicit intertextual reference to the Faure report (1972) with the phrase "a new social contract," in the title. While the phrase is not

explicitly used in the Faure report (1972), the concept is a reference to Faure's other work on a new social contract in education (Locatelli, 2022). The entextualisation of the concept, that is the decontextualisation from historical context of the Faure report and the metadiscursive recontextualisation in this report, as well as in the World Higher Education Roadmap document (2022a), allows for reframing the concept from a modernisation theory-founded developmental idea of the university to a sustainable development, global public good, and human-rights focused developmental idea of the university, and thus changes the implications of the new social contract:

> Respect for human rights and concern for education as a common good must become the central threads that stitch together our shared world and interconnected future… these two universal principles must become foundational in education everywhere. The right to quality education everywhere and learning that builds the capabilities of individuals to work together for shared benefit provide the foundation for flourishing, diverse futures of education. With consistent commitment to human rights and the common good, we will be able to sustain and benefit from the rich tapestry of different ways of knowing and being in the world that humanity's cultures and societies bring to formal and informal learning, and to the knowledge we are able to share and assemble together. (p. vii)

With a collaborative and interdependent concept of education within the new social contract in the 2021 and 2022 documents, we see a more participatory vision of an international academic community continuing within a developmental idea of the university. In this way, while the university is instrumentally valued towards developmental ends, the theoretical approach has shifted, and as such, some of the ways of valuing education are more humanistic hearkening to an academic idea of the university in nature, aiming for global social impact rather than economic outcomes.

6.2.2.3 Sub-Discourse BII

Research Internationalisation in Poorer Countries is Limited to Capacity-Building

The Delors report (1996/1998) also presents a propositional assumption as to the function of academic research within a developmental idea of the university: "The fundamental role of scientific research in consolidating national potential is now an accepted fact" (p. 185). It continues to frame the rationale for internationalisation of higher education and of research as necessary due to this proposition—given that scientific research is "for the most part decided on in the wealthy countries and to serve those countries' concerns," (p. 185) and international academic networks and cooperation tend to be operate within and between wealthy countries and regions. For this reason, academic research within poorer countries, as well as partnership between poor countries (South-South partnership) is encouraged.

This then is the foundation for supporting the development of quality standards and qualification recognition systems to facilitate student and researcher mobility. One solution proposed via development aid is the setting up of centres of excellence, which "enable countries with insufficient means of their own to combine their efforts and so advance beyond the critical threshold below which nothing viable can be done in research" (p. 186). The propositional assumptions around what poor countries can and cannot do with regards to universities instrumentalise higher education, especially valuing academic research and research internationalisation within an economic-developmental idea of the university.

In the 2005 UNESCO World Report, titled *Towards Knowledge Societies*, the emphasis is made again encouraging research within the higher education, however, the rationale for doing so falls within a knowledge society framework of a developmental idea of the university:

> It is therefore worrying to see establishments in some developing countries specializing in tertiary education at the expense of research. Such specialization is all the more harmful in that it allows no opportunity for developing local knowledge and, moreover, reinforces the lead of the industrialized countries in terms of university research output and student numbers. (p. 96)

The rationales in this framing of the purpose of academic research within the university includes an academic valuation of research—pursuing and developing knowledge for itself (local knowledge). However, it also takes a knowledge society framing through quantifying research output and numbers of students. The UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs program is also presented in this light, to support international cooperation in research for "the specific needs and conditions of developing countries and their higher education systems," (UNESCO, 2005, p. 31) especially for limiting brain drain.

The impact of shift to a more comprehensive developmental idea of the university on internationalisation of research is visible in the *Recommendation on Open Science* (2021c), which suggests that international academic research collaboration:

> … should include joining efforts towards universal access to the outputs of science, regardless of discipline, geography, gender, ethnicity, language or socioeconomic circumstances or any other grounds, development and use of shared open science infrastructures, as well as technical assistance and transfer of technology, capacity building, repositories, communities of practice and solidarity between all countries regardless of their state of open science development. (p. 32).

This internationalised vision of research collaboration is also emphasised in the World Higher Education Conference Roadmap (2022a), which frames higher education and research internationalisation as co-creative partnership, towards sustainable development towards "collaborative research and networking without borders" (p. 3). While the overall approach to research internationalisation continues within a developmental idea of the university and valued for instrumental ends towards sustainable development, the

shift in the understanding of development shapes how these discourses are communicated.

6.2.3 Discourse C

Internationalisation of Higher Education Shaped by UNESCO's Developmental Priorities

From the key informant interviews and the documents analysed, it is clear that ideas of the university and the approach to the internationalisation of higher education throughout the time period analysed continue to be influenced by the constitution as a representative document of a set of collective values observed in the documents as well as the approach taken by the individuals working in higher education units. For instance, one key informant asserted that:

> Everything we do is underpinned by the big mission, which is about peace-building… in the minds of men and women. So from that we design all of our work. And so when it comes to education, we would take a rights-based approach... if you take it from a very high level mission about peacebuilding, then that... becomes concrete in higher education through exchange—exchange of ideas, exchange of people… And I think, for me, that's how I would make the connection with the emphasis that UNESCO puts on internationalisation in higher education… it's that the high level mission informs what kind of technical work that we do. [UNESCO1]

The critical case selection of documents also points to the impact of UNESCO's organisational priorities on how higher education is approached and supported, making reference often to the relationship between higher education and peace-building: "Higher education has a strategic and irreplaceable role to play in building more sustainable, resilient and peaceful societies" (UNESCO, 2021d, p. 3).

There are two sub-discourses in this section regarding UNESCO's approach to internationalisation of higher education: the first (CI) relates to the absence of higher

education as a developmental priority, as made visible in structural choices, the second

(CII) is a focus on UNESCO-defined developmental priorities, namely, quality assurance

the global recognition of qualifications, relevance to societal need and the Sustainable

Development Goals, including lifelong education and flexible learning pathways. The

key informants emphasised that internationalisation of research, as a function of the

university, was less of a focus than teaching, learning, and service:

> I would say that our most important priority is not really to... promote the
> research function of higher education institutions. For us... we are still… because
> you should understand this, that we are working mostly with developing
> countries. So for us, the current priority is to ensure that first of all, equity is part
> of the public policies… (UNESCO5)

The relative absence of research internationalisation within the priorities and initiatives of

higher-education specialised units of the Education sector of UNESCO (and the focus on

research internationalisation within the Science sector) also points to how the university

and internationalised academic functions are valued in the Education sector, and thus,

which ideas of the university are implicitly held. What is examined in this section is the

translation of the values and ideas of the university, as categories of collective values,

into priorities, decisions and actions as represented in the language (and the silences) in

public policy and strategy documents.

6.2.3.1 Sub-Discourse CI

The Absence of Higher Education as a Developmental Priority

This section draws primarily from public Director General notes regarding the

restructuring of the Education sector, and especially the shifts of the Higher Education

unit. Excerpts from the key informant interviews are used in support of my interpretation

of the discursive meaning of these shifts in relation to how the university is valued within the Education sector.

The adjustability of the structural position of the Higher Education unit within UNESCO headquarters may be understood in the light of what values and ideas of the university are prioritised within the collective values of UNESCO as an organisation. From the critical discourse analysis of the documents, and as confirmed by supplementary evidence from the key informant interviews, the instability of the structure of the Education Sector is clear:

> UNESCO keeps on restructuring… it changes from year to year… every assistant director general who comes… likes [their] own structure, and they begin by restructuring the Sector of Education and giving higher education a different place. [UNESCO2]

At present, the Education Sector is divided into three main Divisions: (i) the Division for Policies and Lifelong Learning Systems; (ii) the Division for Peace and Sustainable Development; (iii) and the Division for Education 2030 (UNESCO, 2021). As shown in Figure 2 in the section 6.1 above, the section of Higher Education is presently located within the Division for Education 2030. As recently as 2015, under the previous Director-General of UNESCO, the section was positioned under the Division for Policies and Lifelong Learning Systems. Higher Education within UNESCO has undergone several changes during the past 25 years.

Between 1996 and 2009, Higher Education was a division. In 1996, this was significant due to the upcoming World Higher Education Conference and the Division for Higher Education had three sections of its own within it—Higher Education Policy and Reform, Inter-university Cooperation, and Education Sciences (Mayor, 1996). By 2006,

the Division of Higher Education had four sections: Higher Education Reform, Teacher

Education, UNESCO Chairs, and Technical and Vocational Education (Matsuura, 2006).

In 2008, the Division of Higher Education included four sections: Reform, Innovation

and Quality Assurance, Teacher Education, International Cooperation

(Chairs/UNITWIN), Forum for Higher Education, Research and Knowledge (Matsuura,

2008). The loss of the Higher Education division took place as part of the 2010

restructuring of the Education Sector, "to align human resources… with priority areas

approved by… the general conference" (Bokova, 2010, p. 1).

The Division for Basic to Higher Education and Learning was created and

included a Sections for Higher Education, Basic Education, Technical and Vocational

Education and Training, and Literacy & Non-Formal Education. In 2012, Higher

Education was moved to a new Division for Teacher Development and Higher Education,

to "reflect the Sector's prioritization of teachers, while giving greater visibility to higher

education," (Bokova, 2012, p. 2) with one section for each focus of the division. By

2014, Higher Education was moved to a new division yet again, the Division for Policies

and Lifelong Learning Systems (Bokova, 2014). Its present location is a section within

the Division for Education 2030 (Figure 2, UNESCO, 2021).

The dissolution of the Division of Higher Education was considered "an

unfortunate restructuring… a terrible bureaucratic mistake" (UNESCO2). The shifting of

Higher Education from its own division to one for Basic and Higher Education and

Learning, to one for Teacher Development and Higher Education, to Policies and

Lifelong Learning Systems, to the Division for Education 2030 reflects the constant shift

in prioritisation of the functions for which the Education Sector is responsible. These

decisions—especially the downgrade from a division to a section—demonstrate the definitive deprioritisation of higher education as a focus of the Education Sector, especially in relation to the significance of international academic collaboration as the purpose of UNESCO in its constitution and in its precursor International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation.

Again, this suggests the prioritisation of a developmental idea of the university focused on economic development and an instrumental valuation of the university and its functions for human capital development. While the sustainable development framework is increasingly rhetorically influential, the associated ways of valuing the university do seem to conflict with modernisation and human capital-focused developmental ideas of the university. This is emphasised by the limited explicit reference to higher education in some of the global reports, strategies, and initiatives that make up UNESCO's broad normative framework. For instance, while the SDGs have a single sub-target that mentions higher education (SDG 4.3), the Millennium Development Goals had no reference to higher education at all, a point raised by the key informants:

> Because the organisation has a main framework, it has its constitution, now it has the SDGs, and with SDG4, in particular, where for the first time you have higher education and scholars, for development, which is a great improvement in relation to the MDGs. (UNESCO2)

> …what you could easily see is that the MDGs did not mention at all higher education… the SDGs just include very marginally higher education… (UNESCO5)

In spite of the marginal reference, the SDGs do operate as cross-cutting priorities and "reference frameworks" (UNESCO4) for the organisation across sectors, helping to set priorities within both the Higher Education section as well as IESALC.

With the dissolution of the Division of Higher Education in 2010, and the closure of CEPES in 2011, it seems that at that time higher education was not perceived as an internationally significant priority area for UNESCO:

> … higher education was not given enough importance within UNESCO because it was always considered as the ivory tower… something for the elite. We have to concentrate on… education for all... there was sometimes not enough understanding for higher education, what it actually is… so it depended [on] the managers… how much attention they would allocate, and just like this example of closing the division, which was really quite disastrous… [UNESCO2]

The "ivory tower" epithet to characterise the perception of higher education as "for the elite," within UNESCO is telling of the narrow understanding of the elements of both globalised and academic ideas of the university at the time. It suggests that understanding of the university and how it was valued related to private good outcomes, which points to educative functions of higher education and to a human capital approach to the impact of higher education. This also suggests that despite a clear rhetorical relationship between higher education, research, teaching, international cooperation, and other social outcomes in foundational documents, new priorities and functions within the Education Sector (such as "Education for All") can affect and have affected and replaced these fundamental principles in tangible ways.

The development of IESALC, its conversion to a Category 1 institute, and the expansion of its mandate (UNESCO, 2021) were viewed with hope as a possible U-turn in UNESCO's approach to higher education. Conversations with key UNESCO informants implied that this increased capacity of IESALC is due to its autonomy as a Category 1 institute and its entrepreneurial and creative operating style:

> But just to tell you know that this poor section [the Higher Education section] has…three or four staff, you know, it just cannot accomplish all this… there you

can say that it doesn't really have the organizational support it should have, and maybe IESALC is going to change this, or make it better. [UNESCO2]

… inevitably, you can see that the higher education is becoming more and more prominent in UNESCO's work. (UNESCO5)

It is to be hoped that higher education will indeed become more prominent in the future, but this is not the first time that recommendations were made to prioritise higher education, as can be observed in documents following the first World Higher Education Conference (UNESCO, 2000).

6.2.3.2 Sub-Discourse CII

UNESCO-Defined Developmental Priorities Undergirding Higher Education and its Internationalisation

While there have been shifts in the theories of development underlying the developmental ideas of the university and related values, as discussed in the case study sections and the discourses B and C, the priorities around higher education have remained fairly stable, while different initiatives have come and gone. In this way, we see entextualisation (decontextualisation and recontextualisation) of the "priorities" set for higher education and its internationalisation (e.g., lifelong learning, quality, access/equity, relevance), from modernisation to sustainable developmental theoretical approaches within a primarily developmental idea of the university. Additionally, there is a tendency to interdiscursively conflate quality, relevance, and equity rationales for supporting higher education are grounded on UNESCO's overall mission, and contemporary developmental approaches/strategies:

The prioritisation of quality assurance, relevance, and lifelong learning specifically in terms of higher education and internationalisation can be found as early as

the beginning of the period reviewed for this study, in the Medium-Term Strategy for

Higher Education (UNESCO, 1996):

> ... the concept of an education pursued throughout life, with all its advantages in terms of flexibility, diversity and availability at different times and in different places, should command wide support. There is a need to rethink and broaden the notion of lifelong education. (p. 21)

> UNESCO's strategy in higher education will be guided by three watchwords: relevance, quality and internationalization, and will be geared to three objectives: enlarging access to higher education systems; improving their management; and strengthening their links with the world of work. (p. 22)

The focus on internationalisation of higher education set within this framework relates

internationalisation to quality assurance and to relevance to societal labour market needs

for development, including a focus on "lifelong education and skills training" or "useful

work skills" (UNESCO, 1996, p. 21). This relationship is explicitly linked to a

developmental idea of the university, "to redefine the role and functions of higher

education in the light of the specific demands of society and engender a new conception

of higher education" (p. 22). Internationalisation of higher education is framed as

academic mobility of students, faculty, and researchers, international cooperation

between member states, as well as development of regional centres of excellence for

poorer countries. Within this understanding, UNESCO commits to promoting academic

mobility, through "the development of an international system of degree recognition" as

well as the development of centres of excellence "to stem… brain drain" (p. 23).

In the World Report *Towards Knowledge Societies*, this articulation of a

developmental idea of the university is reiterated as universally applicable across

differentiated types of higher education, such that higher education systems hold "a high

enough level in terms of quality, relevance and international cooperation… as key

components in building knowledge societies" (UNESCO, 2005a, p. 87). Notice in this

case, the entextualisation of the higher education functions using the new context of a

knowledge society developmental theory, applied to a similar set of higher education

functions.

The relationship between quality, relevance, and equity as articulated in UNESCO

documents is important to clarify, as from this basis, UNESCO defines its role and

justifies the focus of its actions. Hearkening back to the functional identities of

UNESCO, especially as a standard-setter and a catalyst of international cooperation,

UNESCO identifies itself as:

> … the only one in a position to undertake this mission and to carry out the tasks
> needed to ensure the quality and relevance of systems of higher education, while
> at the same time furthering the development of international cooperation in this
> field. (UNESCO, 2005a, p. 87).

The relationship between quality and equity is key to this functional identification, as it

relates UNESCO's constitutional humanistic vision, especially as drawn out in the Faure

report through equitable access to higher education, to the notion of quality assurance and

qualification recognition. This tendency to interdiscursively conflate quality and equity

was also affirmed in conversations with key informants, "… for us, the current priority is

to ensure that… equity is part of the public policies, and then… the other side of the same

coin—that you have quality when you talk about higher education. (UNESCO5).

This relationship is made especially clear in the final report of the 2009 World

Higher Education Conference, which frames higher education within a knowledge

society developmental theorisation, focusing on "skilled labour, academic freedom, good

governance, quality assurance and equity of access" (UNESCO, 2010a, p. 7). Quality,

equity, and relevance are seen here as necessary elements for supporting a vision of a

global knowledge society within a developmental idea of the university, "In expanding

access, higher education must pursue the goals of equity, relevance and quality

simultaneously… the objective must be successful participation and completion while…

ensuring student welfare" (UNESCO, 2010a, p. 49). Quality is framed as being required

in order to ensure competitiveness, alongside equitable access, but both are required to

form citizens:

> … the quality of higher education is instrumental in the development of human capital, with competitive advantage in the global economy, equity and broader access constitute another important factor in the construction of equitable knowledge societies… one of the main responsibilities of higher education is to prepare knowledgeable and informed citizens. It is therefore, incumbent on this system to achieve broader access and equal opportunities for all citizens within a framework of lifelong education and training. (UNESCO, 2005, p. 29)

Quality and relevance are similarly paired within a knowledge society framework; such

that quality education must support societal needs within a developmental idea of the

university:

> Quality must be coupled with relevance since there is no sense of having high quality education that is not relevant to the needs and problems of society or does not respond to developmental needs, particularly the changing requirements of the labour market. (UNESCO, 2005, p. 36)

However, in both instances, it is clear that economic development still plays a significant

role in this framing, with a focus on human capital development, and professional

training for the labour market—as such there is a propositional assumption built in that

interdiscursively conflates societal need with economic labour market needs.

Internationalisation of higher education is also understood through this lens,

although elements of a globalised and academic idea of the university are incorporated in

the rationales for supporting quality assurance systems at a global level. For instance,

institutional autonomy is defined as "a necessary requirement" for "quality, relevance, efficiency, transparency, and social responsibility" (UNESCO, 2010a, p. 48). In this way, internationalisation of higher education as a function of a developmental idea of the university offers a space in which the developmental, academic, and globalised ideas of the university and their ways of valuing the university are presented together:

> Cross-border provision of higher education can make a significant contribution to higher education provided it offers quality education, promotes academic values, maintains relevance and respects the basic principles of dialogue and cooperation, mutual recognition, and respect for human rights, diversity and national sovereignty. (UNESCO, 2010a, p. 51)

> With the advent of the Sustainable Development Goals, and SDG 4, the claim is

made that "What is new… is its focus on increased and expanded access, inclusion and equity, quality and learning outcomes at all levels, within a lifelong learning approach. (UNESCO, 2016, p. 25). From an examination of documents over the past 25 years, this is clearly not new, but the expanded focus on tertiary education is important rhetorically. Still, since sustainable development and the Sustainable Development Goals have become the primary developmental theoretical framework, globalised-developmental and globalised-economic values tend to be more prevalent in supporting internationalisation of higher education within UNESCO developmental priorities, though the focus is again on qualification recognition and quality assurance within a strategy to:

> Strengthen international cooperation in developing cross-border tertiary and university education and research programmes, including within the framework of global and regional conventions on the recognition of higher education qualifications, to support increased access, better quality assurance and capacity development. (UNESCO, 2016, p. 42)

The Global Convention on Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education (UNESCO, 2019) does include more humanistic rationales for internationalisation as understood within UNESCO's priorities. For instance, there is a particular focus on

qualifications recognition for equitable access for refugees and displaced individuals.

Elements of a globalised idea of the university are also more prevalent, for instance,

international cooperation and international academic collaboration facilitated through

global qualifications recognition systems. Nonetheless, by framing internationalisation

of higher education within UNESCO priorities, the boundaries of what

internationalisation of higher education may be are constricted.

While intertextual references to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are

made in the UNESCO constitution, in the 1998 World Declaration on Higher Education,

the 2005 UNESCO world report, and the final report of the 2009 World Higher

Education Conference, human rights-based theories of development have become much

more significant in recent documents since the publication of the Sustainable

Development Goals and alignment with public good conceptions of the university. This

is especially noticeable in *Reimagining our Futures Together: A New Social Contract for*

Education (UNESCO, 2021d) and recent documents on the right to higher education:

> The right to quality education everywhere and learning that builds the capabilities
> of individuals to work together for shared benefit provide the foundation for
> flourishing, diverse futures of education. (UNESCO, 2021d, p. vii).

The Roadmap from the 2022 World Higher Education Conference makes several

references to the rights-based conception of a developmental idea of the university. Once

again, this shift demonstrates the entextualisation of UNESCO priorities within a new

theoretical framework, incorporating flexible learning pathways (which are linked to

lifelong learning), sustainable development, high-quality learning, alongside equity,

higher education as a public good, and international collaboration. Higher education is

envisioned as "as an integral part of the right to education and a public good, which

translates into HEIs carrying out their three missions and enacting democratic principles and values" with the aim to "expand educational opportunities, foster professional excellence, and cultivate fully-fledged citizens committed to social justice and sustainability" (UNESCO, 2022a, p. 10). In this way, the Roadmap, though not a normative instrument, may be understood as an organisational action demonstrating the values UNESCO is committing to at this point in time.

6.3 Conclusions

While the case study points to the primacy of a developmental idea of the university, although some references are made to academic and globalised ideas of the university in relation to how the university is instrumentally valued within a developmental frame, the interpretation of the identified discourses point to the limitations of the theoretical construct used to think with. The strength of the organisational priorities in shaping how higher education is approached, conceptualised, and valued in relation to structures, processes, decisions, and policy was not accounted for in the theoretical construct. Additionally, the external influence of theories in development studies, and the related approaches to international development, was also greater than accounted for by the theoretical construct. As such external development theory approaches (modernisation, sustainable development, and human-rights bases) undergirded the shifts in how the university and its functions were understood and valued, at least rhetorically.

Overall, the priorities of UNESCO, the Education sector, and the Higher Education unit have remained fairly stable in relation to how higher education is

supported by the organisation. The right to higher education and the new social contract framing of higher education do push against the bounds of a developmental idea of the university, which may open the door to inclusion of ways of valuing associated with globalised and academic ideas of the university. In relation to the function of internationalisation of higher education within the Education sector, which continues to prioritise academic mobility as a form of international academic cooperation, it is possible that the shift to a right to higher education framework may reunite the internationalisation of academic research with internationalised teaching and learning in the Education sector.

What further actions UNESCO will take in the years ahead are yet to be seen, however, the promotion of IESALC to take on a more global outlook is promising, in terms of the prioritisation of higher education within UNESCO. Further implications for UNESCO will be explored in more detail via comparative analysis in chapter 8.

CHAPTER 7: The World Bank Case

In this chapter, I begin with a case study of the World Bank (section 7.1) to set the context for the second part of the chapter—a critical discourse analysis of the critical case selection of Bank documents (Appendix F). In the first section of the case study, to understand the historical context of the Bank, I review the shifts in the Bank approach to higher education. While the Bank and UNESCO were both established at the end of the second World War, formal support for education and higher education through Bank structures was relatively late in comparison to UNESCO. As such, the historical analysis is more heavily supported by secondary sources and their interpretation of the historical development of Bank policy development, especially in the period before education was more widely supported.

In the second part of the case study (section 7.1.2), I provide a brief description of how higher education has been supported structurally within the Bank through the Global Tertiary Lead position and through COREHEG (the Core Higher Education Group)—an informal internal organisational community of practice on higher education. In this part, I review changes in Bank organisational structure and related structural changes in relation to how tertiary education is supported, and describe the contemporary higher education positions. I also present the stages in the Bank's project cycle, as a useful way to understand how structures interact in the support of higher education projects and programming.

In the third part of the case study (section 7.1.3), I briefly review a few significant documents briefly from within the time frame from 1997 to 2022, including the 2002 report *Constructing knowledge societies: New challenges for tertiary education*, and the

2021 report *Steering tertiary education: Towards resilient systems that deliver for all*, and a recent blog post on higher education and values. I also review the 1994 report *Higher education: The lessons of experience*, given its significance for the following years as a document that influenced the direction of Bank support to higher education. These point to the development of policy recommendations and approaches to higher education in the Bank during this time, as well as how internationalisation of higher education is conceptualised within these approaches.

Interview data from conversations with key informants (as experts on the organisation and higher education) who support or have supported higher education at the World Bank help to provide nuance to the case analysis and interpretation, especially in relation to how higher education is supported procedurally through research and analysis as well as country support. The overall case analysis is supplemented by secondary sources to build a clear picture of how the Bank came to support higher education, and the stages of this support, particularly the shift from withdrawal of higher education support in the 1980s to its renewal in the 1990s, due to disputed rate of return policies, as well as the development of Bank support to higher education to the present.

In the second part of the chapter (section 7.2), I present the interpretation of the critical case selection of data (Appendix F), using critical discourse analysis, as discourses on internationalisation of higher education and the ideas and values of the university. It is notable that while UNESCO presents its views on the purposes of the university and the functions of higher education in relation to development, it does include some intrinsic valuations of the university related to academic and globalised ideas of the university, beyond strict developmental rationales. However, the Bank's

support to education tends to be more explicit in its relation to the Bank mission and to the overarching focus on economic development, with higher education consistently instrumentally valued to this end, with rare allusions to intrinsic valuations associated with an academic idea of the university. As such, while the values of the Bank relating to its mission are made explicit, underlying ideas of the university and related values tend to be more implicit and unconsciously presented (Rose, 1956). As such, the interpretation of the ideas of the university and the influence on internationalisation of higher education policy draw largely on propositional assumptions at the level of the higher mission of the Bank attached to more implicit value assumptions for the purpose of higher education and its internationalisation.

7.1 Case Contextualisation

The World Bank case is divided into three main sub-sections: (i) the historical context of the Bank in relation to support to higher education; (ii) a brief description of the Tertiary Education sub-sector, the Global Lead on Tertiary Education position and the community of practice/thematic group, COREHEG, as structures supporting higher education within the World Bank; and (iii) a few significant documents that demonstrate the development of how the World Bank treats the university (within tertiary education), as well as internationalisation of higher education, within the time-frame reviewed for the study. Internationalisation of higher education is primarily reviewed within the third section of the case study, as the language of internationalisation is not usually used within the Bank (although components of internationalisation of higher education may be found in policy and project documents related to tertiary education).

In a similar way to the analysis of the UNESCO case, there are many possible ways to approach this case study, due to the complexity of the World Bank as an organisation. Given the focus of the study and the research questions on values and ideas of the university, the case study is set up to support analysis of these questions and to provide context for critical discourse analysis and the interpretation of the discourses that follow. The conversations with key informants provided support for the selection of documents for the critical case sample, and secondary sources also supported this sample, as they identified included a similar set of documents as significant in their analyses.

The term tertiary education is generally used more frequently than higher education in World Bank publications, and is inclusive of a more differentiated vision of the higher education system. The term "higher education" was used more frequently in the past (for instance, the long-standing thematic group or community of practice on tertiary education at the World Bank is named the "Core Higher Education Group," (COREHEG), and the influential 1994 education report is titled *Higher Education: Lessons of Experience*). However, "higher education" is also used somewhat interchangeably with tertiary education in more contemporary reports (World Bank, 2015). In exchanges with country counterparts, however, one key informant noted "if people talk about higher education, I talk about higher education… if it comes to the need to clarify, for example, for some post-secondary vocational-only institutions, we can always clarify this" (WB2).

7.1.1 Historical Context of WB Support to Higher Education

The World Bank was originally conceived of as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as a response to the devastation of the second World

War as part of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in the United States. In a proposal drafted by the United States Treasury (1943/1948) it was designed as a potential "means of encouraging and facilitating international investment in the post-war period," (p. 1616), with the Bank as "an international agency… to fill the breach until private capital flowed freely" (p. 1618). At that time, the purposes of the Bank were to support reconstruction and development of member states in cooperation with private financial agencies as well as through its own funds, for "a rapid and smooth transition from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy… raising the productivity of member countries... to promote the long-range balanced growth of international trade among member countries" (pp. 1620-1621). However, the Bank rapidly moved from lending for reconstruction in post-war countries to lending and technical assistance for development around the world (Edwards & Storen, 2017). Reviewing this original conception of the Bank's mandate sets the groundwork for understanding how its mission has adapted over the years, and how education entered into the World Bank toolkit for development, and how this affects the way in which the university is understood and valued.

7.1.1.1 1960s-1970s: Human Capital & Poverty Alleviation

In the 1960s, the need for human capital for management and technical skills was the channel for education to enter the World Bank's developmental purview, as skilled labour was required to support long-term infrastructure projects in poorer countries through the development of "local talent" (Heyneman, 2003, p. 316). In this way, support to education as investment was correlated to what specific needs existed for human capital or "manpower" in order to support specific technical projects, including a

need for human capital measurements (Heyneman, 2003; Edwards & Storen, 2017). In this way, disciplines were skewed towards vocation and technical training, as "other parts [of the education sector] were treated as consumption goods, and not as proper investment. The lending program prohibited any assistance to art, science and faculties of humanities…" (Heyneman, 2003, p. 317). Between 1963 and 1970, within the defined boundaries of post-secondary education outlined above, investment in post-secondary education averaged 17 percent of the total education sector lending volume (World Bank, 1994). By the end of the 1960s, an Education department was created within the Bank for research and analysis to guide and evaluate investments. The Education sector was staffed primarily by education economists, as well as educators and project architects (for physical infrastructure construction design) (Heyneman, 2003).

In the 1970s, the focus on vocational and technical skills towards graduate employment extended to secondary schools (though not yet primary education) (Heyneman, 2003). However, by 1974, with a new Bank President, Robert McNamara, came a focus on poverty alleviation. This was reflected in an extension of lending from vocational and secondary education to the full education system, from primary to higher education, including education research and quality (Edwards & Storen, 2017), however the focus on "quality" has been interpreted as moving away from academic to vocational purposes (Heyneman, 2003). This focus points to an early reliance on an economic-developmental idea of the university. During this decade, the Bank's role as lender expanded to include "development actor and researcher producer" (Edwards & Storen, 2017, p. 8) taking on an advisory role as well.

7.1.1.2 1980s: Rate-of-Return Methodology

Bank lending priorities in the 1980s were linked to trade liberalisation, tax reform, and other economic globalisation trends. This decade was also marked by the introduction of rates of return analysis to the Education sector for loan justification. On the one hand was "manpower forecasting," which justified support of economically desirable vocations, "on the other hand… was an alternative economic methodology for calculating an economic rate of return to educational investments" (Heyneman, 2003, p. 322). The rate of return methodology, which used a cost-benefit analysis using educational costs against graduate earnings, suggested that society benefited most when investing in primary education (and least when investing in higher education, which privately benefited individuals) and was thus favoured over the next decades.

This methodology formed the foundation of the Education sector's strategic priorities until a shift in the mid-1990s to a broader perspective on the social returns of higher education. I analyse the effects of rate-of-return rhetoric in the following section as well as within the discourses on higher education (section 7.2) in terms of effects within the Bank as well as external effects on lending. In brief, the application of rate of return formulae within the education sector "discouraged investment in higher education in favour of primary and secondary education… [which] led, in parts of the Bank, to the purposeful exclusion or, at best, minimization of higher education within lending for the education sector" (Salmi et al., 2009, p. 100). Whether or not World Bank rhetoric had as much impact internally within the Bank as externally, and whether damages to higher education support during these decades were due mainly or partially to rate of return rhetoric, the World Bank's influence in development cooperation on other donors and on

national governments suggests at least a degree of culpability on the part of the Bank

(Hydén, 2016; Robertson, 2009) and some subsequent loss of credibility and legitimacy

(Heyneman, 2003).

7.1.1.3 1990s-2000s: Higher Education Priorities

The 1994 report, *Higher Education: The Lessons in Experience* (which is

reviewed in depth in the historical document review in the following section) presented

higher education as being in a state of crisis, including budget constraints due to

competition for scarce public funds. To deal with the challenges due to the crisis of

higher education sector, the report recommended four reforms: (i) differentiation of the

higher education system (including private providers); (ii) funding diversification

(including cost-sharing with students); (iii) a changing relationship between the

government and higher education institutions (both increased institutional autonomy and

increased accountability to the state); and (iv) focus on quality of higher education

provision alongside equity of access and completion. These reforms continue to be

influential on World Bank practices to the present.

The 1990s and 2000s were shaped by the entry of James Wolfensohn as Bank

president in 1995, and the introduction of the "knowledge bank" concept as a functional

identity. In response to the so-called knowledge revolution, Bank activities focused on

knowledge as central to economic growth, and on education within a knowledge

management framework (Edwards & Storen, 2017; Heyneman, 2003; Robertson, 2009).

The reframing of the Bank's function within a knowledge economy concept brought

human capital and skilled labour solidly into the frame of the education sector as

reflected in the Knowledge Index, which included tertiary education indicators related to

tertiary enrolment rates, and professional and technical workers as a percentage of the labour force (Robertson, 2009).

This is further grounded in influential educational reports such as the 2002 *Constructing Knowledge Societies*, which sets tertiary education as central to World Bank goals of poverty alleviation and development, in support of the Bank's knowledge for development program within the knowledge economy responsive to market forces. This shift points to a movement towards a globalised-developmental idea of the university underlying the approach to higher education. The extension of the education sector to include higher education was also supported by a report jointly supported by the World Bank and UNESCO in 2000, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, which critiques the rate-of-return analysis for limiting the true impact of higher education on society through the education of individuals as well as through academic research (see Appendix H).

7.1.1.4 2010s-2020s: Tertiary Education for All

A new education strategy in 2011, *Learning for All: Investing in People's Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development*, also known as Education Strategy 2020, was framed within the World Bank's support for the Education for All declaration (from a 1990 conference co-hosted by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), UNESCO, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the World Bank), and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (World Bank, 2011a). The 2011 strategy included little reference to tertiary education (World Bank, 2017), but where it was noted, the report reiterated a need for resource efficiency, diverse funding sources (including performance-based funding, quality assurance, and equity policies, as well as a

focus on science and technology, innovation, and vocational disciplines, and responsiveness to supplying labour market skill demands—not far removed from the reform recommendations from the 1994 report *Lessons and Experience*.

A globally comparable knowledge system for benchmarking—Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER)—was developed to support informed policy decision-making and included a set of specific tools for tertiary education systems at various stages of development. The common components included within the tertiary education system framework were vision, regulatory frameworks, governance and financing steering structures for outcomes including quality, equitable access, retention and completion, and relevance to economic development (Marmolejo, 2016). The significance of the SABER system is its commitment to tertiary education as something that all countries can support. The recently launched Human Capital Index within the Human Development Network, however, contains no reference to tertiary education, something remarked upon sadly by the key informants (World Bank, 2021). A key informant reasoned that while higher education is always in the conversation "in the nascent stage of… a strategy planning… it always gets cut," because it is difficult to measure and validate (WB4). This suggests that tertiary education continues to be side-lined at the Education sector level, due at least in part to the problem of adequately measuring higher education in a holistic fashion.

The most recent tertiary education report, *Steering Tertiary Education: Toward Resilient Systems that Deliver for All*, (Arnhold & Bassett, 2022), is set within "a new era of green and equitable economic growth, [in which] tertiary education systems are at the heart of the big transformations required throughout economies and societies" (p. 5).

Within this concept of green economic growth, tertiary education, the report presents five World Bank principles for higher education support, including diversification of tertiary education systems, investment in technology, equity in access and tertiary education finance, resource efficiency, and resilience for sustainable learning (Arnhold & Bassett, 2022). While these principles remain consistent with the Bank's approach to tertiary education since 1994, resilience for sustainable learning and an explicit framing of higher education as an essential investment for all countries are important commitments. The allusion to sustainability in "green economic growth" and sustainable learning, as well as the commitment to higher education for all contexts push somewhat against the boundaries of an economic-developmental idea of the university, and point rather to an instrumental valuing of tertiary education within a globalised-humanistic frame.

In the next section, I review the organisational structures within the World Bank that support tertiary education, including the Education global practice, the tertiary education global lead position, the COREHEG community of practice, and the Bank's project cycle.

7.1.2 Organisational Structures: Tertiary (Higher) Education

The World Bank Group is made up of five distinct institutions, of which the most significant to tertiary education are the components which make up the World Bank itself—the original International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which lends to middle-income and some low-income countries, and the International Development Association (IDA), which lends to the poorest countries with no interest. Structurally, there have been a few changes within the Bank itself that are relevant to

understanding the contemporary position of tertiary education coordination within the Bank organisation.

The major shift from the 1960s and 70s to the 1990s was the centralisation of policy priorities for education—from priorities being set at the country level to priorities set centrally within the Education department at Bank headquarters (Edwards & Storen, 2017). From 1997, the Bank was shifted to a matrix structure, with the six world regions defined by the Bank arranged vertically and the technical sectors within thematic networks arranged horizontally. Within this framework, the Human Development Network included health, nutrition, population, social protection, and education technical sectors, and the "envelope for lending" was held by vice presidents of regions (WB3), with "country staff [leading] the lending process, with policy staff… providing input" (Edwards & Storen, 2017, p. 14). In 2014, there was a shift to a new structure of global practices that are "responsible for… technical work within their… areas," and global themes, "setting strategic directions internally," which are then divided within vice presidencies (World Bank, 2019, p. xii). The impact on the Education sector, and the tertiary education sub-sector is discussed below.

7.1.2.1 The Education Global Practice

Within this operating structure, the Education global practice falls within the Human Development unit. While education has been part of the World Bank's organisational structure from the late 1960s (Heyneman, 2003), the formal structures for tertiary education began with the creation of the tertiary education position in the mid-2000s. According to key informants, the specialist position was initially created by a direct request to the Education sector director at the time, who shared a vision for the

sector that included a more significant role for tertiary education. This position was retitled as a Global Lead for Tertiary Education within the 2014 operating structural adjustment, in which Global Lead positions were defined as "a role created to connect subsector knowledge and business lines across countries and Regions [and] manage the new Global Solutions Groups" (World Bank, 2019, p. vii).

In Figure 3 below, I have attempted to construct a conceptual diagram of the structures and processes related to the Global Lead for Tertiary Education position to other elements of the World Bank structure. The diagram draws from World Bank documents (2019; 2023) as well as from conversations with key informants. The global lead position is central to the tertiary education sub-sector, with functions including sub-sector coordination, research, analysis, and strategy development, and peer review and other coordinating functions for tertiary education-related projects and project components within the Education sector.

Figure 3

Simplified tertiary-education related structures and processes within the World Bank
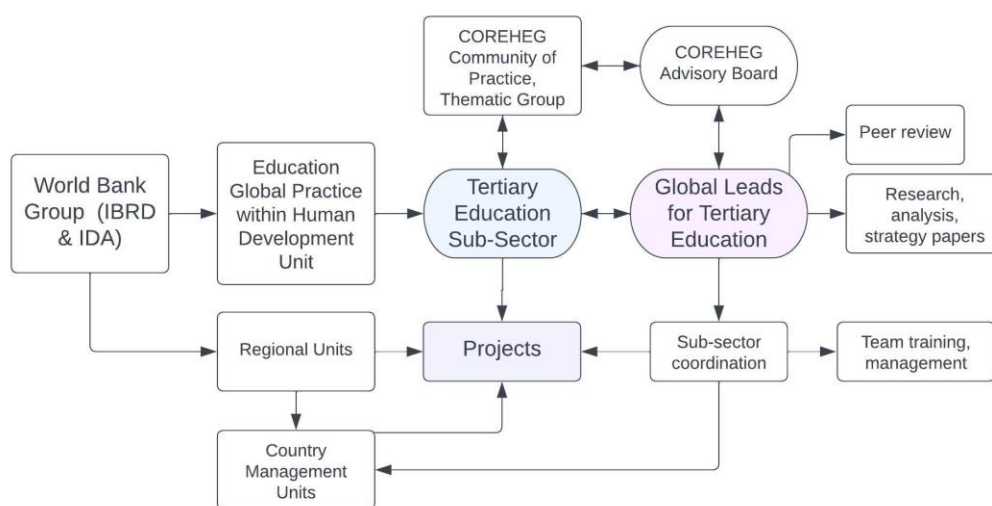
Note. This diagram was developed primarily with information provided during the key informant interviews, with a focus on the structures related to tertiary education. The World Bank website and the report on the Bank's operating system provided information on the overall structure of units (World Bank, 2019; 2023).

According to key informants, there is also a significant function within the global lead role consisting of internal and external advocacy for tertiary education—internally, especially to persuade country managers and directors who now "manage the envelopes of financing for each country" (WB4) to lend for tertiary education projects, and externally, to persuade governments to prioritise tertiary education, and to support country counterparts in preparing a project proposal and supporting project implementation. This illustrates the type of relationship between the education global practice and the tertiary education sub-sector to the country management units and to the member state governments. As such, "the country management units (CMUs) are… internal clients. So we have an external client [governments], but we also have an internal client" (WB2). In this way, the global lead role helps to create, clarify, and advocate for the position of tertiary education within the organisation, although with continuous reference to the Bank mission and priorities.

7.1.2.2 COREHEG

Another relationship in the diagram, connected to the global lead position is to the Core Higher Education Group (COREHEG). The tertiary education sub-sector is not "a fixed unit, but there is COREHEG," (WB2) which began as an informal thematic group within the Education sector in response to World Bank president Wolfensohn's introduction of the knowledge bank concept in the mid- to late-1990s, pre-dating the

formal position of tertiary education coordinator. COREHEG is "known as one of the most dynamic and active thematic groups," (WB3) and consists of about 140 members globally who primarily do some work in tertiary education, many of whom have mixed specialisation roles within the Education global practice, but with an interest in tertiary education. Some members of COREHEG also come from other global practices within the Human Development network, such as Labour and Social Protection, or those who work on the relationship to the private sector. A subset of COREHEG who "really primarily focus on tertiary education" act as the COREHEG Advisory Board that meet occasionally and provide a useful group for peer review support.

COREHEG plays a "key role" within the Education global practice, "[connecting] those who value tertiary education or who are involved in tertiary education" (WB5):

> COREHEG facilitates regular exchanges of information on best practices and lessons learned in designing, implementing, and evaluating interventions. Their efforts to collect and make available the acquired knowledge can contribute to informing current staff as they work on new projects, and can reduce the learning curve of new staff in the sector. (World Bank, 2017, p. xvi)

These regular exchanges occur approximately once a month with training support, webinars, expert speakers, and the discussion of contemporary tertiary education topics. In this way, although tertiary education does not have a fixed structural unit outside the global lead role within the Education global practice, the COREHEG community of practice does exist as an important long-term structure, which is functionally relevant to the Bank's work in tertiary education.

7.1.2.3 The World Bank Project Cycle

The other important function of the global lead position, and others who support tertiary education at the country level, is project support. The World Bank project cycle

(Figure 4 below) is worth understanding in relation to the Bank's function in higher education, and also the role of individuals who support tertiary education within the Bank. The project cycle is designed such that "governments take the lead in preparing and implementing development strategies, in the belief that if the country owns the program and it has widespread stakeholder support, the program has a greater chance of success" (World Bank, 2011, p. 89).

Country ownership of projects is another legacy of the Wolfensohn presidency, with a goal of mutual respect, working together towards a common agreement—though critics of this strategy somewhat cynically suggest that this absolves the World Bank in the case of policy or project failure (Klees, 2002). One key informant described support to the project cycle as follows: "The project is the client's project, not the Bank's—you [help] them prepare it, you [are] basically their defender inside the Bank. You [help] them navigate the bureaucracy that is annoying" (WB3). This becomes another part of the role of tertiary education specialists and of those who hold the global lead positions in tertiary education within the project cycle, which helps to provide some nuance and distinction around the treatment of the World Bank as an organisation and the World Bank as an organisation constituted of individuals.

Figure 4

World Bank project cycle and significant documents

Country Partnership Framework (CPF)

Evaluation

Project Performance Assessment Report

Identification

Project Information Document (PID)

Completion

Implementation Completion Report

Appraisal & Approval

Project Appraisal Document (PAD)

Implementation & Supervision
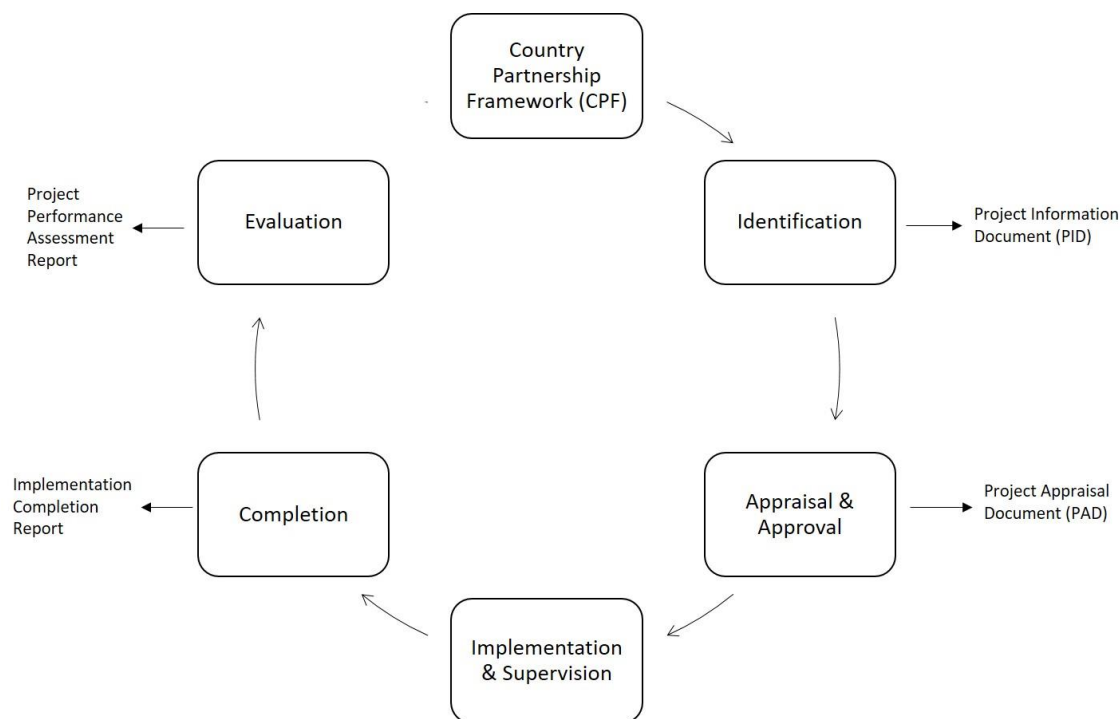
Note. Adapted from figure in World Bank (2011) *A Guide to the World Bank* section on the project cycle, and updated with information from the World Bank's (2019) independent evaluation of the Bank's new operating model. Documents are included in the diagram were raised by key informants as important outputs through the project cycle.

Supporting the project cycle falls within the roles of the global leads in tertiary education and other education specialists who work on tertiary education projects, along with the country-level project teams who support project implementation. The cycle, as illustrated in Figure 4, begins with work at the country management unit level including research and background studies to prepare country strategies called Country Partnership Frameworks (CPFs) to guide programs supported by the Bank within each country. The second stage—identification—results in a brief Project Information Document (PID) which outlines the general framework of the project with the client. This is one point at which expert input from tertiary specialists plays a role, "we do a ton of analytical work

to underpin the rationale for the project, the project design. All of that is done in collaboration with the country" (WB4).

The third stage—appraisal—is an extended phase which can take 18 months or more, in which Bank staff work closely with country clients to come up with possible solutions through research, stakeholder consultations, and consultations with representatives of countries that have "implemented a similar project or component" (WB3). The depth of this phase, from the perspective of key informants within the Bank, is important to consider as a space where the Bank meets client countries at the level of individuals on both sides:

> We're really on the ground with a working group that's built up of their people, whoever they choose—university representatives, usually a couple from each ministry, depending on who's involved, and… four or five people from the Bank. And they sit down for a year, having extended conversations… And when we come up with a reasonable answer, how… we implement activities that can lead them to the outcome that they're seeking. It's very collaborative and quite meaningful on the ground. But I think that's hard to capture externally. (WB4)

The appraisal phase concludes with a formal appraisal by the World Bank, including legal negotiations, and a Project Appraisal Document (PAD), which is then approved by the Bank's Board of Executive Directors (World Bank, 2011).

The fourth stage—implementation of the project—is supported by a Bank team for technical assistance together with the country government team. Project completion at the fifth stage, "a process that can take anywhere from 1 to 10 years" (World Bank, 2011, p. 93) results in an Implementation Completion Report (ICR), "intended to… analyse Bank behaviour and borrower behaviour" (WB3) during the project. This is a step in evaluation, but the full evaluation—the sixth stage—is undertaken by the Independent Evaluation Group to understand "outcomes against the original objectives,

sustainability of results, and institutional development effects" (World Bank, 2011, p. 93). While the focus of this study was global level documents, I reference two project documents in the document review below on the recommendation of key informants to get a sense of the depth of involvement of Bank staff in the project cycle, as well as to see how internationalisation of higher education, particularly in the dimensions of mobility and research, is incorporated into tertiary education projects.

Structurally, tertiary education has some presence in the World Bank Education global practice, and has consistently held a significant portion of the Education portfolio, "tertiary education is massive in our portfolio. It's just more quietly presented. It's certainly consistent" (WB4). One key informant suggested that because tertiary education is perceived as less emotionally resonant than primary and secondary education, it results in less overall visibility in sector strategy and structures. While it is clear that tertiary education is given some importance, with reference to the global lead position, and the activity of the COREHEG thematic group, it seems to have a smaller structural presence overall.

In the next section, I review several significant documents over the history of the World Bank to the present, moving from internal structures and processes to understanding how tertiary education is approached in significant tertiary education public policy documents.

7.1.3 Significant Higher Education Documents

In this section, I explore the activities of the tertiary education sub-sector, primarily focusing on reports led by tertiary education coordinators or global leads for tertiary education, and supported by tertiary education specialists. I review the following

documents here: the 1994 report *Higher education: The lessons of experience*, the 2002 report *Constructing knowledge societies: New challenges for tertiary education*, and the 2021 report *Steering tertiary education: Towards resilient systems that deliver for all*, and 2022 blog post on higher education and values. I also include two reports by the Independent Evaluation Group on higher education (World Bank, 2015; 2017), and reference two documents from the African Centres of Excellence projects, (World Bank, 2012; 2014) that exemplify how internationalisation is included and justified within a World Bank tertiary education project. In Appendix H, I discuss the 2000 joint UNESCO-World Bank supported Task Force report, *Higher education in developing countries: Peril and promise*, as the findings are still of interest, even if the report is not attributed to either organisation.

A point worth noting is that, "the education sector does not establish operational priorities. It may seek to influence priorities, but the allocation of internal resources and the establishment of operational priorities are solely in the hands of country economists" (Heyneman, 2003, p. 319). While Heyneman made this argument in 2003, and in spite of structural shifts of the Bank's operating system, it seems to hold true two decades later. In a study on the disjuncture between policy and practice in the Bank's Education sector, Fontdevila & Verger (2020) suggest that while education policy priorities tend to be discursively steeped in market competition discourses, country-level practices may be driven more by the client preferences and country-level operational staff's familiarity with local contexts.

Furthermore, there is diversity even within research publications, resulting in "different (and ever competing) policy options" (Fontdevila & Verger, 2020, p. 182).

This framing is useful for understanding how significant documents from the tertiary education sub-sector seem to hold layers of discourse that may be in tension, as organisational values, disciplinary values (from economics or education), and individual values are negotiated. In this way, Bank behaviour becomes much more complex to parse out, and the relationship between the Bank and borrowers is mediated by this set of values. The complexity of this relationship was explicitly mentioned by key informants, with one suggesting that:

> Bank behaviour and borrower behaviour is really important to analyse and dissect... comparing actual lending practices… the money that's actually going out the door, versus what people are saying, and what you're reading in papers published by the World Bank. (WB3)

As such, Bank practice, whether through lending or advisory assistance, will not necessarily be representative of organisational-level rhetoric, nor the discourses that emerge in position papers from the tertiary education sub-sector. This is especially apparent in the history of the rate of returns analytic framework in the Education sector, which is discussed in this section.

7.1.3.1 Lessons & Experience (World Bank, 1994)

The 1994 report *Higher Education: Lessons and Experience* is identified by scholars as a turning point in the Bank's approach to higher education, after three decades of its deprioritisation resulting in crisis (Robertson, 2009; Salmi et al., 2009). There are three major shifts in the report worth noting—first is the acknowledgement of higher education as essential for development, second the extension of outcomes of higher education beyond rates of return to include externalities, and third is the attempt to widen higher education participation beyond elite capture. This aligns with what is called the short education policy menu, which proposed shifting public expenditure to academic and

basic education (rather than vocational and higher education), higher private fees for university (tuition), and loan schemes for students to pay high tuition fees (Heyneman, 2003). Heyneman (2003) notes the tensions in the writing of this paper within the Bank, as language stating that the Bank would continue to prioritise primary and secondary education in poorer countries was added by the Office of the Senior Vice President for policy, planning, and research, whose staff included "the most articulate proponent of the short education policy menu… [which] led to consistent objections to higher and vocational education lending" (p. 326). Thus, there were constraints placed on the authors advocating for tertiary education within the paper—which also substantiates Fontdevila & Verger's (2020) finding of clashing recommendations within Bank position papers.

Social rates of return are used both to bolster and restrict Bank support of higher education. Social rates of return are discussed first to justify the prioritisation of primary and secondary education, as "investments in primary and secondary education usually exceed the returns on higher education…" (World Bank, 1994, p. 4). However, to reinforce the role of higher education, social rates of return are used in concert with positive externalities that were not captured by traditional rate of return formulae:

> Higher education investments are important for economic growth. They increase individuals' productivity and incomes, as indicated by rate-of-return analysis, and they also produce significant external benefits not captured by such analysis. such as the long-term returns to basic research and to technology development and transfer. Economic growth is a critical prerequisite for sustained poverty reduction in developing countries, which is the overarching objective of the World Bank. (World Bank, 1994, p. 12)

The very next paragraph states that "primary and secondary education will continue to be the highest priority subsectors in the Bank's education lending to countries that have not

yet achieved universal literacy and adequate access, equity, and quality at the primary

and secondary levels" (p. 12). This is the statement Heyneman (2003) discovered was

"inserted… after the final draft without approval… even the authors of the paper did not

see the statement until after the paper had been published" (p. 327). The statement is

repeated word-for-word in chapter six in the same document on implications for the

World Bank (p. 85) in a section on guidelines for future lending.

The appendix includes findings from the Bank's Evaluation Department on the

Bank's support to higher education and straightforwardly outlines problems with the

Bank's approach to higher education:

> The first was the failure to understand universities as complex and unique
> organizations—the planning did not take into account whether projects were
> sustainable, how the institutional structure would mix with the socioeconomic and
> the political environment, or how internal academic politics would affect the
> project… little thought was given to commitment on the part of the borrower. The
> second problem was weak analysis of issues on the basis of unrealistic labor
> market assessments due in part to the absence of comprehensive labor market
> data…The bulk of the implementation problems arose from implementation
> arrangements that did not allow for autonomous execution of the component and
> did not involve university staff sufficiently: supervision by Bank staff who were
> unfamiliar with higher education issues; poor performance by technical assistance
> experts; and weak monitoring and evaluation systems that were not able to
> identify and correct problems as they occurred (World Bank, 1994, p. 93)

The findings continue with a focus on African higher education especially, where the

Bank's prioritisation of higher education is overtly related to "the relative neglect of

African higher education" (p. 94).   There is also explicit critique of the Bank's

commitment to applying rate-of-return methodologies:

> … too much faith has been put in the results of conventional rates of return
> analysis, which led to the recommendation to reallocate resources from higher
> education to the lower levels of education. Given the methodological limitations
> of that approach. and the importance of higher education for producing the
> professional and technical specialists required by each country. the report called

for increased Bank attention to the needs of African higher education institutions. (World Bank, 1994, p. 94)

While the coherence of the report is affected by the insertion of text by the internal opposition to funding higher education, these evaluative findings are far more consistent, and may offer a more solid basis for policy-making.

The solutions proposed for the problems identified are certainly restricted by the prioritisation of primary and secondary education, in spite of the recognition of the role of higher education in development in development over the long-term through positive externalities. Nonetheless, the recognition and inclusion of social benefits of higher education, that are more difficult to capture, widens how the university is valued in this text—beyond a purely economic developmental idea of the university. For instance, intrinsic valuation of the function of the university as a place for research, as well as teaching and learning, and the importance of disciplinary variety within higher education systems is raised, which relate to an academic idea of the university. That strong graduate programs in research, technology, and applied social science fields of study are dependent on a solid base of undergraduate education—including "the natural sciences, mathematics, and even the humanities whose importance to economic development is less obvious, and thus less apt to attract support from external agencies," (p. 82)—is also a new conception of the university compared to previous approaches. This statement relates to the university as a place of all worldviews in service to society through a breadth of teaching and learning, within an academic idea of the university, "a realization that higher education serves a separate and equally important function in broad social-economic development, requiring a distinct level of attention and expertise" (Salmi et al., 2009, p. 101).

Nonetheless, given the restrictions on lending at the time, the directions of higher education reform were founded on a reality of budget constraints, and thus limited to system differentiation, funding diversification, institutional autonomy tempered by accountability to the government, and quality and equity (in terms of widening access to higher education).

7.1.3.2 Constructing Knowledge Societies (World Bank, 2002)

Constructing Knowledge Societies was described by one of the key informants as the report "that has shaped what the World Bank has been doing since then… in the past 20 years" (WB1). The report sets tertiary education within the frame of an increasingly integrated global economy deeply reliant on knowledge, required in order to adapt to innovation, trade in services, and the growth of technology. Within this frame, tertiary education is required for socio-economic progress, for "creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge and for building technical and professional capacity," (World Bank 2002, p. xix), to avoid the marginalisation of poor countries, to respond to the global knowledge economy (and a global labour market needing advanced human capital). Among the reported trends, the report adds a humanistic aspect that highlights intrinsic and instrumental academic and developmental value elements:

> … the need for a balanced and comprehensive view of education as a holistic system that includes not only the human capital contribution of tertiary education but also its critical humanistic and social capital building dimensions and its role as an important global public good. (World Bank, 2002, p. xix)

These elements extend to "sustainable" socio-economic transformation, equity for marginalised groups through social capital derived through tertiary education, and achieving the Millennium Development Goals in relation to the fundamental function of tertiary education.

A section on externalities also argues for public funding of tertiary education, given social benefits ranging from technological innovation, social cohesion, improved health outcomes, spaces for public dialogue and democratic participation, and the contributions of social science and humanities disciplines to the formation and maintenance of pluralist societies. This indicates the movement away from rate of return methodologies towards a more comprehensive approach to the social benefits of tertiary education. This also points to a broader instrumental valuation of the university within academic and developmental ideas of the university, in particular regarding public dialogue and democratic participation, and the transformational effects of education on society (and presumably individuals).

Internationalisation of higher education is viewed as part of the trends of this time, with no real indication of how it is valued as a function of higher education in terms of contributions of internationalisation directly to development or society. For instance, student mobility, a need for a system of international accreditation and qualification recognition, trade regulations for safeguarding students from fraud, brain drain, distance education programs, and limited international guidance as to provision of education internationally or intellectual property rights are described within these contexts. There are recommendations provided around stemming brain drain, such as joint degree programs and improvement of "home" tertiary education work environments for academics. In a section on intellectual property rights, there is a reference to open access international educational resources and academic journals as a means to encourage knowledge dissemination—this is one instance in which internationalisation of academic knowledge is instrumentally valued for both developmental purposes (for the poorest

countries) as well as for public access to knowledge, within an academic idea of the university.

The report's focus on tertiary education as essential for all countries is motivated by the contextual framing of the global knowledge society and trends related to globally integrated trade. However, the acknowledgement and emphasis placed on social externalities, which tend to align with instrumental valuations of the university and its functions, branches out beyond the economic developmental focus to social contributions within an academic and a developmental idea of the university, more reliant on academic functions of the university such as teaching and learning, research, and service. This suggests an evolving approach to how the Bank treats tertiary education, leaving space for "locally driven higher education initiatives that can be supported and enhanced by… the Bank" (Salmi et al., 2009, p. 103).

After 2002, there were two notable documents that I touch on briefly here. First, the 2005 Education Sector strategy report, which also reflected the widening of the Bank's support, with a "system-wide approach (from pre-school through tertiary education)" and themes focusing on "education-labour market linkages, with more systematic attention to secondary and tertiary as pillars of the knowledge economy" (Salmi et al., 2009, p. 103), a reflection of an economic-developmental framing of the value of higher education. A second is an independent publication on world-class universities published by the World Bank (Salmi, 2009), which addressed the rise of global university rankings and the impact on the World Bank given that borrower countries increasingly requested support in developing world-class universities within their systems. In this way, external influences also affect borrower behaviour in relation

to Bank behaviour with regards to rankings, or as Salmi (2009) phrases it "excellence in research and scholarship at its most competitive levels" (p. x). There has been much critical research on rankings since then, but this publication is a useful demonstration of the strength of the economic social imaginary and the knowledge economy concept on client countries, and on the Bank.

7.1.3.3 WB's Support for Higher Education (World Bank, 2015)

In 2015, the Independent Evaluation Group did an evaluation of the Bank's higher education portfolio due to a lack of evaluation in the decade prior, and perception of being at a crossroads in the Bank's support to higher education—given increased client demand for higher education, recognition of higher education as essential to development, and a lack of clarity of the Bank's role in these processes. In presenting the relationship between higher education and development, the IEG relied on the elements of economic growth, human capital development and professional training, universities as local and regional knowledge hubs for research capacity development and technology transfer, social capital and mobility development, and other positive social externalities including positive health outcomes, awareness of human rights, and community service. This largely relates to the fairly consistent reliance on an economic-developmental idea of the university, with some reference to social benefits. Internationalisation of higher education is presented again in a descriptive way, focusing primarily on student mobility trends and the potential for unequal exchange and cooperation patterns. The concerns outlined in the evaluation include the challenges of higher demand and deteriorating quality in teaching and learning, the tendency of elite capture of public subsidies of higher education (to the loss of poor or other marginalised student groups), the limited

capacity of poorer countries in both basic and applied research areas, governance issues, and a lack of quality assurance mechanisms.

7.1.3.4 Higher Education for Development (World Bank, 2017)

This 2017 evaluation report by the Independent Evaluation Group presents the Bank's support to higher education as an evolution from infrastructure, teacher development, and new institutions, to a period of deprioritisation of higher education, to a "renewed engagement in higher education in pursuit of the growth and competiveness agendas," (pp. ix-x) since 2002 (presumably an implicit reference to the *Constructing Knowledge Societies* report). This confirms the commitment to an economic-developmental idea of the university, and the ongoing instrumental valuing of economic growth related to national development as a higher education-related outcome.

As a document, it provides an explicit framework for the relationship between the World Bank and its organisational mission and the work done in higher education—that is, between the World Bank's overarching "twin goals" of ending poverty and sharing prosperity. Of interest is the finding of a fair amount of internal cooperation between the higher education sub-sector and the Education global practice, acknowledging the role of COREHEG, but not between the Education global practice and other global practices.

In a chapter on the evaluation findings of World Bank's support to higher education, the Bank's support of higher education is evaluated against the three traditional missions of higher education—teaching, research, and service. The first mission, teaching, is interpreted as the Bank's focus on equitable access for marginalised students, student retention through scholarships and loan mechanisms, and quality and relevance of teaching. The second mission, research, is interpreted as research and

development, particularly relevant research for development, participation in the knowledge economy, and for innovation, as well as the prioritisation of science and technology in research and in training of skilled labour. The third mission, service, is interpreted as community engagement, which is found to be limited in World Bank projects. This also confirms the focus on instrumentalisation of the academic functions of teaching and research to economic-developmental outcomes (research for development, training for the labour force). The majority of higher education "core" projects and about half of "noncore" projects (those including a higher education component) are from the Education sector, suggesting the importance of more internal coordination across global practices. An important finding from the analysis of projects from 2003-2016 is that "the bulk of lending is to middle- and high-income countries (about 85 percent of commitments of core projects)" (World Bank, 2017, p. 24). This is not commented upon, but is significant.

The report classifies the Bank's overall engagement in higher education within four categories, "(i) greater access and equity, (ii) relevant and quality teaching and research, (iii) improved management and financial systems, and (iv) institutional diversification and innovation," (World Bank, 2017, p. x) reiterating stable themes across the documents since 1994, although governance and management of higher education is a newer addition. However, it is noted that in the analysis of country-level strategies since 2013, higher education engagement is mainly driven by economic concerns, with "some element of emphasis on access and equity, marginal emphasis on governance and building institutions, and no emphasis on research" (p. 23). Also, that knowledge work and technical support are a significant part of the Bank's support to higher education,

including strategy and reforms at global levels as well as regional and country-specific analyses. This aligns with discussions with key informants on the global lead role and the work of the tertiary education sub-sector.

7.1.3.5 STEERing Tertiary Education (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021)

The STEERing report (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021) is the most recent strategy paper published by the tertiary education sub-sector, by the present global leads for tertiary education, with a notable reference to the COREHEG Advisory Board among the acknowledgements for guidance during the process. The report was published during the later period of the COVID pandemic, and the influence of this external event is visible in the report. Set within a framework of the global knowledge economy, "a new era of green and equitable economic growth," (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021, p. 5), the report heavily references human capital theory (and the Human Capital Project—for economic growth and equity—which was launched in 2018 and falls within the Human Development vice-presidency). The role of tertiary education is presented as "vital for the development of human capital and innovation… [which] can serve every country— from the poorest to the richest," (p. 5) pointing to a consistent economic-developmental framing of how the university is valued.

Knowledge development is framed as relevant and applicable beyond local challenges to global challenges also, suggesting a broadening of the developmental framing to include value elements of an implicit globalised idea of the university. The particular challenges for tertiary education are also framed within a global lens, including equity challenges in access to tertiary education between countries resulting in global inequalities, quality and relevance, lifelong learning, and that internationalisation and

regionalisation—for academic cooperation and collaboration—are largely captured by elite countries.

The recommendations for the purpose of a "high impact and effective" holistic tertiary education system fall within "steering elements" including governance, financing, and quality assurance (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021, p. 8). These include (i) "strategically diversified systems" across a tertiary education ecosystem fulfilling lifelong learning needs; (ii) technology "designed and applied in a purposeful and equitable manner;" (iii) equity and inclusion (against injustice) for access and success; (iv) efficiency for "effective use of resources" applying "governance, financing, and quality assurance instruments," including performance-based funding; and (v) resilience in the face of challenges (responding to the pandemic), including "resilience planning" and "adaptive governance framing" (pp. 9-11).

Many of these strategies are familiar—tertiary education diversification or differentiation, lifelong learning, equity in access, financing and quality assurance, and governance have been consistent components of World Bank strategy in tertiary education over the years reviewed. Resilience, however, is new and shows how Bank organisational priorities may be influenced by external effects such as the pandemic. The focus on tertiary education for all countries is also an important and increasingly consistent commitment within World Bank strategy over the past twenty years.

Internationalisation plays a stronger role in this report than in previous reports. For one, the term "internationalisation" is used explicitly. The benefits of internationalisation are framed as accruing first to academics and students, in teaching,

research, and for "academic career development" (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021, p. 55).

Internationalisation is defined as:

> … a tool that embeds global interconnectivity, integration, and awareness into the holistic tertiary education student and staff experience, is an important factor in building the capacity of countries, institutions, and individuals to harvest the benefits of cross-country cooperation on an equal footing. (p. 55)

This definition instrumentally values internationalisation for capacity-building, private and public benefit, and equity, relating to an implicit globalised-developmental idea of the university. The types of internationalisation listed include mobility, internationalisation of the curriculum, and research internationalisation. The prestige motivation of internationalisation due to rankings is referenced, but the effects of internationalisation on students is especially highlighted as important for becoming of "the citizens, leaders, and entrepreneurs of tomorrow," (p. 56) pointing implicitly to individual transformation and social benefits of internationalisation which are associated more with academic and developmental idea framings of the university. World Bank contributions to internationalisation range from these supports to mobility and research internationalisation, to supporting the standard-setting for qualification recognition, and diaspora mobilisation for contributions to knowledge dissemination and technology transfer (Leipziger, 2008).

Key informants across the series of conversations suggested that internationalisation is not viewed "as internationalisation" (WB2), but is rather seen as an opportunity for "pooling resources, achieving the economies of scale, and regional collaboration… a capacity building angle more than an internationalization angle" (WB1). Internationalisation is made visible "in projects… in which it is linked to certain goals" but it is not viewed as "a goal in itself," (WB2). In this way, for the World Bank:

> … internationalisation… has been fundamental in its higher education work from the very beginning… Some of the more simplistic understandings of what internationalisation is [have] been part of the World Bank's operations and higher education support forever, still [are]. Every single project has some form of capacity-building through study abroad, capacity-building through partnerships that are overseas… In that way… it's part of the architecture… We are not as purposeful in using the terminology, but we are quite purposeful in using the concept. (WB4)

An important example provided in the report is that of the African Centres of Excellence project series. This project series applies internationalisation within a region (regional cooperation, or regionalisation), and is a useful example of how internationalisation is incorporated at the project level, national, or regional level, though the concept is less explicit in position papers for the subsector.

The African Centres of Excellence (ACE) Projects offer a good illustration of how this takes place. The ACE projects "aim to build capacity of Africa's HEIs in areas that are important for the region's development challenges and economic growth… [as] regionally acclaimed research and academic institutions in their respective fields" (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021, p. 56). Academic partnerships support joint academic program delivery, sharing of resources, technology, scientific laboratories and instruments, and academic faculty. They also provide international scholarships for Master's students within the nations involved in regional cooperation through the project. The regionalisation aspect of the ACE projects is framed as "Sharing the gains across the region with partner institutions… [seeking], through networking with other higher education institutions, to raise quality of education in partner institutions and disseminate research findings to impact more beneficiaries," (World Bank, 2012, p. 7) including through international partnerships within the region, student and faculty exchange for

both individual benefit as well as to build capacity for the institutions through research, curricular support, and faculty training.

Specific reference is also made to mobility supported through scholarships and visiting student opportunities in partner institutions. Other elements of internationalisation through regional cooperation include accreditation and common standards, and partnerships along the lines of disciplinary specialisations in order to compete with institutions in wealthier countries (World Bank, 2014). The concept of regional hubs is also introduced "as an opportunity to absorb students within the region and avoid economic losses of "brain drain"" (World Bank, 2014, p. 97). The contribution of internationalisation of research through this program is also recognised in the successes of research projects focused on Ebola and malaria, important for the regional context, but applicable globally.

Within this example, we can see that multiple ideas of the university are at play in practice within the World Bank in the application of internationalisation, which are not necessarily in sync with policy rhetoric, as observed in the analysis by Fontdevila and Verger (2020). While the "rhetorical wrapping paper," (Klees, 2002, p. 458) falls within Bank strategy for economic growth and capacity-building, the application of internationalisation shows recognition of intrinsic and instrumental value elements that fall within an academic idea of the university. These include a commitment to academic research, a commitment to the public dissemination of academic research (not only within the region, but as a global public good), and the transformational benefits of internationalisation of higher education through an international community of scholars—for individuals, disciplines, and institutions. This suggests that while the

economic-developmental idea of the university is rhetorically consistent in Bank policy, there is a theoretical gap that might be filled by applying a broader and plural set of ideas of the university within the Bank as an international organisation—at mission, sector, subsector, and project levels.

7.1.3.6 Redefining Values (Murthi & Bassett, 2022).

In a blog post from the close of 2022, the vice-president of Human Development and a global lead for tertiary education expounded the function of values in higher education within the World Bank approach:

> At the World Bank, we tend to think of higher education reforms in terms of policy frameworks and objectives. Yet these must be embedded within a system of values that all stakeholders can broadly subscribe to. One approach to embedding values into the design of tertiary education systems to meet growing demand is a stakeholder values triangle. The three points of this triangle of values are: student values, societal values, and market values. (Murthi & Bassett, 2022, n.p.)

The student values presented in the blog post include the desire for meaningful, secure employment as well as meaningful, purposeful lives. Neither meaningfulness nor purposefulness are valuations of higher education addressed within the World Bank approach thus far. These are deeply humanistic values, something that might be understood within a capabilities approach to development, or within an academic idea of the university and the notion of *Bildung* and individual transformation through learning.

Societal values are framed within the notion of equity—equity of access to and success within higher education, especially for marginalised students. There is also a reference to what could be understood as a generative intrinsic (McCowan, 2019) vision of academic research in society in relation to the experience of the COVID pandemic,

that "Decades of sustainable public and private investments of money, talent, and time in higher education and research drove vaccine development" (n.p.). This, again, is far beyond the typical understanding relevance and applicability of technological disciplines to societal needs, with regards to economic progress. Rather, this is a presentation of how investment in basic research, without any sense of what the future might bring, had an accidental application in society in a time of need. The investment in basic research has been historically side-lined in international development —perhaps this marks a turning point towards an academic idea of the university, and intrinsic valuing of academic research and the free pursuit of academic knowledge.

Lastly, market values, as the third point in the triangle of values, matches most closely to the standard World Bank approach, a balancing act between student needs, labour market needs, and industry needs, for employment, innovation, and skill development. However, if this is truly only one point in an equilateral triangle of values, and if the other two points hold as much weight as this one, there is already a framework within which a conversation can begin to accelerate the Bank's movement to orient higher education toward a broader base than economic growth within an economic-development conception of what the university is and is for. One key informant was optimistic, sharing hopefully that they "see an evolution," (WB4) in relation to the World Bank's motivation to supporting higher education.

7.2 Discourses of Higher Education

In this section, I lay out the discourses identified through a critical discourse analysis of a critical case selection of documents for the World Bank (Appendix F). There appear to be two main categories of discourse constructed within the selection of

documents reviewed—the first category of discourse relates to the range of arguments for and related strategies of the Bank's support to higher education (discourses D and E), and the second category of discourse highlights a tension between discourses of discursive performativity of Bank policy rhetoric with regards to Bank behaviour and borrower behaviour (discourse F). Given that the study research questions focus on ideas and values of the university, I focus on propositional and value assumptions, especially through the interdiscursive conflation of discourses, and I also highlight the entextualisation of certain discourses over time.

The first category on the range of arguments for and strategies of the Bank's support to higher education includes discourses D and E arguing for supporting higher education for development. The first discourse in this category, discourse D, argues for the Bank's support of higher education reforms for development driven by crisis, with sub-discourses of crisis in the higher education sector (DI) and on restrictions on higher education reforms in poorer countries (DII). The second discourse in this category, discourse E, argues for the Bank's support of higher education for development driven by unequal economic progress and the knowledge revolution, with sub-discourses on the prioritisation of STEM disciplines (EI), and the bounds of internationalisation of higher education within a developmental idea of the university (EII).

The second category of discourse includes one main discourse, discourse F, on the tensions between discourses of discursive performativity of Bank policy. This discourse is an argument for the efficacy of discursive performativity for effective and consistent provision of World Bank support to tertiary education, analysing language related to rate of return methodology.

7.2.1 Discourse D

Arguments for and Strategies of Bank Support to Higher Education Driven by Crisis

The notion that Bank support to higher education is due to a crisis of the higher education sector in nations around the world occurs primarily in the earlier documents reviewed, such as *Higher Education: The Lessons and Experience* (World Bank, 1994). These claims of crisis continue to appear in the 2000 *Higher education in developing countries: Peril and promise* (Task Force, 2000), and the 2002 report *Constructing knowledge societies: New challenges for tertiary education* (World Bank, 2002). It is clear that there are challenges, and perhaps even crises, in higher education—however, the framing of the elements of the crisis point to framing the crisis within a primarily economic-developmental idea of the university. There is also a relationship between the claim of higher education sectoral crisis and the restrictions placed on higher education support to poorer countries; the two sub-discourses in this section reflect this relationship.

It is worth noting that the additional issue with this claim of crisis is related to the rhetorical (and actual) withdrawal of Bank support for higher education in the 1980s. For instance, Robertson (2009) suggests that the crisis in higher education could be attributed as "a net effect of the Bank's policy" alongside low economic growth rates which "severely [undermined] higher education" in poor countries (p. 119). While Robertson (2009) suggests that the alignment of crisis to the world as a global crisis may be an exaggeration, "[obscuring] the Bank's own culpability in contributing to the crisis" (p. 120), I suggest that there is recognition of the Bank's role in the crisis even within the Bank, both internally and externally—made explicit in the internal evaluation of the Bank included in the appendix of the 1994 *Lessons and Experience* report (see section 7.1.3.1)

and in the 2000 joint Task Force report (see Appendix H). What does seem likely is the challenge of internal disputes on the role of rate of return methodologies between education economists and international development higher education specialists, and the impact of these disputes on the coherence of public policy documents (discussed in Altbach, 2004, and in Appendix H).

7.2.1.1 Sub-Discourse DI

Discourses of Crisis in the Higher Education Sector

The discourses of crisis in the higher education sector take different shapes in terms of what has caused them, the consequences, and the proposed reforms. The main discourses around causes of crisis in the higher education sector revolve around the following areas: (i) enrolment growth (the increased demand for higher education and massification of higher education); (ii) funding challenges (public resource scarcity, budget constraints, the greater cost of subsidising higher education than subsidising primary or secondary education, low public and private investment in the sector, and the lack of financing or grant or loan mechanisms for students); (iii) political and policy challenges (a lack of political will and the inadequacy of national attempts to solve higher education sector challenges); and (iv) historical inequality (World Bank, 1994; Task Force, 2000).

From this set of discourses, a propositional assumption is made focusing on external and national causes of crisis in the higher education sector, which does not acknowledge the role of the World Bank in association with the crisis, at least explicitly (though it is mentioned in the appendix of the 1994 *Lessons and Experience* report and the 2000 Task Force report). The independent evaluations of the tertiary education

portfolio do clarify the role of the World Bank and the rate of return rhetoric more explicitly—which suggests that there is a recognition of the Bank's role in the crisis internally.

The main discourses around consequences of these elements of crisis in the higher education sector include the following: (i) elite capture of higher education, especially of public subsidies; (ii) exclusion of marginalised groups of students (low enrolment); (iii) exclusion of poor countries from participating and competing in the global knowledge economy and a widening gap between rich and poor countries; (iv) low per student spending, higher student-staff ratios, and related quality deterioration in teaching and learning; (v) limited academic research, limited scientific and technological training, and an inability to address local and national research and economic needs, and limited capitalisation of research through technology transfer and innovation; and (vi) poor governance and inefficient resource use (World Bank, 1994; Task Force, 2000; World Bank, 2002; World Bank, 2003; Salmi & Hauptman, 2006). The framing of these consequences of the higher education sector crisis fall primarily within economic and developmental conceptions of the university—a propositional assumption around how the university relates to society within a market polis lens—although the problems of access and limited academic research overall are also relevant to an academic idea of the university.

As outlined in the review of significant higher education documents in section 7.1.3 above, the proposed reforms can be categorised as such: (i) differentiation, diversification, and integration of the tertiary education system (including private, public, and vocational educational institutions); (ii) diversification of funding sources (including

cost-sharing with students, private funding of institutions and of research, industry partnerships); (iii) efficiency in resource use (positive incentivisation and performance-based funding) (iv) institutional autonomy, appropriate governance, balanced by accountability to the government; (v) quality, accountability, transparency, and accreditation; (vi) the application of technology for education, research, and governance; (vii) a focus on relevance, particularly on STEM fields, for labour market needs, and to meet national and global challenges; and (ix) most recently, inclusion of resilience planning for the future (Gibbons, 1998; Leipziger, 2008; Salmi & Hauptman, 2006; Task Force, 2000; World Bank, 1994; World Bank, 2002; World Bank, 2011a; World Bank, 2018; World Bank, 2022). When research is mentioned (as early as the 1994 *Lessons in Experience* report), it is usually in relation to locally relevant needs, local and global challenges, national or regional excellence programs, industry-university partnerships, and competitive funding programs and seeking funding from industry.

There is also a tendency to conflate reform discourses within an economic-developmental idea of the university—for instance, the conflation of equity with quality assurance and relevance as ensuring that all students can access relevant higher education of high quality for employment (World Bank, 1994; World Bank, 1998). The motivation to alleviate poverty is oriented towards marketised reforms through an economic social imaginary, and so also an economic-developmental idea of the university, abandoning any academic rationales in the consideration of equity, for instance for an equal opportunity to pursue of knowledge for its own sake, or for individual transformation. In this way, the developmental idea of the university is hybridised with a primarily economic idea of the university through the mission of the World Bank.

Showing the logical implications in the steps taken in the discourses of crisis, from the propositional assumptions in relation to causes and consequences, to the value propositions presented in the reform choices demonstrates a framing of reforms as solutions to the crisis largely within an economic-developmental idea of the university— with value elements relating to an idea of the university within an economic social imaginary based on a global knowledge economy. One could imagine an academic idea framing of the causes and consequences of the crisis in higher education—and the incorporation of intrinsic valuations of the university—resulting in different reform solutions than those proposed.

Given the challenges with the support to higher education within the World Bank, especially during the earlier years reviewed in this study, there are limited resources (human and financial) available to support higher education, and choices must be made as to which reforms are prioritised. These choices are made, then, within the framework of the economic-developmental approach taken within the mission of the World Bank. This raises again the problem of multiple sets of values at play—organisational, disciplinary, and individual—and the hierarchicalisation of values in the organisation when it comes to making decisions around reform, and grounding the value propositions in recommendations for practice.

7.2.1.2 Sub-Discourse DII

Higher Education Reform Restrictions in Poorer Countries

There are also a set of propositional assumptions and related value assumptions made with regards to the restrictions on potential higher education reforms in poorer countries, within an economic-developmental idea of the university. These assumptions

have evolved over the decades examined in this study, but shape reform recommendations for poor countries in specific directions. Poor countries are framed as being unable to afford large higher education systems, needing to focus on a few national- or regional-level institutions, and to supplement the size of their systems with opportunities for student mobility to wealthier countries (World Bank, 1994). The size of their systems and their tertiary education budgets are also related to limited scientific capacity in terms of research output, researchers, and scientific and technical skill training, which are then related to the lack of national economic contribution within a knowledge economy.

This discourse is also applied to knowledge capacity more broadly, and participation in the knowledge economy, as well as the problem of brain drain (World Bank, 2002). As these propositional assumptions frame higher education within an economic-developmental idea of the university, there is little focus on other contributions to the marginalisation of poor countries, which are more widely discussed in development and internationalisation literature, for instance, the consequences of colonisation, the primacy of English as an international academic language, and the function of the privatisation of academic research publishing.

The language of world-class universities and the function of rankings are also interesting to consider within this discourse, as it relates to the reform recommendation of system differentiation and diversification. While the classification of world-class universities and the issue of global rankings are problematic in their theoretical and methodological underpinnings, they form part of the discourse of the economic-developmental idea of the university. World-class universities are presented as among

those most highly ranked globally, make the most knowledge contributions through research, which include research in teaching approaches, thus forming admirable graduates (Salmi, 2009), which arguably (excluding the rankings themselves), within an academic idea of the university, are components worth making accessible to all students (if the quantification of rankings make true parallels to institutional characteristics).

However, the value assumption made in this discourse is that the model of land-grant or polytechnic higher education institutions is more appropriate for poor countries, as it would support the needs of local students and economy in terms of skill development for employment, towards sustainable development. This makes evident how the economic-developmental idea of the university restricts recommendations for poorer countries. Within an academic idea of the university, different conclusions might be reached for solutions for poorer countries, for instance, open access journals and more inclusive research networks. The ACE project does contain elements that move beyond this vision, for instance, a commitment to basic and applied research in a poorer region of the world, which is also described in the STEERing report (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021). Regional cooperation is framed here as a means to achieve the benefits of academic collaboration "on an equal footing" (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021). While locally relevant research and workforce development are still prioritised, this points to a shift in the way tertiary education systems in poorer countries are viewed, from purely instrumental ends, to a mix of instrumental and intrinsic valuations, from a broader foundation beyond solely an economic-developmental idea of the university.

7.2.2 Discourse E

Arguments for and Strategies of Bank Support to Higher Education Driven by Unequal Economic Progress and the Knowledge Revolution

The crisis framing for support to higher education gives way to a knowledge economy framing with the advent of the 'knowledge bank' and 'knowledge revolution' concepts in the Bank. Increasingly, the propositional assumption of a market polis economic social imaginary is presented in order to construct value assumptions for shaping how the Bank supports higher education. This includes elements such as discursively constructing students as rational choice actors viewing higher education as a private good, using transparent indicators—obtained via quality assurance and accreditation mechanisms—of individual returns on market-relevant disciplines, as "personal success lies in being able to find a niche in the emerging knowledge society" (Gibbons, 1998, p. ii; World Bank, 1994; World Bank, 2021).

Another instance is the marketisation of the economic-developmental idea of the university, such that corporatised managerial elements of the university are viewed as essential reforms for widening access to higher education, represented by massification (Gibbons, 1998; World Bank, 2002). This also applies to how STEM research is viewed as grounds for innovation and technology transfer—discussed in sub-discourse EI below, and how internationalisation is framed for developmental ends—in sub-discourse EII.

7.2.2.1 Sub-Discourse EI

The Prioritisation of STEM Disciplines to Accelerate Development

Across the documents, there is a general conflation of "research" and "knowledge" with "STEM research" in discourses relating to research and innovation. Humanities and social sciences are occasionally referenced, but the contribution of these fields are far vaguer in their conceptualisation—for instance, undergirding graduate science programs or contributing to pluralist societies. For example, in a paper submitted for the World Bank at the first World Higher Education Conference, the concept of "good science" is introduced within a theoretical model for higher education in the 21st century (Gibbons, 1998, pp. 9-10). This concept is proposed within a section on the potential shift of how quality is established in research, moving from disciplinary peer review in a traditional academic idea of the university, to a more societally and economically relevant idea of the university, in which intellectual standards will be bolstered by social, economic, and political standards of value. This explicitly demonstrates how a value assumption for what counts as "good" research is linked to the propositional assumption of an economic social imaginary.

The conflation of "knowledge" and "research" with STEM fields is sometimes implicit and sometimes explicit. For example, the implicit framing of knowledge within a knowledge economy or knowledge society imaginary in the report *Constructing Knowledge Societies* (World Bank, 2002):

> Among the most critical dimensions of change are the convergent impacts of globalization, the increasing importance of knowledge as a main driver of growth, and the information and communication revolution. Knowledge accumulation and application have become major factors in economic development and are increasingly at the core of a country's competitive advantage in the global economy. (p. xvii)

In this way, knowledge is tied to growth and economic development for competitive advantage points to "innovation," "technology transfer," and "capitalisation" of academic

research. This suggests that "knowledge" in this case is largely conflated with "science and technology." This is also demonstrated by explicit references to scientific and technological forms of knowledge, for instance, "Strengthening science and technology research and development capacity in selected areas linked to a country's priorities for the development of comparative advantages" (World Bank, 2002, p. xxvii). This reform recommendation uses similar language with regards to the national advantage for the knowledge economy. In this way, the value assumption of what research is worth prioritising, and what science is good, translates into practical outcomes. For example, in the evaluation of the Bank's tertiary education portfolio, the findings include that "Many World Bank projects focus on established universities, often with a strong focus on science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields" (World Bank, 2017, p. xi). This underscores the commitment to the support of STEM fields in particular, towards economic development within Bank policy priorities and projects.

7.2.2.2 Sub-Discourse EII

Internationalisation of Higher Education within the Bounds of a Developmental Idea of the University

Internationalisation of higher education is presented in Bank documents within a developmental idea of the university, primarily as a trend within the global knowledge economy, presenting opportunities for individual student and scholar benefits, institutional and national capacity-building, and the provision of global public goods, alongside challenges that exacerbate inequality, such as brain drain, and "the control of global disciplinary agendas by elite academic groups in the developed world, and helps to

set the standards by which higher education quality and relevance are judged" (Gibbons, 1998, p. 56).

Internationalisation of higher education is also explored within a concept of the global knowledge economy, and a global labour market demand for advanced human capital. This is presented as a response to globalisation and related to the concept of competitiveness as an element of higher education in the knowledge society, in which "new trends in the global environment… affect not only the shape and mode of operation but also the very purpose of tertiary education systems" (World Bank, 2002, p. xvii). The liberalisation of global trade extended to education services through the GATS treaty is part of this narrative, along with an increasing demand for internationally-recognised qualifications, and the role of international student fees in promoting national competition for students (Bashir, 2007). Competitiveness is partially among universities, but also includes other knowledge producers such as private industry and government institutions (Gibbons, 1998). It relates also to rankings as a driver of student choice, an element in resource allocation, and competition between global universities (World Bank, 2015).

The potential application of internationalisation for development is explored more deeply as the implications are clarified, for instance, in relation to "international talent mobility," brain gain, and brain drain as significant trends for poorer countries. The potential contribution of diaspora in public knowledge dissemination, technology transfer, and remittances are also recognised, as well as the value of constructing research networks as contributions of internationalisation of higher education to development (Leipziger, 2008). In this way, internationalisation of higher education is also positioned as a means for providing global public goods through research collaboration, faculty and

student exchange, and development aid for scholarships and other projects (Task Force, 2000; World Bank, 2002). Internationalisation of higher education as regionalisation is also an important discourse, which does include some elements of the internationalisation of academic research in particular. The bounds of the internationalisation of higher education in Bank discourse seem to be limited mainly to developmental ends, but there are occasionally some references to intrinsic and instrumental valuations within an academic idea of the university, such as a commitment to academic research, and public dissemination of academic research.

7.2.3 Discourse F

Discursive Performativity of Bank Policy Rhetoric: Effective and Consistent Provision of Bank Support to Higher Education

In this section, I examine the tension in discourses of discursive performativity in relation to the Bank's rhetoric in policy. By discursive performativity, I examine whether discourses that imply action (performative discourses) result in action (are efficacious) or do not (are not efficacious). To do so, I examine the discourse of efficacious performativity of Bank discourse through the effective and consistent provision of Bank support to higher education, in relation to rate of return methodology.

There is also an interesting instance of entextualisation of rate of return methodology (that is, decontextualised from a tool that deprioritised higher education, and recontextualised as a tool that supports the importance of higher education):

> World Bank Group (WBG) research shows that globally, the rates of return for graduates of tertiary education are the highest in the entire educational system—an average 17 percent increase in earnings as compared with 10 percent for primary and 7 percent for secondary education. Since 1963, the WBG has been working on tertiary education to encourage not only better quality outcomes

worldwide, but also to promote more efficient and accountable tertiary education institutions. (World Bank, 2015a, p. 1)

In this case, we see the application of rate of return research to support tertiary education, in comparison to lower rates of return for primary and secondary education. This instance of the entextualisation of the discourse of rate of return methodology as being something narrow and faulty, recontextualised as something that supports tertiary education, is an interesting case to consider. The short policy brief provides no indication of how these numbers were calculated, and what might make them more reliable or worth using than the opposing results of rate of return analysis from the decades prior.

As seen in the text above, and across the texts reviewed, is the discourse of effective and consistent provision of Bank support to higher education since the 1960s, in spite of the rhetorical minimisation of higher education support in policy documents. A section of the moderated discussion between Bank-affiliated discussants (Altbach et al., 2004) offers a good example of this discourse:

> Wolfensohn… [emphasized] that the World Bank has been and continues to be a strong supporter of higher education and related reforms, with an important share of lending operations for education being applied consistently to the higher education subsector. Indeed the share of lending targeted to higher education hovered from the 1960s through the 1990s from around 15-25 percent of the bank's education lending portfolio. (p. 73)

An example of the rhetorical prioritisation of primary and secondary education in the *Lessons and Experience* report (World Bank, 1994) shows the emphasis placed on the concept of returns:

> Within the education sector, however, there is evidence that higher education investments have lower social rates of return than investments in primary and secondary education and that investments in basic education can also have more direct impact on poverty reduction, because they tend to improve income equality. (p. 12)

Taken together, these suggest that although rate of return methodology was in use for decades, as a recommended analytic tool for determining lending allocations, and although there was a rhetorical prioritisation of primary and secondary education due to the higher calculated returns to society in policy and strategy documents, that there was little practical effect on lending during this time. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the rhetoric around higher education returns to society is much expanded to include positive externalities from 2002 forward, following the *Constructing Knowledge Societies* (World Bank, 2002) report.

At the sector level, education policy documents seem to support this general statement, with the overall Education lending portfolio presented with specific volumes to tertiary education over the decades between 1960 to 2000, and overall lending for the Education sector by world region (World Bank, 1999; World Bank, 2002). A couple of things to note from this presentation of data: firstly, what is absent is clarity about tertiary education-specific lending volume by region, and secondly, the notable fluctuation of the average lending volume over the decades, with especially low lending volumes between 1963-1969 and 1975-1979 (World Bank, 2002).

Indeed, there are statements over time that point to the rhetorical and policy commitment to rate of return analysis "resulting in the relative neglect of African higher education" (World Bank, 1994). In more recent years, a 2009 regional report on tertiary education in Sub-Saharan Africa suggests there are still challenges in providing consistent lending volumes to the region, with a decline from around US$100 million from 1990-1994 to US$30 million from 1995-1999 to US$36 million from 2000-2004 to US$83 million from 2006-2008. The report suggests that "the deep decline in Bank

funding for tertiary education… led many in Africa's education community to conclude that the World Bank was an active opponent of tertiary education" (World Bank, 2009, p. 2). Furthermore, the internal evaluation of tertiary education projects from 2003-2016 demonstrate that "the bulk of lending is to middle- and high-income countries (about 85 percent of commitments of core projects)" (World Bank, 2017, p. 24), suggesting that poorer countries are neglected nonetheless.

While this does not provide the information for the period aligning with the height of rate of return methodology, it does show the challenges faced in provision of consistent tertiary education lending at the regional level. This does not provide conclusive evidence that the rate of return rhetoric in Bank policy was inefficacious in its performance as a discourse. However, it does give cause to doubt whether the discourse of effective and consistent provision of Bank support to higher education would hold at the regional level, suggesting that Bank support to higher education is affected by policy priorities and mechanisms for lending allocation—and so too the discursive efficacy of bank policy rhetoric in this case.

7.3 Conclusions

The case study of the World Bank shows the primacy of a hybridised economic-developmental idea of the university, influenced by the Bank mission and sector priorities and strategies. This is demonstrated first by the commitment to the rate of return rhetoric in the 1980s, and continues in the instrumental valuation of higher education within an economic-developmental idea of the university. These transitions point to the challenge of multiple values going head-to-head at organisational, disciplinary, sector, unit, and

even individual levels, creating contentions in how the university ought to be valued conceptually, in policy, and in practice.

The expansion of the Bank's approach to higher education to consider social externalities, at least rhetorically, broadens the basis upon which the university is valued, to include some intrinsic and instrumental value elements associated with academic and globalised ideas of the university. The distinction between how the university is valued and conceptualised in policy rhetoric and in practice is also important to consider in this case. In the ACE project documents, we see that multiple ideas of the university are simultaneously undergirding the way higher education is supported by the Bank in practice. For instance, in the application of the regionalisation and internationalisation of higher education in the ACE project, elements of individual transformation through educational mobility and the effects on society, and the importance of support to the basic sciences and academic research for its own sake suggest that the university is also valued intrinsically within an academic idea of the university.

The internationalisation of higher education is generally framed within an economic-developmental idea of the university, with a focus on capacity-building and competitive advantage at national or regional levels, within a global knowledge economy lens—such that concepts such as mobility and cooperation sit in opposition to brain drain and competitiveness. These discursive boundaries around the policy application of internationalisation of higher education create an environment in which international academic cooperation, especially international research collaboration, becomes difficult to justify or support.

With this project, and other recent documents, there appears to be tension even in policy rhetoric at the bounds of the human capital instrumental valuation of higher education within a global knowledge society framing. This suggests that international development higher education may benefit from a broader and more integrated idea of the university that incorporates ways of valuing the university, acknowledging the reality of the development context, while prioritising the importance of an academic idea of the university.

CHAPTER 8: Comparative Analysis of the Theory-Testing Cases

This chapter operates as a space for comparative analysis of the two cases of the

World Bank and UNESCO, as international organisations, in relation to the values and

ideas of the university in higher education policy, and each organisation's approach to the

internationalisation of higher education. The comparative analysis, drawing from the

case study findings and the discourses from chapters 6 and 7, also uses data from key

informant interviews to help understand individual articulation of organisational values.

The structures and processes of the organisational units (related to higher education) are

also analysed in terms of the effects of the values and ideas of the university. In addition,

as this study has as its purposes the testing of a theoretical proposition that the values

held by international organisations have practical consequences in terms of shaping

policy and programs coordinated by the organisations, iterative comparative analysis

across the two theory-testing cases also helps surface theory.

Drawing from the analysis of the individual cases of the World Bank and

UNESCO, I compare the cases juxtapositionally as developmental actors in the global

higher education space in this chapter, showing the significance of each in the normative

space of international development higher education. As like things—via juxtapositional

comparison—the two organisations hold some similar functions in setting standards

(through normative instruments for UNESCO, and through strategic priorities for the

World Bank), in a clearinghouse function (collecting and disseminating international

higher education data), in a research and analysis function (at global-, regional-, and

country-levels), and capacity-building (through technical and policy advisory roles). In

this way, the two organisations do overlap functionally, operating both cooperatively and

competitively at different times and through different projects and policies. What is distinct about each organisation—and the angle that lends itself to a more perspectival comparison (as different kinds of things)—is UNESCO's role in catalysing international cooperation through its convening power, and the World Bank's function as a bank in its direct relationship with countries and institutions through loans and grants for specific projects. These juxtapositional and perspectival distinctions are used in this chapter to shape the comparison of the two cases.

This chapter is divided into four main sections: first, a comparison of the types, roles, and functions of values and ideas of the university in relation to policy and public-facing documents across the two organisations; second, a comparison of how key informants approach and articulate values and ideas of the university discursively constructed by the organisation; third, a comparison of how values and ideas of the university within the organisation shape structures and processes related to higher education within the organisations; and fourth, a section that examines the theoretical claim of the study around the impact of values in the practical aspects of the organisation's coordination. A comparison of organisational approaches to the internationalisation of higher education, focusing on the function of academic research internationalisation in particular, is also discussed at each stage of the comparative analysis in this chapter.

8.1 Values & Ideas of the University in IO Documents

The decision to study the role of international organisations rested on an understanding of the increasing influence of international organisations in a multiplex world order. Within a multiplex world order, international higher education is one

societal structure and policy area in which international organisations play a significant role, and one that treats international organisations as "mechanisms for influence" (Shahjahan & Madden, 2015, p. 706) in the deeply normative international development higher education space (Chankseliani, 2022). Thus, it is worth trying to understand the implicit value premises that orient organisational behaviour and actions (Rose, 1956).

In this section, I think through the implications of which values and ideas of the university were identified across the two case studies through the critical discourse analysis process, using the theoretical construct derived from the literature review. I apply Nguyen's (2020) concept of "value capture" to help understand the impact of value entextualisation through decontextualisation and meta-discursive recontextualisation, resulting in a "preferred reading" of what the university is and is for, through international organisational policy discourse (Blommaert, 2005, p. 47). This notion of value capture (Nguyen, 2020) is used by Táíwò (2022) to illuminate the power of elite organisations, using knowledge and values, over "the resources used to describe, define, and create political realities," (p. 32)—illuminating the unequal distribution of linguistic resources (Bourdieu, 1991) and the particular power of values within the linguistic capital of international organisations.

Nguyen (2020) defines the phenomenon of value capture as taking place when: "Our values are, at first, rich and subtle…We encounter simplified (often quantified) versions of those values…Those simplified versions take the place of our richer values in our reasoning and motivation…Our lives get worse" (p. 201). I argue in this section that the set of theoretical values and ideas of the university in our literature are rich and complex, that IO policy simplifies these values and ideas, and that due to the power-laden

linguistic capital of IOs, these simplified values and ideas become dominant in scholarship, policy, and practice. While it is debateable that our "lives get worse," (Nguyen, 2020, p. 201) I use the example of the internationalisation of higher education and of academic research to demonstrate that value entextualisation in IO policy may indeed leave us worse off, and may have a negative impact on poorer countries.

8.1.1 Theoretical Ideas & Values of the University

In the previous two chapters, the actions of each organisation related to higher education were analysed over the 25 years between 1997 and 2022, with special emphasis on values related to theoretical ideas of the university from philosophy of higher education, international higher education, and international development higher education literatures. These theoretical ideas hold multiple and sometimes conflicting sets of values within them, categorised as academic, globalised, and developmental ideas of the university (see Table 1, section 5.2). The primary idea of the university that was identified for both organisations, through the deductive coding process (see Appendix D for the deductive codebook), was (as might be expected) a developmental idea of the university—with some value elements of a globalised idea of the university also strongly evident across both organisations. For UNESCO especially, values related to an academic idea of the university were also identified—especially intrinsic valuations of academic knowledge for its own sake and for individual transformation, and a commitment to the communication of academic knowledge. For the World Bank, the values identified suggested a hybridised form of an economic-developmental idea of the university envisioned within a market polis social imaginary.

The value elements of a developmental idea of the university are primarily linked to instrumental valuations of the university and its functions towards national and sometimes regional ends. The approaches taken by both UNESCO and the World Bank towards higher education incorporate developmental elements such as the instrumental valuation of the university as a public service institution—with an obligation to the national public—and as an omnifunctional institution, close to Coleman's (1986) idea of the developmental university. Other elements present in the analysis of public-facing documents of both organisations include a focus on the social outcomes of higher education, an obligation to society at national and global levels, and the function of the university in human capital development. These broad theoretical ideas of the university are distinctively shaped by organisational-level values, missions, and strategic priorities for each organisation—a form of entextualisation of the theoretical ideas of the university within the organisations, which are recontextualised over time with the rise of new strategic priorities and shifts in the mission.

The valuative element of human capital development within the developmental idea of the university is a useful example to illustrate this point. For UNESCO, as early as the Delors report (1996), the application of a human capital form of development to higher education is discussed in light of the diversification of disciplinary offerings (to include theoretical and applied scientific research, professional skills responsive to labour market needs, as well as lifelong learning opportunities), such that "universities would transcend what is wrongly held to be the conflict between the logic of public service and the logic of the job market" (p. 28). This aligns with the mission-driven developmental orientation of UNESCO's approach to higher education, considering the Delors-

contemporary medium-term strategy of Education sector of UNESCO (1996), "… the

diversification and expansion of structures and a better linkage between general and

vocational education, so as to prepare young people and adults not only for the world of

work but also for responsible civic life" (p. 22). In this way, the instrumentalisation of

the university through an economic valuation of its purpose and functions, constructed on

a foundation of human capital theory, is presented in alignment with the mission of

UNESCO's Education sector, within a developmental approach.

For the World Bank, human capital development within higher education is also

framed along the lines of the organisational mission. For instance, in *Constructing

Knowledge Societies* (World Bank, 2002), the Bank interdiscursively presents tertiary

education for the global knowledge economy alongside the twin missions of the World

Bank, such that "tertiary education contributes to building up a country's capacity for

participation in an increasingly knowledge-based world economy and investigates policy

options for tertiary education that have the potential to enhance economic growth and

reduce poverty" (p. xviii). In the same report, the function of human capital development

for tertiary education is related to this framing of a knowledge economy-rationale for

development:

> The state has a responsibility to put in place an enabling framework that
> encourages tertiary education institutions to be more innovative and more
> responsive to the needs of a globally competitive knowledge economy and to the
> changing labor market requirements for advanced human capital. (World Bank,
> 2002, p. 6)

As such, the priorities set at the organisational level, and strategies related to the

organisational mission, presented through a human capital lens, explicitly influence the

discourses related to higher education within the Education sector and tertiary education sub-sector.

In this way, across both organisations, it is possible to see how the complex set of values of the university, from academic, developmental, and globalised ideas of the university, are simplified and reshaped towards particular purposes, undergirded by specific theories, and presented in alignment with the priorities of each organisation. I suggest that, through these discursive actions, we can observe the value capture of a far richer and more complicated set of purposes and ideas of the university being meta-discursively simplified and repurposed through the set of discourses presented by these organisations, but in a way that suggests universality, due in part to the powerful structural position of the organisations in global governance in the international development higher education space.

To a certain extent, we also see the influence of the organisations on each other, given significant participation of the World Bank in the first World Higher Education Conference in 1998 (according to documents from the conference itself and confirmation by key informants), as well as the jointly supported Task Force on Higher and Society in 2000. The framing of higher education in a state of crisis, and discourses related to lifelong learning, the knowledge revolution and knowledge society, global public good provision through higher education, sustainable development, and academic mismatch to labour market needs, and relevance of higher education to society are similar and may be found in documents from both organisations. Other external influences also contribute, no doubt, as can be seen by the discursive movements in the representation of undergirding theories of development that appear over the 25 years, from modernisation

theory, to human capital theory and a knowledge economy social imaginary, to sustainable and green forms of development most recently.

From the individual cases, it is clear that the ideas of the university held by each organisation affect the way internationalisation of higher education is approached and incorporated into the approach taken to higher education overall. For UNESCO, with a developmental idea of the university framing the approach to higher education—evolving from modernisation, to human capital development, to a sustainable development and human-rights based approach—the focus within the Education sector and the higher education-specialised units are oriented to the internationalisation of teaching and learning, with a heavy resulting focus on mobility, while the internationalisation of research is supported rather by the Science sector, as seen in discourse BII (chapter 6). In this way, the drivers that ground the developmental approach, and shape how internationalisation of higher education is supported, are aligned with societal demands towards national development through a focus on lifelong learning (see discourses AI, AII, and CII in chapter 6) (UNESCO, 1996; 2010a; 2016). This has oversized effects on poorer countries, who may draw on the analysis and technical advisory support of the organisation.

As such, the work done within UNESCO's higher education-specialised units is directed primarily towards normative instruments that support international student mobility, supporting the creation of quality assurance systems and the recognition of degrees both regionally and internationally. One key informant suggested that most international organisations, as well as UNESCO, tend to focus on mobility, especially student mobility—hence the relation of internationalisation of higher education to

qualification recognition. While the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs program is also supported through the creation of chairs, the challenges of the program identified by a recent evaluation around coordinating and mobilising the network for collaborative activity limit the efficacy of this program effort in international cooperation in research (UNESCO, 2021b). Thus, even though the role of research (in international cooperation, international knowledge exchange, and regional and international research networks) through higher education is interdiscursively linked to teaching, mobility, and qualification recognition, as early as the Delors report, as well as in the World Declaration on Higher Education (UNESCO, 1998), the approach of higher education-specialised units within the Education sector tends rather to limit the function of internationalisation of research within its developmental idea of the university. In this way, it is possible to consider the impact of value capture (Nguyen, 2020) in the case of UNESCO's approach to internationalisation of higher education, such that internationalisation of research appears to be practically limited in relation to a narrower, simplified discourse of what the university is good for and how it should be valued.

In the case of the World Bank, through a primarily economic-developmental idea of the university, most academic value elements tend to be excluded, and approaches internationalisation of research are interpreted primarily through a regional capacity-building lens in order to solve local, regional, and global problems, and for national economic progress for poorer countries. This approach to internationalisation of research can be challenging due to the interdiscursivity of the argument as it is presented—calling for knowledge sharing alongside knowledge accumulation, cooperation alongside competition, open access to knowledge alongside knowledge capitalisation. These

approaches point to the difficulties caused by value capture and the simplification of ideas of the university and the complexity of the concepts involved.

To echo Habermas (1970), the contemporary university is certainly valued for its production and transmission of "technically exploitable knowledge," (p. 2) in alignment with the Bank's economic-developmental approach, however, the other functions of the university may be in conflict with such an approach if it is oversimplified. For instance, the notion of capitalising on academic research or knowledge, and ensuring that the country that creates the knowledge can also benefit from the knowledge for a "competitive advantage" (World Bank, 2002, p. 8) is an important component of how academic research is conceptualised, but one that is at odds with the internationalisation of research and academic research collaboration (see discourse EI). Once again, there seems to be a greater effect on poorer countries that may be reliant on lending and policy development support for tertiary education (although, as emphasised by key informants, there are multiple influences on borrower behaviour and it is difficult to parse rationales or outcomes cleanly).

This conceptualisation of the university can be especially challenging to the concept of internationalisation of research, as an economic-developmental approach to higher education also rests on the need for "knowledge accumulation" in order to be competitive (World Bank, 2002, p. xvii), with internationalisation mechanisms of mobility aligned with brain drain and viewed as "new forms of capital flight" (World Bank, 2002, p. xxx). The discourse of mobility as capital flight co-exists with supporting regional and global quality assurance and open access to educational materials and scholarly journals. The conflicts of interdiscursivity within an economic-developmental

approach to internationalisation of higher education illustrate the problems that arise when intrinsic value elements within an academic idea of the university are not incorporated into the philosophical foundation of the Bank's work in higher education, and when value capture, due to the simplification of values associated with ideas of the university, makes it difficult to simultaneously hold multiple value dimensions.

8.1.2 Organisational Valuations of the University

For both UNESCO and World Bank cases, what emerged inductively was also interesting, pointing to absences and gaps within the theoretical set of ideas and values of the university—namely, valuations of the university that were directly linked to overarching organisational missions and priorities and sector-level priorities for higher education. These mission-aligned valuations of the university are poorly represented by the theoretical framework (as presented in Table 1, section 5.2). These instrumental valuations of the university were certainly related to international development, but were aligned primarily to organisational priorities in ways that went beyond the theoretical conceptions of developmental or globalised universities, and focused rather on particular strategies that had been developed within the organisations themselves. This alignment and simplification of values related to ideas of the university to organisational priorities and strategies demonstrates again how value capture takes place discursively in the IO policy context.

For instance, consider the theoretical value element of widening participation for underserved populations within a developmental idea of the university derived from the literature review, in which the university as a public-serving institution is valued instrumentally for supporting equality in a democratic nation-state. Within UNESCO,

the element of widening participation is interdiscursively framed alongside concepts of lifelong learning and flexible learning pathways, a learning society, living in uncertainty, and the promotion of equity—components derived from the priorities set for the Education sector (e.g., discourse CII in chapter 6).

In particular, a discourse of promoting equity and human-rights against any form of discrimination is recontextualised within this organisational priority of lifelong learning, such that discourses arguing for lifelong learning are discursively conflated with those promoting equity. For example, in the *Education 2030 Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the Implementation of SDG 4* (UNESCO, 2016), the conflation of these discourses is clear: "What is new about SDG4-Education 2030 is its focus on increased and expanded access, inclusion and equity, quality and learning outcomes at all levels, within a lifelong learning approach" (p. 25). This is not to say that lifelong learning is or is not a useful strategy, rather this analysis aims to demonstrate how the instrumental valuation of widening access within a developmental idea of the university is presented in alignment with UNESCO strategic priorities, such as lifelong learning.

Within the World Bank, the same element of widening access to higher education and promoting equity is interdiscursively linked to the discourse of promoting funding diversification, especially through cost-sharing, loan, and grant schemes, for instance: "Imperfections in capital markets limit the ability of individuals to borrow sufficiently for tertiary education, thereby hindering the participation of meritorious but economically disadvantaged groups" (World Bank, 2002, p. xxii). Similarly, the discourse of promoting equity is also interdiscursively linked to the discourse of economic efficiency. Consider the statement "underrepresentation results in a waste of talent," (World Bank,

1994, p. 24)—it seems that the conflation of equity and efficiency discourses shapes the type of responses an organisation might take to underrepresentation with a different underlying idea of the university or a non-instrumental valuation of higher education.

In this way, the complexity of the set of values within public-facing documents of both organisations offered new insights into the way in which theoretical ideas of the university existed implicitly within public-facing organisational documents. These theoretical values and ideas are presented with interdiscursive links to often conflated discourses that were steeped in organisational values and priorities, and particular strategies for supporting higher education. This sort of discursive conflation also points to two main challenges: (i) value capture, through the simplification of values associated to particular ideas of the university by the decontextualisation of theoretical values, recontextualised to align with organisational strategic priorities; and (ii) less overall coherence of policy recommendations in organisational documents, given both value capture and discursive conflation.

The challenges of multiple and conflated discourses, drawing from organisational values and priorities, as well as from a developmental idea of the university also apply to the approaches of the Bank and UNESCO to internationalisation of higher education. For instance, the final report of UNESCO's 2009 World Conference on Higher Education in (2010a) conflates international knowledge dissemination to solving global challenges and stemming brain drain, as part of the "social responsibility [of global universities] to help bridge the development gap," (p. 51)—relating the developmental idea of university (as an omnifunctional institution) to the mission of UNESCO as an organisation. One key informant emphasised the influence of the mission, in saying that "the high level mission

informs what kind of technical work that we do," (UNESCO1) as a means to concretise the organisational mission. The minimisation of higher education within the organisation and the sector, as discussed in discourse CI in chapter 6, then makes the concretisation process more challenging, as even the SDGs make little reference to higher education.

In a policy brief on skills for jobs, the Education global practice of the World Bank (2015b) aligns regionalisation efforts through the Africa Centres of Excellence program to national governments "ensuring that higher education is aligned with the current and foreseeable needs of society, so that there is a steady supply of skills" (p. 2), centring access, quality, and relevance as key to higher education for the future, once again referencing the Bank's mission of boosting prosperity. The STEERing report (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021) also brings in other benefits of internationalisation which align more with a globalised idea of the university as well as some elements of an academic idea of the university, for instance, interconnectivity relating to an international community of scholars, and the function of internationalisation of teaching and learning as transformational, contributing to society, as well as providing opportunities to individuals. Thus, for both organisations, the way in which valuations of the university are incorporated into documents are not static; indeed, it is clear that the approaches evolve. But through this evolution, the conflation of conflicting discourses can lead to less coherence overall, both conceptually, and in relation to policy. Finding a way to bridge the gap between theoretical approaches to supporting higher education is important to consider for practice in international development higher education.

8.2 Key Informant Approaches to Value Discourses

The key informants from each organisation were not selected to be representative across the higher education-related units within each of the two organisations—they are not representative across different institutes, projects, policy, or practice units horizontally, nor are they representative vertically across global-, regional-, and country-level units. Indeed, it was not the aim of the study to gather individual perceptions of the organisation—hence the selection of the elite key informant interview method. The intention was rather to gain additional insights into the processes of developing public-facing documents and into how the values and ideas within public-facing documents affect day-to-day work in higher education-specialised organisational units.

Within these analytic boundaries, I think through the interaction between organisational values and individual values within this sample, in terms of the approach to supporting higher education within the two organisations. I rely on the theoretical conception of values in international organisations as systems (as discussed in chapter 4), with all system levels steeped in organisational values, and the negotiation by individuals of their own values in relation to organisational values (Mowles, 2008). The concept of collective purpose-making is also important in the interpretation used in this section, as to the extent to which individuals have to yield their individual values to align with organisational values (Mowles, 2008). Through this lens, I bring together evidence from the document analysis with data from key informant conversations, in order to analyse how individuals within this sample might negotiate valuations of higher education between the organisational mission-driven ideas and those that emerge from the sector and their own experiences and expertise.

8.2.1 Individual Agency in Higher Education Units

As discussed in section 8.1, the missions of UNESCO and the World Bank have influence on the values and ideas of the university that implicitly (and explicitly) undergird the priorities and strategies in their work in higher education. However, through the document analysis, and in conversations with key informants, it became evident that understanding organisations as systems comprising of levels and of individuals was important to understanding the overarching questions I sought to answer through this study. For instance, the autonomy of UNESCO institutes (UNESCO, 2014) in comparison to the central Higher Education section suggested that individual values may have more freedom to shape how they meet the organisational mission:

> It's really individuals that create projects and that influence them, it's not the organization… The organization has a main framework, it has its constitution, now it has the SDGs… you have this main very broad framework, and then within that you do what you consider is interesting, is innovative, or not. (UNESCO2)

From the experience of the participant from UNESCO, it seems that the approach to collective purpose-making (Mowles, 2008) is taken via a technical consensus approach (Ratner 2004), accepting a top-down unified framing of organisational values through the UNESCO constitution and the SDGs, such that these boundaries determine the scope of more creative individual decision-making.

The notion of individual agency was also mentioned in relation to the Bank's motivation to support higher education, as part of the debate and arguments that take place in the process of determining collective action for strategy or policy, especially in the context of COREHEG (section 7.1.2.2):

> And part of it is… qualitative… who was involved, and influenced them… what intellectual traditions were they trained in… and who were their mentors, either inside the Bank or at their universities, before they came to the Bank. I think you come in with this lived experience, this tradition, intellectual tradition or training,

and you bring that to the table with you… people are very passionate about their points of view. (WB3)

From the experience of the participant from the World Bank, collective purpose-making (Mowles, 2008) seems to take a dialogue of values approach (Ratner, 2004), working within the premise that there are multiple and competing sets of values that must be negotiated in order make decisions at a unit-level, and accepting that perfect value consensus is not possible.

This was reiterated by another key informant, highlighting how the Bank's organisational identity as "bank" shapes how and why higher education is supported, referencing the distinctions between the disciplinary approaches (as was raised in the history of rate of return methodologies in section 7.1.1.2, and discourse F in chapter 7):

> [The tertiary education coordinator position] can have more of a human influence on why we support higher education. If an economist were in the position, it would probably be much more about the economic rationale for it… I think that is the tension of the World Bank as a whole… that everything we do has to have an economic and financial rationale that can be supported. (WB4)

Considering the distinctions between the two organisations as systems (with the organisational system encompassing hierarchical sectors as well as individuals as sub-systems), individual values are especially important to consider as influential in different ways in each organisation.

For UNESCO, the technical value-consensus approach to the system across levels is shaped by an assumed unified value framework to shape individual approaches to projects, with some flexibility within these boundaries for individual innovation at the higher education-specialised unit-level. For the World Bank system, it seems that there is less operational power in the hands of the education sector and the higher education sub-sector (Heyneman, 2003), and the function as bank still requires an underlying economic

rationale. Yet, the economic rationale is viewed as something that creates tension and there is still a capacity to influence sectoral policy priorities and strategies. Hence, the approach to collective purpose-making that seems to be taken at least within COREHEG in the higher education sector aligns more with the dialogue of values approach (Ratner, 2004) in that there is time and space allotted to discussion.

This is also evident through the role of leaders, whether at the top of the organisation (at both UNESCO and the World Bank) or at the sector level. UNESCO's frequent restructuring of the Education sector is a good example of how leadership can influence how higher education is approached. Examples at the World Bank include Bank president Wolfensohn's introduction of the knowledge bank concept (section 7.1.1.3) which continues to be influential, the creation of the COREHEG group (section 7.1.2.2), and the initial creation of the tertiary education coordinator position (section 7.1.2.1), and the creation of the Global Initiative for Quality Assurance Capacity (GIQAC, discussed below), and the restructuring of the Bank's operating system (Edwards & Storen, 2017; World Bank, 2019; WB2; WB3).

The case of GIQAC is especially interesting in this regard, as the program is the result of a grant from the World Bank Development Grant Facility in order to "establish a global support mechanism for regional networks," for quality assurance capacity-building (UNESCO, 2008, p. 2) which was then supported by UNESCO. Conversations with key informants from both UNESCO and the World Bank made clear that the partnership was created via professional relationships between individuals in higher education at both organisations, showing how individuals can play a role choosing how strategic priorities are operationalised in higher education policy and programming.

Another space for operationalising the approach to higher education work is through the consultative process—who participates and to what extent—both UNESCO and the World Bank use consultation, advisory boards, and peer review mechanisms to support their work, especially research and normative publications. These systems of support expand what is otherwise what is a fairly small set of individuals with expertise in higher education, let alone internationalisation of higher education. This relies partly on individuals in these positions and their professional relationships, but also on the convening power of the organisations themselves as some of the biggest players in international development higher education. At the World Bank, this is further emphasised through the function of COREHEG (section 7.1.2.2), which operates as a space for dialogue and debate to determine collective action for the higher education sub-sector. The intentional expansion of consultative processes to include more input from stakeholders at both organisations shows a commitment at individual and organisational levels to more participatory approaches to international development.

It is worth noting that multiple key informants at UNESCO mentioned their commitment to the organisational mission in the constitution, suggesting a strong alignment of individual values with organisational values, and a functional set of collective values for collective purpose-making and collective action within the institution:

> I would see it as kind of my mission to make sure that UNESCO, as far as possible, when it comes to higher education, is... proudly upholding those values, and finding then, and then you know when you take down, finding ways to try to live those values in what we do. In who we work with, in the kind of work that we do, topics we choose to focus on. (UNESCO1)

The let-down of sector level support and organisational support to higher education is perhaps a space where this alignment is challenged—a lack of recognition of the significance of the higher education-specialised units—as seen in the dissolution of the Higher Education division, the closure of CEPES, and the limited number of staff within the Higher Education section (section 6.1.3; discourse CI). This is also emphasised by the lack of inclusion of higher education with any depth in organisational level goals (the MDGs, the SDGs; discourse CI). The expansion of IESALC's mandate to include a global outlook was mentioned by a few key informants as a significant change pointing to the growing prominence of and commitment to higher education within the organisation (section 6.1.3).

At the Bank, a similar exclusion of higher education in strategies and projects at the sectoral level also seems to somewhat disorienting for individuals, and was mentioned with disappointment by several key informants. COREHEG, however, is described with pride, using terms such as "most dynamic," and "the best thematic group." As a space of collaboration, dialogue, and information dissemination, the group offers an opportunity for collective-purpose making for individuals who work as part of the higher education sub-sector. Indeed, the collaborative element between individuals—with key informants suggesting a collegial form of friendship—is recognised as significant to how the Bank approaches higher education (suggesting a dialogue of values approach (Ratner, 2004) at least within the higher education sub-sector), especially considering the powerful position of the Bank in the international development higher education space:

> ... I look at it as a group of friends – and people that I often disagree with on policy decisions… or agree with. So people bring their humanity to the table at the Bank. And the idea that they're automatons, and not humans, is really a mistaken approach to looking at the work of the Bank. (WB3)

The individual value-orientations as well as disciplinary value-spheres (Ratner, 2004) must also be considered and how they interact and conflict—the public-facing strategy that appears to be internally-consistent and cohesive is only one layer of the set of values that influence the complexity of the idea of the university at work within higher education units. One key informant mentioned the challenge of negotiating the role of the Bank as an international development actor, as one of the aspects that individuals who work in these positions must contend with:

> I think there's the weight of responsibility for taking on that role as an institution. And we get attacked for it a lot because it's a very powerful position to sit in. But we also take it really seriously, I think more seriously than the external environment might understand. (WB4)

I would like to reiterate that although this study does not try to parse out specific sets of values held by individuals within both of these international organisations working within higher education, it is clear that these values are complex, conflicting, and do influence practice at the sub-system levels, within sectors and between individuals.

8.3 The Influence of Values on IO Structures & Processes

For both UNESCO and the World Bank, how organisational values discursively construct an idea of the university may be understood as part of the significant linguistic capital held by the organisations—especially with regards to the influence of different theoretical understandings of development, disciplinary conflicts, and the priorities set at organisational levels related to the overarching missions. However, as a partial response to the third research question of this study on the influence of IO value discourses on the socio-structural processes related to higher education and international higher education, it is possible to observe how these value-complexes have shaped internal and external structures and processes of the organisations themselves.

In this section, I begin by discussing intra-organisational structures and processes that appear to have been influenced by organisationally-captured value discourses. I follow with a brief analysis of the potential influence of these value discourses on some external structures and processes affiliated with the two organisations.

8.3.1 Intra-Organisational Structures & Processes

In this section, I do a brief comparative analysis of intra-organisational structures and processes within UNESCO and the World Bank, as understood in relation to the processes related to the higher-education specialised units of each organisation over time. Within UNESCO, for instance, important structural changes include the dissolution of the Higher Education division, and the constant restructuring of the Education sector and subsequent movement of the Higher Education section; the closure of CEPES; and the widening of the mandate of IESALC (section 6.1.3). Important intra-organisational higher-education related processes for UNESCO include the focus on the normative instruments and initiatives related to quality assurance and qualification recognition, and the intra-organisational fragmentation of the functions of higher education and of internationalisation of higher education (see sections 6.1.3.1 and 6.1.4).

The perception of higher education as less urgent for development, as substantiated by the lack of presence in the MDGs and limited presence in the SDGs, and the limited mention of higher education at sector level strategies (discourse CI), suggests that at the level of organisational mission, higher education may still be viewed within a limited developmental idea of the university—for teaching, for labour skills—without a full understanding of the contributions of an academic idea of the university to society. The intra-sectoral siloing and consequent isolation of the internationalisation of teaching

and learning in the Education sector and the internationalisation of research in the Science sector (section 6.1.3.1) also emphasises this developmental idea of the university, limiting its support to particular social outcomes including employability, labour market needs, citizenship development, and political participation. The siloing of the internationalisation of research within the Science sector also skews the disciplines that are supported through UNESCO in relation to academic research internationalisation towards the sciences and away from the humanities and social sciences.

In the case of the World Bank, the late creation of the Education department (in the 1960s), the late creation of a tertiary education coordinator position (mid-2000s), and the deprioritisation of higher education through the rate of return methodology and the resulting short education policy menu (section 7.1.1). Also, according to the interview participants, and as observed in the organisational structures of both organisations, the World Bank and UNESCO have a low number of higher education specialists overall. One key informant suggested higher education was treated (at least theoretically) as the "stepchild" in both the Education sector and at the Bank. In both cases, there seems to be a correlation between the discursive deprioritisation of higher education and the structural deprioritisation of higher education within the organisations (see section 6.1.3, discourse CI, and section 7.1.1 in chapters 6 and 7).

Indeed, the World Bank's primarily economic-developmental idea of the university, with its prioritisation of economic indicators for calculating social rates of returns, resulted in the deprioritisation of higher education, and the orientation towards basic and secondary education as seen in discourse F on the discursive performativity of Bank policy rhetoric (section 7.2.3). In this way, with a developmental approach that

prioritises human capital development and labour market needs, measured by economic growth, the economic-developmental idea of the university is discursively restricted in its vision of the university and its contributions to society. This relates again to value capture and the simplification of the values and ideas of the university through the Bank priorities and the impact of a technical consensus approach (Ratner, 2004) to collective values and collective decision-making—specifically the role of disciplinary expertise in the case of the rate-of-return rhetoric in Bank policy.

As internationalisation of higher education is also viewed as something elite or commercial within an economic-developmental idea of the university, there is a restriction in the way in which it may be supported towards primarily developmental ends (section 7.2.2.2). In this way, both the internationalisation of higher education, and higher education more generally, have been rhetorically and structurally marginalised and continue to be side-lined to a certain extent within the Bank, as for instance, has taken place in the new Human Capital Index (World Bank, 2021). More recent documents suggest a widening of the valuations of the university beyond an economic-developmental idea of the university, to include values associated with an academic idea of the university (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021; Murthi & Bassett, 2022), however, it is unclear how these will affect internal structures and processes in the future.

8.3.1 External Structures & Processes

In this section, I briefly compare structures and processes external to and between the two organisations, in relation to historical cooperation and competition, and recent public policy. While both the World Bank and UNESCO were created as UN organisations, the Bank is functionally autonomous. Within and between the two

organisations' functions as development actors in education, each has undergone "phases of tensions and competition," (Edwards & Storen, 2017, p. 6) over the decades.

In 1964, the two organisations signed a cooperative agreement, which "for the Bank… meant increased legitimacy… while for UNESCO… more funding" (Edwards & Storen, 2017, p. 7). As one key informant put it, "the World Bank has the money and [UNESCO has] the charm." In 1998, the two organisations cooperated to support the first World Higher Education Conference, and subsequently jointly-supported the task force and publication of *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (Task Force, 2000). Additionally, the two organisations cooperated to support the successful GIQAC initiative (section 8.2.1). However, the overlap of their roles as development actors may have caused some competition, especially within the clearinghouse function for both education and higher education—with the UNESCO Institute for Statistics database, the Sustainable Development Goals as indicators, the SABER measurement tool, and the Human Capital Index (Fontdevila, 2022).

Both organisations have taken steps that suggest that the value-complexes within the ideas of the university that preside within their approach to higher education (and internationalisation of higher education) could be broadened in the near future, and is already pushing the boundaries of an (economic-)developmental idea of the university. For instance, with the recently widened globally-relevant mandate of UNESCO-IESALC, and its focus on a human-rights and global public good approach to higher education, as well as the approach taken in the World Bank's STEERing report (Arnhold & Bassett, 2021) that explicitly references internationalisation, and discusses the benefits of internationalisation in a way that implicitly points to intrinsic valuations of higher

education and a less economic approach to the developmental idea of the university. Furthermore, a recent blog post by the World Bank vice-president for the Human Development network and a global lead for tertiary education (Murthi & Bassett, 2022) also makes an attempt to bridge between academic, developmental, and economic-developmental ideas of the university. These recent steps may broaden the approach for the higher education units within the two organisations towards finding more common spaces for future cooperation, especially with regards to internationalisation of higher education.

8.4 Testing Theoretical Ideas & Values in Context

The theoretical proposition put forward in this study is that the values and ideas of the university held by international organisations, in relation to their work in higher education and its internationalisation, practically influence policy and programming coordinated by the organisations. The comparative analysis in this chapter was used to test the effectiveness of the theoretical ideas and related values that were used to analyse and interpret the data—that is, whether the data supports the theoretical framework. The comparative analysis offers an iterative form of analysis across the two theory-testing cases to try to surface the theoretical categories of the ideas of the university as academic, developmental, and globalised. While each category contained a complex and conflicting set of value elements, valuing the university in both instrumental and intrinsic ways, there were limitations in the application of the deductive set of codes (Appendix D) as alluded to in the analysis of this chapter. Using a hybridised inductive-deductive coding method (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) helped to limit the weaknesses of the theoretical

testing construct, and surfaced the specific areas that were not well represented by the theoretical framework.

The theoretical categories of ideas of the university are limited with regards to the understanding of international organisations as systems—the value-orientations of individuals, the value-spheres of the sector and the organisations, and the resulting complexes of values that shape how the organisations operated in higher education and internationalisation. With regards to individual and sector-level value-orientations, disciplinary influences played an important role (e.g., the influence of shifting underlying development theories) , and were partially represented by the theoretical categories, which were also separated by a field of study (philosophy of higher education for an academic idea of the university; international higher education for a globalised idea of the university; and international development for a developmental idea of the university).

The theoretical categories were also limited in that a specifically economic idea of the university was not included—while both the globalised and developmental ideas of the university incorporated the concept of the knowledge economy and human capital theories, neither area of study supports a wholly economic or marketised rationale for higher education. Especially for the World Bank data, incorporating a theoretical idea of the university, such as a purely neo-liberal or marketised idea of the university, might have better been able to capture codes deductively. Elements of the neo-liberal and marketised/corporatised university are included, especially in the globalised idea of the university, but the scholarly literature by and large is critical of this approach, and proposed more nuanced valuations of the university as a result.

The second limitation is related to the organisational missions of international development actors, which were not well-represented within the theoretical categories. Although the theoretical categories pointed to developmental ends across the developmental and globalised ideas of the university, the particularly mission-, priority-, or strategy-driven developmental framings were not well represented, or needed more specificity to understand interdiscursive relationships and how value elements from theoretical categories interacted with strategic economic- or sustainable-developmental ends. This limitation of the theoretical construct, in terms of the absence of the strategic- or priority-focused approaches, also points to the concept of value-capture, in that the theoretical framework represents a rich, complex set of values and ideas of the university, which makes it difficult to represent narrower, simplified valuations of the university and its functions identified in the inductive coding process.

UNESCO's mission-oriented developmental idea of the university, through equitable access to education for all, through the dissemination of knowledge, and international cooperation was constructed based on an assumption of global socio-economic changes due to a knowledge revolution and global crises (discourses AI and AII, chapter 6). As such the focus on societal needs within a globally unequal, rapidly shifting context, positions a developmental higher education framed within a particular social imaginary—academic mismatch, lifelong learning, relevance, quality assurance, and qualification recognition. Elements of the academic idea of the university continue to be present, but the internationalisation of higher education is also positioned to meet this ideological framing of the university, prioritising internationalisation as mobility in

relation to the focus of the higher education units within UNESCO, with limited focus on academic research collaboration in policy, except in the Science sector (section 6.1.3.1).

With the World Bank's institutional identity as bank, and its twin missions of poverty alleviation and boosting sharing prosperity, the theoretical developmental and globalised ideas of the university were useful frames to understand the instrumentalisation of the university for human capital development, knowledge economy ends, and the focus on widening participation. However, once again the approach to supporting higher education fell strongly within an economic-developmental idea of the university with a heavy strategic focus on economic growth, capacity-building, technical transfer of knowledge, innovation, trade in services, and lifelong learning. Similarly to phenomenon of value-capture identified through the absences identified in inductively coding the UNESCO data, the particular mission-, priority-, and strategy-driven approaches to supporting higher education in World Bank policy, particularly the focus on system differentiation, funding diversification, governmental supervision, quality assurance, and accountability, were only partially represented by the deductive codes and the theoretical categories of the theoretical framework.

Internationalisation research collaboration is limited in both organisations' higher education-specialised units, given the ways in which the university is valued within the organisations themselves—in relation to organisational missions and priorities, and in the strategies the IOs choose to recommend. As such, international research collaboration and internationalisation of research as a function of the research component of the university—for the pursuit of academic knowledge, and for knowledge for its own sake—are barely represented, if at all. Internationalisation of research within an

internationalisation of higher education for society lens is incorporated to a certain extent, with the commitment to societal needs at national, regional, and international levels. However, because of the normative determination and framing of what society needs by both organisations, scientific and technical disciplines are prioritised in the internationalisation of research (e.g., through sectoral fragmentation between Education and Science sectors at UNESCO, or through prioritisation of STEM disciplines and technology transfer at the World Bank, see section 6.1.3.1 and discourse EI in section 7.2.2.1). As such, international academic collaboration through research is not prioritised in a holistic way as recommended within the theoretical conception of a globalised idea of the university, nor within the theorisation of the internationalisation of academic research in international higher education literature.

To conclude this chapter, and in spite of limitations of the theoretical construct, the theoretical categories were valuable in that they allowed for identification and interpretation of interdiscursivity and meta-discursive recontextualisation within the data, and for identification of how values and ideas of the university shifted alongside changes in organisational approaches and priorities, as well as underlying theories of development. Identifying these aspects of the data helped to understand how these two international organisations, at the top of the higher education global governance hierarchy, wield their linguistic capital enacting value capture in relation to theoretical values and ideas of the university (section 8.1). The theoretically-constructed ideas of the university also allowed for analysis of how values and ideas of the university may influence practical structures and processes within the organisation and in terms of organisational activity externally (section 8.3). The analysis, through the absences in the

data, also demonstrated how much the academic idea of the university remains idealised in scholarship, and has not been well translated for application in policy and practice environments, especially in international development higher education.

Intrinsic valorisation of the university and its functions could offer a much broader base for approaching international development higher education, as both Chankseliani (2022) and McCowan (2019) propose. Chankseliani's (2022) conception of incorporating both essentialist (human capital theory and marketised ideas of the university) and anti-essentialist (capability theory and effective freedoms) approaches align with incorporating more academic value elements alongside developmental ideas of the university. McCowan's (2019) concept of the generative intrinsic more closely aligns with an academic idea of the university—focusing on the specific functions of the university—but broadening how we evaluate the impact of higher education on development both in terms of time and in terms of outcomes or impact.

The merit of comparative analysis and the outcome of theory-testing is the demonstration that theoretical value categories related to the ideas of the university do play a part in shaping international organisation structures and processes, but in complex ways that are not neatly represented by disciplinary-bounded theoretical categories. Yet what the categories and the value elements do offer is: (i) a means to analyse and interpret how powerful international organisations approach higher education and internationalisation of higher education in relation to linguistic capital wielded via policy channels; (ii) some insight into how individuals articulate and negotiate organisational values; and (iii) a framework to understand the capture and simplification of values in discourses that are operationalised within the organisations in relation to the complex and

conflicting theoretical values and ideas of the university in higher education-related

disciplinary scholarship in the philosophy of higher education, international development

higher education, and international and internationalised higher education literatures.

CHAPTER 9: Implications, Recommendations, & Future Directions

Reflecting on the premise for this study—the performative relationship between interpretation of society and the world via higher education scholarship and enacting of these interpretations in higher education policy via the double-hermeneutic effect (Blakely, 2020)—this project aimed to understand the relationship between theoretical interpretations of multiple values and ideas of the universities from within and across different disciplines and their influence on higher education and its internationalisation within the real international organisation policy context. With this foundation, I derived a theoretical construct from disciplinary literatures in order to gauge the often implicit influence and presence of values and ideas of the university in policy (see Table 1, section 5.2). The theoretical construct consisted of three sets of idealised models (Mills, 2017) or ideas of the university: (i) an academic idea of the university from philosophy of higher education literature; (ii) a globalised idea of the university from international higher education literature; and (iii) a developmental idea of the university from international development higher education literature. These categories consisted of complex sets of intrinsic and/or instrumental values which framed idealised versions of what the university is, what it is for, and its relationship to society,

To apply the theoretical construct to the empirical portion of the study using theory-testing via critical discourse analysis of IO policy, I framed international organisations as leaders in the global governance of higher education, understood as possessing significant linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) through their functions in international development higher education. These functions included the normalisation of values and ideas of the university via policy and other functions such as data-

collection, analysis, educational measurement and evaluation, and for the World Bank, project and programme-funding. I used the concept of elite capture to describe the phenomenon of IO power over knowledge and values via policy channels enabling them to "describe, define, and create political realities (Táíwò, 2022, p. 32). The theoretical claim I tested via the two theory-testing cases of UNESCO and the World Bank was that that the values held by IOs with regards to higher education and its internationalisation practically shape the policy and programming coordinated by the organisations. I found that the idealised theoretical ideas of the university are useful for this analytic approach and, indeed, do play a part in shaping international organisation structures and processes, but in complex ways that are not neatly represented by disciplinary-bounded theoretical categories. I used the concept of value capture (Nguyen, 2020) in the interpretation of the study findings to describe the phenomenon of value entextualisation through decontextualisation and meta-discursive recontextualisation of what the university is and is for in IO policy discourse, resulting in the dominance of simplified valuations of the university and its functions recontextualised within IO policy priorities.

In this chapter, I discuss a few implications of the study findings, and the kinds of challenges we might face given the findings of the study—generally, in relation to how we understand what the university is and is for, and how we evaluate the university, and specifically, in relation to international academic research collaboration. I also propose collaboration between scholars in higher education studies, especially philosophers and theorists of higher education, as well as with colleagues working within international organisations and in spaces of international development higher education. I close with some potential directions that this research may take in the future in terms of broader

theorisations of what the university is and is for, accounting for academic,

developmental, and globalised ideas of the university.

9.1 Implications of the Study Findings

In a panel discussion on March 29th, 2023, during a World Bank event

commemorating the 50th anniversary of George Psacharapoulos' book, *Returns to*

Education, Barry R. Chiswick (2023)—a professor of economics and international

affairs, known for studying the relationship between schooling and earnings—said that it

was, "…better to base policy on the things that we can measure, than base policy on

nothing." This false dichotomy helps to understand the kind of social imaginary that

tends to frame international development higher education policy—that for policy to be

good, it must be measurable in the quantitative sense. This dichotomy is founded on a

limited developmental ideology constructed on organisational priorities linked to value

indicators that act as substitutions for the rich and complex set of values that underlie

what the university is and is for, and how the university may be valued and valuable both

intrinsically and instrumentally for individuals and society.

As emphasised by the discourses identified in the analysed documents, the

consequences of this limited ideological approach have several implications—both

philosophical and practical. The philosophical implications have significant impact on

the conceptualisation and application of policy and programming in this area, as observed

in the two theory-testing cases (chapters 7 and 8). The exclusion and restriction of

research and international academic research collaboration in the documents of both

organisations make explicit that the philosophical foundation that shapes the approach to

higher education tends to fall within (i) an economic social imaginary; (ii) a *Homo*

economicus rational choice model of the individual; and (iii) a developmental idea of the university that blends ideas of the university with organisational priorities. The academic idea of the university and related intrinsic and instrumental valuations of the university and the internationalisation of higher education across academic functions exist mostly in relation to teaching and learning in support of society through encouraging global citizenship, political participation, and providing for societal needs. In this way, the perception of the university, in relation to society, tends to be almost entirely instrumental within an (economic-) developmental idea of the university, contributing to the functional overloading of the university as a public service institution.

Returning to the research questions of the study, the analysis of the data suggests that internationalisation of higher education policy for both the World Bank and UNESCO takes on a layered and complex developmental idea of the university as a foundation, one that is dependent on multiple developmental theories, and influenced by strategies and priorities related to organisational missions. The restrictions to academic research collaboration and the internationalisation of research are related to the specific systemic context of each organisational case, but together contribute to the treatment academic research as distinct and thus separated from higher education policy and programming. Additionally, the conflation of academic knowledge and science seems to skew the focus of academic research within organisational policy to technical and scientific fields.

The implications practically include the detachment or restriction of academic research, academic research collaboration and other forms of internationalisation of academic research from the positions, units, and experts within the organisations that are

primarily responsible for tertiary education within UNESCO especially (section 6.1.3.1).

Within the World Bank, the instrumentalisation of research for economic progress and to

meet locally relevant societal need also restricts how it may be approached within the

tertiary education units (discourse EI, section 7.2.2.1). Policy norms and implications

that are developed within these spaces follow from this conceptualisation, such that the

recommendations for academic internationalisation either exclude academic research and

its internationalisation as part of the positioning of higher education in international

development, or limit academic internationalisation to mobility functions and to locally

supportive ends. There is little space for internationalisation of higher education as it is

discussed theoretically within the intrinsic values of the university—for the pursuit of

knowledge for its own sake, for a commitment to an international academic community

of scholars, or a commitment to academic research.

Indeed, internationalisation of higher education as a meta-function of the

university must also be further explored and theorised in a way that incorporates intrinsic

academic functions as well as instrumental developmental functions. Internationalisation

of higher education for society (Brandenburg et al., 2020) is a useful theoretical step in

this direction, but requires more theorising in its relationship to the fundamental values of

the university to support the evaluative component of this thick concept (Väyrynen,

2021). Within the current approaches to internationalisation of higher education in

international development and a developmental idea of the university, it is difficult to

justify its value—as much of what is valuable about internationalisation is linked to its

intrinsic value benefit, as the instrumental benefits to society (as global public goods) are

hard to capture or measure economically for any one country's developmental benefit.

Additionally, the treatment of "science" as distinct from conceptualisation of the role of higher (tertiary) education in general, and the university in particular, can be related to several important outcomes. Firstly, it solidifies a normative approach to an economic-developmental idea of the university—one that tends to focuses on employable skills, labour market outcomes, and economic valuation of the outcomes of academic research—for national economic progress, for technological transfer, and for innovation. In this way, justification for funding the university, for instance, is based on employability and society's economic needs or demands. Furthermore, "science" understood in this way may lead to disproportionate disciplinary representation, such that STEM fields are defined within the boundaries of "science" and the arts, humanities, and the social sciences are absent. This seems to contradict key commitments within an academic idea of the university—the value of disciplinary diversity, the university as a place for all worldviews and to interact within the international academic community across disciplines.

The work that is done in the space of "science" is also limited by the same conceptualisation, but in the opposite direction. "Science" for development tends to focus solely on immediate societal crises as defined by international organisational policy priorities—for instance, the SDGs (which subsequently affects "science" policy prioritisation at institutional, national, and regional levels, as well as related research funding). The treatment of "science" as isolated from the purposes and values of the academic idea of the university becomes problematic in relation to intellectual property security and can lead to restrictive implications on open access to and international participation in knowledge due to a primacy given to knowledge securitisation. It also

prioritises applied science with immediately economically valuable outcomes or responsive to contemporary crises, and does not give due importance to basic or fundamental scientific research as characterised and valued within an academic idea of the university.

The problem of relying on a developmental idea of the university that is committed to organisational priorities, rather than both intrinsic and instrumental valuations across idealised models of the university, is exemplified by the World Bank's limited rates of return methodology (discourse F, section 7.2.3). By focusing on what may be easily measured and utilised, the prioritisation of primary and secondary education over higher education with regards to social benefits (whether or not historical lending to higher education remained consistent) does have an impact on how higher education is perceived in international development higher education, such that the university and its functions are viewed as private goods. Even if higher education is viewed as important to development, the instrumentalisation of the university continues to the end of functional overload of the university.

This focus also contributes to diminishing the role of publicly disseminated academic research in support of agency in determining public will in a democratic public sphere. Rather, it tends to a technocratic valuing of this function of the university, with knowledge securitisation and knowledge commodification limiting access to academic research and its transmission to the public. This tendency is one of the most significant challenges we face today due to the exclusion of the academic idea of the university from the philosophical foundation of international development.

This study does not call for a return to a golden age or an ivory tower concept of the university—whether or not there was ever such a thing in fact, there are certainly elements of this idea that exist and have existed (such as elite access, a limited worldview, lack of transmission of academic research for public consumption etc.) that have contributed to a perception of anti-intellectualism that is exploited in the rhetoric of new forms of contemporary nationalism around the world.

Returning to Jaspers (1946/1959) in the post-World War II era, it seems that the university of our time must be one that has a responsibility to society. But one that has its foundation intrinsic and instrumental valuations across idealised models of the university and a commitment to knowledge for the sake of knowledge, within a community of scholars and students, requiring academic freedom, and autonomy. Jaspers (1946/1959) gives a necessary proviso for this idea of the university to operate as a university—that while public funding should support the university, the university should function autonomously in order to function well. Responsiveness to society is built on this foundation, with the transmission of knowledge through research communication, education, professional training, and creating a space for *Bildung* towards intellectual freedom for members of society. In this way, the university's role as the intellectual conscience of society is an extension of its other functions, rather than an addition. The university and higher education begin with the human person, dooming the tendency for pure instrumentalisation through limited (economic-)developmental ideas of the university ultimately without consideration of intrinsic values and the human person.

9.2 Recommendations for Research and Practice

In response to these implications, I propose that we base and evaluate higher education policy on what is important, both intrinsically and instrumentally, in all the various iterations of higher education across different contexts—rather than what is simply easy to measure. The limitations of the theoretical ideas of the university in this study underscore the need for theorising ideas of the university that are responsive to society (Jaspers, 1946/1959) and acknowledge the challenges in the international development higher education space in particular, without sacrificing the intrinsic and instrumental value elements that underlie the contributions of the university to society. Accepting narrow ideas of what the university is and can be in society means a surrender to value capture by these powerful international organisations.

Rather, consider the potential of the generative intrinsic (McCowan, 2019) as one path for beginning this conversation in a way that is accessible and meaningful to international organisations, requiring an acknowledgment of the difficulties in measuring development outcomes and social impact (pointing to a need for better tools for evaluation), and a need for contextualised and longitudinal evaluation over far longer periods of times (decades, rather than three-to-five year projects and programs). Recognising the conflicts of interdiscursive value complexes within the data of the two theory-testing cases, it seems that a richer and more complex theorisation of the university is also required, one that can account for the rationales of different stakeholders, including academic, developmental, and globalised ideas of the university, while also working to correct historical and perpetuated inequalities, especially for poorer

countries and people (e.g., by applying Mills' (2017) framework of corrective justice alongside distributive justice).

It seems to me that the conflicting interdiscursivity of higher education documents from both UNESCO and the World Bank point to a need for such work on the part of the organisations as well. Attempts to continue to widen the developmental approach to higher education, bringing in intrinsic value elements that have either been discarded over time, or have not been part of the narrative within this space at all. The present approaches rather suggest that the double hermeneutic-effect is functional, though the performative effect of social science theory in policy and practice is also shaped by the organisations themselves, the function of the higher education sector within the organisation, and the agency of individuals responsible for supporting higher education in development spaces. These value complexes that shape how ideas of the university, either implicitly or explicitly, seem to influence policies, programs, and research within these organisations, and how individuals approach their work in international development higher education on a daily basis. In this sense, the theoretical proposition made within this study is verified, though with a caveat around the fuzzy way in which theoretical ideas of the university are applied within international organisations.

The silos between disciplines that study philosophy of higher education, internationalisation, and international development, as well as, education economics seem to contribute to the limited application of theoretical ideas of the university in practice. We need to be working across fields of study within higher education studies in order to support our colleagues working in policy and practice in international development higher education. The restrictions on the academic idea of the university and intrinsic

valuations of the university point to a failure on the part of philosophers of higher education—it is part of our role (as academic researchers) to translate and disseminate academic research for public consumption, to support public will formation and informed decision-making in the governance of democratic society (Habermas, 1986).

The notion of public philosophy contributing to policy is also something that we could be doing better and more. Supporting international organisations in their work in international development was part of the role of philosophers after the World Wars (Jacques Maritain supported the development of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Henri Bergson was a chair of the International Institution for International Cooperation). This call is not just for philosophers of higher education, although academics in international higher education and international development higher education seem to be far more present as peer reviewers and participants in policy conversations. Similarly, for practitioners in international development higher education spaces, in international, regional, and national organisations, it is important to consciously broaden the philosophical foundation for supporting higher education, accounting for both intrinsic and instrumental valuations of the university and its functions in evaluating social impact. Thus, collaboration with higher education specialists across fields of study (including the philosophy of higher education) would be strongly recommended to consciously develop more complex theorisations across academic, developmental, and globalised ideas of the university.

Ultimately, higher education, much like peace, begins in human minds, which makes instrumentalisation, commodification, objectification of teaching, learning,

research, and knowledge for whatever end (developmental or economic) bound to fail without accounting for the human person first.

9.3 Future Directions for Research

In the process of doing the research for this dissertation, I have found that I frequently needed to reshape or refocus the initial questions with which I began the study, for a number of reasons. Feasibility, in terms of the research time frame allotted to a PhD student in the US context and the very real limitations of the capacity of a single researcher, is one reason. Another is the experience of approaching both the field and the topic from a place of not knowing what I don't know, and discovering that some of what I don't know is already known and knowable (at least in part) by reading the literature, and other things that I don't know are just not yet known and must be studied (by someone, perhaps myself) to be known. Thus, in recognition of the limits of feasibility and the experience of finding questions not yet investigated within the bounds of my area of interest, the approach to the study shifted from a broad query of the concept of the internationalisation of higher education and its relationship to philosophical ideas of the university to this dissertation.

The journey of inquiry that I took from that early query of the philosophical bases of the concept of the internationalisation of higher education to a study of values and ideas of the university in the IO policy context included some doorways that opened to alternative journeys, but were ultimately not pursued. Others were doorways that I did not open (either intentionally or unintentionally) and point to limitations of this study that must also be made clear. In this section, I present a few of these ideas related to this study in various ways, but remain as of yet unexplored as far as I am aware.

The three directions for future research I present here are each developed from the investigation of the theoretical values and ideas of the university in this dissertation. First, further theorisation of the concept of the internationalisation of higher education in relation to the theoretical construct of this study, alongside a historical study of its conceptual evolution. Second, an extension of the theoretical construct of the study to incorporate the historical to contemporary development of non-Western values and ideas of the university. And third, developing ideal and non-ideal theories in relation to the university in order to identify, account for, and correct historical and contemporary social inequalities related to the university and the internationalisation of higher education, towards corrective and distributive justice ends (Mills, 2017).

Firstly, the theorisation of the concept of the internationalisation of higher education has been something I have struggled with as a limitation to this dissertation. From the discussion of the definition of the concept (section 3.2.2), it becomes clear that the relative immaturity of the field of international higher education renders the definition of internationalisation of higher education as something evolving, in flux, and generally undertheorised—with a specific tension between descriptive and normative components or approaches to the definition itself (Adriansen, 2020; de Wit, 2019; de Wit, 2023; Teferra, 2019; Szadkowski, 2019). This, of course, makes it more difficult to clarify the category of a globalised idea of the university in relation to the way the university is valued, especially in relation to the meta-function of the internationalisation of higher education. As such, the set of values associated with a globalised idea of the university seems to me to be the least coherent among the three idealised models of the university in the theoretical construct developed within this dissertation.

From this limitation, I suggest that treating the concept of internationalisation of higher education as a "thick" concept with both non-evaluative descriptive and evaluative components (Väyrynen, 2021) may support a better understanding of the concept, without dichotomising the concept along the lines of fact and value (DeLaquil, 2020b; Putnam, 2002). By treating the concept as such, it is possible to also discuss its conceptual evolution from a functional policy definition (Knight, 1994), to a purely descriptive definition (Knight, 2003), to an expansion to include a normative end (Brandenburg et al., 2019; de Wit et al., 2015), to recent explicitly normative definitions (Lee, 2021; Heleta & Chasi, 2022; Marginson, 2022). By providing historical contextualisation and avoiding methodological dualism (DeLaquil, 2020b) in its theoretical framing, it may be possible to more strongly discuss the concept of internationalisation of higher education as a meta-function of the university and properly situate it in terms of intrinsic and instrumental values associated with ideas of the university.

A second possibility for future research is related to another limitation of this study, in that non-Western models of the university are not included in analysis of ideas of the university from the philosophy of higher education literature review (chapter 2). The assumption I made in that chapter, and the justification for this exclusion in this study, does fall into the trap of disconnected histories—that contemporary ideas of the university in these contexts are disconnected from historical ideas, pre- and post-colonisation (Bhambra, 2014). Instead, by revoking this assumption, the inclusion of non-Western models of the university opens a much wider set of values and ideas of the university, such as a Chinese idea of the university (Yang, 2022), Rabindranath Tagore's

Eastern or Indian idea of the university (Srinivasan, 2018), or ideas of an African university (Ndofirepi & Gwaravanda, 2020).

For each of these ideas, one must account for the influence of the historical event of colonialism or encounter with or domination of "Western" ideas, as well as the coloniality inherent in contemporary social contexts, while recognising what value elements may yet be historically connected to the ideas of universities of more ancient lineage. This research direction would enrich the theoretical construct of this study, contributing to the aim to develop more complex theorisations of the university for both theoretical and philosophical as well as practical applications. Additionally, this analysis would be a contribution to the field of international higher education.

The final research direction I would like to present builds on the overall approach to this study, which aimed to provide a fact-sensitive understanding of the actual context of IO coordination of higher education through policy—the real-world situation in which we exist. This was intended as a foundation for future research developing ideal and non-ideal theories of the university to account for and correct the inequalities of our time in relation to higher education and internationalisation of higher education in society, while aiming for an ideal form of distributive justice (Mills, 2017). To move towards this goal, further limitations of this study would need to be addressed.

First of all, with only two theory-testing cases, it is not possible to claim a truly fact-sensitive contextual understanding of global governance of higher education with regards to IOs. This limitation also extends to the data within the cases being primarily drawn from public-facing documents and a restricted set of interviews. To extend the

analysis, it would be important to include a broader set of IOs and to analyse across the organisational sub-systems, including individuals across sectors involved with higher education, and across levels of management. Moving beyond the IO policy context would also be useful in the development of non-ideal theory of the university, as other actors are also involved in the global governance of higher education, for instance, regional governments, academic networks, private foundations, national agencies, and civil society organisations.

Secondly, understanding the function of values and ideas of the university and the phenomenon of value capture in higher education would also be usefully extended in the development of ideal and non-ideal theories of the university in society. In the present study, this is limited to the IO policy context and the two theory-testing cases analysed. This concept could be applied to areas of study including various forms of evaluation in higher education and international development applied across the functions of the university, the phenomenon of global university rankings, quality assurance, metricisation in academia, and other aspects. Using this conceptual lens would also be a contribution to the development of ideal and non-ideal theory and principles of corrective and distributive justice for higher education in different contexts, including the components of the internationalisation of higher education (Mills, 2017).

With each of these potential research directions, I hope to develop the work begun in this dissertation in feasible stages over the following years in this field of study.

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Appendix A: Sample Interview Questions

1. How do you see the function of your section/institute/position in relation to the other institutes and divisions that work in tertiary/higher education within the organisation?

2. How would you describe your organisation's motivation for supporting tertiary/higher education? For your section? For internationalisation of tertiary/higher education? Is that distinct from the section/institute/position within which you work?

3. Given the timeframe I'm looking at—from 1997 to the present—it seems that there are several significant events we can point to that seem to punctuate the 25 years (list documents and events).

    a. What relationship, if any, do you see between these events and the contemporary approach to tertiary/higher education within your organisation?

    b. Do you see any relationship to the way tertiary/higher education has been approached in the past?

    c. Are there any other events you think are significant in this timeframe?

4. How does your organisation understand internationalisation of academic research? (This might include research collaboration via co-authorship, scholar mobility, cross-border relationships, research networks, etc.).

5. In reviewing some of your organisation's recent documents relating to tertiary/higher education, it would be great to hear more about the organisation's focus on:

    a. Value x; value y; value z

    b. In developing these ideas, is mostly top-down or do you see some grassroots level input? Through consultations?

6. It seems that in the present time, the divisions and institutes that support tertiary/higher education are mainly operating in supporting organisational characteristic A, B, C.

    a. Is that a fair assessment? Do you see any challenges with taking on this role as an institution?

7. Finally, are there any key documents you would recommend that are important for me to review for my document analysis over the past 25 years?

8. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix B: Recruitment Email

Subject: An interview request from a PhD student in international higher education

Dear _____

My name is Tessa DeLaquil, and I'm writing to you as a PhD student from the Boston College Center for International Higher Education, United States.

At this time, I'm gathering data for my dissertation in Higher Education. I'm seeking interviews with key informants with _____ (*the World Bank/UNESCO,* blank will be filled as appropriate), who are engaged with the work the organisation carries out in the area of tertiary education. Given your role as _____, and your expertise in tertiary education and international organisations, it would be a great contribution to my study to have an opportunity to speak with you.

The research aim

Through this qualitative research project, I aim to understand how values influence the internationalisation of higher education, and in particular academic research internationalisation and cooperation, and the role of international organisations and their policy in the process over the past two decades.

I'm very much interested in how international organisations and the values that exist within these institutions shape the way we see internationalisation of higher education take place. I think that this question may be of interest to those who work within the field of tertiary education and international development and that your insights would help me to respond to this question.

How you would participate

I would like to invite you, if you would be interested, to participate via a 45 minutes to 1-hour Zoom interview as soon as it may be possible for you. My request is for an interview before the 15th of December. I do understand that you may be extremely busy at this time of year, but I would really appreciate being able to speak with you.

I have attached a short informed consent document to this email with more details about the study. I would like to highlight that your contributions would be anonymised as one among several interviews within the _____ (*World Bank, UNESCO*), both in terms of the data collected as well as in any future research publications.

Thank you very much for your time.

With kind regards,

Tessa DeLaquil

PhD student at the Boston College Center for International Higher Education

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form

Boston College Consent Form
Boston College [*Lynch School of Education and Human Development***]**
Informed Consent to be in study [*Establishing the context of the internationalisation of higher
education: The influence of values on academic research internationalisation via international
organisation policy***]**
Researcher: [*Tessa DeLaquil*]
Study Sponsor: [*NA*]
Type of consent [*Adult Consent Form***]**

Invitation to be Part of a Research Study

You are invited to participate in a research study that seeks to understand how values
influence academic research internationalisation via international organisations.

You were selected to be in the study because of your expertise in tertiary education and
international organisations.

Through this qualitative research project, I aim to understand how values influence the
internationalisation of higher education, and in particular academic research
internationalisation and cooperation, and the role of international organisations and their
policy in the process.

This research study is part of a doctoral dissertation project.

Taking part in this research project is voluntary.

What is the study about and why are we doing it?

The purpose of the study is to learn about the values that shape the internationalisation of
higher education, academic research internationalisation, and international research
collaboration, and the role of international organisations and international organisational
policies.

What will happen if you take part in this study?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be interviewed by Tessa DeLaquil, the
principal investigator of this project.

The interview will be held via Zoom and will take approximately 60 minutes. The principal investigator will use the Zoom setting that records directly onto her personal device rather than to the cloud.

The interview will be video recorded for transcription and analysis purposes. The recording will be stored in a secure server in a password-protected file. Only the principal investigator (Tessa DeLaquil) will have access to the file.

How could you benefit from this study?

You may benefit from participating in this study as the findings of the study may be of interest to you and to your work in tertiary education and international development.

I will ensure that any research publications from this study are made available to you.

Additionally, the findings of this study may contribute more widely to the international development community and to policy-makers, practitioners, and other academic researchers who work in higher education internationalisation.

The results of this study may also contribute to support international organisations in their approach norms and policies related to higher education internationalisation.

What risks might result from being in this study?

There is no perceived risk associated with participating in this study.

How will we protect your information?

Your identifiable information will only be present in this email exchange and not stored anywhere else.

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I may publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you.

All electronic information (video files and transcripts) will be coded and secured using a password-protected file. The researcher will be assigning each participant a unique, coded identifier used in place of actual identifiers. Any names will be deleted after the participant data has been replaced by a code.

Video recordings will be stored in a password-protected secure server accessible only to the researcher (Tessa DeLaquil).

The Institutional Review Board at Boston College and internal Boston College auditors may review the research records. State or federal laws or court orders may also require that information from your research study records be released. Otherwise, the researchers

will not release to others any information that identifies you unless you give your permission, or unless we are legally required to do so.

GDPR information

If you reside in the European Economic Area during your participation in the study, the GDPR gives you certain rights with respect to your study data. You have the right to request access to, rectification, or erasure of, your study data. You also have the right to object to or restrict our processing of your study data. In order to make any such requests, please contact the primary investigator or the Boston College Office of Research Protections identified below.

The primary investigator will delete your study data when it is no longer needed for the study or other research purposes [or if you withdraw consent].

You may withdraw any consent at any time.

How will we compensate you for being part of the study?

There is no compensation for being part of this study.

What are the costs to you to be part of the study?

There is no cost to you to be in this research study.

Your Participation in this Study is Voluntary

Participating in this study is voluntary. If you decide to be part of the study now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you decide to withdraw before this study is completed, the video recording and any field notes will be deleted.

Contact Information for the Study Team and Questions about the Research

If you have questions about this research, you may contact the researcher, Tessa DeLaquil, at tessa.delaquil@bc.edu, or advisor, Rebecca Schendel at schendel@bc.edu.

Contact Information for Questions about Your Rights as a Research Participant

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions, or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact the following:

Boston College

Office for Research Protections
Phone: (617) 552-4778
Email: irb@bc.edu

Your Consent

Before agreeing to be part of the research, please be sure that you understand what the study is about. If you permit the primary investigator to collect and use your study data for the purpose of carrying out the study described in this form, please respond to this email to indicate your consent.

This is an electronic copy of this document for your records [or you can print a copy of the document for your records]. If you have any questions about the study later, you may contact the study team using the information provided above.

Appendix D: Deductive Codebook

Codes\\Academic Idea of the University

Codes related to the academic idea of the university and to characteristic values

Name	Description
Academic knowledge, driven by a will to know	Intrinsic valuation of academic knowledge (for its own sake), through teaching and learning, research and scholarship, as an individual and in community—Wissenschaft—driven by a will to know
Commitment to academic knowledge communication and transmission	Given that academic knowledge is intrinsically valuable, and accidentally transformation, and there is a will to know driving the pursuit of academic knowledge, there is also a commitment to knowledge transmission through communication of academic knowledge
Commitment to the pursuit of academic knowledge	With academic knowledge valued for its own sake, and the university and its functions being intrinsically valuable, there is a commitment made to the pursuit of academic knowledge for this reason.
Knowledge as transformational	Academic knowledge intrinsically valued, with an accidental end of individual development and transformation—Bildung
University as a place of academic research	With the intrinsic valuation of academic knowledge, one of the "identities" of this idea of the university is the university as a place of academic research.
University as a place of all worldviews	An extension of intrinsically valuing the university as a community of scholars, and its relationship to academic knowledge as its own end, is the characteristic of the academic idea of the university that the university is a place of all worldviews (Weltanschauungen), which ensures that the pursuit of knowledge individually is tempered by communication with community.
University as intellectual community, community of scholars	Given the pursuit of academic knowledge for its own sake (intrinsic valuation of academic knowledge) and the will to know extend from the individual to the community, there are commitments to faculty collegiality and communication with a community of scholars. The university as a community of scholars is an intrinsically valuable characteristic of the academic idea of the university.

University as intellectual conscience	The university in service of society takes a distinct shape within the academic idea of the university, with the intrinsic valuation of the university as university within its functions, yet responsive to societal need through knowledge communication, transmission, and in this way as the "intellectual conscience" of the time.
University in service to society through teaching and learning	Knowledge transmission for individual development/formation through teaching and research, helping students learn to be critical, for meaningful independence and freedom, as members of society, and in their professions. Knowledge transmission also supports professional training.
University valued in service of the state	The academic idea of the university also contains some instrumental valuation, with the support of professional training and the relationship to national development through the labour market, with academic research in relation to public knowledge, the development of the individual as part of citizenship formation, and the relationship to university funding.

Codes\\Developmental Idea of the University

Codes related to the developmental idea of the university and to characteristic values

Name	Description
Academic research for societal service	Academic research and its internationalisation is instrumentally valued, not for research itself, or for knowledge, but for developmental and economic outcomes, especially in relation to agricultural, technical/technological, and mechanical disciplines.
Economic significance of STEM disciplines	STEM disciplines are valued instrumentally, as themselves, and prioritised within the university (the university valued instrumentally as a purveyor of STEM disciplines).
Human capital development	The university is instrumentally valued for the development of human capital for the nation-state (internationalisation of higher education also contributes to this, especially via student mobility).
Measureable developmental outcomes	Evaluation of the university is based on measurable developmental, economic outcomes, contributing to the instrumental valuation of the university towards support of the global knowledge economy and to development at national, international levels, including cultural, economic, etc. Measurability of

	university "outcomes" is important for comparability, competition, and evaluation—economic growth is used a key "indicator" for development and the university's contribution.
National values as university values	The values of the nation-state are meant to be shared by the university, the university is valued based on these shared values, including citizen rights.
Obligation to global society	Internationalised research is also instrumentally valued due to the obligation to serve the global public good due to participation in internationalised research funding opportunities (a parallel to national public funding and national obligation). This is made clear by research funding alignment with research agenda that prioritise global challenges, goals, including international human rights.
Public knowledge access and communication	The university and (internationalised) academic research are instrumentally valued for democratic participation in shaping national, regional, and global policy prioritised through knowledge communication and public knowledge access.
Social outcomes	The university is valued instrumentally for social outcomes that support development, including fostering integration (related to interculturality, pluralism), a meritocratic vision of society and the university, maintaining a social order.
The university as a public service institution, obligation to the national public	The university is valued instrumentally primarily as an institution for public service, including a commitment to national/civic responsibility and priorities, as well as civil service and contract research, typically applied or technical research. The relationship is stabilised due to the obligation of the university and academic research dependent on public funding.
The university as an omnifunctional institution	The university is instrumentally valued as an omnifunctional institution, moving beyond traditional academic functions, to public service functions, locally, nationally, and globally—for economic development, solving global challenges, developing technical innovation.
Utilitarian university	The instrumental valuation of the university as utilitarian, related to the university as a public service institution.
Widening participation for participation of underserved populations	The university—as a public serving institution—in sharing national values, is valued instrumentally for supporting equality in a democratic nation-state. Widening participation also serves for intellectual formation of the citizenry.

Codes\\Globalised Idea of the University

Codes related to the globalised idea of the university and to characteristic values

Name	Description
Developing academic research capacity	Internationalisation of higher education is valued instrumentally or intrinsically for developing research capacity through the sharing resources and/or expertise (for academic knowledge ends and/or for technology transfer, economic developmental ends)
Developmental ends	Instrumental valuation of higher education for developing the labour market, for economic/political power.
Economic ends, global knowledge economy	Instrumental valuation of the university towards economic ends, including skilled migration, mutual benefit, economic prosperity, market-based social imaginary, market polis vision of society.
Global citizenship, service to society	Instrumental valuation of the university towards developing global citizenship and a responsibility to service to society - "globalist" value
Global public good relationships to higher education	The university, and its functions, valued as global public goods; academic knowledge valued either intrinsically or instrumentally, as a global public good, to be provided through international cooperation—for the sake of knowledge, or for other ends (solving global challenges, technology transfer, etc.) - academic and/or globalist value.
Global social justice through higher education internationalisation, education for all	Related to international higher education for society, and the internationalisation of the university and its functions as a means to achieving social justice ends—an instrumentalised valuation of higher education - humanist value
Human rights valuation	Higher education valued as a universal human right, an extension of the human right to basic education - humanist value
Improving institutional ranking in international rankings	Instrumental valuing of internationalisation of higher education towards an increase in prestige or reputation for an economic end.
Intercultural, pluralist, cosmopolitan valuation	Instrumental valuation of the university for the purpose of developing intercultural competence, supporting pluralism and cosmopolitanism at individual and societal levels - "globalist" value
International academic collaboration	Intrinsic valuation of the internationalisation of higher education towards academic purposes—supporting teaching, research, and service through the functions of the university, "globalist value," including mobility, networks, etc.
International cooperation	Instrumental valuation of internationalisation of higher education towards political ends for globally desirable ends, solving global challenges, responding to inequalities—poverty, famine, climate change, etc.—usually a theoretical lens of human capital development "globalist" values

Political ends, soft power, legitimacy	Internationalisation of higher education instrumentally valued for political ends including soft power, legitimacy, and trade policy
Technocratic ends	Internationalisation of higher education instrumentally valued for technological transfer, for national capacity building.

Appendix E: List of UNESCO Documents

Year	Document Name	Author	Affiliation	Intended Audience	Genre
1945	Constitution of the UNESCO	United Nations	United Nations	Global public	Organisation constitution
1972	Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow	Faure, E. et al	International Commission of the Development of Education	Executive board, international development organisations, global public	Global report
1996/1998	Learning: The treasure within	Delors, J. et al	International Commission of Education in the 21st Century	Director General, member states, global public	Global report
1996	Medium-term strategy, 1996-2001	General conference participants	UNESCO	Internal UNESCO, member states, global public	Strategy
1998	World declaration on higher education for the twenty-first century	World Higher Education Conference, 1998, participants	NA	State governments, policy-makers, higher education institutions, UNESCO	Declaration
1998	Address by Mr Federico Mayor, DG UNESCO, at the opening of WHEC 1998	DG, Federico Mayor	UNESCO	WHEC participants	DG address
2003	Address by Mr Koïchiro Matsuura, DG UNESCO, at the opening of the Global Research Seminar 'Knowledge Society vs. Knowledge Economy: Knowledge, Power and Politics'.	DG, Koïchiro Matsuura	UNESCO	Event participants	DG address
2005	Towards knowledge societies	Assistant Director Generals of UNESCO sectors	UNESCO	Internal UNESCO, member states, global public	Report
2005	UNESCO at the World Summit on Information Society, Proceedings, Round Table - The Role of UNESCO in the Construction of Knowledge Societies	Division of Higher Education	UNESCO	Event participants	Conference proceedings

	through the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs Programme				
2006	UNITWIN /UNESCO Chairs Programme 2003-2005, International Evaluation, Final Report	Janne Kjaersgaard Perrier	UNESCO Division of HE, Section on International Cooperation	Internal UNESCO	Evaluation report
2007	Address by Mr Koïchiro Matsuura, DG UNESCO, on the occasion of the UNU/UNESCO International Conference "Pathways towards a shared future: changing roles of higher education in a globalized world"	DG, Koïchiro Matsuura	UNESCO	Event participants	DG address
1997/2008	The UNESCO recommendation concerning the Status of Higher Education Teaching Personnel	General conference participants	UNESCO	Member states, HEIs, global public	Recommendation
2010	World Conference on Higher Education 2009, Final Report, Conference Communiqué	Division of Higher Education	UNESCO	WHEC participants, member states, global public	Conference report
2014	Address by Irina Bokova, DG UNESCO, on the occasion of the opening of the International Conference on Higher Education for Sustainable Development: Higher Education Beyond 2014	DG, Irina Bokova	UNESCO	Event participants	DG address
2015	Education 2030, Incheon Declaration	World Education Forum participants	NA	Member states, global public	Declaration
2015	Rethinking education, towards a global common good	Education Sector	UNESCO	Member states, global public	Report
2017	Records of General Conference 39, Recommendation on Science and Scientific Researchers	General conference participants	UNESCO	Member states, HEIs, global public	Recommendation
2019	Global Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education	General conference participants	UNESCO	Member states, HEIs, global public	Global convention
2021	Berlin Declaration on Education for Sustainable Development	World Conference on Education for Sustainable	UNESCO	Member states, HEIs, global public	Declaration

		Development participants			
2021	Reimagining our futures together: A new social contract for education	International Commission on the Futures of Education	UNESCO	Member states, global public	Global report
2021	UNESCO Recommendation on Open Science	General conference participants	UNESCO	Member states, HEIs, global public	Recommendation
2021	Thinking higher and beyond: Perspectives on the futures of higher education to 2050	Sabzalieva, E. et al	IESALC, UNESCO	Member states, HEIs, global public	Report
2022	Beyond limits: New ways to reinvent higher education, Roadmap proposed for WHEC 2022	Section of Higher Education	UNESCO	Member states, HEIs, global public	Working document
2022	Right to higher education: Unpacking the international normative framework in light of current trends and challenges	Right to Education Initiative	UNESCO	WHEC participants	Report
2022	The right to higher education: A social justice perspective	Sabzalieva, E. et al	IESALC, UNESCO	Member states, global public	Report
2022	Knowledge-driven actions: Transforming higher education for global sustainability	International expert group, Education 2030	UNESCO	HEIs, global public	Report
2023	What you need to know about higher education	UNESCO	UNESCO	Global public	Website

Appendix F: List of World Bank Documents

Year	Document Name	Author	Affiliation	Intended Audience	Reviewers	Genre
1994	Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience	Salmi, J. et al	World Bank	Member states	Internal World Bank	Report
1998	Higher Education Relevance in the 21st Century	Gibbons, M.	ACU	WHEC participants	NA	WHEC background paper
1999	Education Sector Strategy	Waite, J. et al	Education Sector, HDNED, World Bank		Internal World Bank, member states	Strategy Report
2000	Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise	Task Force on Higher Education and Society	External experts	World Bank, UNESCO, member states, global public	Academic experts	Report
2002	Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education	Salmi, J. et al	COREHEG, Education Sector, HDNED, World Bank	World Bank, member states	Internal and external World Bank	Report
2002	Successes and Challenges in Tertiary Education Lending, 1990-2000	Ainsworth, M.	Operations Evaluation Department	Internal World bank	NA	Brief
2003	Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy: Challenges for Developing Countries	Linden, T. & Patrinos, H. A.	HDNED, World Bank	Internal World Bank, member states	External peer reviewers, academics, IO experts	Report
2006	Innovations in Tertiary Education Financing: A Comparative Evaluation of Allocation Mechanisms	Salmi, J. & Hauptman, A.	COREHEG and external consultant	Internal World Bank	Internal and external peer reviewers	Education working paper
2007	Trends in International Trade in Higher Education: Implications and Options for Developing Countries	Bashir, S.	HDNED, World Bank	Internal World Bank	Internal World Bank, and academic experts	Education working paper

Year	Title	Author	Origin	Audience	Reviewers	Type
2008	Financing Lifelong Learning	Oosterbeek, H. & Patrinos, H. A.	Academic expert, HDNED	Internal World Bank, member states	NA	Policy research working paper
2008	"Brain Drain" and the Global Mobility of High-Skilled Talent	Leipziger, D. M.	PREM, World Bank	World Bank staff	NA	Brief
2009	Accelerating Catch-up Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa	Yusuf, S., et al.	World Bank	World Bank, UNESCO, member states, global public	External advisory panel, IO experts	Report
2009	The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities	Salmi, J.	HDNED, World Bank	World Bank, member states, global public	Internal and external peer reviewers	Report
2011	Learning for All Investing in People's Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development	King, E. et al	Education Sector, World Bank	World Bank, UNESCO, member states, global public	NA	Strategy report
2015	Accelerating Growth through Skills and Knowledge: An Evaluation of the World Bank Group's Support for Higher Education	Independent Evaluation Group	World Bank	Internal World Bank	NA	Evaluation report
2015	Driving Development with Tertiary Education Reforms	Education Global Practice	World Bank	Member states, global public	NA	Brief
2015	Skills for Jobs in the 21st Century	Education Global Practice	World Bank	Member states, global public	NA	Brief
2016	What Matter Most for Tertiary Education: A Framework Paper, SABER working paper series	Marmolejo, F.	World Bank	Member states	Internal World Bank, academic experts	Working paper
2017	Higher Education for Development: An Evaluation of the World Bank Group's Support	Independent Evaluation Group	World Bank	Internal World Bank, member states	Internal World Bank, academic experts	Evaluation report

2018	Higher Education Needs to Change to Meet the Demands of a Fast-Changing World	Education Global Practice	World Bank	Member states, global public	NA	Brief
2021	Steering Tertiary Education: Towards Resilient Systems that Deliver for All	Arnhold, N. & Bassett, R. M.	World Bank	Internal World Bank, member states	Internal World Bank, IO experts, external experts	Report
2022	Understanding Higher Education & Redefining Values	Murthi, M. & Bassett, R. M.	World Bank	Global public	NA	Blog post

Appendix G: International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation

The history of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) begins before its establishment, at the close of first World War. In 1922, the League of Nations created the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation for intellectual and education cooperation, which as "one of its first activities… [renewed the links between academics… that had been severed by the war" (Valderrama, 1995, p. 2). The purpose of intellectual cooperation through the institute was defined as "international collaboration to ensure the advancement of civilization in general and of human knowledge, particularly the development of the dissemination of the sciences, letters and the arts…" as well as to "[create] a state of mind conducive to the peaceful settlement of international problems" (Valderrama, 1995, p. 3).

It was suggested that activities towards this purpose might include student, faculty, and staff mobility, bilateral "intellectual" agreements, and fellowships and study grants, activities which today fit within the category of internationalisation of academic research. Another area of focus was intellectual property and copyright protection and the Institute worked to have international protection included in a convention—a task that was later passed on to UNESCO.

What is notable about the Institute as a UNESCO precursor is that it seems to hold a fairly globalised idea of the university in its mission and the form of internationalisation of higher education activities it advocated for towards international peace-keeping, with a focus on renewing academic relationships and disseminating knowledge internationally across the disciplines. Upon closure, the International Institute

of Intellectual Cooperation handed on its materials to UNESCO at its constitution as a

new international organisation.

Appendix H: Peril & Promise (Task Force, 2000)

The report produced by a multi-country expert Task Force, jointly convened by the World Bank and UNESCO, concluded that higher education was essential for poorer countries to participate in a knowledge economy. The Task Force subliminally calls out the World Bank and its reliance on rate of return analyses for deprioritising funding of higher education and the resulting "great strain" on higher education systems in poor countries: "Narrow and, in our view, misleading economic analysis has contributed to the view that public investment in universities and colleges brings meagre returns compared to investment in primary and secondary schools, and that higher education magnifies income inequality" (Task Force, 2000, p. 10). This early reprimand sets the tone for the rest of the report, which takes a much broader view of what higher education is for, and why it should be valued.

As a joint report, the value elements incorporated in the argument to support higher education fall across academic, developmental, and economic-developmental ideas of the university. For instance, recommending that countries evaluate how higher education has sustained "social, economic, and political development," to determine "what each part [of the higher education system] can contribute to the public good" (pp. 10-11). In a section on how higher education supports development, the report frames economic growth more broadly as income growth, productivity, entrepreneurship, quality of life, social mobility, political participation, civil society support, and democratic governance, through the provision of public goods including knowledge, and spaces for public dialogue on values for development. Other social benefits include enlightened leaders, teachers, expanding choices for people in society to fulfil their potential

(reminiscent of a capability approach to development), and technical training in relevant stem fields.

To do so, the report points to diversification and stratification of the higher education system (including private provision), institutional autonomy with government supervision, learning commons for students, and higher education-industry partnerships, which largely mirror the reforms proposed in the 1994 report *Lessons and Experience*. However, the Task Force also emphasises the need to look beyond the market for organising and solving higher education challenges, "… the market will certainly not devise this kind of system. Markets require profit… [which] can crowd out important educational duties and opportunities" (p. 11). The notion of "educational duties" and the concern for the provision of basic sciences and the humanities fall rather within an academic idea of the university, with commitments to the pursuit of knowledge and a place of all worldviews.

Given obstacles for higher education development (including the lack of political and financial will, and brain drain), the Task Force calls for more resources, but efficiently administered. For international donors, the Task Force identifies internationalisation of higher education activities, including the support of global public good provision through "cross-national research partnerships [and]… student and faculty exchange programs," and the promotion of equity between countries via international scholarship programs" (Task Force, 2000, p. 96). In this way, the report balances the rationales for higher education support between sustainable development, a knowledge economy framework, and contributions to politics (Altbach et al, 2004; Salmi et al., 2009). Still the framing of participation in the knowledge economy in response to the

knowledge revolution, as the rationale for supporting higher education in poorer countries, relates to an economic developmental idea of the university, reflective of the knowledge economy focus of the World Bank.

While Wolfensohn, the World Bank president at the time, was enthusiastic about the outcomes of the Task Force report, this was not a universal internal response. In what is really quite a fascinating moderated discussion paper between internal World Bank specialists and external academic experts, moderated by higher education academic expert, Philip Altbach (2004), the responses of two opposing camps are laid out, exposing the Bank-internal struggle between what may broadly be understood as education economics, and international development higher education. On the one hand is the support of Wolfensohn for the Task Force report as a roadmap to orient World Bank actions for higher education lending, including the support for public funding of higher education, and the dangers of sole reliance on rate of return methodologies. On the other is the dismissal of the Task Force report recommendations to include externalities in the social returns of higher education, due to a lack of empirical evidence, and a somewhat vehement defence of the rate of return approach and World Bank actions, "in a country where primary education is not universal, priority should be given at the margin to basic education. And the World Bank was absolutely right to have adopted such strategy in its lending program" (Altbach et al., 2004, p. 77). While this underscores a need for better measurement approaches of positive externalities, this also highlights the ongoing challenges within the World Bank itself, and the contentions of multiple sets of values, from organisational, to disciplinary, to sector and unit, and individual levels, which key informants also alluded to as a continuous tension within the Bank.