The Growth and Development of Internationalization at Canadian Universities: An Overview

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Introduction

“Internationalization” of higher education in the past several decades has been described as “innovative” (Van Der Wende, 1999), “challenging” (Altbach & Peterson, 2007), “complex” (CHERD, 2002), “turbulent” (Knight, 2008) and more. However it is perceived, Canadian universities have begun to embrace its impact and potential as they find themselves struggling to keep pace with a fast changing world of global higher education. This paper seeks to establish an historic context for the internationalization process now occurring among Canadian universities that helps to inform the recent and ongoing changes in the Canadian university landscape. A clear understanding of internationalization in its impact and effect through recent decades is required for institutions in this country to set an intelligent course for the future.

Defining “internationalization”

The difficulty of clearly defining the concept of “internationalization” is acknowledged at the outset. Many definitions have been offered by various scholars, providing perspectives from different vantage points which add helpful contributions, but are limited in and of themselves. It is, perhaps, most useful to create an understanding of the context for internationalization in higher education which allows for an expanding idea of the term as context changes. Historic patterns of economic growth have followed from an agriculture-base to an industrial-base and most recently to a knowledge-based global economy (Duderstadt, 2005). In this post-modern world, globalization is changing the nature of relationships between countries, “blurring” borders and increasing the exchange of people, ideas and commodities (Guri-Rosenbilt, 2001; Knight, 2004). Higher education institutions, as the purveyors of
knowledge, have become principle players in driving forward national and international interests in socio-economic development, creating an uncertain and often uncomfortable identification with world market forces.

*Internationalization* within higher education has become the institutional response to these global influences which are forcing a re-examination of the purpose of knowledge production and dissemination. As institutions *internationalize*, they seek to “integrate an international dimension into the purpose, function and delivery of education.” (Knight, 2004) This integration requires a new way of thinking, both at the individual and corporate level, which pursues cross-cultural understanding and a commitment to working in an international environment. Internationalization will require a process of change and adaptation to a new frame of reference, shifting from a local, provincial context in the case of Canadian universities, to the global context. In this transition, universities are challenged to respect their responsibilities towards both the social and economic development needs of the world community. Canada’s universities have been important contributors to global higher education, but require a clear understanding of current world trends in order ensure their role into the future.

**Internationalization in Post-secondary Education: An Historical Overview**

The history of higher education, the pursuit of truth and innovation is filled with examples of the transmission of learning and knowledge between cultures and nations. Some of the earliest models of the modern western European university in Bologna, Paris and Oxford have attracted students from beyond their national borders since their establishment. From the earliest times, academics have been global players, promoting cosmopolitan world views and perceiving value in international recognition. In light of this, it might well be asked why internationalization is being considered a new development within higher education? (Enders, 2004)
The transition from medieval times through the industrial revolution marks a change in perception towards higher education among nation-states, which began to attribute new value to universities’ contributions to science and technology. As such, the university took on a new role of nation building. During this time institutions were established and funded to serve their national government’s socio-economic development interests. University focus under the age of nationalism was diverted from international concern, except at the individual level of its academic investigators who continued to pursue knowledge in accordance with their scholarly interests and needs.

**Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada to 1945**

In Canada, groups of immigrants from Europe saw university education as a way to perpetuate and grow their cultural heritage and so fought to maintain an even narrower geographic focus at the provincial level. The British North America Act in 1867 gave political authority over post-secondary education to the provinces resulting in a decentralized approach to education. Bond and Scott (1999) observe that “from the late 1600s until World War II, universities [in Canada] were relatively few in number, small in size, parochial in origin and tradition, male dominated, relatively isolated from each other, and the home of the privileged upper middle class.” (Bond & Scott, 1999) Canadian higher education, although incorporating the beliefs and cultural values of several immigrant groups, was still Euro-centric and concerned with localized needs of its European immigrant populations. It was not, for instance, concerned with the post-secondary learning needs of aboriginal people or of visible minorities. Diversity and accessibility were not prevalent concerns.

The fierce commitment to serving local community needs, however, gave Canadian universities a unique foundation on which to build future internationalization efforts. A deep rooted sense of mission and service from early religious affiliations were likely catalysts among
academic members to become involved first in extension work within Canada and later in international development work abroad. Canada’s perception of itself as a colony rather than a colonizing power with no political ambitions beyond its borders meant that work done abroad was left scattered in the hands of a few individuals with no coordinated national government focus. Without national strategic value, these efforts did not translate to perceived value within Canadian institutions, and consequently remained outside of the main teaching and research mandates of universities. (Shute, 1996)

Lacking a common Canadian voice between provinces for the concerns of higher education institutions, university presidents met in 1911 to establish a national organization to discuss common problems and bring these issues to the attention of political decision makers. This organization was formalized as the National Conference of Canadian Universities in 1917 and was later incorporated as the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) in 1965. (AUCC, 2008) Early on the AUCC adopted a mandate to “facilitate the development of public policy on higher education and to encourage cooperation among universities and governments, industry, communities, and institutions in other countries.” As an advocate of cooperation between educational sectors and stakeholders, AUCC has become a primary champion of the internationalization agenda among Canadian institutions.

In the early years following confederation, post-secondary educational institutions were primarily concerned with building Canada as a nation and the idea of international cooperation were peripheral concepts. Any international engagement remained in the hands of a few individuals without either institutional or national coordination or study. Not until the advent of world war would Canadians be shocked from their localized perspective on learning and begin to recognize the non-western world as being worthy of study. (Shute, 2002)
Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada 1945 to 1980

With the onset of world war, North Americans found themselves in a deficit of understanding and knowledge in terms of the relationships between themselves and other cultures. Once again, governments turned to universities to generate knowledge and understanding of other countries, particularly those involved in the conflict. This significantly impacted university curriculum with the establishment of new academic programs. National interests of curtailing perceived security threats and establishing opportunities for trade supported the rise of a growing number of area studies programs at post-secondary institutions across North America. (Biddle, 2002) In Canada, many area studies programs can also trace their birth to the growing commitment to inter-cultural understanding that returning aid workers brought back to the academy following their involvement in international development work. (Bond & Scott, 1999)

As Canada emerged from the war, and began to be recognized as a “middle power” on the world scene, “universities, albeit in unplanned and idiosyncratic fashions, began gradually to confront new national and global realities.”(Shute, 1996) Canada’s External Aid Office was established as a result of the Colombo Plan signed in 1950 for the benefit of development in the Asia-Pacific region and initiated the development strategy of bringing students from these nations to Canada for education and training. The Commonwealth Scholarship Plan, funded through the Dept of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), was initiated in 1960 and expanded the growing aid and development work portfolio by including all Commonwealth countries in this strategy. The Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) was founded in 1966 by “a visionary group of students from the University of Toronto under the banner ‘Friendly Relations with Overseas Students.’”(CBIE, 2006) Through the collective efforts of
government, non-governmental and institutional actions, students from outside Canada began to
gain a Canadian post-secondary education in increasing numbers.

International development project work continued to be awarded to university faculty
members by the External Aid Office (which in 1968 became the Canadian International
Development Agency or CIDA) in increasing numbers and in wider circles of geographic
impact. In spite of a stated government objective to concentrate their Overseas Development
Assistance (ODA), the list of projects in different countries grew along with the expanding areas
of interest indicated by individual faculty members. Although universities received nearly 100%
of their international development funding from the EAO during this period, contracts were
complicated affairs, and from the outset university-government relations around international
development work had been characterized by “impatience and mutual skepticism.” (Shute, 1999)

To facilitate the uneasy relationship in funding international work done through
universities, CIDA established the Educational Institutions Program (EIP) specifically to support
linkages between Canadian institutions and those in developing nations abroad. (Shute, 1999)
Through the funding incentives of the EIP, Canadian university international partnerships grew
steadily. Additionally, with the establishment of the International Development Research Centre
(IDRC) in 1970, new government funding flowed into universities who worked together with
developing country counterparts to conduct research on areas of concern put forward by people
in the development regions. IDRC incentives in international research funding predated later
national research funding agencies (SSHRC, NSERC and CIHR). Although IDRC remained at
lower funding levels than its later counterparts, it motivated greater internationalization of
university research than any other funding agency (Bond & Lemasson, 1999, pg 84).
Two main factors served to speed the progress of internationalization at Canadian universities in the early 1960s to ‘70s: international students on Canadian university campuses and independence movements in the post-colonial era. (Shute, 2002) The visible faces of students from developing countries arriving through the Colombo plan and other scholarship aid programs drew attention to the needs, values and contributions of other countries. It was the personal relationships and cross-border interaction that these students embodied on Canadian campuses that began to solidify an awareness of the process of internationalization in the general university population. Secondly, the significant changes around the world arising out of the independence movements of former colonies drew the academic curiosity of faculty members, focusing attention and interest in various countries and global regions.

Documentations of these trends were slow in coming, reflecting the gradual evolution in the perception of the role of Canadian higher education in the world. From being stringently focused on local community needs, it took significant global forces of change to motivate a careful self-evaluation of university intents and purposes outside of the local purview. Significant early surveys of these trends included Hamlin and Lalonde in 1964 (Shute, 2002) who documented the emergence of international perspectives in university teaching, research and service even prior to substantive government funding. Shortly after, in 1970, Norma Walmsley produced a study for AUCC of university international development cooperation, which led to the CUPID (Canadian University Programs in International Development) database still in operation today. (Bond & Lemasson, 1999)

Some important observations can be made of the post-war period in Canadian universities that apply to the development of internationalization trends. First, government funding for universities during this period was steadily increasing fueled by a perception of Canadian
identity as a supporter of the global decolonization process and post war reconstruction efforts. The resulting financial incentives for international work through development projects, research and international partnerships provided freedom and incentive for academic members to stretch their notions of service from local concerns to communities abroad. New courses in area studies and languages evolved as universities saw value in knowing about and engaging with the world.

Secondly, as international students arrived in Canada through scholarship programs they brought the internationalization challenge at the individual level and a whole new range of support needs to Canadian campuses. Student service supports, teaching resources, and local communities all felt the impact of new responsibilities and possibilities that this student population effected. International students generated a new growth of support programming within universities and international student offices started to emerge in response to the need.

Thirdly, Canadian university students, caught up in Canada’s new focus on aid to the world began to participate in and even to initiate aid projects abroad. Two notable examples of this were the World University Services Canada (WUSC), founded in the 1920s as the International Student Service to provide for the basic needs of post-secondary students in post-war Europe (WUSC, 2007), and Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO), founded in 1961 to provide skilled workers in volunteer service to former British colonies that had recently gained independence (CUSO, 2006). As Canadian students began to seek out academic programs that helped inform this new curiosity in the world and sense of social justice and wellbeing, universities found the rationale to implement programs in international relations and development. It was indeed an era of exploration and altruism which helped to firmly establish the idea that Canadian universities were not only local but also global contributors to social improvement and wellbeing.
From ‘Aid to Trade’—Changing Perceptions towards Internationalization in the 1980s-90s

With increasing student mobility, international development activity and a corresponding need for new supports, Canadian universities began to institutionalize the international efforts that had grown through the work of individuals. The institutionalization of internationalization in the 1980s and 90s delineated a marked change and new way of thinking in university administration. (Lemasson, 1999) The work done by academic staff internationally as well as the aid-focused funding and policy incentives laid down by the government were having a significant impact at home, requiring reorganizing people, budgets and accountability structures. Internationalization became a significant influence on university culture, strategy and organization within this period and resulted in an explosion of new activity.

Degree-seeking Student Mobility

Perhaps nowhere in the analysis of internationalization trends is change more obvious and volatile than in the observations on student mobility. This is largely due to the very individual motivations that cause students to seek education outside of their home country and the speed with which these motivations adapt and adjust to larger market forces locally and abroad (Naidoo, 2006)

A major shift occurred in student motivations for study abroad during the 1980s and 1990s, which had been historically characterized by student study, usually at the graduate level, under the tutorship of a master scholar in another country. The globalization of world economies and increased flow of ideas and people across borders, in conjunction with the growing of awareness that education was a key resource in a knowledge-based economy, led many students to seek degrees from institutions whose qualifications were more readily recognized and valued in the job market. (Naidoo, 2006) Massification of higher education compounded the pressure on
universities to accept more students from different population sectors and different countries. Higher education was no longer the pursuit of a few privileged individuals, but the perceived right of many. (Altbach, 2008)

Also keen observers and participants in the global economy, governments around the world were quick to make adjustments towards their own national advantage in the market choices for higher education that students were making. Many intentional strategies and policies began to emerge to enhance recruitment efforts and capture market shares of this new and rising source of income. In Canada, these trends were slower and less dramatic than in other OECD countries, most notably U.K., Australia, U.S.A. and Germany which mark significant increases in international student enrolment from the mid-1990s. While these countries were developing a coordinated market strategy and national branding campaigns, Canada’s lack of federal government jurisdiction over university education resulted in smaller, institutionally driven recruitment efforts. Consequently, while UNESCO reports show steady increases in international student enrolment in OECD countries (Naidoo, 2006) from the 1980s on, Canada’s share of international student enrolment did not begin to rise until the 1990s (Chui, 2007) and even then the trajectory remained relatively flat in comparison to others.

In spite of lack of federal coordination, Canadian universities, faced with significant cuts in government funding during this period, responded enthusiastically to the opportunity of increased enrolment that the international student market provided. As government began to embrace a trade model with respect to education, the former emphasis on aiding students to come to Canada on scholarship funding gave way to a larger focus on ‘selling’ university education to students abroad who could afford to pay for their Canadian degrees. New efforts across Canada in the mid-1990s to engage in student recruitment overseas began to result in a sharp increase in
international student enrolment by 1996 (AUCC, 2007a) Differential fees for international students had been steadily increasing through the 1970s and 80s until these were implemented in all provinces by the mid-1990s and tuition rates increased dramatically for foreign students. (CFS, 2008)

As central units within university structures were given the mandate to bring in more international students, the impact could be felt throughout the institution. Faculty members perhaps felt it keenest. (N. P. Stromquist, 2007a) Additional demands to teach in ways that were culturally sensitive, linguistically understandable and practically applicable to the student’s job-oriented goals for their education required faculty members to reorient their teaching approach. These pressures changed performance expectations and resource allocations. As internationalization was pulled into the academy through market forces that overcame former notions of service and altruism, it became a divisive force for academics. Some, particularly those charged with management supervision for their units and thus with budget concerns, saw the opportunity presented. Others, focused on the intellectual engagement with their discipline, saw a threat to weakening discourse and purpose. (Stromquist 2007 p. 93)

*From Curiosity to Competition: Canadian Students Abroad*

While Canadian students had been actively involved in earlier post-war development efforts in support of decolonization, universities began to understand the value of their students going abroad in different ways as governments pushed the incentives for ‘global competency’ skill sets for employability. (Government of Canada, 2009) Parallel to the shift from ‘aid’ to ‘trade’ in the international student recruitment spectrum, universities began to receive the message that education was an integral part of the new knowledge based economy, requiring educated students who had obtained global competencies through their study. Rather than leaving international experience till after degree travel, universities saw value in preparing students for a globally-
oriented job market by creating opportunities for study experiences abroad as part of student degree programs. Student exchange and study abroad programs entered the higher education scene in increasing numbers throughout the late 1980s and particularly in the 1990s. University partnership agreements to facilitate student exchange and study abroad jumped from just over 500 institutional agreements nationally in 1990 to close to 2,500 in 1999. (AUCC, 2000)

Once again these institutional efforts have been closely tied to national government agendas. The International Academic Mobility Programs, funded by Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC) in cooperation with other foreign governments has granted post secondary institutions in Canada funding since 1997 to implement student exchange programs with universities in Europe, U.S. and Mexico. The stated goal of this program is “to contribute to Canada’s economic growth and prosperity by helping Canadian students gain the international skills they need to compete in today’s global economy.” (HRSDC 2005) Government funded mobility programs have particularly promoted formation of strong regional connections in areas of perceived national interests.

**Internationalization of university research**

As noted earlier, university researchers have been crossing national borders to pursue research interests for centuries. In the new global knowledge-based economy these activities have become critical to progress, causing international research collaboration to become a strategic target in the internationalization agenda of many universities. In the 1980s the Canadian research councils maintained targeted funds that provided incentives for researchers to travel outside of Canada. However, as budgets tightened in the early 1990s these funds were cut
back and subsumed into the general research grants, losing a significant measure of visibility for international research. (Gingras, Godin, & Foisy, 1999) In spite of this, co-authorship of scientific articles with researchers abroad grew at three times the general rate of article publication during the 1980s and 90s. Canadian researchers also began to access international funding sources, bringing new revenue to university campuses and further demonstrating the benefits of internationalization of higher education in this country. (Gingras et al., 1999)

Monitoring conducted through AUCC over the course of this period indicates that few universities in Canada felt internationalization was a priority interest in the 1980s and early 1990s. By the end of the 1990s, however, interest had grown substantially and become ensconced in university mission statements and key strategic documents. (AUCC, 2008a) The international higher education trends that seemed to gain momentum in the latter part of the 21st century catapulted Canadian universities into a new millennium of dynamic global change extending the internal institutional processes of internationalization well beyond the point of return.

**The New Millennium: Current Trends in the Internationalization of Canadian Higher Education**

Far from being a strategic initiative brought forward from within the academy, internationalization of higher education in Canada has crept upwards from the grassroots in fits and starts. Universities, reacting to government funding cutbacks have looked abroad for tuition revenue and realized almost as an afterthought the merits and struggles of cultural diversity showing up on their campuses. Individual faculty members and administrative staff in international offices have been the foremost promoters of study abroad and student exchange opportunities for Canadian students. A slow awakening among institutional leadership to a larger transformation worldwide has begun to turn attention towards the opportunities and challenges of redefining university purpose, function and delivery in light of a globalized world.
In the final section of this study, internationalization trends among Canadian universities will be examined through the lens of three interconnected themes: mobilization, integration and commodification. The interplay of these phenomena provides a base framework on which to understand the multitude of activities, approaches and rationales that drive internationalization forward within institutions.

**Mobilization**

Significant increases in student mobility need to be understood in the context of other global phenomenon. Massification of higher education has significantly increased the absolute numbers of students capable of enrolling in post secondary degree programs outside of their own countries. Advancing technology has heightened awareness, sped communication and diversified program delivery options. (Altbach, 2008) Observed in conjunction with a widespread belief that knowledge provides the basis for economic development, individuals are looking to globally accessible university resources to gain employable credentials and competences.

Numbers of international students studying at Canadian universities nearly tripled in the first decade of the new millennium to over 70,000 full-time students in 2006 (plus an additional 13,000 part-time). International students represented 7% of the Canadian undergraduate student body and 20% of the graduate student body in 2007. (AUCC, 2007a) In global terms, Canada is seen as an “evolving destination” capturing, together with Japan and New Zealand just 13% of the world’s 2.7 million mobile students in 2007. The 61% global increase in student mobility from 1999 to 2005 has largely been captured by the U.S., the U.K. and Australia with Germany and France in second place. (Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007) While international student enrolment is almost certain to increase in Canada in the short-term, significant competition from countries with national recruitment strategies, however, will challenge Canada’s efforts in this area.
Numbers of Canadian students who are choosing to gain credit for short term study or work abroad during their Canadian degree program has also risen. In percentage terms, numbers are up from 1% of the Canadian full-time student population in 1999 to 2.2% of the Canadian study body in 2006. Although the Canadian government acknowledges that global competencies are valuable and necessary for Canadian graduates in today’s world (Government of Canada, 2009), these numbers leave the obvious question of how to educate the 97.8% of students who do not go abroad during their degree program. Increasing attention is turning towards internationalizing the Canadian university curriculum to incorporate international learning perspectives. (AUCC, 2009) Faculty members are increasingly recognized as having a key role in creating intercultural awareness among their students that facilitates an international perspective towards any discipline. (Stohl, 2007)

Students are not the only mobile entity on Canadian university campuses. Increasingly, Canadian universities are also looking abroad to recruit faculty members. Just under half of the faculty recruited to full-time positions at Canadian universities between 1999 and 2004 earned their highest degrees outside of Canada. (AUCC, 2007c) Additionally, the nature of their academic work is taking faculty members abroad. In 2008, 40% of Canadian academic publications have been co-authored with researchers outside of Canada (AUCC, 2008b), nearly double from what it had been in 1992 at 24%. (AUCC, 2008a) Research funding sources in Canada are increasingly motivating researchers to work internationally as well as to collaborate across disciplinary boundaries. (AUCC, 2008b) The research tri-council agencies have each come out with their own strategies for international engagement in the past two or three years an indication that this is a continuing trend for the future. (CIHR, 2006; NSERC, 2009; SSHRC, 2006; SSHRC, 2006)
Universities in Canada need to come to terms with the growing participation of their members in global mobilization trends. In one sense the ease with which people and ideas are crossing borders in the globalized world presents tremendous opportunity. Canadian universities have access to new resources, ideas and technology beyond our national scope and capabilities with which to generate new knowledge, learning and innovation for the betterment of our local and national communities. On the other side of this equation are tremendous challenges presented by the steep learning curve required for understanding the diversity of other countries’ systems and people. Mechanisms for translating degree qualifications, course credits, and different higher education systems must be established. Interpersonal relationships, while enriched by new perspectives, need to develop intercultural sensitivity and cross-cultural skill. Perhaps Canadian higher education, which is a very diverse, autonomous and loosely organized federation, has an advantage when it comes to coping with diversity. But comfort levels and acceptance of working across different provincial education jurisdictions may also inhibit Canadian institutions from realizing the urgency with which other higher education institutions are changing to accommodate a common way of understanding each other. The integration of higher education systems is a phenomenon of great significance that is both product and driver of internationalization.

**Integration**

As more individuals, who are driven or pulled by globalization interests, move between educational systems through the course of their study and work, the need arises with increasing urgency to construct a transition framework. Higher education systems need to understand each other in order to assess in equitable terms how transfers of people, ideas, knowledge can occur between them. Governments around the world are facilitating such interface as they perceive the need for an educated workforce and the efficiency of bringing multiple levels and sectors
together towards this goal (Bleiklie, 2005) In Canada, universities have been resistant in adopting translation tools developed in other regions to enable mobility between higher education systems. Canadian universities do not employ a common credit system between provinces, relying on individualized credit assessment to transfer degree recognition between institutions. This has been a significant administrative barrier to enabling international student mobility for Canadians.

In this past decade the integration of education systems is progressing to new levels that are now having a profound effect on higher education worldwide. This has been dramatically evident in Europe through initiatives such as the Bologna Process and the European Quality Assurance Framework which are increasing ‘transferability’ and ‘translatability’ between systems. The European Credit Transfer Scheme (ECTS) developed in Europe to enable student mobility between countries is now widely adopted by many universities in countries in the European region, whether or not they are formally a part of the European Union. Canadian universities are beginning to pay attention to these dramatic changes abroad though few are ready to assign ECTS credits to their own courses.

Canadian higher education is witnessing its own form of system integration through a ‘blurring of lines’ between education sectors. Canadian community colleges, historically more responsive to government interests and community needs, are establishing a role for themselves in knowledge creation and research, entering the traditional domain of research universities. (Ivany, 2000) New forms of differentiation and comparison are emerging through national ranking schemes and accreditation agencies. Historically Canada has been reticent to establish a national accreditation system in deference to provincial jurisdiction. Recently, however, the Council of Ministers of Education Canada has produced a statement on quality assurance
specifically to “compete in a global context in which other countries assess programs against published standards.” (CMEC, 2009)

These examples illustrate a shift in Canada from what Bleikie (2005) describes as an organic education system model in which institutions are differentiated by function towards a hierarchic system model in which institutions are differentiated by rank order. Internationalization raises awareness among Canadian institutions that these trends are global, not just national and that increasingly the tools for comparison among other educational systems are being applied in Canada. Post secondary education ranking schemes are receiving increased attention globally, integration of institutional programs and degrees are becoming commonplace and qualifications frameworks are unifying divergent systems. Canadian universities can no longer function in isolation or they risk becoming relevant in the world and, more importantly, in their own country.

**Commodification**

Globalization and the shift towards a knowledge-based global economy have caused some scholars to suggest that knowledge has been reduced to its usefulness rather than its intrinsic value. Lyotard (1979) postulates that knowledge has become the principle force of production, such that science becomes no longer the discovery of truth, but rather ‘science-in-use,’ what he refers to as ‘performativity.’ (Lyotard, 1979) Based on this, governments have adopted policy to put universities in the business of training for the purpose of economic development. According to Cowen (1996), the role of universities in this new economy is to manage knowledge production, governed by a sense of quality that is no longer linked to the search for truth, but has become a matter of definition and of managing that definition with expertise. (Cowen, 1996) Education, as represented by the programs offered and the degrees awarded, is sought by students or ‘education consumers’ for the purpose of receiving credentials that can lead to well paid employment. Research and innovation, as represented by academic
publications, grants received and technology patents, is pursued by faculty members to mark their success as professionals. Managerial models emerge among university administration, changing relational dynamics within the institution away from the collegial model of the traditional university and closer to a corporate model. (N. P. Stromquist, 2007b)

With the influence of global mobility, the drive towards the commodification of education creates new territory for post secondary institutions. The interplay between cooperation and competition in Canadian university activity abroad is creating a measure of unease and uncertainty. In the past decade and following the lead of universities in Australia and the U.K., Canadian institutions are beginning to move academic programs abroad through joint degree programs, twinning partnerships and branch campuses. (Naidoo, 2006) This form of integration of academic systems across national borders requires close cooperation between partnering institutions. However, the partnership has primary undertones of a business arrangement that enables the partners to each gain a profit that could not be obtained on their own. The AUCC Internationalization Workshop in 2006 recognizes the ambivalence among Canadian institutions regarding partnerships that export Canadian knowledge abroad. Institutional representatives are comfortable with the notion of knowledge sharing, a collegial approach that is well understood in the academy, but uneasily acknowledge the suitability of a business driven export development model. (AUCC, 2007b)

Tertiary level recruitment of students abroad has become a significant trade industry. Naidoo (2006) observes that “estimated at approximately US$30 billion in 2002 and accounting for 3% of the OECD’s total annual export of services, traded educational services has become a major business in a number of countries including… Canada.” (p. 336) Altbach and Knight (2007) note that “current thinking sees international higher education as a commodity to be
freely traded and sees higher education as a private good, not a public responsibility.” (p. 291)

This statement is based on the inclusion of higher education in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) as proposed by the World Trade Organization in 2000. (WTO, 2009)

The research and innovation work of universities in Canada are increasingly seen as strong contributors to economic development and the push towards technology transfers is increasing. Canadian universities have committed to tripling their collective commercialization performance on research and innovation activities from $23.4 million in 1999 to $70.2 million by 2010. (AUCC, 2008b) Management of intellectual property operations has increased 93% since 2000, indicating the substantive investment universities are willing to make. Internationally, these numbers put Canada on track to be in the top five countries for R & D performance globally. (AUCC, 2008b)

The mobilization, integration and commodification of university systems, members and knowledge represent a new global framework for how universities in Canada perceive themselves, their roles in society and their measures of success. An expanded view of internationalization within the institution needs to be understood, more so now than ever, if Canadian universities are to not only survive but to thrive in the new knowledge based global economy.

Conclusion
In the face of the realities of globalization in higher education, Canadian universities are coming to terms with difficult choices in a changing world. The traditional purpose of universities to contribute towards the social and economic development of their communities and nations is becoming increasingly complex. As university leadership in Canada begins to acknowledge the wealth of knowledge—not just intrinsically, but also practically—that is theirs in the new knowledge-based economy, a fundamental question needs to be asked. Will universities honour their social responsibility in the global context, even as they embrace their
economic opportunities? The paradigms are parallel. Mobilization, integration and even commodification can be approached through a cooperation set of rationales or a competition set of rationales. In likelihood, both will be employed. Cooperation through partnerships of integrity brings mutual benefits through mobilizing students and faculty, sharing complementary knowledge and strength. In a competitive environment, individual gain drives mobilization in order to obtain knowledge that secures better positioning vis-à-vis other institutions. Figure 2 offers a model of the dynamic relationship between these concepts. A strong Canadian history of universities as social contributors will provide an important background as leadership learns to balance these rationales in the current context of globalization.

![Figure 2 Cooperation vs competition interplay through mobilization, integration and commodification](image)

The decade ahead promises as much or more change than the ones behind. Institutional leadership and those charged with promoting internationalization interests within the university community in Canada need to be diligent students of the past, actively engaged in the present and ever watchful for the future. Above all, we need to clearly understand why internationalization is important for Canadian universities, the reality of its challenges and opportunities, and how, with skill and commitment, the university community can work together for positive change both at home and abroad.
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