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ACADEMIC CAPITALISM AND THE PUBLIC GOOD IN PUBLIC AND
PRIVATE U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION: A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF
INTERNATIONALIZATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

ASABE W. POLOMA

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2017

Higher Education Program

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U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION: A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF
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ABSTRACT

ACADEMIC CAPITALISM AND THE PUBLIC GOOD IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION: A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

May 2017

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Within the context of U.S. higher education, market forces inform institutional strategies at public and private universities alike (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2006). Despite existing studies on market-driven forces in the internationalization and transnationalization of U.S. higher education (Knight, 2004; Marginson, 2012; Rhoades, Lee and Maldonado-Maldonado, 2005; Stromquist, 2007), there is a relative lack of theoretical or methodological engagement with how the theory of academic capitalism informs our understanding of the dominance of market-driven strategies in internationalization and how those strategies and practices blur the boundaries between the market and the public good. Furthermore, no studies have explored how

the intersection and coexistence of the public good and academic capitalism shapes universities' internationalization strategies and approaches.

Using social constructivist grounded theory methodology, this study considered how the “public” and “private” nature of two U.S. higher education institutions shaped their conceptualization of internationalization, and how academic capitalism and the public good rationales intersect in internationalization strategies. The study revealed that institutional strategies are shaped by both conflictual coexistence and complementary coexistence of public good- and market-driven rationales in the areas of market-driven approaches in internationalization as well as transnational applied research, community engagement, and emerging critical perspectives in internationalization. Conflictual coexistence produced several consequences and risks, including unequal access, cultures of exclusion, and lack of evaluation and assessment. This study also suggests that complementary coexistence strategies produce several unconventional and non-normative strategies, such as critical transnational pedagogies, the democratization of internationalization, multisector partnerships, and better collaboration and cooperation between organizational units.

Drawing on these findings, this study informed a grounded theory of intersectional internationalization. Intersectional internationalization builds upon the theory of academic capitalism by positing internationalization as a site of intersection that blurs the boundaries between the public and private, market- and public good-driven approaches, and the local and global through complementary and conflictual coexisting public good-driven and market-shaped strategies. This framework of

intersectional internationalization as a contested, conditional site of intersection comprised of conflictual coexistence and complementary coexistence can inform more critical educational, social, and policy strategic choices and outcomes among U.S. higher education leaders engaged in internationalization.

DEDICATION

To my beloved mother, Hauwa Margaret Poloma,

and

To the glory of God, whose calling allowed me to walk this journey

by faith and with grace.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The tensions associated with academic capitalism, arising from the displacement of the public good for a market-dominant and academic capitalist approach, are among the most important issues facing U.S. higher education (Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) defined academic capitalism as a dominant regime in which the logic of capital, commercialism, and entrepreneurialism have come to dominate and influence institutional and faculty engagement in market and market-like behaviors in university operations, academic research, and teaching and learning. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) defined *market-like* behaviors as academic institutions and faculty engagement in behaviors that resemble the free market while *market* behaviors refer to universities' active and direct participation in the market. Examples of *market-like* behaviors include faculty and institutional competition for external funding, university-industry partnerships, and institutional investment in faculty and student entrepreneurialism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). In contrast, market behaviors

include universities' for-profit ventures, such as licensing, patenting, royalties, and spin-off companies (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

The public good is defined as non-rivalrous and non-excludable goods, benefits and services available to all members of a nation-state (Menashy, 2009). As outlined by the Futures Project, a research and advocacy group focused on studying the impact of the emerging market-based values in public higher education, the public good in higher education is the “positive reasons for having a higher education system (accrued) to the broader community or society rather than the individual” (Couturier, 2005, p. 96). Kaul et al. (1999), Marginson (2007; 2012), and Menashy (2009) have argued that globalization and internationalization have expanded the scope of the public good charter of higher education transnationally. Yet, the concept of the public good remains “hopelessly nation bound” despite the increasingly global dimension of U.S. higher education policies and strategic activities (Marginson, 2005). In this study, an integrated conceptualization of the public good, defined as the accrued benefits of a postsecondary system’s educational activities in teaching, research, and service to the advancement of a social charter as well as local, national, and global public wellbeing, will be used.

Notwithstanding the importance of the public good to the historical development and prevailing purpose of U.S. higher education, university leaders are prioritizing entrepreneurialism and revenue generation in domestic as well as international activities within the university (Altbach, 2012a; Marginson, 2007; Rhoads & Szelényi, 2011; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006). A market orientation in university strategies is motivated in part by increased pressures for higher education

institutions – both public and private – to seek alternative sources of funding and to generate income from existing educational programs in the face of decreased public funding and scarcity in non-public funding (Hayrinen-Alestalo & Peltola, 2006; Knight, 2008a). The social and public good dimensions of higher education, most of which are non-income generative, are relegated to a minor role among university priorities (Rhoads & Szelényi, 2011; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006). Santos (2006) described this shift as a transformation of the university from “the-university-as-public-good to a vast profitable enterprise of educational capitalism” (p. 64). Similarly, Schugurensky (2006) wrote that a market-dominant approach has shifted the university’s focus from “service to society” to “service to industry,” and the public’s call for the university of “social relevance” has been replaced by a dominant concern for “economic relevance” (p. 315). While several studies have discussed the various rationales critical to understanding the rise of internationalization in U.S. higher education, including national, geopolitical, academic, socio-cultural, and economic (Knight, 2004), this study investigates the impact of market- and public good-driven rationales on institutional internationalization strategies and examines how these internationalization strategies reflect a site of tension between academic capitalism and the public good in U.S. higher education.

Internationalization is increasingly integral to the institutional strategies and goals of U.S. higher education (Hayrinen-Alestalo & Peltola, 2006). Knight (2004) defined internationalization as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education” (p. 11). Wilkins and Huisman (2012) suggested that it has become the norm for

higher education institutions to engage in internationalization issues and activities. The prevailing economic or market-dominant rationale in internationalization has been widely researched by higher education scholars (Beck, 2012; Knight, 2003, 2004; Sidhu, 2002; Smith, 2003; Stromquist, 2007). In particular, Beck (2009) noted that marketization is a key driver for internationalization, especially among public universities because of the potential for revenue generation, which can be kept in-house to finance an expanded higher education system. Consequently, the motivation to capture a larger global share of international students has spurred the growth in the use of for-profit recruitment agents and pathway programs in the U.S., a practice long common in Canada, U.K., Australia, and other educational hubs (Beck, 2009).

Based on a 2012 survey of 181 colleges and universities in seven countries, the Observatory for Borderless Higher Education, a think tank, reported that 11% of U.S. colleges and universities used agents to recruit international students (Jaschik, 2014). In contrast, in a 2013 survey of international students, consulting group i-Graduate found that 28% of U.S.-based international students reported primarily using agents in their choice of colleges compared to 4% in 2007 (Jaschik, 2014). While data are inconsistent on the use of agents by international students and U.S. higher education institutions, perhaps due to underreporting or the use of educational agents without the knowledge of the university, Jaschik (2014) concluded that the use of agents in U.S. higher education has increased in the past seven years. Due to the National Association for College Admission and Counseling's (NACAC) lifted ban on the use of commission-based recruiters and agents in 2013 (Jaschik, 2014), there will likely

be an increase in the reported use of agents in international student recruitment, admission, and pathway programs.

More broadly, Knight (2003, 2004), Sidhu (2002), Smith (2003), and Stromquist (2007) argued that a primarily market-driven approach threatens to negatively impact higher education's core institutional functions in teaching, research, and service. Specifically, a market approach to internationalization threatens to produce a limited set of outcomes, such as a focus on international marketability in creating academic programming, aligning international education with global workforce development goals, and the recruitment of international students as a strategy for revenue generation (Altbach, 2012a; Knight, 2004; Moffatt, 2003; Redden, 2010). Marginson (2005) similarly noted that a marketized approach has negative implications for the public good of higher education, including a focus on "individualized and saleable benefits" of higher education, and "driving up costs" due to claims of exclusivity, hence potentially limiting access for certain populations of students. For example, market approaches may limit access due to a focus on recruiting more full-paying students, lead to the commodification of international students as "cash cows," deemphasize teaching and research of social issues as faculty rewards are increasingly oriented towards revenue-generating activities in their research, and contribute to a narrow focus on global workforce development goals in academic programming (Altbach, 2012a; Burn, 2002). Furthermore, the marketization of institutional internationalization policies can potentially lead to a compromise of the access mission of U.S. higher education, particularly for low-income, underrepresented students and less affluent international students, a narrowness in

academic programming, and the commodification of international students (Altbach, 2012a; Knight, 2004; Moffatt, 2003; Redden, 2010).

Beck (2009) identified additional potentially negative implications of predominantly market-driven approaches to internationalization. They include compromises in quality due to the admission of under-qualified international students and the growing use of pathway programs, the ethics of non-disclosure in the use of profit-sharing international recruitment agents, and inadequate institutional support for enrolled international students. Because market-driven institutional internationalization activities are often decoupled from student-centered learning outcomes in global educational programming (Burn, 2002; Raby, 2007; Siaya & Hayward, 2003), there are also unexplored implications for domestic as well as international students' success (De Wit & Beelen, 2014; Lee, 2010), access (Lee, 2008), sense of belonging (Lee, 2010; Lee & Rice, 2007), persistence, retention, and completion (Lee, 2010).

Lastly, Santos (2006) argued that a market-driven focus is shifting the role of higher education away from that of institutional democratizer with a focus on the public good to that of an economic enterprise focused on industry, workforce development, and revenue generation. The International Association of Universities' (IAU) 4th Global Survey on Internationalization of Higher Education, which overviews domestic and comparative trends in institutional internationalization strategies at 1,336 institutions in 131 countries, suggests these negative consequences are also concerning to institutional administrators (De Wit & Beelen, 2014; Hudson, 2014). For example, among the top-cited institutional and societal risks in

internationalization by North American university administrators was a focus on fee-paying international student recruitment, the commodification and commercialism of educational services in internationalization strategies, and the unaffordability of international programs and activities (De Wit & Beelen, 2014; Hudson, 2014).

Even though higher education institutions have largely emphasized market-driven strategies and most scholars of internationalization have focused their studies on the impact of these prevailing approaches (Beck, 2009, 2012; Knight, 2003, 2004; Sidhu, 2002; Smith, 2003; Stromquist, 2007), public good spinoffs are also created by institutional internationalization strategies that may not have otherwise existed (Marginson, 2007). Yet, the role of the public good in internationalization is understudied. Furthermore, Marginson (2012) wrote, “Globalization has enlarged the scope for free ‘public’ exchange (Peters et al., 2009), despite recurring efforts by governments, firms and universities to close the global space in their own interests” (p. 14-15). The public good derived from an internationalized higher education is also prominent in relation to innovation in knowledge, ranging from institutional capacity building through inter-institutional collaborations with emerging systems (Green et al., 2010), to fostering a global cosmopolitanism within both education export and import markets (Marginson, 2007b). For example, Marginson (2012) suggested that in university research functions, the public good includes “inter-university collaboration on common problems such as epidemic disease and climate change but also the scholarly flow of knowledge between national systems” (p.15). In the context of the rise in internationalization in U.S. higher education and discourses of the market in U.S. international higher education policy, the implications manifest for the

public good of the university warrant further exploration. As a result of this dearth in scholarship, little is known about how the public good informs institutional internationalization strategies in growing areas of global social action, such as global service learning and reciprocal transnational partnerships, as well as student and scholar exchange programs.

Although Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) largely focused on how academic capitalism intensifies and shapes a market-driven logic in the functions and activities of institutions of higher education, they acknowledged that there are potential sites where academic capitalism and the public good overlap, intersect, and co-exist. This study advances that internationalization is one such area of institutional functioning, characterized by the intersecting and overlapping nature of the public good and academic capitalism, even though market influences are arguably stronger (Rhoads & Szelényi, 2011). There are several practical consequences of the interactions of academic capitalism and the public good in university internationalization strategies. For example, a revenue-generating, market-driven strategy of internationalization includes international student recruitment (Marginson, 2012). Yet, this same outcome can also potentially lead to the creation of more public good, such as enhanced campus cross-cultural dialogue and understanding between U.S.-born and international students. Therefore, academic capitalism and the public good can be intertwined and function as mutually constitutive (Marginson, 2012). More empirical research is needed on the practical interactions of academic capitalism and the public good in internationalization. Scholars suggested that this convergence, which would inform our conceptualization and theorization of the growing international

dimensions of higher education, are still not well understood (Marginson, 2011; Mars & Rhoades, 2012; Rhoades & Szelényi, 2011; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014), both domestically and globally (Marginson, 2011, 2012).

These unexplored avenues of research also have broad social and educational implications. First, the ability of U.S. higher education institutions to live up to the global, cosmopolitan, and intercultural diversity expected of 21st-century organizations depends on international strategies in educational functions. Secondly, educational access and equity in the learning outcomes of international and domestic students is an important implication for higher education. Third, the access granted to international students who have the financial ability to afford the full cost of a U.S. higher education has implications for the public good mission of higher education. Fourth, quality concerns for institutions seeking to compete globally is also an important consideration. And undoubtedly, the public good, a founding mandate for most U.S. higher education institutions, is an important guiding principle in internationalization.

While the shifting nature and evolving manifestations of the public good in both public and private higher education is often debated (Kezar, 2004; Marginson, 2007a, 2012), this debate is urgent as new forms of marketized educational strategies (e.g., international branch campuses, offshore franchises and other profit-sharing international partnerships, international rankings, recruitment agencies and brokers, and pathway programs) are launched in the name of internationalization (Ellingboe, 1998; Knight, 2004; Marginson, 2011; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Sidhu, 2002; Smith, 2003; Wilkins & Huisman, 2012). As

internationalization becomes an even more prominent goal among U.S. higher education institutions, as demonstrated by its increasing adoption in institutional mission and vision statements (De Wit & Beelen, 2014), and even by the U.S. Department of Education (U.S. Department of Education, 2012), it is important to consider the negative implications of market-driven strategies for the public good. Therefore, it is critical to better understand the role of the public good in internationalization and the tensions between the public good and academic capitalism (Altbach, 2012a; Knight, 2007, 2008; Stromquist, 2007).

Statement of the Research Problem

Globalization and the global dimensions of knowledge production are shaping a focus on internationalization in U.S. higher education institutional strategies (Knight, 1994; 2004), resulting in an expanded conceptualization of the public good (Kaul et al., 1999; Marginson, 2007, 2012; Menashy, 2009) and academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Notwithstanding the importance of the public good to the purpose of U.S. higher education, the literature on the manifestations of the public good and institutional internationalization strategies is severely limited. In fact, Marginson (2011; 2012), Santos (2006), Schugurensky (2006), and Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) argued that market-driven approaches, motivated by the academic capitalism regime, dominate public good values in shaping rationales and strategies in the realm of institutional internationalization activities. Additionally, university leaders prioritize entrepreneurialism and revenue generation in domestic as well as international activities within the university (Altbach, 2012a; Marginson, 2007; Rhoads & Szelényi, 2011; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006). Due to the

displacement of the public good for a market-dominant and academic capitalistic approach, there is a tension in university internationalization priorities, goals, and outcomes (Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The educational phenomenon this study seeks to examine is how intersecting marketization and public good-related rationales are shaping the internationalization strategies of U.S. higher education institutions.

Research Questions

This study is guided by the following primary research question: How do academic capitalism, the public good, and their intersections shape the internationalization strategies of U.S. higher education institutions? Related sub-questions include:

- a) How is the concept of internationalization understood by university administrators, faculty, and students, and reflected in the institutional strategic agenda of a public and private university?
- b) What considerations and rationales shape the internationalization approaches at a public and private university?
- c) How do academic capitalism and the public good intersect and coexist in institutional international strategies at a public and private university?

Given that a particularly important aim of this study is theory generation, the second main research question seeks to develop a new framework for analyzing contemporary patterns of internationalization by interrogating the following: In what ways do the trends and countertrends in higher education internationalization rationales, values and strategies contribute to our theoretical understanding of

internationalization as a site of the intersections between academic capitalism and the public good in U.S. higher education?

Significance of the Study

Previous studies have not adequately examined institutional discursive and strategic rationales and interpretive frameworks in the conceptualization of internationalization in U.S. higher education. Yet, Knight (2012) wrote, “the need for clear, articulated rationales for internationalization cannot be overstated. Rationales are the driving force for why an institution (or any other actor) wants to address and invest in internationalization. Rationales dictate the kind of benefits or expected outcomes. Without a clear set of rationales, accompanied by a set of objectives or policy statements, a plan, and a monitoring/evaluation system, the process of internationalization is often an ad hoc, reactive, and fragmented response to the overwhelming number of new international opportunities available” (p. 32).

A major contribution of this study is a grounded theory of intersectional internationalization focused on the intersection and coexistence of public good- and market-driven rationales within internationalization strategies. Importantly, this study goes beyond a description of activities and strategies common among university internationalization plans to include a multilevel analysis of institutional as well as programmatic rationales and strategies. This approach was necessary for understanding the complex set of considerations and rationales shaping the rise of internationalization in U.S. higher education (Schwietz, 2006).

Secondly, this study theorized the ways market- and public good-driven interests intersect in U.S. higher education internationalization rationales and strategies. While

marketization and the public good are seemingly contradictory values, both rationales contribute positively to internationalization strategies. The U.S. Department of Education International Strategy (2012), which advocates for international education as part of every American student's educational attainment goal, provides a national policy framework for understanding internationalization as both the public good and an economic development necessity.

Furthermore, Mars et al. (2008), and Mars and Rhoades (2012) posited that social and eco-entrepreneurialism activities among students are positive attendant consequences of the entrepreneurial university, and represent an intersecting site between the public good- and market-driven rationales. And although academic capitalism has intensified and given rise to the prevalence of market-driven entrepreneurialism within the university, there are sites where this market logic is not the sole operating principle but in fact, it coexists with the public good, or social charter, of the university (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). By studying internationalization, and especially its intersection with the public good and marketization, this study contributes new theoretical understandings by examining countertrends to the disproportionately studied marketization- or revenue generation-focused approaches and strategies in institutional internationalization plans (Rumbley et al., 2012).

Lastly, the ways U.S. higher education institutions operationalize internationalization can be assessed by not only studying the prevailing types of strategies and partnerships, but also through an understanding of institutional internationalization rationales, policy discourses, and silences. Fielden (2008) argued

that university-centered internationalization models (the primary goal of which is to extend the institution's status globally) are far more prevalent than internationalization strategies centered on pedagogy, curriculum, or even students' educational experiences. A focus on organizational rationales allowed for a more critical examination of how institutional leadership's assumptions shape their internationalization strategies as well as administrators', faculty's and students' perceptions of institutional internationalization. Consequently, this focus illuminated how market- and public good-driven strategies intersect within institutional internationalization goals. As a result, this study also contributes to our understanding of alternative operational rationales shaping the international dimensions of U.S. higher education and the existing tensions between these interests in U.S. higher education.

Furthermore, this study has numerous implications for a contemporary understanding of the role of the public good in U.S. higher education. Central to this study is the critical examination of the role and manifestations of the public good in institutional internationalization strategic priorities and educational programming. In response to new global and local realities, most U.S. higher education institutions are seeking to redefine and position themselves as transnational actors in a globalized marketplace (De Wit & Beelen, 2014; Fielden, 2008; Knight, 2008, 2012; U.S. Department of Education, 2012). U.S. higher education has come to recognize the global-as-local (and vice versa) and this paradigm shift has led to newer strategies, arguably both positive and negative, in internationalization activities (Taylor, 2010; U.S. Department of Education, 2012). As transnational engagement becomes an

increasingly prevalent priority among U.S. higher education institutions striving to operate and compete in a global context (Kerr, 1995), it has implications for who is considered the “public” as well as the social “goods” they seek to provide (Marginson, 2007, 2011). Yet, our understanding of the public good (defined as “benefits to the public”), which remains essential to U.S. higher education institutions’ historical and social significance, remains moribund to U.S.-born students and local communities, and the provision of educational access and competencies (Menashy, 2009).

Beyond contributing to our theoretical understanding of the unfolding manifestations of the public good in internationalization, this study also has implications for access, equity and inclusion, quality, and student outcomes. First, because predominantly market-driven approaches prioritize the recruitment and admission of full fee-paying international students, some higher education institutions are specifically targeting middle- to upper-class international students from certain regions, thereby limiting access for low-income international students and international students from other geographic locations (Altbach, 2012a). Secondly, while internationalization is a top strategic priority for most institutions, a growing number of scholars highlight the substantial gap and disproportionate investment between organizational-level internationalization activities and partnerships on the one hand, and student-centered internationalization activities and curriculum integration of those values, on the other hand (Brown, 2009; Fielden, 2008; Lee, 2008, 2010; Trahar, 2010). In fact, these scholars collectively reported low levels of international students’ sense of belonging, integration, and inclusion in U.S. campus

communities and cultures, attributing these factors to the disproportionate attention and investment in international students, often lured to or recruited by the same institutions with the promise of an internationally friendly campus environment (Brown, 2009; Lee, 2008, 2010; Trahar, 2010). Third, internationalization has implications for the study of quality in U.S. higher education. On the one hand, the global ambition of higher education institutions, driven in part by international rankings, has contributed to the clearly implied and symbolic association between “becoming international” (Foskett, 2010) and quality (Altbach, 2012b; Douglass, 2014a). In fact, Douglass (2014b) remarked that the ideal of a “world class” university has become the global ambition of virtually every institution in the world. However, questionable practices in internationalization, such as the lack of transparency by universities, the exploitation of international students, issues of corruption, and the lack of an international regulatory framework, explain uneven levels of internationalization among institutions and threaten the notion of internationalization as a good educational practice (Altbach, 2012b).

While scholars have explored internationalization as a global, national or regional process, an institution-level analysis of internationalization is far less common (Edelstein & Douglass, 2012; Knight, 2008). However, an institutional analysis has the potential to yield new insights into the organizational impact of internationalization and its resultant effects on students’ experiences (Edelstein & Douglass, 2012). Several scholars have argued that internationalization produces various important student outcomes, such as developing graduates who are global citizens, promoting international values of multiculturalism and cross-cultural

understanding, engaging students in international collaborative, interdisciplinary learning opportunities, and supporting international student mobility and exchange (Fielden, 2008; Harris, 2015; Maringe, 2010; Raby, 2007). Paradoxically, despite most institutions' espoused commitment to a globalized student learning experience, institutional internationalization strategies rarely focus on the internationalization of the curriculum, but rather focus more on co-curricular programming (Burn, 2002; Lee, 2008, 2010; Raby, 2007; Siaya & Hayward, 2003; Trahar, 2010). Furthermore, institutions seldom assess and evaluate the attendant consequences of their internationalization efforts on students' learning outcomes, college experience and postgraduate outcomes (Burn, 2002; Harris, 2015).

Relatedly, very few institutions track the outcomes of their international students relative to domestic populations or seek to understand their experiences in order to develop targeted support services (Ashwill, 2003; Lee, 2008, 2010; Smith, 2003). But emerging literature and this study confirm that international students are at a higher risk of neoracism (Lee, 2008, 2010), self-isolation (Brown, 2009), and predatory practices by third-party educational providers (Altbach, 2012a; Beck, 2009). These issues of access, inclusion, quality, and success in outcomes have implications for a redefinition of the public good as well as the social and educational responsibility U.S. higher education institutions have toward underprivileged domestic and international students.

In terms of implications for practice, internationalization rationales and strategies represent a set of policy choices and decisions made by various institutional actors (Marginson, 2005). Further, Marginson (2005) concluded that the private and public

good “character of education is not natural, but a social and policy choice” (para. 14). Yet little is known about the prevalence and types of internationalization plans, the role of institutional stakeholders and their decision-making processes in the development of internationalization strategies, and how these strategies and their impacts are monitored once implemented (Beck, 2008, 2012; Edelstein & Douglass, 2012; Knight, 2008). Therefore, this study’s focus on how universities conceptualize and implement internationalization strategies within the context of marketization and the public good has implications for helping us to understand how to change the impacts of internationalization policies as well as produce intentional market-driven and public good-related educational outcomes through intersectional internationalization strategies.

CHAPTER 2

REVIWE OF THE LITERATURE

A review of relevant literature focuses on key influential theoretical and empirical studies that contribute to our understanding of internationalization, and the intersections between academic capitalism and the public good. To frame the research problem, four foundational areas will comprise the literature review: 1) the rise in importance and changing context of internationalization in U.S. higher education, including how it is conceptualized and implemented in institutional strategies, 2) the prevalence of market- and public good-driven rationales in these internationalization strategies, 3) the influence of academic capitalism in shaping institutional internationalization goals, and 4) how the public good is conceptualized and operationalized in U.S. higher education institutional internationalization strategies.

Internationalization in U.S. Higher Education

This section reviews definitions of key concepts and frameworks in the study of internationalization in U.S. higher education, with attention to globalization and internationalization as well as the distinctions between institutional strategies,

policies, and activities. Also in this section, I explore key literature on prevalent internationalization activities, rationales, and approaches within U.S. higher education institutions to illuminate and demonstrate the relevance of market-driven and public good logics in institutional internationalization strategic decision-making.

To conduct a comprehensive review of internationalization scholarship, it is essential to first explore the distinctions between internationalization and globalization. Anthony Giddens (1991) defined globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities” with events occurring in other geographic locations (p. 64). Maringe and Foskett (2010) added that globalization refers primarily to the interconnections between different countries in “business, economic and trade activities,” and increasingly in cultural, political, and ideological domains (p. 1).

Rhoads and Szelényi (2011) argued that globalization has given rise to three specific realities that impact individuals, organizations, and institutions, including U.S. higher education institutions. First, globalization has given rise to the global demand for U.S. higher education in the form of increasing mobility of students. Second, it has contributed to the pervasive network and rate of informational exchange. Third, globalization has led to the rise and intervention of non-institutional actors, agencies, and for-profits in advancing and providing educational services and programs (Rhoads & Szelényi, 2011). Many colleges and universities have adopted an international or global mandate in their mission statements and strategic goals as well as in the core function areas of teaching, research, and service to connect to this globalizing environment (Rhoads & Szelényi, 2011). Maringe (2010) noted, “one of

the obvious impacts of globalization in higher education has been the intensification of internationalization activities on many university campuses” (p. 21). Consequently, an institutional recognition of these globalization realities as a dimension and context of higher education are increasingly giving way to internationalization strategies.

Conceptualization of Internationalization

In his seminal work, Ellingboe (1998) defined internationalization "as the process of integrating an international perspective into a college or university system. It is an ongoing, future-oriented, multidimensional, interdisciplinary, leadership-driven vision that involves many stakeholders working to change the internal dynamics of an institution to respond and adapt appropriately to an increasingly diverse, globally focused, ever-changing external environment" (p. 199). In contrast, Raby's (2007) definition is less focused on processes, but more on pedagogy, learning goals, and outcomes. She conceptualized internationalization as “the development of a literacy that includes skills to perceive multiple perspectives, reconcile conflicting ideologies, and respect a relativity of differences” (Raby, 2007, p. 58). To cultivate this literacy, she suggested the infusion of internationalization in the curriculum as well as the provision of more study abroad and international experiences, which promote an awareness of other cultures and geographies, and cross-cultural learning and thinking (Raby, 2007).

Although Ellingboe (1998) and Raby (2007) similarly describe internationalization as an embedded and institution-wide process, both authors go on to conflate the existence of academic programs and initiatives as proxies of institutionalization. In other words, neither study advanced a multi-tiered analysis of

institutional internationalization strategies as *both* academic and organizational at the institutional level as well as programs and policies at the departmental level. Studies on institutional internationalization strategies must include an analysis of organizational strategies (e.g., governance, operations, auxiliary services); institutional culture, climate and artifacts; and, formal and informal interactions, particularly among faculty and students in international programs. A multi-tiered analysis has the potential to complicate our understanding of the impact of internationalization on institutional culture, academic and auxiliary processes and policies as well as faculty and student experiences and outcomes.

More recently, Taylor (2010) described globalization as “a key social and economic trend” as well as a driver for change in higher education and society (p. 84). In contrast, internationalization is the response, made up of different strategies, policies and activities by governments, universities and academic staff, to globalization (Taylor, 2010, p. 84). In other words, internationalization emphasizes the context for such a response. Taylor (2010) studied the motivations, rationales, and contradictions in governmental and institutional responses to globalization. Most Western governments and institutions saw internationalization as an opportunity to expand national labor demands, respond to international competitiveness, meet workforce skills demand for globally competent graduates, and contribute to economic development through the remittances of international students (Taylor, 2010). Additionally, Taylor (2010) found that higher education institutions view internationalization as necessary to an increasingly global knowledge economy, multicultural educational programming, and educational delivery. However, for non-

Western governments, internationalization is largely a political response as institutional and national interests to compete within “international networks of teaching and research” (Taylor, 2010, p. 87). As a result, some non-Western governments have embraced foreign providers and sponsored educational hubs to advance and exploit the economic potential of international higher education as a commodity within their own context (Taylor, 2010).

In her article, “Internationalization Remodeled,” Knight (2004) attempted to address the several competing definitions of internationalization, differentiate between internationalization and globalization, as well as engage new questions about internationalization in relation to its purpose, expected benefits, consequences, and values. In contrast to the above definitions, her study examined internationalization from a national as well as institutional level in order to understand the impact of policies, funding, programs, and regulatory frameworks on the growing international dimensions of higher education (Knight, 2004). At the national level, Knight (2004) argued that globalization and internationalization are interrelated processes, wherein globalization shapes internationalization activities in higher education. Knight (2004) defined globalization as part of the environment in which higher education institutions operate while internationalization described their operational process. Citing her earlier work (Knight, 2003), she wrote, “Globalization clearly presents new opportunities, challenges, and risks. It is important to note, however, that the discussion does not center on the globalization of education. Rather, globalization is presented as a process impacting internationalization. In short, internationalization is

changing the world of education and globalization is changing the world of internationalization” (Knight, 2004, p. 2).

At the institutional level, Knight (2004) analyzed such international activities as student and teacher mobility, international linkages, partnerships, the development of international academic programming, the inclusion of multiculturalism and global themes in curriculum, and research initiatives as well as overseas educational services delivery. In her critique of competing definitions that solely focused on the institutional analysis of international engagement, and in response to new changes in the higher education landscape, including the growth of non-institutional actors, for-profit education corporations and agents, and rise in marketized approaches, Knight (2004) advanced a new definition of internationalization. She updated her 1994 definition of internationalization “as a process of integrating an international and intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution” (Knight, 1994, p. 7) with the following: “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (Knight, 2003, p. 2). Furthermore, in her revised definition of internationalization, Knight (2004) described the process as deliberate, deep and broad in scope, which denotes both international and intercultural dimensions as central and hence, embedded in institutional culture, ethos, policies, and practices. Finally, by including purpose, function, and delivery as key aspects in this new definition, Knight (2004) acknowledged that the objectives of internationalization must be related to the institutional mission and purpose and, yet, internationalization need not be solely relegated to the teaching, service, and research

functions of the university. Also, her use of the word *internationalization strategies* as opposed to *international activities* is a discursive shift away from a programmatic focus to include organizational initiatives, policies, and approaches that shape institutional approaches (Knight, 2004). A comprehensive strategic approach to internationalization, Knight (2004) concluded, must consider institutional values, priorities, culture, history, politics, and resources.

Similar to Knight (2004), Maringe and Foskett (2010) suggested that the rise in internationalization in higher education is a key institutional strategic response to globalization. They observed that the internationalization of higher education has implications for quality, access, and equity outcomes due to the increased demands for credentialism (Maringe & Foskett, 2010, p. 4). Furthermore, Maringe and Foskett (2010) advanced that certain strategic activities have become popularized among internationalization strategies. They include international student recruitment, distance education, joint degrees, branch campuses, and study abroad programs (Maringe & Foskett, 2010, p. 5). These strategies are perceived to demonstrate an institution's international competitiveness and distinction as "world class" as well as foster global competency among students (Maringe & Foskett, 2010). Further motivation for U.S. higher education internationalization is the growing emphasis on interdisciplinary and international research collaboration by major U.S. corporate and private charitable foundations (Foskett, 2010). For example, the Gates Foundation and The Wellcome Trust require such partnerships of grantee organizations (Foskett, 2010).

Although underemphasized, Maringe and Foskett (2010 p. 4) suggested that these popularized internationalization strategies also have the potential to contribute to positive societal benefits, such as increased financial support for foreign students, student mobility, and global citizenship or awareness. Maringe and Foskett (2010) stated, “Different universities will be expected to respond in different ways to globalization forces as much as they are also expected to have different conceptualizations of what it means to internationalize the tripartite roles of teaching, research and enterprise¹” (p. 5). However, Maringe and Foskett (2010) noted that existing literature on internationalization in U.S. higher education suggests many universities “have adopted a two-pronged approach to the internationalization process” (p. 5), which Knight (2008) had previously defined as internationalization “at home” and “abroad.” Nonetheless, they added, “a common strategic response has been the development of an ‘internationalization agenda’ – a programme of development and operational activities which may or may not be integrated into a wider institutional strategic plan” (Maringe & Foskett, 2010, p. 7). The development of a theoretical framework, the central goal of this study, examines the dominant institutional strategies and rationales for internationalization, and explores implications for policy and program development.

Based on three empirical studies conducted by the American Council of Education (ACE) linking institutional internationalization inputs (strategies, goals, activities) to outputs (student learning outcomes and measurements), Olson et al. (2005) argued for a redefinition of internationalization as a set of integrated

¹ Maringe and Foskett (2010) defined enterprise, or knowledge transfer, as the third core activity of the university.

approaches rather than a collection of peripheral or isolated activities within a university. Hence, Olson et al. (2005) advanced the concept of comprehensive internationalization, defined as a “central or guiding feature of the ethos or identity of an institution rather than a set of marginal activities...a process that would lead to institutional transformation over time, built on an institutional vision for internationalization, a clearly articulated set of goals, and a strategy to integrate the internationally and globally focused programs and activities on campus” (p. iii). Olson et al. (2005) added that this process requires a deep, broad, and sustained commitment to developing the global dimensions within the institution related to curriculum, faculty development, global learning outcomes, departmental programming and collaborations across programs, and policy changes. Moreover, they argued that internationalization can only be sustained as a long-term project because it often takes five to 10 years or longer to become embedded or institutionalized (Olson et al., 2005). The study outlined two approaches for developing effective institutional strategies to internationalization, both of which emphasized linking student learning outcomes to institutionally accountable benchmarks that measure institutional activities and policies, campus and local culture (Olson et al., 2005).

Knight (2008) wrote that rationales, approaches, policies, and strategies are all important to consider in the successful integration of internationalization in higher education institutions. Knight (2008) added that there is a hierarchy in the use of the terms, strategies, programs, and policies. She provided a glossary of definitions to advance common understanding on the topic of implementation in

internationalization. In this glossary, she described strategies as the most concrete aspect of internationalization plans and “the core of the success and sustainability of internationalization at the institutional level” (Knight, 2008, p. 35). Knight (2008) defined strategies as “the academic and organizational initiatives at institutional level,” which includes organizational (e.g., mission statements and resources) and programmatic (e.g., curriculum and educational activities) elements (Knight, 2008, p. 33, 46). Meanwhile, she defined programs as “a more comprehensive approach to internationalization” and policies as “the overall framework” of an internationalization plan (Knight, 2008, p. 33). Furthermore, Knight (2008) outlined “the different areas of emphasis” prioritized by practitioners, researchers, and higher education institutions (p. 14). In conclusion, she noted that none of these terms are mutually exclusive, but rather reflect the dynamic process of internationalization in U.S. higher education (Knight, 2008).

Knight (2015) also advanced that institutional internationalization rationales denote the expected outcomes and benefits institutions expect from global engagement. Furthermore, she surmised that without an institutional rationale, internationalization efforts are often ad hoc, fragmented and reactionary (Knight 2015). While earlier scholars have traditionally categorized internationalization rationales into four main categories (sociocultural, political, academic and economic), Knight (2015) advanced new national and institutional categorizations, including international reputation, income generation, research and knowledge production, strategic alliances, and student and staff development. Importantly, she underscored new rationales in understanding internationalization, including oft-overlooked

institutional rationales (Knight, 2015). Even so, she failed to indicate the ways in which these new categorizations and rationales drive and shape institutional internationalization (Knight, 2015). Furthermore, she concluded by noting, “There is room for greater reflection and clarity in the articulation of the values, especially cooperation and competition and the positioning of education as a “public” or “private good,” in the provision of higher education” (p. 5). Yet, here again, she stopped short of offering specific reflections on the potential implications of these values on private good- and the public good-driven rationales in internationalization.

In this study, I relied on Knight’s (2004) revised definition of internationalization as an intentional and deliberate set of strategic processes and choices embedded in a set of institutional values organized by various institutional and non-institutional actors towards the purpose, function, or delivery of higher education. And like Davies (1992), I use the term internationalization throughout this study as “an umbrella term for the range of institutional strategic responses to globalization in universities” (p. 8). I also draw on Olson et al.’s (2005) argument that the process of comprehensive internationalization is best understood from a study of operational internationalization strategies.

Historical Foundations, Contemporary Resurgence, and Changing Contexts

While internationalization is not a recent phenomenon in U.S. higher education, it has grown in importance and its conceptualization has evolved over time due to the increasingly complex global landscape of higher education. In his comprehensive historicism of the international dimensions in U.S. higher education, de Wit (2002) argued that three phases have characterized institutional international engagement. In

the first phase, which began immediately after WWII, the U.S. government and higher education institutions stressed international engagement as a cultural and political means of fostering cross-cultural understanding, diplomacy, and extending the U.S. sphere of influence globally (de Wit, 2002). This rationale gave birth to notable exchange programs such as the Fulbright Programs and the Peace Corps (de Wit, 2002). During the second phase, motivated by the rise of the European community, the fall of the Soviet Union, and the decolonization of nation-states, U.S. higher education institutions highlighted the need for international educational activities in an era characterized by dehegemonisation, global interdependence, and increased student mobility (de Wit, 2002). Marginson (2007a) concluded that these historical antecedents document that the internationalization of U.S. higher education were not merely symbolic or episodic, but represented vested national and institutional strategic interests in cross-border educational engagement.

De Wit (2002) also noted that the current era of internationalization, which he described as the third phase, is characterized by an economic rationale due in part to increasingly globalized trade, labor markets, and technology. Although de Wit (2002) concluded that these phases constitute overlapping rationales, rather than discrete categories, he nonetheless maintained that the economic rationale continues to dominate contemporary internationalization strategies in U.S. higher education.

This historicism of international engagement in the U.S. is not a nostalgic call to the past. Even historically, U.S. higher education institutions were not single-mindedly committed to internationalism because of their commitment to promoting the public good (Knight & de Wit, 1995). In fact, Knight and de Wit (1995) found

that market and other stakeholder rationales often prevailed. Also, universities of the past and their international policies were not always democratic. For example, policies of international relations, including those within higher education institutions, were motivated in part by national interests, revenue-generating incentives, and limited to a small elite of well-to-do, qualified students (Knight & de Wit, 1995). But without a historicism of international engagement in U.S. higher education, the generalized notion of international engagement as a postmodern concept is rarely questioned, and thus prone to an analysis of internationalization as a function of globalization.

Even though international engagement has historically been a part of U.S. higher education institutional strategies, modern challenges have required colleges and universities to respond in new ways. For example, Richard Levin (2008), former president of Yale University, noted that there is a new interdependent global context, which demands a need for internationalizing the curriculum of the modern university. Further complicating this new landscape is the growth in mobility of students across transnational borders, increased reciprocal international collaborations in research, and unprecedented opportunities for the university in a global knowledge economy (Levin, 2008). In conclusion, Levin (2008) summarized that this new global landscape demands an international dimension in university operational strategies that includes the advancement of cross-cultural understanding and tolerance through academic programs, the creation of a global brand by establishing an institutional presence abroad to develop a local pipeline, and the promotion of transnational research partnerships.

Maringe (2010) also suggested that there was a resurgence in the concept of internationalization in higher education following the passage of the 2003 General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). In an empirical study, which examined how senior university officials worldwide interpret globalization and internationalization and, in turn, how that shapes campuses' internationalization activities, Maringe (2010) surveyed 37 universities' internationalization plans in the U.K. Using a questionnaire, two hundred institutions representing all major regions of the world were contacted and the response rate was a low 25% (49 universities), although the sample was regionally representative (Maringe, 2010, p. 29). The study presented two major findings. First, there was a difference along the North-South divide regarding the nature and benefits of internationalization (Maringe, 2010). Western universities largely viewed internationalization as spontaneous and inevitable as well as contributing positively to the lives of people across the world while developing countries, particularly in North Africa and the Middle East, perceived it as contributing to skewed development favoring already rich countries (Maringe, 2010).

Secondly, all institutions surveyed clearly viewed internationalization as a key strategic issue, but Maringe (2010) noted that the strategic choices made varied in different universities (Maringe, 2010). Specifically, there were five prevailing strategies of varying significance to institutional internationalization plans (Maringe, 2010). For both Western and Non-Western countries, the top-ranked strategic choice when internationalizing was international student recruitment followed by student and staff exchange as the second highest-ranked strategy (Maringe, 2010). Transnational partnerships in teaching and learning ranked third, transnational research and

entrepreneurial collaborative partnerships were fourth, and finally, curriculum internationalization and assessment (Maringe, 2010, p. 28). This pattern differed slightly in North African and Middle Eastern universities, where top-ranked internationalization strategies were international research and entrepreneurial partnerships, followed by curriculum reform, exchange programs, offshore teaching and learning and, lastly, international student recruitment (Maringe, 2010).

Maringe (2010) concluded that despite varying national contexts, universities with internationalization agendas are more likely to have the following characteristics: “highly diversified income generating sources, high annual income turnovers, contribute to regional and national economic development, diversified employment profiles, and attract more foreign students and staff” (p. 25). Maringe (2010) also found that newer institutions tended to pursue such international activities as “student recruitment, offshore education programs, and internationalizing the curriculum” (p. 27). In contrast, older institutions prioritized staff and student mobility initiatives as well as transnational partnerships (Maringe, 2010). Maringe (2010) suggested that older institutions tend to be more research-intensive while younger institutions are more teaching-intensive. But interestingly, Maringe (2010) noted that curriculum internationalization was not a top strategy among most institutions in his study despite the institutions’ statements that internationalization was a key academic goal.

In summary, the empirical findings of this global survey highlighted that higher education institutions are motivated to engage in internationalization due to “global and local imperatives” (Maringe, 2010, p. 32). Institutions pursued a range of strategies, including “international student recruitment, staff and student exchange

programmes, collaborative partnerships in research and teaching, and curriculum reform” (Maringe, 2010, p. 32). However, the “emphasis and focus placed on any one or a combination of these strategies” depended on the institutional type and its global geospatial position (Maringe, 2010, p. 32). This study implicated the role of institutional type and rank for future studies examining the rise of internationalization and the strategies of internationalization pursued by institutions.

Similarly grounded in a comparativist lens, Marginson (2007b) posited that the rise in university strategies focused on international activities is a global phenomenon. He suggested that factors informing university internationalization activities include global quality and performance rankings, which relativize the global as a new dimension of institutional classification, as well as the development of a global higher education marketplace through deregulatory trading agreements such as the World Trade Organization’s General Agreement on Trade in Services (WTO-GATS) (Marginson, 2007b). Additionally, the transnational pace of innovation, often located in universities as sites of entrepreneurialism, and foreign competition over cross-border education (e.g., global hubs of research and educational activities) motivates the international engagement of traditionally nation-bound institutions of higher learning (Marginson, 2007b). Collectively, these factors have coincided with the rise in commercial export and import of education, including global student flows, transnational branch campuses, and the virtual delivery of educational services, all largely unregulated revenue sources to most national higher education systems (Marginson, 2007b).

While Marginson (2007b) similarly referenced the changing landscape of global networks, challenges, and opportunities as increasingly influential to universities all around the world, he contended that engagement in international activities is not a natural occurrence for higher education institutions. Marginson (2007b) posited that higher education institutions are also responsible for mutually constructing a “spatial imaginary” through discursive practices and policy that make internationalization seem commonplace and, therefore, their participation in this geospatial reality a necessity. Marginson (2007b) further stated that these imaginaries included a perspective of the world and the role of higher education such as, “the global market economy, worldwide status competition, and the world of networks and open source knowledge” (p. 10). He further added, these “acts of imagining interplay with strategy-making” (Marginson, 2007b, p. 10). In other words, the decisions to develop and implement internationalization strategies are intentional policy and institutional choices made by institutional leaders, and enacted by the actions of faculty and administrators (Marginson, 2007b).

In summary, although most U.S. higher education institutions have been globally engaged since their founding, most have only come to engage in internationalization strategically and intentionally in the last decade (Foskett, 2010). As a result, U.S. higher education institutions have been rapidly adopting internationalization as a key priority in the last five years (Foskett, 2010, p. 37; see also Weber et al, 2008). But the reasons institutions engage in internationalization are diverse and complex. Deem (2001) argued that institutions engage in internationalization as a response to the pervasiveness and inevitableness of globalization. Scott (2005) offered that

institutions engage in internationalization as a business strategy necessary to compete in a global knowledge economy, to mediate and act as interlocutor between national and global culture, and finally, as a “stewardship position in which they fulfill ‘guardian roles alerting societies to major emerging issues’” (p. 38).

While U.S. higher education has historically always been international, it is *imagined* realities of challenges, opportunities, and networks that lead university leaders to consider the possibilities as well as the positionality of their institutions in terms of competition, differentiation, and what role they can play for the global public good (Marginson, 2007b). In turn, these considerations shape and explain the typology of internationalization strategies – whether market- or public good-driven - that U.S. higher education institutions pursue (Marginson, 2007). Thus, Marginson’s (2007) critical analyses of the rise in the internationalization of higher education institutions worldwide should be considered in light of Altbach and Knight (2007) and Edelstein and Douglass’s (2012) empirical studies, both of which concluded that the international activities of U.S. universities have increased in the last two decades, motivated by the social reorganization of a global knowledge economy, potential for revenue generation through internationalization, as well as global prestige building and institutional striving for “world-class” status.

Typologies and Rationales of University Internationalization Strategies

Knight (1994) suggested that higher education institutions often go through six phases in order to develop an internationalization strategy: awareness, commitment, planning, operationalization, review, and reinforcement. She further noted that the process is not always reflexive or sequential (Knight, 1994), but it is intentionally

designed based on perceived or expected outcomes and benefits. Currently, there is limited scholarship on how internationalization strategies are developed and implemented.

Too often, internationalization strategies are narrowly interpreted as overseas activities or cross-border educational exchanges and partnerships (Knight, 2008a). Knight (2008a) wrote that cross-border education is a subset of a comprehensive internationalization strategy. She went on to write, “Internationalization strategies can include international cooperation and development projects; institutional agreements and networks; the international and intercultural dimension of teaching and learning process, curriculum, and research; campus-based extracurricular clubs and activities; the mobility of academics through exchange, field work, sabbaticals, and consultancy work; the recruitment of international students; student exchange programs and semesters abroad; joint/double degree programs; twinning partnerships; branch campuses, etc. The international dimension of higher education includes both campus-based activities and cross-border initiatives” (Knight, 2008a, p. xi). To establish a common scholarly framework for understanding the various domestic and international strategies comprising the typologies of internationalization plans, Knight (2008a) coined the terminology of internationalization “at home” and “abroad” strategies. She argued that a successful internationalization strategy includes both “at home” and “abroad” or cross-border activities, is supported by the organization (e.g., as reflected in mission statements and resources), and is integrated at the programmatic level (e.g., curriculum and educational activities) (Knight, 2008a). The development of such a comprehensive strategy involves multiple approaches

including appropriate values, explicit rationales and goals, policy statements, activities, assessment benchmarks, as well as alignment with other internationalization initiatives (Knight, 2008a). But Schwietz (2006) noted that scholars and practitioners of international higher education too often reduce the complexity of internationalization to a one-dimensional analysis of an activity or strategy.

The ways institutions conceptualize internationalization through strategic priorities also differ (Knight, 2004; Siaya & Hayward, 2003). This may explain why some strategies are privileged over others (Edelstein & Douglass, 2012). Burn (2002) noted that most institutions' strategies on internationalization are market-driven. When focused on market-driven outcomes, internationalization strategies tend to emphasize the co-curricular (e.g., international student and scholar exchange, study abroad, transnational institutional partnerships, branch campuses), which generates revenue and attract international students as well as institutional prestige (Burn, 2002; Siaya & Hayward, 2003). Comparatively, when institutions focus on the public good in internationalization, Absalom and Vadura (2006) identified three successful, public good-driven strategies: a focus on process and pedagogy, curriculum content, and the societal aspects of internationalization. They added that these strategies are most effectively advanced through curricular as well as co-curricular programs and activities (Absalom & Vadura, 2006).

Although dominant internationalization strategies are increasingly market-driven, Foskett (2010) argued that internationalization strategies are also motivated by the public good and some institutions' recognition that the process of knowledge

production is made better by engaging multicultural and global perspectives. In his empirical study, Foskett (2010) analyzed the internationalization strategic plans and data collected from semi-structured interviews with senior university staff responsible for policy-setting and operations related to international activities at a diverse range of seven universities in the U.K. and 16 universities in Asia, selected using opportunity sampling. In his interviews, Foskett (2010) focused specifically on how university leaders develop and operationalize those strategies as well as their perspectives on the context that informs their decision-making to pursue institutional internationalization (p. 36).

In a model of university internationalization strategies derived from the data collected, Foskett (2010) found that some institutions ranked low in ‘at home’ internationalization. Foskett (2010) described this category of institutions as having little activity and/or low prioritization of internationalization beyond enrolling (with no effort) international students (p. 44). He referred to those institutions as “domestics” (Foskett, 2010). The second category comprised universities that had strong recruitment activities targeting international students, but did relatively little else to incorporate international dimensions into curriculum, facilities, or campus services (Foskett, 2010, p. 44). He argued that these institutions viewed internationalization as a financial strategy to support and enhance core ‘domestic’ activities (Foskett, 2010). He referred to them as “imperialistic universities” (Foskett, 2010, p. 44). Third, Foskett (2010) noted that the “internationally aware” strategies characterized institutions whose organizational culture and profile were international, but had little engagement transnationally (e.g., overseas recruitment or partnerships)

(p. 45). Finally, “internationally engaged universities,” Foskett (2010, p. 45) argued, are those institutions that are not only involved overseas, but also have reformed their academic curriculum and upgraded their facilities and services on the home campus to incorporate international and cultural diversity, and encouraged students, staff, and faculty to engage in educational exchanges with overseas partners. Within the group of internationally engaged universities in his sample, Foskett (2010) identified a smaller subgroup as “internationally focused universities,” where the engagement with internationalization in its multiple forms has transformationally changed the culture of the institutions (p. 45).

Based on his analysis, Foskett (2010) concluded that a variety of strategic internationalization priorities, ranging from the economic and imperialistic to the more altruistic, motivate university leaders to internationalize because they recognize the vast potential to expand university enterprises on a global scale (p. 36). Specifically, leaders viewed making their research and learning communities international through the transmobility of students and staff, which is seen as benefitting and enriching learning communities, and contributing to global collaboration, as key to a global enterprise (Foskett, 2010, p. 35). However, Foskett (2010) added that the same motivations to operate globally also led to market-driven strategic choices due to the challenges of operating in a resource-constrained, prestige-striving operational context in which institutions find themselves. As a result, university leaders chose to pursue particular internationalization strategies that responded to both their economic motivations and social missions (Foskett, 2010). In conclusion, Foskett (2010) emphasized the critical role of university leaders in

charting the course for effective institutional internationalization. However, he noted that “Internationalization (still) challenges the skills of leaders to scan, sense, and respond to changing social, economic, and political circumstances at an international scale, and then to plan and implement change on an institutional scale in the context of universities whose academic staff are still principally engaged in the conservative and monastic dialogue and discourse of research scholarship and ‘the academy’” (Foskett, 2010, p. 36). In fact, Foskett (2010) posited that well-developed internationalization programs and activities had strong operational functionality, enjoyed a centralized organizational arrangement, and were delegated to senior university leadership.

In addition to organizational and structural supports, successful internationalization strategies also depend on institutional cultures. Bartell (2003), Burn (2002), Raby (2007), and Knight (2004) argued that successful internationalization policies must permeate institutional culture, ethos, and all programs through the formal and informal curriculum. Yet, Burn (2002) added that there is no consensus concerning how internationalization can be educationally achieved in U.S. higher education. For example, she noted, “there still is no consensus on the extent to which an internationalized curriculum should include such fields as area studies, international affairs, foreign languages, and experiential learning; how these and other subjects are best combined in a curriculum; and in short, how to curricularize the international to come up with an international curriculum” (Burn, 2002, p. 258).

Although limited, a review of the institutional empirical studies on internationalization strategies provides several useful conceptual dimensions for this study. In their empirical study, Edelstein and Douglass (2012) advanced seven typologies based on their case study analysis of university international activity clusters, modes of engagement, and institutional logics governing their international actions and policies. They include 1) transnational faculty research and teaching collaborations, 2) aggressive international student, faculty, and staff recruitment, 3) study abroad and exchange programs, 4) internationalization of curricular and pedagogical initiatives (e.g., academic program and foreign languages), 5), transnational institutional engagement, 6) alumni and scholarly network building, and 7) institutional cultural and symbolic action (e.g., global mission or strategy) (Edelstein & Douglass, 2012). In addition, three contextual factors influenced which internationalization strategies became most salient within an institution: academic discipline, level of academic study (undergraduate versus graduate level), and institutional prestige (Edelstein & Douglass, 2012). The authors found that some institutions confirmed a trend towards privatization, entrepreneurialism, and market-driven outcomes in their internationalization strategies while other institutions had mixed strategies varying from purely entrepreneurial to coupled approaches that are economically pragmatic while contributing to pedagogical outcomes (Edelstein & Douglass, 2012).

In an empirical study conducted by ACE's Center for International Initiatives on the internationalization plans of 31 Association of International Education Administrator (AIEA) institutions, only 71% of institutions in the study had

internationalization plans (Childress, 2009). The study focused on analyzing the development and typologies of these plans (Childress, 2009). Childress (2009) wrote that an institutional internationalization plan serves five purposes. It provides a road map for operationalization, a vehicle to cultivate constituency buy-in, a way to explain goals and meanings of internationalization within an institutional context, a means to foster interdisciplinary collaborations, and a fundraising tool (Childress, 2009). Childress (2009) described internationalization plans as “goal statements, mission statements, vision statements, implementation initiatives, allocated resources, timelines, and performance indicators” (p. 291).

In the study, Childress (2009) also found that there are three types of internationalization plans: institutional strategic plans (ISP), distinct documents (DD), and unit plans (UP). Among these plans, the author found nine within-group sub-typologies (Childress, 2009). Among institutions with more than one type of plan, DDs appeared to be most influential in integrating internationalization across multiple units and into the ethos and culture of the institution (Childress, 2009). Meanwhile, most ISPs tended to be vague and general without any guide for implementation, and UPs typically only described the plans of one to two academic units without describing institution-wide international activities (Childress, 2009). Additionally, plans that specifically identify processes, resources, costs, and implementation strategies as well as the allocation of responsibilities, were more useful (Childress, 2009). Finally, Childress (2009) found that doctorate-granting institutions were more likely to use ISPs and DDs, which potentially suggests that reaching decentralized

stakeholders in large, complex organizational structures is necessary to more successfully implement internationalization strategies (Childress, 2009).

Childress (2009) also argued that seven factors were critical motivators to the development and adoption of internationalization strategic plans. They included 1) the support of top decision makers, 2) commitment to fundraising for those initiatives, 3) concerns of peer rankings and competition, 4) senior administrators' personal investment in internationalization, 5) a campus-wide taskforce to help push forward the agenda and mobilize buy-in, 6) institutional participation in external programs or organizations that support and advance internationalization, and 7) an upcoming accreditation (Childress, 2009). Conversely, barriers to institutional internationalization strategies included the lack of sufficient fundraising, lack of campus-wide understanding of organizational internationalization priorities, faculty autonomy that inhibit the collaboration necessary for the implementation of internationalization within the curriculum, and unforeseen institutional crises (Childress, 2009).

Overall, empirical studies on the typologies and rationales of university internationalization strategies advance this study in several important ways. First, these studies generally refer to the multidimensional, process-driven aspects of comprehensive internationalization strategic planning (Childress, 2009; Edelstein & Douglass, 2012). Specifically, internationalization strategies account for academic (e.g., curriculum and educational activities) as well as organizational factors (e.g., mission statements, prestige, resources, and organizational culture) (Childress, 2009). Second, there are multiple, overlapping, and competing logics or rationales that

inform key decision makers' process in the development and adoption of internationalization as key institutional strategies (Childress, 2009; Edelstein & Douglass, 2012). Finally, the success of institutional internationalization strategies is informed by the purposeful development, implementation, and assessment of clearly articulated strategic goals, activities, and outcomes as well as the coordinated synergy, integration, and connections between existing international activities (Childress, 2009). Despite the importance of strategic plans to the internationalization process, little is known about prevalence and typology of internationalization plans, the role of institutional leaders and other stakeholders, and the process of developing, implementing, monitoring, and assessing the plans, with specific attention to the ways in which market- and public good-driven approaches shape institutional planning (Beck, 2008, 2012; Edelstein & Douglass, 2012; Knight, 2008).

Marketization in Higher Education

The influences of the market logic, both observable and metaphorical, are commonplace in higher education policies and scholarship. Rosenbaum (2000) reviewed the multiple and contested definitions of the market concept. Classical and neoclassical theorists have defined the market as an observable location, exchange transactions, a network of relationships based on extensive transactions, a social organization of group(s) based on functions of the market, as well as a metaphorical social structural ideology based on the supply, demand, and allocation of social good (Rosenbaum, 2000). However, Rosenbaum (2000) defined the market as 1) regularity and typification in exchanges leading to “institutionalized forms of exchanges” (p. 476), 2) exchanges or transactions that are embedded within a context of social and

cultural relations, 3) voluntary participation where exit is a viable option, and 4) competition. In other words, a market is more than merely financial transactions, but is also systematic, structural and sociocultural, as well as guided by principles of regularity, exchange, voluntariness, and competition (Rosenbaum, 2000).

Additionally, the prevalent use of the market metaphor by higher education leaders and policy makers coincides with a renewed ideological shift towards the privatization of higher education and increasing governmental support for market-based efficiencies in higher educational provisions (Meek, 2000). Some of these market-based efficiency measurements include a quantitative assessment of the value-added of higher education attainment, benchmarks designed to increase competitiveness, and performance evaluations based on efficiency gains (Meek, 2000). Meek (2000) pointed out, “market is considered to be an efficient allocator of resources; it does not necessarily follow that it is a fair or equitable one” (p. 27), resulting in a growing tension between market- and public good-driven approaches in higher education.

Furthermore, most scholars (Altbach, 2012; Beck, 2009; Deem, 2001; Hayrinen-Alestalo Peltola, 2006; Knight, 2007) have critiqued the marketization trend in higher education, positing that this trend has inherently negative implications for quality, access, inclusion, and success as demonstrated by the global competency outcomes of domestic students as well as retention, integration, and completion rates among international students (Brown, 2009; Lee, 2008, 2010; Lee & Rice, 2007; Trahar, 2010). Oplatka and Hemsley-Brown (2010) observed that most literature on marketization in education (Le Grand et al, 1993; Marginson, 1999) has

predominantly ascribed the rise of marketization to institutions' rational choice decision-making. They noted, "Rational models of choice are based on the view that choices and decisions in the marketplace are the result of rational calculations. Two basic elements of this view are to seek to maximize the benefits they (defined as institutions) gain from the choices they make, and that they (defined as institutions) will make choices that are based entirely on self-interest" (Oplatka & Helmsley-Brown, 2010, p. 75). They added that institutional rational choice decision-making is also motivated by the real or perceived informed consumers (defined as students and their families), who are looking for proven value and efficiency in the college selection process, as a response to inter-institutional competition domestically and globally (Oplatka & Helmsley-Brown, 2010, p. 67).

Due to a prevailing customer service-oriented focus in higher education, institutions are expected to respond to students' interests in curriculum, other educational activities and facilities (Oplatka & Helmsley-Brown, 2010, p. 68). Motivated by this consumer orientation and a focus on external relations, emphasis is increasingly placed on university promotional marketing to increase domestic and global market share (Oplatka & Helmsley-Brown, 2010, p. 67). But Oplatka and Helmsley-Brown (2010) argued that the "discourse of markets and marketization in higher education needs further explanation and clarification if one aims to analyze its structure and characteristics" (p. 67). Even as U.S. higher education institutions are under pressure to internationalize, Oplatka and Helmsley-Brown (2010) argued that institutional decision-makers respond to those pressures by conforming to or adopting mirror practices of peer institutions in internationalization. The institutions then strive

to “gain social legitimacy” through marketing and image-building (Oplatka & Helmsley-Brown, 2010, p. 76).

Consequently, market-like behavior characterizes most internationalization strategies in higher education (Oplatka & Helmsley-Brown, 2010). Furthermore, Oplatka & Helmsley-Brown (2010) suggested, “higher education institutions adopt market-led changes (that is, changes that do not necessarily contribute to their core technology, but have symbolic power to attract prospective students) rather than fundamental changes (in teaching methods or research foci, for instance)” (p. 71). Oplatka and Helmsley-Brown (2010) added that other implications that need to be explored are “the effects of higher education globalization on symbolic and ritual elements within higher education institutions” (p. 77). In other words, at some institutions, the adoption of internationalization is a purely symbolic element, and so even though those institutions implement structural changes to internationalize, the resulting changes have limited impact on the teaching, research and service mission and functions (Oplatka & Helmsley-Brown, 2010).

The Role of Global and National Markets

While this study is primarily concerned with the national dimensions of internationalization, global and national markets are both implicated in the marketization of U.S. higher education (Marginson, 2007a). For example, the growing worldwide demand for higher education access, the first-preference interest in Western and/or American educational institutions by students in developing countries, and the positional value of Western and American foreign degree holders in emerging economies, collectively, create an insatiable demand for educational

delivery of programs sometimes wholly subsidized by foreign public governmental funds (e.g., certain educational hubs) (Kreber, 2009; Marginson, 2007a). Taken together, the differentiation in higher education systems, access demands, consumer preferences among students, and the increasing educational mobility of students have contributed to creating an internationalization educational industry of for-profit and non-profit actors. This perceived and actual global demand for U.S. higher education perpetuates a marketized approach to internationalization. In other words, the marketization approaches in the internationalization strategies of U.S. higher education institutions are an outcome as well as an effect of global and national markets.

Conversely, a focus on global markets as one of several factors that give rise to a market-driven approach in U.S. higher education is not to imply that U.S. colleges and universities are merely subjects of global market forces. If internationalization is a set of *intentional* institutional strategic choices and decision-making shaped by cultural, social and economic rationales, then arguably U.S. higher education institutions are *co*-constructing a predominantly market logic in internationalization approaches. By perpetuating a demand for and disproportionately investing in market-driven internationalization strategies domestically and transnationally, U.S. higher education institutions potentially perpetuate an academic capitalistic regime. By synthesizing these elements of the global and national markets in the analytical exploration of internationalization, in this study, we see that market- and public good-driven internationalization strategies of U.S. higher education institutions as intersecting and coexisting logics (Marginson, 2007a).

Theoretical Approaches to Marketization

To frame a study on the conflictual and complementary intersection between market- and public good-driven approaches in U.S. higher education, I reviewed several influential theories that examine the rise of commercialization and marketization in higher education. The four theories examined include: academic capitalism, entrepreneurialism, new managerialism, and the Triple Helix model (Deem, 2001; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Taken together, these four theoretical perspectives presented coterminous frameworks for understanding the marketization trend in internationalization. While several scholars have examined the rise of commercialization, privatization, and marketization in higher education, few studies have theorized this trend among internationalization strategies of U.S. higher education institutions. Thus, reviewing the theoretical considerations for the rise of marketization in higher education demonstrated the relevance for a theoretical study of the rise and dominance of a marketized approach in internationalization policies, strategies, and activities of U.S. higher education institutions.

The Emergence and Expansion of Marketization

Since the 1980s, there has been an accelerating trend towards market-driven practices and values in higher education (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) defined academic capitalism as a new regime in higher education where institutions of higher education and their various constituents engage in market and market-like behaviors to generate revenue from teaching, faculty

research, and knowledge transfer activities. Largely driven by capitalistic values, a competitive resource environment, and the retrenchment in public financing of higher education, university leaders and faculty prioritize revenue-generating academic programs, research, and service initiatives that are granted unfettered support in institutional strategic planning and policymaking (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004).

But academic capitalism goes beyond engaging in profitable activities. Rhoades and Slaughter (2004) posited that it is a regime of knowledge and learning consumption in higher education because of the institutionalization of market values in university policies and strategies and state policies. In addition, non-profit organizations and for-profit actors engaged in education service delivery are also driving a revenue-generating focus (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004). Rhoades and Slaughter (2004) concluded that an academic capitalistic focus in higher education has prioritized short-term economic gains rather than broad economic development goals, limited access to a more diverse college-going population by prioritizing full-fee-paying students, and focused on revenue-generating research enterprises rather than committing knowledge generation to solving broader social issues. These emphases threaten to change the public purpose of higher education and signal a shift away from the democratizing mission of higher education (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004). Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) called for the republicizing of U.S. higher education by reprioritizing institutional decision making around educational and academic priorities rather than market-driven activities, which they suggest have led to a “disinvestment in the public interest functions of higher education” (p. 57). Furthermore, they advocated a refocus on expanding educational opportunity for

more diverse populations that have been historically marginalized rather than the select few, and more public accountability of academic capitalistic ventures in which higher education institutions engage (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004).

Schugurensky (2006) advanced that academic capitalism has become embedded in university institutional culture, values and logic, which are also shaped by global political and economic trends. The traditional values and mission of higher education, which used to be primarily defined in relation to broader societal issues, are replaced with competing notions of “university as enterprise, academics as entrepreneurs, and knowledge as a commodity” (Schugurensky, 2006, p. 304). However, Schugurensky (2006) further argued that the concepts of academic capitalism and the entrepreneurial university provide only a partial description of the new relationships between universities and the market. He posited that the rise of marketization in university values and operations can be comprehensively understood as a function of a ‘controlled university’ and ‘commercial university’ (or what Schugurensky termed the heteronomous university) that is significantly orientated towards privatization, corporate rationality, contract labor, conditional and scarce funding, and competition (Schugurensky, 2006, p. 306-7). Furthermore, he added that the consequences of a dominant marketized trend in higher education include the recognition of entrepreneurialism in rewards structures, conflict of interest in industry-sponsored academic activities, over-emphasis on market-oriented research that only benefit a private group, and higher education becoming less affordable and accessible (Schugurensky, 2006).

Schugurensky (2006) and Santos (2006) argued that the rise of marketization is a function of entrepreneurialism within the university coupled with the shifting or declining public purpose of higher education. Like Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), Schugurensky (2006) and Santos (2006) studied the rise of marketization, entrepreneurialism, and the changing purpose of higher education. While Santos' (2006) and Schugurensky's (2006) arguments are similar to academic capitalism, they argued that marketization is not only reflected in institutional practices and activities, but also embedded in values and culture, and shaped by local, national, and global contexts.

Santos (2006) posited that three crises have informed a primarily market-driven trend in public higher education. The three crises include a crisis of hegemony, defined as the shifting purpose of higher education in the 21st century; a crisis of legitimacy defined by contradictions between collective public good purpose and credentialing certain competencies; and thirdly, an institutional crisis due to the displacement of the public good and the rise of privatization in face of public disinvestment (Santos, 2006). In democratic countries, these crises coincided with a rise in neoliberal and capitalistic policies, the financial crisis, as well as the rise of transnational market demands for higher education (Santos, 2006). Santos (2006) argued that unlike transnational higher education exchange patterns following WWII, current international activities are "exclusively mercantile" (p. 64), shaped by the emergence of a national and global educational capitalism or market logic.

A resultant consequence of this market-driven approach to university operations is the erosion of differences between public and private institutions (Santos, 2006).

Furthermore, Santos (2006) wrote that the commercialization or marketization of higher education is now a global trend due to the “transnationalization of the market for university services” (p. 67) and as such, should be analyzed at this level (p. 66). And because it is a global phenomenon, the erosion of the public good purpose should also be examined in the Global North and South. Santos (2006) posited that the marketization trend in higher education will likely continue due to increasing informational and communication technology linkages, the ever-increasing need for innovation to meet demands of a worldwide global economy, change in the mission of higher education from a largely information hub to a knowledge creation hub, and a rise in the “entrepreneurial paradigm” in higher education (p. 69). Additionally, Santos noted that the ideologies of marketization, neoliberalism, deregulation and globalization are unquestioned and legitimated by international organizations’ policies. Santos (2006) concluded with a call for a return to the “university-as-public-good” as a counter-hegemonic policy to the currently predominant mercantilism in university operations.

Yet another emergent theoretical framework examining the rise of marketization in higher education is new managerialism. Similar to previously discussed theorists, Deem (2001) acknowledged that revenue generation, the globalized process of knowledge generation, and changing student demographics have collectively contributed to a shift toward marketization and commercialism in university approaches. Deem (2001) explored the concept of new managerialism as it relates to entrepreneurialism, globalization, and internationalization in the higher education institutions of Western countries. She argued that values and practices from the

private sector are increasingly permeating higher education, which consequently has deemphasized the local dimensions and given rise to a new entrepreneurialism and managerialism in U.S. higher education (Deem, 2001). Deem (2001) defined new managerialism as “new discourses of management derived from the for-profit sector, whose introduction into publicly funded institutions has been encouraged by governments seeking to reduce public spending costs” (p. 8). Deem (2001) posited that the cutbacks in public spending on higher education and the institutional search for new revenues has led many institutions to enter the global marketplace by marketizing and creating entrepreneurial opportunities from regular educational practices and services.

In addition to global factors, local factors, such as new ideas about knowledge generation and social-demographic changes, also influence a new managerialism in higher education (Deem, 2001). She further noted that these shifts not only affect the strategies of higher education institutions, but also their organizational cultures (Deem, 2001). Finally, Deem (2001) concluded by noting the similarities between academic capitalism and the new managerialism in conceptualizing the rise of entrepreneurialism, the prioritization of revenue generation or marketization, and commercial values in higher education.

In contrast, Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff’s (1997) theorization of the rise of marketization and commercialism in higher education advances a distinct rationale. Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997) suggested that the rise of commercialization is driven by the need for institutional economic development through innovation, and this market-driven logic has been incorporated into the purpose and function of higher

education. Therefore, the university has become an even more entrepreneurial environment driving linkages between faculties and industries (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997). In analyzing these new linkages between academia, industry, and government, Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997) developed the Triple Helix conceptual framework, which seeks to understand the marketization and commercial forces shaping these networked relationships. The authors noted that the objectives of most Triple Helix strategies and policies are to develop innovative yet profitable linkages informed by market, technological and institutional factors (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997). In addition, Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997) argued that the Triple Helix model has the potential to explain the changing mission and role of the university within society as well as internal structural transformations within each sector. For example, the Triple Helix model identified the shifting function of the university from primarily teaching to research, and the ongoing tension between these two roles (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997).

In summary, an exploration of key theoretical conceptualizations of the rise of marketization and commercialization in higher education reveals that several important parallels exist. First, all four theories – academic capitalism, entrepreneurialism, new managerialism and the Triple Helix model – present neoliberal ideology of economic rationalism. Collectively, these theoretical frameworks suggest that the market presents more cost-effective solutions and better-managed systems than private institutions (Meek, 2002), and capitalistic values of revenue generation and profitability as important rationales for the rise of

marketization in higher education (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Second, Deem (2001) and Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997) also referred to the adoption of private-sector values and the increasing linkages between higher education institutions and industry as contributing factors to the rise of marketization not only in institutional policies, but also in creating new institutional culture and norms that value privatized and commercialized activities over non-income-generative activities. Lastly, the rise of marketization and commercialization can be viewed as a reflection of the changing purpose of higher education. Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (1997) and Santos (2006) posited that the changing purpose of higher education, shaped by an increasingly constrained resource environment, has led to the privatization and individualized redefinition of the public good and social functions of higher education in society.

Furthermore, the rise of marketization and commercialization in higher education was facilitated by the passage of the World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Trades in Services (GATS) (Knight, 2002; Meek, 2002). The WTO-GATS reclassified educational goods and services as tradable economic goods (Knight, 2002; Meek, 2002). One of the major implications of this policy was the unprecedented numbers of higher education institutions that sought to engage in the trade of educational goods for revenue potential, which was especially necessary to counteract the decline in public funding (Knight, 2002; Meek, 2002). There is little evidence to suggest that this is a limited or short-term trend (Knight, 2002; Meek, 2002). In fact, several scholars highlighted the ways marketization has become

especially dominant in the internationalization strategies and policies of higher education institutions (Altbach, 2012a; Beck, 2012; Knight, 2004; Marginson, 2011, 2012; Moffatt, 2003; Redden, 2010). Institutions of higher education are pursuing new international strategies to advance prestige, generate profits, and enhance global positioning (Enders & Fulton, 2002).

Academic Capitalism and Internationalization Strategies

Several scholars have examined the linkages between the rise in global activities at the entrepreneurial university (Clark, 1998; Marginson et al, 2000) and emerging scholarship on academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). However, no studies have examined the predominantly marketized and commercialized approaches to internationalization as a response to academic capitalism (Taylor, 2010). In their studies of academic capitalism, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) posited that academic capitalism is displacing the public good in shaping U.S. higher education institutions' strategic priorities and activities. Universities pursue and prioritize entrepreneurial, revenue-generating, and market-driven strategies over the public good (defined as a concern for public welfare in the broader community or society) (Couturier, 2005). Rhoades and Slaughter (2004) found that an academic capitalistic regime leads to short-term market focus in course and academic programming and diverts institutional priorities away from underserved low-income and minority populations. Furthermore, Rhoades and Slaughter (2004) and Burn (2002) pointed out that the trend toward academic capitalism in U.S. higher education deemphasizes teaching as faculty rewards and

recognition systems are increasingly aligned towards research, particularly revenue-generating research enterprises.

Rhoades and Slaughter's (2004) framework of academic capitalism provided a useful context for understanding the prevailing economic rationale and growing strategic importance of internationalization in U.S. higher education (Van Vaught et al., 2002). However, Stromquist (2007) noted that internationalization practices are increasingly "guided by principles of marketing and competition" closely associated with the entrepreneurialism and academic capitalism regime observed by Rhoades and Slaughter (2004) (p. 82). The marketization trend in U.S. higher education internationalization strategies is "now firmly embedded in both the conceptualization and the practice of higher education" (Green et al., 2012, p. 448). This trend has led to an educational industry in internationalization and opened the door to new for-profit providers, both motivated by the potential revenue at stake (Green et al., 2012; Van Vaught et al., 2002). This prevailing market-driven approach to U.S. higher education internationalization is likely to persist (Green et al., 2012; Van Vaught et al., 2002).

Furthermore, Knight (2008) argued that the marketization of international higher education is driven in part by the need for institutions – both public and private – to seek alternative sources of revenue through cross-border educational delivery or international student recruitment as well as a rising expectation to generate income from existing educational programs. Kreber (2009) also acknowledged that an emphasis on internationalization among U.S. higher education institutions is due to greater market demands, particularly from less developed higher education markets.

Additionally, U.S. higher education has embraced the World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Trades in Services regulatory reclassification of educational goods and services as tradable economic commodity as a potential avenue to bolster revenue in the face of longstanding decline in public funding (Knight, 2002; Kreber, 2009). The GATS is an extension of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a multilateral agreement governing and lowering barriers in merchandise trade among WTO member nations (Knight, 2002). In 1995, WTO members became signatories to the GATS agreement, which extended the trading provisions to service sectors, including education (Knight, 2002).

The WTO-GATS trade policy framework has implications for the growth of commercial services and providers in the international higher education landscape as formerly considered public services, such as education good and services, are privatized, marketized, and out-sourced to for-profit providers (Knight, 2002, 2008a; Kreber, 2009). As well, it has implications for displacing the public good role of higher education (social responsibility; social, cultural, and economic development of a nation and society) for a privatized focus (individualized benefits and consumption) (Knight, 2002, 2008a). Knight (2008a) posited that a market-based approach has led to an increase in the "commercialization and commodification of higher education and training at domestic and international levels" (p. 6). Programmatically, a predominantly market-based approach to internationalization also has the potential to lead to internationalization "lite," or superficial programming and curriculum changes made to attract international students, but not tied to profound educational goals and student learning outcomes or quality concerns (Kreber, 2009). An overriding

economic rationale in internationalization neglects the necessary ethical consideration of unequal opportunity for sending versus receiving nations, and systemic power differences that further disadvantage less developed countries (Enders & Fulton, 2002; Marginson, 2007). Knight (2008a) noted, “the commercialization and commodification of higher education on an international basis are important catalysts, demanding a rigorous review of the values fundamental to higher education” (p.13-14).

In his study, Meek (2000) also examined the impact of marketization on institutional diversity and differentiation, the privatization of educational goods, and the access mission (from elite to mass to universal education) of Australian higher education (p. 31). He concluded that market-driven approaches lead to an increased focus on consumerist approaches to higher education delivery, such as accommodating “consumer” (represented by students) whims, the commodification of knowledge, and shifts towards applied and economically relevant research. Meek (2000) noted that a market logic approach came at the expense of institutional access goals for underrepresented groups. Further studies on the potential impact of the marketization trend in higher education on access and equity is crucial.

Market-driven approaches in internationalization have most commonly been studied in the context of international activities. Knight (2008a) described this domain of international activities as “internationalization abroad” strategies, such as cross-border service delivery, franchise agreements, branch campuses, online course delivery, and study abroad programs (Green et al., 2012; Knight, 2008a; Van Vaught et al., 2002). Other critical components of a comprehensive institutional

internationalization strategy include domestic, campus-based curriculum, extra-curriculum, and co-curricular activities. In contrast to transnational and cross-border internationalization activities, Knight (2008a) described institutional-bound activities as “at-home” strategies. In theories and empirical studies on internationalization, the marketization of “at-home” strategies are understudied. Yet, an understanding of “at-home” internationalization strategies and policies is important to interrogating the tensions and intersections of market- and public good-driven approaches, and the rationales for internationalization of key institutional decision-makers (Knight, 2008a).

Therefore, this literature review, focused on both “at-home” and “abroad” strategies, illuminates the ways in which market-dominant approaches are an important catalyst reshaping the public good values fundamental to higher education. Furthermore, Kreber (2009) noted that such a “reflection on what internationalization means cannot be separated from critically engaging with the question of what the purposes and goals of higher education should be” (p. 9). Emerging forms of internationalization in U.S. higher education seem to indicate that there are clearly problematic dimensions for policies and research, with implications for the public good mandate of higher education institutions.

Conceptualizing the Public Good

This section of the literature review summarizes theoretical concepts and empirical studies conceptualizing the public good and its manifestations and intersections with marketization in the internationalization of higher education. In order to do so, four areas of literature will be synthesized. First, the conceptualization

and critiques of the public good will be reviewed. Second, the relatively new scholarship on the global public good will be explored. Third, the role of the public good and the rise of marketization in the internationalization of higher education will be reviewed. Fourth, empirical studies on public good frameworks and strategies in internationalization of higher education will be examined. Collectively, these bodies of literature will inform our understanding of how public good interests shape approaches to internationalization in U.S. higher education institutions.

Classical Conceptual Frameworks

The literature on the changing nature of the positive societal contributions, or the public good, of a higher education system is extensive and as such, a thorough analysis of the scholarship is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, recent scholarly attention focused on the public good of higher education can be divided into three avenues: a focus on equity and social opportunity; connections with industry and local communities; and internationalization (Marginson, 2012). While all these areas represent important avenues of inquiry, researchers have principally focused on how changes in the public good charter of higher education are adversely impacting students' educational equity outcomes and social opportunity (in terms of access to higher education) as well as leading to more connections between higher education and industry (Marginson, 2012). Although internationalization is a growing strategic focus of most U.S. higher education institutions (Beck, 2012; Knight, 1994, 2004), the linkages between the public good and internationalization remain understudied.

First, the concept of the public good will be examined. There are several conceptualizations of the public good. Traditionally, the concept is interrogated in

economics and political theory but, increasingly, the concept has gained renewed attention in the field of education. Considering these disciplinary frameworks is essential to understanding the policy assumptions guiding institutional internationalization strategies, which is often lauded as advancing the public good.

In the classical economic framework, Samuelson (1954), a liberal economist, defined the public good as non-rivalrous, which means it can be consumed by multiple people without getting depleted, and non-excludable, which means it cannot be confined to individual buyers or users through social norms or law. In contrast, Samuelson (1954) defined “private good” as rivalrous and excludable. He further suggested that all goods are inherently either public or private by nature (Samuelson, 1954). This framework of the public good suggests two important insights: 1) public good outcomes do not occur spontaneously in the market, but they are results of policy and administrative interventions in the process; and 2) higher education institutions, regardless of their classification as state-owned or private, produce mixed outcomes of public and private good benefits (Marginson, 2012). Samuelson’s (1954) framework also has limitations. For example, outcomes of public good-driven approaches do not necessarily contribute to public and social benefits. In other words, public good approaches can produce private good outcomes. A second limitation is that Samuelson’s (1954) concept of the public good was constrained to the U.S. national context, where the market (and hence an orthodoxy of neoliberal capitalism) is assumed to be the norm (Marginson, 2012). In sum, Marginson (2007b) argued that this classical economic definition of the public good contributes to our understanding

“that the public or private character of education is not natural, but a social and policy choice” (p. 314).

The classical political and social theory framework associates the provision of the public good with the role of the state, while private goods are associated with all non-state actors, including industry, civil society, the family, and the individual (Marginson, 2007b). This framework has two limitations. First, the association of state-ownership as the public good and non-state-ownership as private goods is non-meaningful in today’s higher education landscape as state institutions are increasingly functioning as private institutions, and state governments regulate the activities of both state-owned and non-stated-owned institutions (Marginson, 2007b). Second, even when state-owned institutions provide the public good, they are not motivated to do so because of governmental objectives, but because the institution and its leaders (irrespective of the state) have deemed it important to do so.

Critics (Knight, 2008a; Marginson, 2007b, 2012; Menashy, 2009) pointed out that both classical views of the public good are flawed. There are several limitations to Samuelson’s (1954) definition of good, beginning with his suggestion that the public and private characteristics of good are a matter of nature, thereby minimizing the role of politics and choice-making by leaders to pursue privatized over public good within institutional strategies (Marginson, 2007b, 2012). Secondly, Marginson (2007) noted that the rise in competition and market forces in the public domain as well as the increasingly globalized landscape of higher education have complicated traditional, neoclassical, positional, and nationalistic notions of the private vs. public good.

Third, Marginson (2007b) observed that the *public* in public good is often conflated with state ownership and non-market activities, while the *private* in private good is assumed to be associations with business, private ownership, and market activity. He suggested that these assumptions oversimplify the conceptualizations of the public vs. private good as well as mask key empirical, analytical, and policy issues implicated in the study of the private/public charter of higher education (Marginson, 2007b). He added that it is possible for public institutions to provide private good and private institutions to be held accountable for public good (Marginson, 2007b). In fact, rather than fixed attributes of state versus non-state actors, all higher education institutions hold both sets of private and public attributes (Marginson, 2007b).

Marginson (2007) also explained that this oversimplification extends to the study of internationalization domestically and internationally. For example, the public-private dualism falsely assumes that the public good in higher education is a domestic, state-dominated terrain while cross-border activities and international higher education falls within the private domain (Marginson, 2007). Marginson (2007b) wrote that this dualism assumes “de facto the nation (is) a public and state terrain, but cross-border higher education (is) a private and market terrain. The nation is public; the global is a market. National higher education is public; global higher education is private” (p. 314). This is further complicated by the fact that most U.S. public higher education institutions operating overseas do so as private providers indistinguishable from for-profit providers (Marginson, 2007). Therefore, in the

global environment, the nationalized-as-public-good and the global-as-privatized framework is even more limiting.

Consequently, Marginson (2007b) proposed a revised definition of the public good: “Public goods are goods that (1) have a significant element of non-rivalry and/or non-excludability, *and* (2) goods that are made broadly available across populations. Goods without attributes (1) or (2) are private goods” (p. 315). In contrast to Samuelson’s (1954) conceptualization of the nature of goods, Marginson (2007b) stated that the nature of goods (as public or private) is largely shaped by the public and institutional policies, decisions, and strategic actions and counter-actions of higher education leaders and policy makers. In other words, these goods are not inherently public or private by nature, nor are they the result of invisible market forces (Marginson, 2007b). Furthermore, these decisions are complex and political in an environment of competition, resource constraints, and rankings (Marginson, 2007b).

Reimagining the Public Good in Global Contexts

Recognizing that today’s higher education landscape is shaped powerfully by global forces, emerging scholarship on global public goods in education seeks to address questions about the societal relevance and benefits of the U.S. system of higher education in the 21st century. Marginson (2007) advanced the conceptualization of global public goods as increasingly relevant in this landscape. Like previously discussed classical definitions of the public good, he suggested that global public goods are also non-zero sum, non-rivalrous and non-excludable (Marginson, 2007). Kaul et al. (1999) defined global public goods as “1) goods that

have a significant element of non-rivalry and/or non-excludability *and* (2) goods that are made broadly available across populations on a global scale. They affect more than one group of countries, they are broadly available within countries, and they are inter-generational; that is, they meet needs in the present generation without jeopardizing future generations” (p. 2-3). The new conceptualization of the global public goods also extends the paradigm of the “public” to include global and local governments; firms, institutions, and individuals in the provision of these educational goods and outcomes with a reach across national borders (Marginson, 2012).

Menashy (2009) studied the application of global public goods theory, which she defined as the “equitable provision of goods and social services on an international scale,” in education (p. 307). Menashy (2009) argued that the role of policy and institutional initiatives in designating goods as either public or private (through design) is understudied. For example, she posited that basic education is defined both as a private good (because it is excludable) and as a public good (in the case of universal access to basic education and its well-documented effect on social impacts) as well as global public goods (due to universal access policies through international organizations’ development policies such as the World Bank and Millennium Development Goals) (Menashy, 2009). Yet, Menashy (2009) noted the distinction between the public good and publicly provided goods, which are not necessarily supplied by the public sector. In fact, Menashy (2009) and Marginson (2007) advanced that both public and private institutions provide the public good.

Examples of global public goods in international and cross-border educational activities include cross-cultural understanding, increased global communications,

global understanding, transnational collaborations and partnerships, and the transnational expansion of U.S. higher education (e.g., offshore campuses), which can provide additional access and opportunities for students in developing countries (Marginson, 2007a) and capacity building in emerging systems (Green et al., 2010). Comparatively, scholars refer to the public good outcomes of internationalization in higher education as broader campus engagement and leadership of domestic students in global and social issues, a global citizenship identity among domestic students, and faculty participation in international research (Annette, 2002; Bates, 2005; Edelstein & Douglass, 2012).

However, in existing literature (Kaul et al., 1999; Marginson, 2007, 2012; Menashy, 2009), the conceptualization and definition of national and global public goods overlap in many ways. For example, Kaul et al. (1999), Marginson (2007, 2012) and Menashy (2009) similarly defined the characteristics of the public good and global public goods as non-rivalrous and non-excludable. Furthermore, the conceptualization of the public good and global public goods is analogous: the purpose of the public good is to advance the social charter through collective educational activities and cross-cultural understanding, while the purpose of the global public goods is to advance social actions through global and local community engagement (Marginson, 2007; Menashy, 2009). While some scholars (Marginson, 2005) argued that the global public goods would displace the public good as a framework for understanding the role of higher education in a postmodern, borderless, post-national and global knowledge society, existing literature on the global public goods has failed to draw meaningful conceptual and epistemological

distinctions between these two ideas. In fact, scholars of global public goods overemphasize the similarities between the global public good and national public good without equally pointing to their distinctions.

Similarly, Menashy (2009) critiqued the framework of global public goods for its lack of meaningful empirical restrictions. She noted that unlike public goods, which have specific empirical qualities of non-excludability and non-rivalry, the concept of global public goods is not as strictly defined (Menashy, 2009). She further explained that the notion of *public* in global public goods is very often ‘public by design,’ based on the whim and politicized agenda of policymakers (Menashy, 2009, p. 316).

Menashy (2009) also added that this conceptual ‘laxity’ has led to the use of global public goods as a catchall phrase (p. 316). Second, Menashy (2009) criticized the prevalent conceptualization of global public goods advanced by policymakers for its distortion of prior conceptual characteristics of the public good. Lastly, Menashy (2009) also critiqued the concept of global public goods as a framework rooted in a neoliberal, marketized logic which favors the Global North and undermines more widely accepted notions of universal basic education as a human right.

In summary, various disciplinary conceptualizations of the public good abound, including classical economic and political theory definitions. In addition, emerging scholarship on the global public goods has been advanced as a post-national critique of traditional definitions. However, existing definitions of global public goods prove that there are non-meaningful empirical distinctions between classical conceptualizations of the public good and the global public good. As such and for this study, an integrated notion of the public good, borrowing from Couturier (2005) and

Samuelson (1954) and defined as the accrued benefits of a postsecondary educational system's educational activities in teaching, research, and service to advancing the social charter as well as local, national, and global public wellbeing, will be used. While the understanding of the concept of the public good is essential to this study, empirical studies on public good strategies in internationalization are also invaluable to this critical analysis.

The Role of the Public Good in Internationalization

Kezar (2004) conducted a comprehensive review of existing empirical literature on the displacement of the public good and social charter within higher education in the areas of intellectual property, the commercialization of research and athletics, the rising entrepreneurialism of faculty, the corporatism of higher education management, and the emergence of market-dominant logics in institutional policy and strategic decisions. Kezar (2004) attributed this shift to a new economic rationality in higher education motivated by a neoliberal philosophy suggesting that private enterprise is always more effective and efficient (by privatizing and advancing entrepreneurial solutions) than public institutions in providing both individual and social goods. Kezar (2004) argued that this neoliberal philosophy informs the increasing trend toward corporatization, marketization, and commercialization in U.S. higher education.

Responding to the ongoing compromise and changes to the public good purpose of higher education from a social or public charter to an individualized and economic charter, Kezar (2004) characterized the shift as "inevitably problematic" (p. 454). Kezar (2004) defined the charter as a fiduciary, reciprocal relationship built on trust

between higher education and society, whereby society provides resources, political support, and influence in exchange for the training of individuals and institutional contributions to social community development (p. 436). She described the social charter as an articulation of the “checks and balances” of the public good expectations of higher education institutions (Kezar, 2004, p. 436). Kezar (2004) also noted that because “an industrial model with corporate, private, and commercial characteristics is pervasive within higher education creating a private, economic charter,” the notion of the public good in higher education is contested, unsettled, and constantly being rewritten (p. 438).

Similarly, Kezar (2004) argued, “It is important not to dichotomize public and private or social and economic interests. Studies illustrate how private goods such as higher salaries and stability of employment, improved health outcomes among college graduates, and better consumer decision-making among college graduates, benefit the public. The public good has such private benefits as providing an educated workforce for business and industry, creating research facilities for companies, and offering faculty expertise for corporate work” (p. 455). The unmitigated consequences of a compromise on the social charter, Kezar (2004) pointed out, could have attendant consequences with implications for increasing disparities in the access mission of higher education institutions, decreasing quality, and increasing costs, thereby negatively impacting affordability and decreasing civic engagement (Kezar, 2004). Her study concluded that collectively, the costs of privatization to higher education far outweigh the benefits (Kezar, 2004). While the shift from a public or social charter to a private, entrepreneurial focus among higher education institutions

is well-documented, less is known or understood about how higher education leaders consider these rationales in their decision-making processes (Kezar, 2004).

U.S. higher education institutions perform a combination of educational, cultural, social, ideological, and economic roles in society (Enders & Fulton, 2002). Therefore, they need to be “multipurpose and multiproduct” institutions (Enders & Fulton, 2002). Reflective of the multifarious activities of institutions, internationalization strategies pursued by U.S. colleges and universities touch on a wide range of issues, including global and social relevance, quality, prestige, competitiveness, educational innovation, and revenue generation (Rumbley et al., 2012). Rumbley et al. (2012) wrote that internationalization is now considered central to the academic enterprise and a necessary strategy for the “relevance, dynamism, and sustainability” of a 21st-century higher education system (p. 4). They added that two trends are prevalent in the study of internationalization in U.S. higher education: 1) the market focus is growing in size and scope, and 2) the impact of the notion of higher education as a public responsibility rather than a private good is underemphasized (Rumbley et al., 2012, p. 22). The rise of commercialism in internationalization strategies and the competitive resource environment complicates and raises new questions about the role of the public good (Rumbley et al., 2012). Yet the manifestations of the public good in the internationalization of U.S. higher education, such as cultivating a sense of global citizenship and competence through curricular and co-curricular programming, cannot be underestimated (Rumbley et al., 2012). But greater and disproportionate scholarly and policy attention is currently paid to the commercial benefits of internationalization because higher education institutions have come to see

a strategic focus on internationalization as an important source of revenue (Rumbley et al., 2012).

In his empirical study of the public good in international higher education, Marginson (2012) wrote that internationalization programs and strategies in Australia and the U.K. have focused on private goods outcomes, primarily in the form of revenue generation from tuition and national export earnings for socioeconomic development. He noted that the public good manifestations of internationalization strategies, such as global experiences for local students, cross-cultural understanding and cross-border collaborations, have been secondary and subordinate to this dominant approach (Marginson, 2012). For instance, Australian universities have become highly dependent on international student tuition revenue and subsidies, which constitute upward of 17.5% of their budget (Marginson, 2012). He posited that the term “public goods” is also problematic because it is often used interchangeably with common goods (common-pooled benefits), or toll good in both political and economic discussions (Marginson, 2012). For example, health outcomes, social literacy, knowledge, and civic responsibility have both private and public good implications (Marginson, 2012).

Another issue of the use of the public good as a theoretical category in internationalization is that the continuum between private goods and the public good is often blurred and defined differently by states or national systems (Enders & Fulton, 2002; Marginson, 2012). As previously discussed, the very notions of private and public, social and common goods vary based on national, regional, and cultural settings and histories. A third and final issue is the presumption that public and

private goods debates are often couched in zero-sum terms when, in fact, private good outcomes can also contribute to the public good (Marginson, 2012). For example, although education is a private good and the benefits, such as the income differentials between an educated and non-educated worker, is accrued to the individual, attendant benefits can also lead to public good outcomes, such as increased social awareness and responsibility.

Another aspect rarely considered by scholars of the global public goods is that the cross-border flows of societal benefits, due to the increasing mobility of students, transnational actors, and global networks of higher education institutions, are often not bidirectional. Because the international dimensions of higher education in a global knowledge economy are blurring the domains between private and the public good (Enders & Fulton, 2002), Marginson (2012) concluded that further comparative studies on the typologies of the public good in international higher education would advance our understanding of the transnational engagement rationales of U.S. higher education institutions.

Public Good Strategies in Internationalization

Although few empirical studies have been conducted on the role of the public good in internationalization strategies (Marginson, 2012), some researchers have examined countervailing trends to marketization in international higher education. Chief among them, Knight (2008a) analyzed the results of the 2005 International Association of Universities' (IAU) worldwide internationalization survey, the largest and most extensive of its kind, comprised of 526 higher education institutions and 18 National University Associations (NAU). In the findings, the NAUs identified their

top three institutional rationales for internationalization as 1) internationalizing and diversifying faculty and students, 2) extending the institution's international profile and reputation, and 3) strengthening research capacity (Knight, 2008a). Interestingly, the survey respondents ranked income generation as the least important rationale for them when adopting an internationalization strategy (Knight, 2008a). While this finding seems to indicate that internationalization strategies are aligned with core institutional mission and educational values rather than revenue generation, Knight (2008a) explained that we need to know more about discursive aspirations versus practices, as well as the differences between the responses of developing and developed countries.

The survey also asked respondents to rank the top benefits and risks of internationalization (Knight, 2008a). An overwhelming majority, 96% of respondents, ranked the most important benefit of internationalization as attracting "more internationally oriented students and staff," followed by "improved academic quality" and "increased revenue generation" (Knight, 2008a, p. 199-200). In contrast, the top three risks of internationalization identified in the survey were the "homogenization of curriculum," "loss of cultural or national identity," and the potential to "jeopardize quality of education" (Knight, 2008a, p. 199-200). However, when disaggregated and ranked by world regions (Africa, Asia/Pacific, Europe, Latin America & Caribbean, Middle East, North America), both developing and developed regions identified commercialization of higher education as the number one risk followed by the rise in foreign degree mills and brain drain (Knight, 2008a). By comparison, the top three benefits of internationalization, respectively, disaggregated by world regions included

developing more internationally oriented students and staff, improving academic quality, and strengthening research and knowledge production (Knight, 2008a).

Knight (2008a) remarked that it is not surprising that revenue generation was a far less compelling factor for developing countries.

In fact, Knight (2012) later noted that a marketized rationale of internationalization only applies to 8-10 highly developed countries such as the U.S., New Zealand, the UK, and Australia. She advanced that a limitation to the empirical study was the failure to account for varying and conflicting definitions of internationalization in the different countries as some higher education systems have come to view international higher education practices as income generation activities (e.g., international student recruitment) or a new form of commercialism (e.g., establishment of branch campuses) (Knight, 2008a, p. 220).

Khoo (2011) conducted an empirical case study of the internationalization policy statements and programs of four universities in Ireland and Canada. Khoo (2011) found five distinct but overlapping themes informing their institutional internationalization strategies: 1) recruitment of international students and scholars, 2) opportunities for exchange, linkages and mobility; 3) institutional reputation building, 4) developing curriculum and co-curriculum programs to address global learning, development education and global citizenship, and 5) the opportunity to engage in international development aid programs and projects. With decreased state funding (85% higher education in Ireland is state funded compared to the European average of 81%, 53% in Canada and 32% in the U.S.) and global higher education demands, internationalization was also viewed as a stabilizing force to maximize income

through international student recruitment and to achieve world-class international ranking (Khoo, 2011).

However, Khoo (2011) argued that despite these market pressures, all four institutions surveyed were committed to ethically oriented conceptualizations of internationalization. For example, at the Canadian institutions (the Universities of British Columbia and Alberta), the internationalization strategies were designed based on a social justice framework of global citizenship rather than a primarily market-driven logic (Khoo, 2011). Specifically, the University of Alberta's strategies were all developed to have a managerial focus grounded in deliberative dialogue and equity, diversity and access values (Khoo, 2011).

In contrast, until recently in Ireland, internationalization has been defined as mobility programs with the purpose of revenue generation (Khoo, 2011). Due to public funding retrenchment and austerity measures in Europe, Irish higher education institutions have had a strong interest in internationalization as a funding diversity and reputational strategy to enhance global positioning while promising students' global citizenship experiences (Khoo, 2011). Like Canada, most Irish institutional internationalization policies have been developed in a top-down way but unlike Canada, Irish institutions do not engage what internationalization means to students, faculty, and other stakeholders before adopting the policies and strategies (Khoo, 2011).

Khoo (2011) defined ethically driven values of higher education as a concern with human rights, international cooperation, global ethic, global civic society, and global citizenship. But Khoo (2011) also argued that an uncritical adoption of global

citizenship learning outcomes and public good-related and ethical internationalization can reinforce and perpetuate insider/outsider binaries in the forms of Eurocentric altruism that echoes the paternalistic, civilizing mission of neo-imperialism, masks the structural issues of inequality in prevailing international higher education, and objectifies the knowledge and lives of Others.

The literature on the public good in internationalization in the U.S. is paltry while comparative studies of internationalization among U.S. higher education institutions are equally limited. Meanwhile, since September 11, 2001, the international context of higher education has changed (Olson et al., 2005). U.S. higher education institutions have come to realize that they need to play a more critical role in preparing students for the changing global environment in terms of global competency, including geopolitics and language preparation; the perils of globalization; the need to foster global citizenship and cross-cultural understanding; and the increasing diversity of domestic and international student demographics (Olson et al., 2005). Collectively, these trends intensified institutional interest in internationalization and global outreach. Yet, these trends and changing contexts have been understudied and under-theorized in higher education scholarship. Future comprehensive and critical studies of internationalization in U.S. higher education must include a study of countervailing trends to marketized strategies.

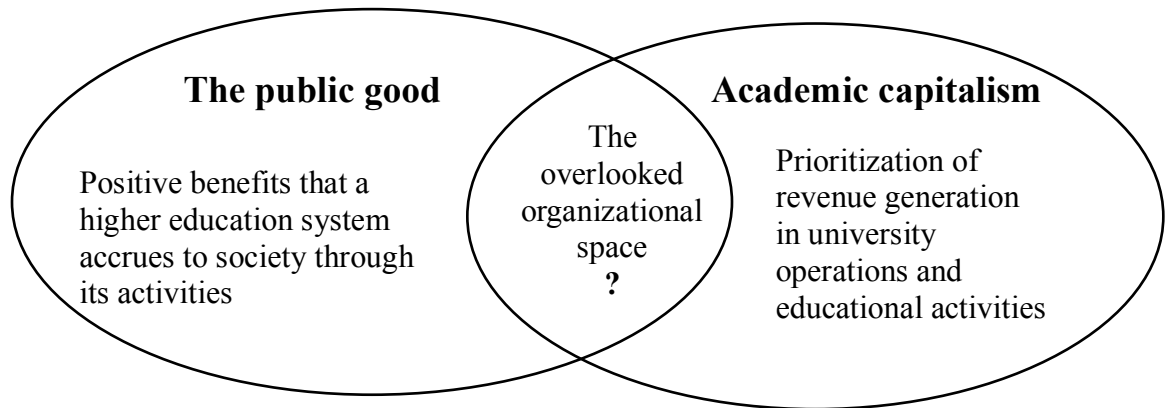
Querying the Intersections and Tensions

Few studies have critically examined the intersections and tensions resulting from the public good-related and academic capitalist focus in internationalization in U.S. higher education. Additionally, the possibility of coexisting approaches of market-

and public good-driven strategies in internationalization activities remains unexplored in the literature. Szelényi and Bresonis (2014) also noted that despite the multiple “coexisting values related to privatization and profit generation along with manifestations of the public good” in higher education (p. 2), limited scholarship has focused on the overlaps and intersections between academic capitalism and the public good in higher education. Furthermore, no studies have examined the tensions between the institutional values of the public good and an expansion in the commercialization and commodification of “core academic functions” in the domain of internationalization (Redden 2014, n.d.). Yet, Redden (2014) noted that an increasing number of U.S. higher education institutions are upholding internationalization as a key strategic priority for reasons she described as “both noble and financial” (n.d.). This study has the potential to complicate our understanding of institutional values and culture as well as advance our practical understanding of university policy and strategic decision-making.

The intersections and resulting tensions from the coexistence of academic capitalism and the public good are the focus of the two articles reviewed in this section. Specifically, the studies focused on the negotiated tensions between academic capitalism and the public good in higher education for students and/or faculty. Mars and Rhoades’ (2012) empirical study examined how public good and academic capitalism values shape educational activities in U.S. higher education institutions. They advanced that not only do these values coexist, but they also overlap (Mars & Rhoades, 2012). They referred to those spaces of overlap as ‘an overlooked organizational space’ (Mars & Rhoades, 2012), which is illustrated by Figure 1.

Figure 1. The Missing Middle (Mars & Rhoades, 2012; Széleányi & Bresonis, 2014)



One example of this site of intersection is the rise in socially-oriented student entrepreneurship. Specifically, Mars and Rhoades (2012) argued that the institutionalization of academic capitalism through the establishment of university profit-seeking ventures, such as venture laboratories, entrepreneurship centers, and technology transfer offices, enhances socially-oriented entrepreneurial agency among “student change agents” (p. 435, 452). In turn, students leveraged the university’s reputational legitimacy, intellectual networks and physical resources to advance social change agendas that “creates both social and economic value” for society (Mars & Rhoades, 2012, p. 439, 444). Therefore, Mars and Rhoades (2012) concluded that the socially-oriented entrepreneurial agency and activism of students represents the intersection of academic capitalism and the public good in higher education.

In an empirical study, Szelényi and Bresonis (2014) examined how doctoral students and faculty in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) at three universities negotiate the intersections between the public good (expressed as societal impact) and academic capitalism (defined as “commercialization in academic life”) in their research-related experiences (p. 3). Specifically, the study explored the ways the public good and academic capitalism overlap and intersect in university scientific knowledge production, how STEM students and faculty experience these intersections, and lastly, how they negotiate these intersections (Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014). Drawing on their findings, the authors advance a conceptual framework of three types of negotiations that represents the sites of intersection between the public good and academic capitalism in STEM: complementary, cautiously optimistic and oppositional negotiation (Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014). Szelényi and Bresonis (2014) defined “complementary” as a convergence and compatibility between the public good and academic capitalism, “cautiously optimistic” as the prioritization of public good-related objectives although participants acknowledged a role for academic capitalism in STEM research and lastly, “oppositional” negotiations as a site where the public good and academic capitalism values and practices are most divergent.

Furthermore, Szelényi & Bresonis (2014) noted that the intersections between these two domains shape student and faculty research experiences in STEM, including the corporatization of research laboratories, patent-seeking among STEM students and faculty, and stronger linkages between academia and industry. In conclusion, Szelényi and Bresonis (2014) noted that the tensions between the public good and academic capitalism have intensified in university operations and, in turn,

this impacts the research experiences of students and faculty in STEM as they negotiate associated competing and intersecting values and practices.

While the intersections between the public good and academic capitalism in higher education are clear, no studies have been conducted on these intersections in internationalization, a growing site of tension in higher education (Figure 2). Figure 2 summarizes the existing literature on academic capitalism, the public good, and their intersections as well as situates internationalization as a potential site for further examining the implication of these rationales in institutional strategies. In a study of the future of the higher education landscape, Teichler (2004) wrote, “It is surprising to note how much the debate on the global phenomenon in higher education suddenly focuses on marketization, competition and management in higher education. Other terms, such as knowledge society, global village, global understanding or global learning, are hardly taken into consideration” (p. 23). Yet paradoxically, the debate on globalization is salient because of the myriad international events that remind us of the need for increased global understanding, security and society (e.g., environmental crises, security threats, and shared global values for human progress) (Teichler, 2004). But Marginson (2007c) noted that there is a growing convergence or overlap of the new public management (NPM) perspective, which shapes universities’ conceptions of their social role in society, and marketization in higher education. He also suggested that both concepts have inherent problematics in a global environment (Marginson, 2007c).

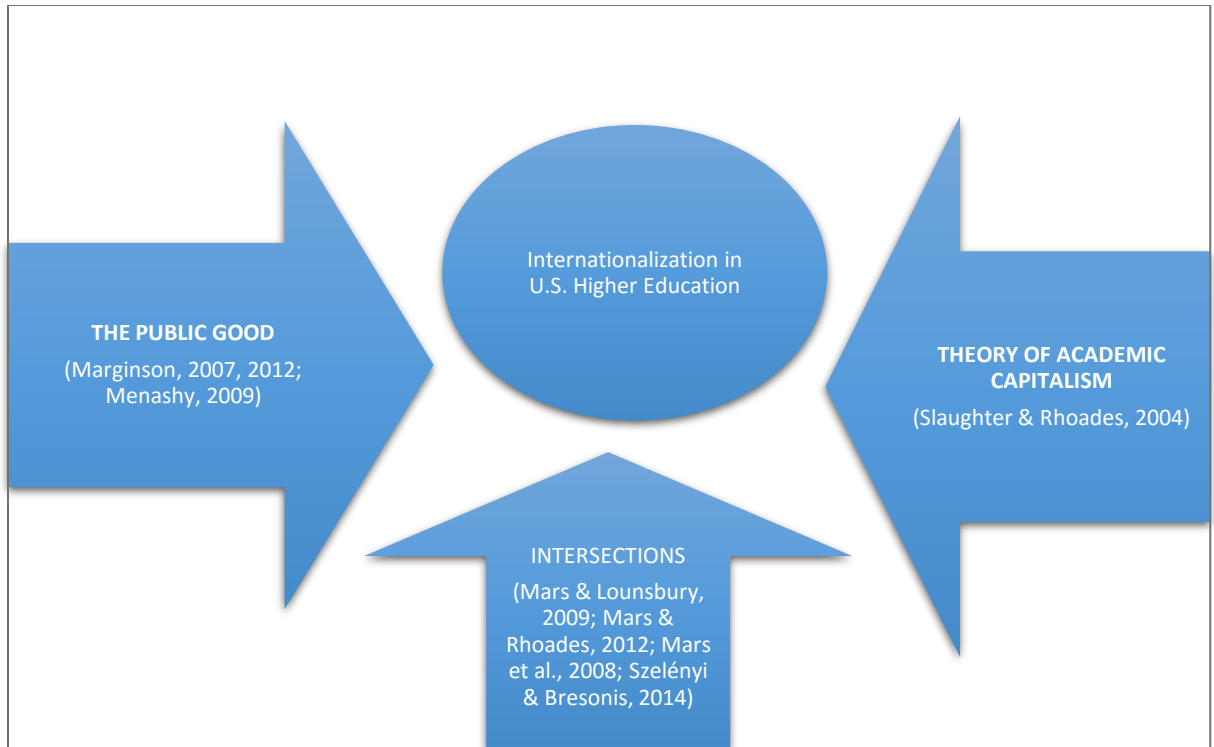


Figure 2. Internationalization as a Site of Intersection

This study seeks to not only explore the existence of academic capitalism and the public good in higher education internationalization rationales, but also to examine the coexistence of market- and public good-driven rationales in institutional strategies. Thus, a study focused on the internationalization of higher education as a site of intersection between the public good and academic capitalism will contribute new perspectives on the theories of academic capitalism, expand our notions of the public good, as well as provide new insights for understanding the rationales and strategies of U.S. higher education leaders and policy makers.

Summary

The literature review focused on summarizing key theoretical and empirical studies conceptualizing internationalization, academic capitalism, the public good,

and the intersections between the public good and academic capitalism. Numerous theoretical and empirical studies have examined separately the rise of marketization (Deem, 2001; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) and the public good (Green et al., 2010; Kaul et al., 1999; Marginson, 2005, 2007, 2012; Menashy, 2009; Samuelson, 1954) in higher education.

Most notably, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) advanced the theory of academic capitalism to explain the dominance of market and market-like behavior among higher education constituents. Unlike other theoretical considerations that similarly explored the rise of marketization (Schugurensky, 2006; Santos, 2006), commercialism (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997), entrepreneurialism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), and new managerialism (Deem, 2001) in higher education, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) complicated our understanding of marketization rationales in higher education by positing that there are potential sites where academic capitalism and the public good overlap, intersect, and co-exist. Mars and Rhoades (2012) and Szelényi and Bresonis (2014) constituted two of the few studies that critically examined the intersections between the public good and academic capitalism in higher education. Both studies investigated how students and/or faculty in STEM negotiated tensions between academic capitalism and the public good in higher education (Mars & Rhoades, 2012; Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014). The literature on the intersections between academic capitalism and the public good makes it clear that these sites of intersection present nuanced complexities and tensions in institutional

and public policy environments that are dominated by market-driven logics and rationales.

While few have attempted to investigate the intersections between academic capitalism and the public good in higher education internationalization, extant literature examined them in isolation from one another. For example, several important empirical studies highlighted the ways marketization has become especially dominant in the internationalization strategies and policies of higher education institutions (Altbach, 2012a; Beck, 2012; Knight, 2004; Marginson, 2011, 2012; Meek, 2002; Moffatt, 2003; Redden, 2010), while others examined how institutions of higher education are pursuing new international strategies to advance prestige, generate profits, and enhance global positioning (Enders & Fulton, 2002) aided in part by an international trade regulatory framework (Marginson, 2007b).

Existing scholarship focused on understanding current processes of internationalization as functions of revenue-generating and profit-seeking opportunities (Knight, 2008a), the changing global external environment (Ellingboe, 1998; Marginson, 2007), demands for a global literacy (Raby, 2007), and a response to international economic regulatory frameworks (Knight, 2002, 2004, 2008a; Kreber, 2009). In particular, Edelstein and Douglass (2012), Knight (1999, 2008a), and Marginson (2007) argued that different logics, rationales, and *imaginaries* shape current and prevailing institutional priorities and strategies toward a more market-driven approach to internationalization policies. In their empirical studies of internationalization plans and related institutional artifacts (e.g., goal statements, mission statements, vision statements, implementation plans, timelines, and

performance indicators), Edelstein and Douglass (2012) and Childress (2009) concluded that these artifacts are critically important to understanding institutional internationalization rationales and approaches, stakeholders' decision-making processes as well as predicting the success of institutional internationalization goals.

To inform a conceptualization and theorization of internationalization as a site of coexistence between academic capitalism and the public good, it is critical to better understand the role of the public good in the internationalization of higher education. Among studies on the role of the public good in higher education, Samuelson's (1954) conceptualization of the public good is important. Samuelson (1954) emphasized the characteristics of the public good as non-excludable and non-rivalrous (Marginson, 2007; Samuelson, 1954).

While several critiques have been made of Samuelson's (1954) classical economic framework of the public good, one critique is particularly relevant to this study. The critique on the character of the public good (Couturier, 2005; Marginson, 2007b, 2012; Menashy, 2009) called attention to how the public good is largely shaped by public and institutional policies, decisions and strategic actions as well as counter-actions of higher education leaders and policy-makers, and not preordained by nature or informed by invisible market forces (Marginson, 2007b, 2012; Menashy, 2009). Furthermore, they added that these public and institutional factors are complex and political because they are shaped in an environment of competition, resource constraints, and global and national rankings (Marginson, 2007).

This review of the existing theoretical and empirical literature on internationalization, academic capitalism, the public good, and their intersections

demonstrates that there is a dearth in our scholarly and practical understanding of the nature, extent, and qualities of internationalization as a site of intersection between academic capitalism and the public good. Despite the many important contributions made by these previous studies, the following questions remain unanswered in the growing scholarship on internationalization in U.S. higher education: How is internationalization understood by university leaders, administrators, faculty and students, and reflected in the institutional strategic priorities of U.S. higher education institutions? How do academic capitalism and public good-driven rationales (and their intersections) shape U.S. higher education institutions' engagement in internationalization? How are academic capitalism and the public good (and their intersections) reflected in existing international activities and programs? What are the rationales and qualities of internationalization in higher education as a site of intersection between academic capitalism and the public good? The theoretical consideration and empirical investigation of these questions is the focus of this study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Few scholars (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Childress, 2009; De Wit, 1995, 2002; Edelstein & Douglass, 2012; Knight, 2004, 2008) have empirically studied internationalization, its logics or rationales, and the dominant approaches that have come to characterize the global engagement strategies of U.S. higher education institutions. Yet, those existing studies contribute richly to our understanding by describing and categorizing prevailing activities and trends in internationalization among U.S. higher education institutions. It is also important to note that most of these studies utilized case study methodological approaches. To date, no studies have theorized the patterns and approaches of internationalization in U.S. higher education.

This study examines the rise and centrality of internationalization in the strategic rationales, goals and activities of two U.S. higher education institutions. Specifically, this study extends the discourse on internationalization beyond a descriptive analysis of internationally focused domestic and international programs and activities that institutions engage in (e.g., study abroad, international faculty research opportunities, transnational institutional partnerships) to include a system-level analysis of

rationales and the strategic decision-making process that guide institutional global engagement. This approach contributes to our understanding of the ways strategic rationales direct institutional approaches, such as market- and public good-driven approaches, to internationalization in U.S. higher education. From an analytical perspective, this study contributes to the theorization of internationalization by interrogating the impact of internationalization on the shifting role of the public good in U.S. higher education.

Using a social constructivist grounded theory methodology, this study explores how coexisting market- and public good-driven rationales are shaping the internationalization strategies, activities and programs of U.S. higher education institutions. The overall goal of the study is to develop a grounded theory of higher education internationalization and by so doing, inform institutional internationalization policies and practices with the purpose of tipping the scale in the direction of the public good-related goals of internationalization in higher education.

Given the common misuse of grounded theory methodological concepts that have entered the general qualitative methodology lexicon (Thomas and James, 2006), the following sections will trace the epistemological foundations and diverging traditions as well as define the important analytical and procedural concepts of grounded theory. And as noted by Birks and Mills (2011), there is often a conflation between the discussion of the methods, methodology, and philosophy of the grounded theory research design. While there is an overlap, there are also important differences that may further clarify the common misunderstandings and misapplications of grounded theory previously mentioned. For conceptual clarity, it is useful to underscore that I

am using Birks and Mills' (2011) definition of methodology as "a set of principles and ideas that inform the design of a research study," and method refers to the "practical procedures used to generate and analyze data" (p. 4). Lastly, in referring to methodological philosophy, or epistemology, I am discussing the underlining position of the researcher relevant to the nature of the study (Birks & Mills, 2011). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) pointed out that, "all research is interpretive; it is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (p. 22). Ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically, I position myself as a social constructivist.

Grounded Theory: Methodological Foundations and Epistemic Divergences

Grounded theory methodology seeks to inductively "identify major constructs, their relationships, and the context and process, thus providing a theory of the phenomenon that was much more than a descriptive account" (Laws & McLeod, 2004, p. 8). Grounded theory methodology has two major assumptions: 1) that the researcher seeks understanding between conditions, meanings and actions; and 2) that meaning is uncovered through interpretation (Laws & McLeod, 2004).

Grounded theory traces its foundation to Glaser, a sociologist of science, and Strauss, a social psychologist by training, in the 1960s (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). As conceptualized by Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory is inductive (leading into theory, as opposed to deductive, which leads out of a theoretical framework), and guided by a systematic set of procedures grounded in actual data (Jones et al., 2006, p. 42). Theory generated from this methodological approach is "localized" and grounded in real life contexts (Jones et al., 2006, p. 42). Therefore, rather than begin

with a theoretical framework, a grounded theory methodology concludes with a theoretical perspective derived from well-constructed qualitative analyses. Charmaz (2005) described grounded theory as both a method of analysis and an outcome; the outcome being theory generation based on the data collected. Jones et al. (2006) further noted that the purpose of grounded theory is “to develop theory that remains true to and illuminates the phenomenon under investigation” (p. 42) by examining the experiences of those who live the phenomenon. In addition, Selden (2005) noted that grounded theory is also pragmatic and thus, concerned with social usefulness and social good.

Now widely noted as the most popular qualitative research methodology, during the 1960s and 1970s, when grounded theory was developed, an epistemological shift was occurring in social science research (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Luminaries such as Thomas Kuhn, Herbert Blumer, C. Wright Mills, and Pitirim Sorokin were calling for a shift from ‘abstract empiricism’ and quantification to a critical structuralist epistemology, in which the researcher is recognized as embedded in the research setting and context (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Trained students of the Chicago School and Columbia University’s Bureau of Applied Social Research, respectively, Glaser and Strauss sought to answer these methodological concerns with the development of grounded theory methodology (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Yet, the development of grounded theory was more than a backlash to quantitative sociology (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Grounded theory marked a departure in the epistemological traditions of quantitative and quantifiable empiricism in the social sciences (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Grounded theory established a new tradition

based on issues of epistemology and beliefs about knowledge ‘discovery’, what qualifies as scientific research, and the relationship between researcher-as-participant or researcher-as-objective-observer in the studied world (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

In creating a new methodology of qualitative research, Glaser and Strauss were motivated to develop a systematic procedure that would make the research process visible, replicable, and understandable (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Furthermore, Glaser and Strauss characterized grounded theory as a shift away from the prevailing orthodoxy of “theoretical capitalism” (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 29), defined as grand theorists who deductively create theoretical constructs based on a priori assumptions and expert analysis rather than inductive interpretations of the data. In addition, Bryant and Charmaz (2007) noted that grounded theory differed from more traditional qualitative methodology by prioritizing extracted data collection based on analytical categories over collecting “vast amounts of data” that are often unanalyzed or un-analyzable (p.5).

While grounded theory transformed the traditions of qualitative inquiry and remains one of the most popular methodologies today, it has also faced criticisms. Most notably, the criticisms have called attention to the positivistic epistemology of classic grounded theory methods, lax standards in data collection, tendency towards small samples and trite analytical categories, and presumed unsuitability of grounded theory for macro questions (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Further, Bryant and Charmaz (2007) noted the contradictions between Glaser and Strauss’ claims of qualitative methodology and their uncritical “scientific or positivistic” stance (p. 19). Bryant and Charmaz (2007) suggested that Glaser and Strauss may have been positivistic in

their conflicted attempts to legitimize qualitative research as scientifically rigorous, or possibly in their attempt to fit within the norms of their disciplines and institution.

However, both approaches, rooted in positivistic assumptions, advanced knowledge as an external reality, the role of the objective researcher, and striving for generalizations (Charmaz, 2011). Birks and Mills (2011) suggested that the first generation, or classical grounded theorists, notably Strauss, Glaser, and Corbin, overemphasized the methods without engaging the principles and rationale of the philosophy or methodology. Furthermore, Strauss and Corbin were critiqued for their prescriptive procedures, over-emphasis on preconceived categories, and thus, deemphasizing the emergent analytical feature of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2011).

After their seminal co-publication, Glaser and Strauss came to divergent, and presumably irreconcilable, viewpoints on the epistemology of grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2011). Eventually, they ended their longtime collaboration and Strauss went on to adopt a more constructivist, open-ended, flexible, and interpretive approach to grounded theory methodology throughout his scholarly partnership with Corbin (Jones et al., 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994, 1998). By 1990, there were two distinct approaches to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2011) – the Glaserian positivist, and Straussian and Corbinian postpositivist approaches (Charmaz, 2011).

Despite the divergent long-term development of ground theory, Glaser and Strauss' (1967) contribution of grounded theory revolutionized qualitative research because it challenged assumptions of qualitative methods as unsystematic and arbitrary. More importantly, grounded theory also challenged the false dichotomy

between applied research and theorization as well as the heralded separation between data analysis and data collection stages prevalent in other qualitative methodologies (Charmaz, 2000).

Social Constructivism in Grounded Theory

Charmaz (2000, 2005), Jones et al. (2006), and Strauss and Corbin (1990) critiqued the original conceptualization of grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as an originally positivist approach, which maintained an objectivist view of reality, and derived findings from a prescribed set of procedures. Charmaz (2000) noted that grounded theory's heuristic foundational roots were positivistic and formulaic, advancing a prescriptive method of data collection centered on claims of verifiability. Charmaz (2011) stated that although she disagreed with both classical epistemological assumptions, her approach aligns more with Strauss's legacy of interpretive inquiry in grounded theory (Strauss, 1959, 1969, 1961) and his later work on symbolic interactionism (Strauss, 1993).

More recently, Bryant (2002, 2003), Charmaz (2000, 2007), Clark (2003, 2005, 2006) and Bryant and Charmaz (2007) developed a constructivist approach to grounded theory. In contrast to positivist epistemological assumptions of classic grounded theory, social constructivist grounded theory assumes that multiple realities exist, a researcher's subjectivities matter, and all knowledge is contextual and situated (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Therefore, social constructivists see data as "inherently partial" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 168). Advancing a new tradition, Charmaz (2000) reaffirmed studying people in their natural context. She wrote, "data do not provide a window on reality. Rather, the 'discovered' reality arises from the

interactive process and its temporal, cultural, and structural contexts. Researcher and subjects frame that interaction and confer meaning upon it” (Charmaz, 2000, p. 523-524). Additionally, Charmaz (2000) suggested that discovery and meaning-making in a grounded theory methodological inquiry arises from an interaction between researcher and participant, a core tenet of qualitative research approaches. A constructivist grounded theory approach also recognizes the possibilities of multiple realities and the interpretive role of subjects’ meaning-making processes (Charmaz, 2000). In addition, it is a flexible and open approach (Charmaz, 2000; Jones et al., 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Importantly, Charmaz (2008) also defined grounded theory as an emergent qualitative method that is inductive, open-ended and constructivist. Emergent methodology is most suitable for the study of dynamic, underexplored and contingent processes (Charmaz, 2008). Charmaz (2008) argued that the fundamental characteristics of grounded theory methodology, such as simultaneous and interactive data collection and analysis, flexible yet systematic data categorization, are also hallmark characteristics of emergent methods. Emile Durkheim, who studied the concept of emergence in his analysis of structural social change, argued that the whole had qualitatively different properties than the sum of its parts (Charmaz, 2008). In other words, Durkheim and later, Charmaz (2008) suggested that the nature of social realities cannot be deduced from a study of processes, qualities, and occurrences. Instead, a study of each of these temporal elements gives insight into a different reality that collectively can lead to new, emergent, and different conclusions

(Charmaz, 2008). In fact, Charmaz (2008) declared, “Grounded theory is a method of explication and emergence” (p. 156).

While Charmaz (2008) centered emergence as a critical aspect of social constructivist grounded theory, it is not a new concept. Across the various traditions of grounded theory, there are divergent interpretations of emergence beginning with the Glaserian and Straussian views. Glaser upheld emergent categories and coding in grounded theory as “objective, general, and abstract” (Charmaz, 2008, p. 158) and presumed that categories that emerge from data analysis are somehow devoid of the researcher’s interpretative subjectivities. Charmaz (2008) critiqued the Glaserian approach as a narrow application of preconceived categories to a research problem, which paradoxically stifled emergence and the effectiveness of the grounded theory approach.

In contrast, the Straussian approach relied far less on emergence (Charmaz, 2008). Strauss and Corbin developed the conditional/consequential coding matrix and urged the use of axial coding as well as other influences, such as personal experiences, to delineate patterns and relationships from the data (Charmaz, 2008). Finally, most recent traditions in grounded theory, most notably social constructivist grounded theorists Charmaz and Clark also rely heavily on the concept of emergence with one important caveat (Charmaz, 2008). They advanced that grounded theory analysis should incorporate not only data collected from the field, but also the conditions of the research process, the “interactional situations” as well as the researcher’s perspectives, choice of questions, and specific research strategies (Charmaz, 2008, p.

160). As Charmaz (2008) pointed out, in grounded theory “the method does not stand outside the research process; it resides within it” (p. 160).

Another central tenet of social constructivist grounded theory methodology is abductive reasoning (Charmaz, 2011). Classic grounded theory research warns against assuming an a priori theoretical and conceptual framework based on existing empirical studies (Charmaz, 2011). However, as Charmaz (2011) discussed, it is impossible to avoid the influence of earlier theories and research in our studies. Rather than proposing that researchers engaged in grounded theory assume a “tabula rasa” (“untouched by earlier ideas”) position (Charmaz, 2011, p. 166), Charmaz (2011) suggested that researchers proclaim a “theoretical agnosticism” stance, defined as subjecting our earlier ideas and theoretical interpretations to rigorous, abductive scrutiny. Charmaz (2011) defined abductive reasoning as the consideration of “all possible theoretical explanations for a surprising finding and then returning to the empirical world and checking these explanations until the researcher arrives at the most plausible explanation to account for the findings” (p. 167). Theoretical sampling - sampling to check and elaborate on properties of a tentative category, not to achieve representativeness – is an abductive strategy critical to theory construction (Charmaz, 2011).

What is the Future of Grounded Theory?

Since Strauss and Corbin’s (1990) divergence from classic grounded theory methodology, newer approaches to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2005, 2014; Clarke, 2005; Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Jones et al., 2006) have advanced more critical perspectives that embrace constructivist, postmodernist, and social justice-related

epistemological views. By highlighting the need for situational analysis and symbolic interactionism, these new approaches are based on the understanding that researchers need to draw together “discourse and agency, action and structure, image, text and context, history and the present moment – to analyze complex situations of inquiry broadly conceived” (Clarke, 2005, p. xxii). As Charmaz (2000) outlined, other emerging grounded theory methodological designs are increasingly characterized by the incorporation of Marxist, feminist, and phenomenological perspectives (see Figure 3). These new traditions in grounded theory methodology have implications for how research questions are framed and the strategies for data collection (Jones et al., 2006). For example, Charmaz (2005) and Jones et al. (2006) suggested that a social justice approach to grounded theory methods sharpens the critical analysis of the research context by sensitizing research concepts, the interpretative frames of the researcher and study participants, contested meanings, and the tensions between the realities and ideals to issues of power, privilege, hegemony, and inequality. Meanwhile, the postmodernist grounded theory approach seeks to theorize the connections between “historical antecedents, current conditions, and consequences of major processes” (Charmaz, 2005, p. 512).

Figure 3 (pictured below) identifies the seven common mutually exclusive approaches to grounded theory: those that emphasize objective, abstract reality and a prescribed set of procedures (positivism); those that advance scientism but acknowledge that the nature of truth is imperfect (postpositivism), and those that advance conditional and sequential coding based on a delineated pattern derived from data (interpretative constructionism) (Charmaz, 2000, 2008). These approaches do not

discuss the role of social actors or the fundamental assumptions institutions hold. Therefore, institutional decision-making is framed as benevolent and institutional actors as rational. Taking the remaining approaches into consideration, the phenomenological approach explores the nature of knowledge as lived experiences, while feminist and Marxist approaches interrogate power and privilege as part of larger institutionalized hegemony and societal economic conflict (Charmaz, 2000). Unlike positivism, postpositivism and interpretative constructionism, these varying approaches seek to theorize structural and organizational dynamics (Charmaz, 2000). However, they lack a reflective critique of researcher positionality as well as the ethical and social justice implications of research. In comparison to the outlined common approaches in grounded theory (Figure 3), a social constructivist approach allows for a multi-contextual analysis that takes into consideration social justice positionality, and the limitations of these multiple realities (Charmaz, 2011). In this study, I use a social constructivist grounded theory analysis framework, which has potential to yield critical new insights with implications for social justice-oriented institutional policy and practice in the internationalization of U.S. higher education.

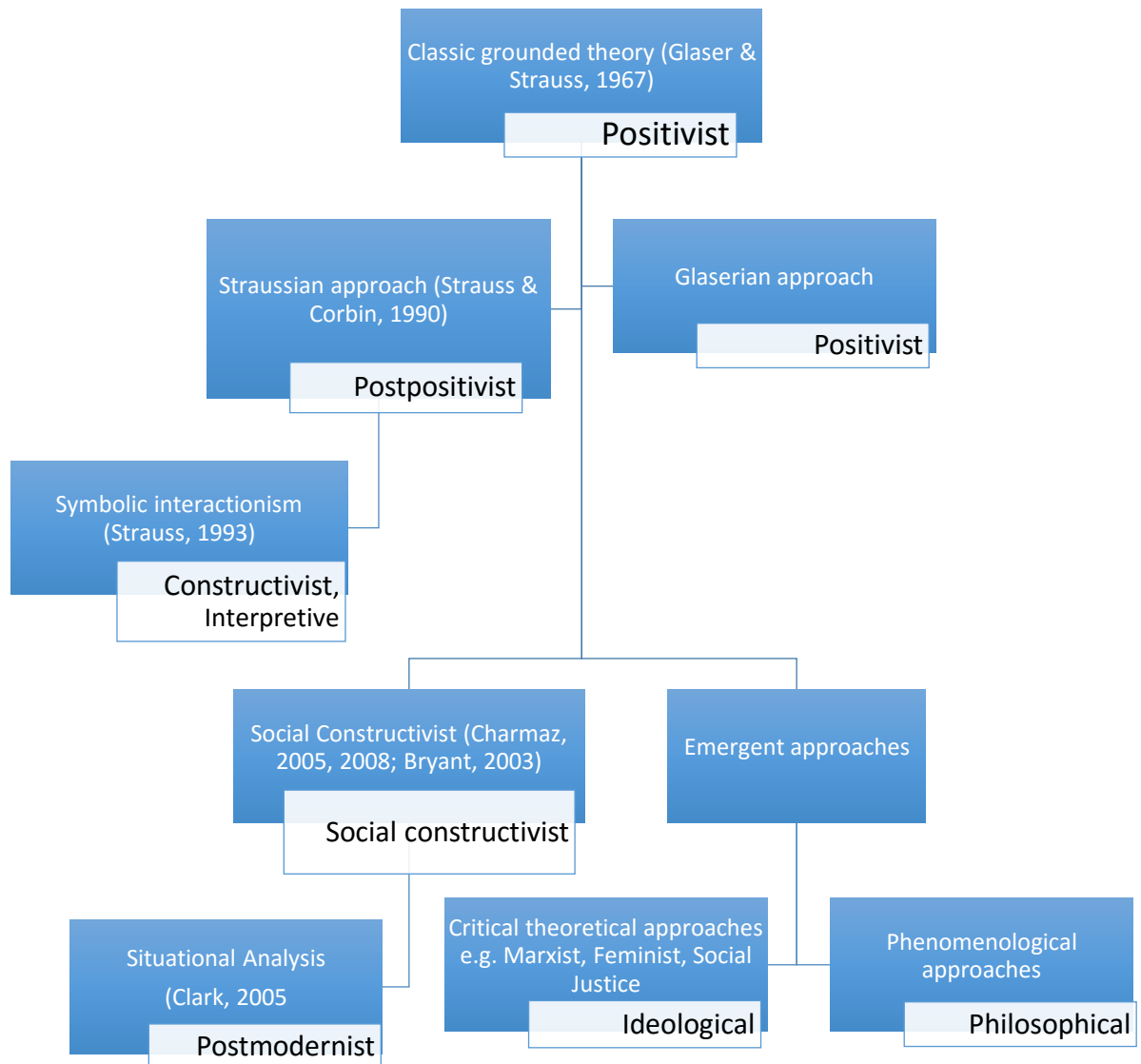


Figure 3. Grounded theory tree chart.

Important Analytical Practices

Birks & Mills (2011) discussed the fundamental characteristics of a grounded theory method as: 1) initial coding and categorization of data, 2) concurrent data collection and analysis, 3) memo writing, 4) theoretical sampling, 5) constant inductive and abductive comparative analysis, 6) theoretical sensitivity, 7) intermediate coding, 8) selection of core categories, 9) theoretical saturation, and 10) explanatory theory generation (p. 9). Charmaz (2008) further noted that grounded

theory methodology has four main analytical practices: coding, memo writing, theoretical sampling, and theoretical saturation. In this section, I will define the 10 characteristics and review the four main analytical practices in grounded theory methodology.

Grounded theory coding is defined as the process of associating tentative shorthand labels to specific datum, which analyzes the data based on thematic categories (Charmaz, 2011). In grounded theory, code labels are derived from the data, and not preconceived (Charmaz, 2011). Coding allows researchers to summarize and synthesize emerging findings (Charmaz, 2011). Concomitantly, data categories and codes can change as the researcher elaborates and checks codes with new data (Charmaz, 2011). In addition, the use of codes facilitates grounded theorists' development of conceptual tools to make comparisons among the data, examine distinctions and contradictions, as well as to develop the analytic categories for theorization (Charmaz, 2011). Initial and intermediate coding allows the researcher to focus on emerging themes, meanings, and topics to comparatively and iteratively analyze the data (Charmaz, 2008). Charmaz (2008) suggested the use of gerunds, noun forms of verbs, to allow the emerging connections between codes in the data to become more discernible. The process of grounded theory data collection and analysis can be summarily described as iterative rather than successive (Charmaz, 2011). To wit, Charmaz (2011) wrote, "Grounded theorists move across data and compare fragments of data with each other, then data with codes, codes with categories, and categories within categories. Each comparative step successively raises the level of abstraction of the analysis" (p. 172).

Although now common to qualitative research, grounded theorists developed the concept of memo writing. In grounded theory, memo writing is the critical step between coding and writing, which allows the researcher to analyze the relationship between categories and the development of new categories (Charmaz, 2011). It also allows the researcher to reflexively capture “ideas in process and progress” (Charmaz, 2008, p. 166) by analyzing emergent codes, tracing the context and development of categories, and comparing meaning across different contexts. Specifically, Charmaz (2011) noted that memo writing should also interrogate aspects of the research process, including “the properties of our tentative categories, the conditions when a category is evident, how the category accounts for data, comparisons between codes and category” (p. 166). However, she added that both processes are interactive, flexible, and evolve throughout the research process (Charmaz, 2011). In other words, memo writing begins during early coding and continues throughout the research and writing process, and develops as our analyses become more nuanced and focused (Charmaz, 2011).

Theoretical sampling is a method that allows the researcher to fill in categories of codes by selectively sampling participants and data in order to illuminate tentative analytical findings by seeking more empirical explanations (Charmaz, 2008). As such, Charmaz (2008) noted that sampling in grounded theory, unlike other qualitative approaches, is not principally concerned with demographic representativeness, but testing, developing, and filling out tentative theoretical categories. Therefore, the logic of theoretical sampling is intentionally selective, continuous, and comparative across (and not within) categories (Charmaz, 2008).

Unlike other qualitative methodologies that are conventionally chronological in their data collection and analysis processes, moving first from data collection to data analysis followed by findings, theoretical sampling allows a researcher to focus on concepts, categories, and themes emerging from the data that “test or extend theory” (Cox-Davenport, 2010, p. 38).

In contrast to random sampling, theoretical sampling also allows researchers to be flexible in their research design, continuously gather data, recast emerging categories, and explore negative cases until saturation is achieved (Cox-Davenport, 2010). Therefore, theoretical sampling is the process of selecting new study sites, cases, or participants to compare with ones that have already been studied (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As such, in this method of probabilistic sampling, it is not the researcher’s goal to representatively capture multiple variations, but to gain a richer understanding of cases and to facilitate developing analytical codes and categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Lastly, theoretical saturation is an important principle in grounded theory, which is also now found in other qualitative approaches (Charmaz, 2008). However, in grounded theory, saturation refers to the point when “gathering more data sheds no further light on the properties of their theoretical category” (Charmaz, 2008, p.167). Charmaz (2008) argued that saturation is often misunderstood as when repetitive themes begin to emerge without connecting the themes to theoretical categories. She further noted that most researchers, including grounded theorists, often fail to articulate their claims of reaching *theoretical* saturation (Charmaz, 2008). In conclusion, she noted that theoretical saturation is achieved not only by obtaining a

robust sample, but also by demonstrating that the existing data adequately satisfy the properties of theoretical categories (Charmaz, 2008).

While theory generation is not an analytical procedure, but a characteristic of grounded theory, it is perhaps the single most defining characteristic. Laws and McLeod (2004) advanced that grounded theory seeks to generate “substantive” theory, rather than a “grand” theory explaining a phenomenon (Laws & McLeod, 2004). They defined substantive theory as theory that “has as its referent specific, everyday world situations” (Laws & McLeod, 2004). As such, to generate a robust mid-range theory, grounded theory methodology is concerned with the study of processes rather than outcomes and effect, and is concerned with both the main “effect” as much as the unintended “side” effects of a phenomenon (Krauthwohl, 2009, p. 238).

Due to its emphasis on theory development, a grounded theory methodological approach involves systematically and continuously analyzing documents, interviews and field notes to develop a detailed study of a broad theoretical phenomenon (Morse & Richards, 2002). Important to the process of theory generation is also theoretical integration defined as the applicability of theoretical “fit” with the data gathered (Clark & McCann, 2003; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser, 1978). Cox-Davenport (2010) defined fit as “data that is not forced into preconceived categories. Researchers achieve fit by building categories of data within grounded theory that can be applied, first to subjects and sources of data and then to the greater population” (p. 40). Therefore, a strong integrated understanding of key literature and relevant conceptual frameworks is vital to a robust theory generation (Cox-Davenport, 2010).

The principle of theoretical sensitivity is also noteworthy in a grounded theory approach. Clark and McCann (2003) defined theoretical sensitivity as an understanding of the broader context of the phenomenon gained through a thorough familiarity with existing literature, terminology and the data collected, which enhances the analyses of the researcher. Glaser (1978) suggested that theoretical sensitivity allows a researcher enhanced observational sensitivity to key aspects of the data, which often leads to important insights in theory generation. Finally, while grounded theory has no prescriptive approach to data collection and analysis, three clear guidelines characterize the data collection and analysis processes of this methodology: simultaneous data collection and analysis using initial and intermediate coding; continuous comparative analysis (using memoing) to construct themes; and, repeated sampling to confirm and reorganize those constructed themes (Charmaz, 2000).

Crooks (2001) and Snow (2001) argued that the principle of symbolic interactionism is also important to grounded theory. Snow (2001) defined symbolic interaction as “the structuralist and constructivist dimensions” (p. 372) of four cornerstone principles:

- (a) The principle of interactive determination [defined as] the interactional dynamics and processes, particularly at the micro, interpersonal level of social life, and their contexts;
- (b) the principle of symbolization [defined as] the processes through which events and conditions, artifacts, edifices, people and aggregations, and other features of the ambient environment take on particular meanings that elicit specifiable feelings and actions;
- (c) the principle of

emergence [defined as] the nonhabituated side of social life and its dynamic character and thus the potential for change; and, (d) the principle of human agency [defined as] the structural and cultural constraints on the active, willful character of human actors (p. 368, 370-373).

The concept of symbolic interactionism in grounded theory allows a researcher to analyze each situation anew and to probe the symbolic meaning as well as reality of the data collected (Snow, 2001). Charmaz (2000) described this process as making meaning emergent and sensitizing the data.

Consequently, Charmaz (2005) later noted, “Thus, we can use the processual emphasis in grounded theory to analyze relationships between human agency and social structure that pose theoretical and practical concerns” (p. 508). A social constructivist grounded theory approach, with a focus on symbolic interaction, would enable the researcher to also examine how the interactive nature and symbolic value of objects cause human beings interacting with those objects to derive new information and meanings regarding old and new practices (Charmaz, 2005; Snow, 2001). In conclusion, Charmaz (2011) advanced that grounded theory research strategies are more concerned with data analysis than data collection. In words, the emphasis on interpretative meaning making is central to a social constructivist approach, which decenters a classical, positivistic emphasis on systematic data collection (Charmaz, 2011).

Rationale for the Research Method

Grounded theory is an appropriate methodological choice for this study for several reasons. First, this study aims to examine and theorize a previously

unarticulated problem, namely internationalization as a site of intersection between academic capitalism and the public good. Importantly, grounded theory provides a methodological framework and process for theory generation. Bryant and Charmaz (2007) argued that grounded theoretical generation is the development of a meta-synthesis that effectively captures the many different variations of the phenomenon being studied. The choice of grounded theory will help to not only theorize, but also illuminate the multiple variations and rationales, including marketization, the public good, and their intersections, in internationalization.

Secondly, since internationalization is used in this study to describe a set of strategic choices in response to globalization (Davies, 1992), the use of grounded theory, which makes central interpretive and contextual analysis, is a good fit for this study. Analytic and sensitizing categorization and coding are essential to data analysis in grounded theory (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Analytic categorization is defined as sufficiently general codes that designate the properties of the observations and not the actual observations themselves, while sensitizing codes are used to illustratively describe in ways that allow the reader to make connections to their own experiences (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). These processes render grounded theory particularly well-suited to a study when the phenomenon is not well known or understood, when the generation of an explanatory theory is a research goal, and finally, when the topic of study is an exploration of an embedded set of inherent processes (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 16).

Third, the choice of grounded theory allowed for the use of multiple data sources, including semi-structured interviews, the analysis of documents and speeches, and

observational data. While semi-structured interviewing is a more open qualitative interviewing technique, which allows for new and unanticipated ideas to emerge, the interview protocol focused on participants' leadership attitudes towards internationalization, institutional internationalization plans, their perspectives on the strategies being pursued, rationales for internationalization as a focus, and their internationalization decision-making processes. The interview data gathered from the interviews were interpretatively analyzed for both literal and symbolic meaning. Data gathered and analyzed from these semi-structured interviews allowed me to explore nuances and corroborate other data collected, gather thicker descriptions of internationalization processes, and explore my constructivist interpretative assumptions using a concurrent and iterative grounded theory methodology.

Relatedly, Bryant and Charmaz (2007) wrote, "Grounded theory research provides tools to achieve abstraction without completely sacrificing complexity. Grounded theory analysis can portray conclusions as dynamic and interactive, rather than as a single common outcome. That is, a fully developed grounded theory does not simply posit that A always leads to B, but rather that the degree to which A leads to B and what that relationship looks like depends on a range of factors that influence A, B, and the relationship between them" (p. 4). Using a grounded theory approach ensured that the complex and multidimensional tensions and intersections between market- and public good-driven approaches to internationalization in U.S. higher education are richly abstracted. Lastly, through the exploration of negative as well as confirming cases, the use of a grounded theory approach helped to address the paucity of research on tensions resulting from dominant market-driven approaches in

internationalization, such as intersecting and coexisting trends. Specifically, a grounded theory approach allowed for a new conceptualization of these complicated patterns in internationalization strategies and practices in U.S. higher education in order to provide a more comprehensive view of existing approaches.

Data Collection and Analysis

This section details the sampling, data collection and analysis that guided this study. This study involved multiple data collection method, including semi-structured interviews, strategic document analyses, and observations. Figure 4 details the grounded theory methodological process of multi-data collection and analysis.

In keeping with grounded theory methodology, the process of data collection is defined as systematically gathering and organizing various sources of evidence relevant to the phenomenon, and data analysis is the process of sense- and meaning-making of the evidence (Jones et al., 2006). In this study, data collection and analysis were concurrent and continuous (Jones et al., 2006). Figure 4 illustrates the research method process of this grounded theory study.

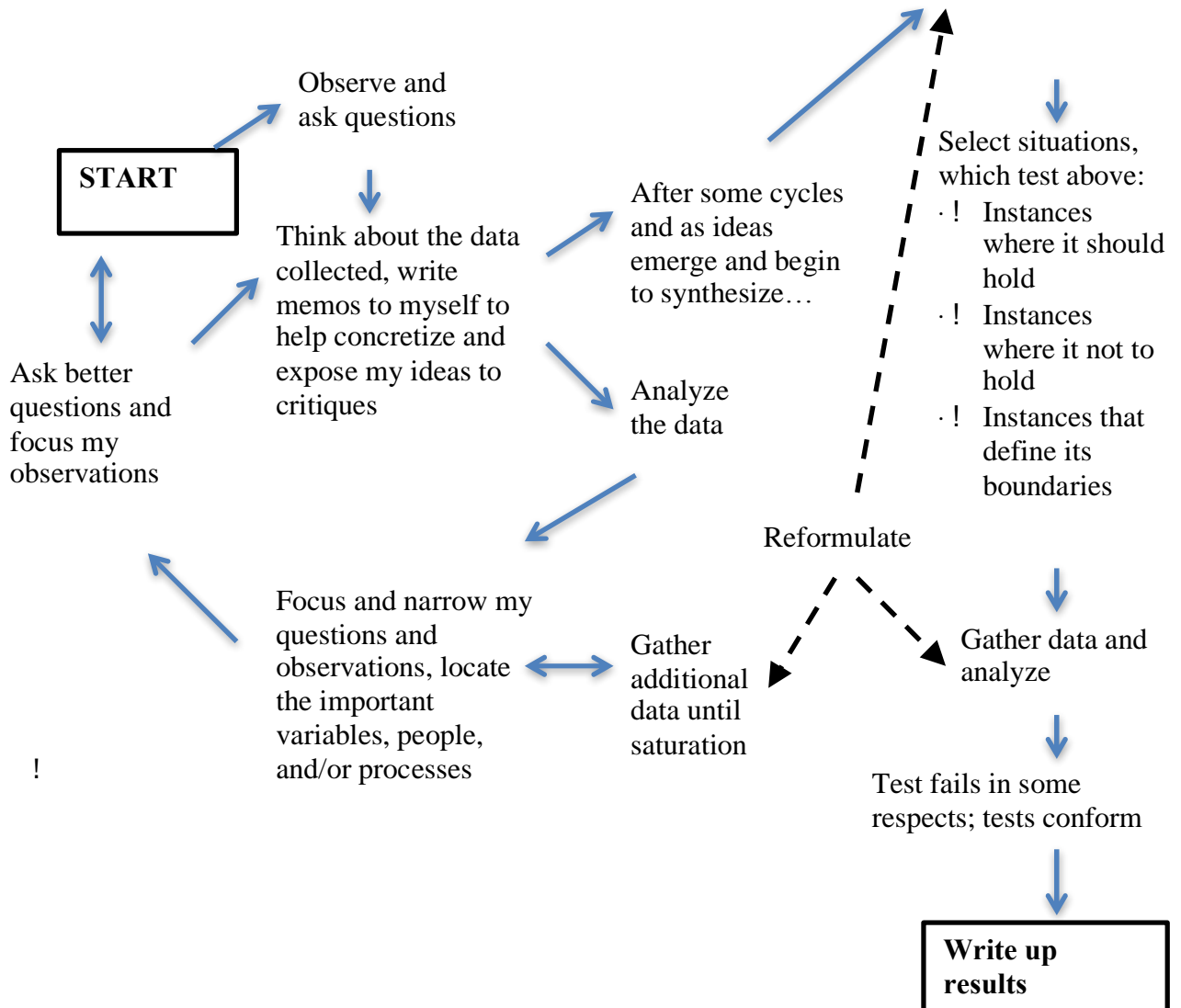


Figure 4. Concurrent Nature of Data Collection and Analysis in Grounded Theory (Adapted from Gladwin, 1989 see figure 1.1, p. 12 and Krathwohl, 1998 see Figure 12.2, p. 262).

Site Selection

This study is based on two U.S. higher education institutions - one four-year private research university and one four-year public research university - in the

Northeast region of the United States. In this study, the names of the two institutions, were substituted with Public University and Private University. In this section, I will discuss sampling related to site selection.

Because this study is concerned with the intersection and coexistence between academic capitalism and the public good, a comparison of a public and private institutional perspective and context enriched my understanding of the practical implications of internationalization in different institutional contexts. Moreover, studying the phenomenon of internationalization in diverse institutional environments allows for a grounded theory generation that has credible utility and implications for a wider array of institutions.

The sites were identified using purposeful criterion sampling to select institutions with a demonstrated commitment to internationalization and established international activities. Criterion sampling, a type of purposeful sampling, allows a researcher to identify and select cases based on specified characteristics or criteria (Mertens, 2010). Strauss and Corbin (1998) described the aim of purposeful sampling as going “to places, people, or events that will maximize opportunities to discover variations among concepts and to densify categories in terms of their properties and dimensions” (p. 201). These sampling techniques allow for thicker descriptions and more variety within the sample cases.

The first site is Public University. Established fifty years ago, Public University is part of a multi-campus public university system. Ranked by the Carnegie Classification as a higher research activity institution, Public University is one of few public 4-year research institutions in a local urban market with a concentration of

prestigious private institutions. In 2015, Public University enrolled 16,000 students, including 12,000 undergraduates and over 1,200 international students. Widely known as one of the most diverse campuses in the region, Public University has a majority minority undergraduate student body, and only 36% White undergraduates. In addition, approximately 70% of undergraduate students are under the age of 24, and 75% are in-state students, constituting a majority commuter student body.

Global engagement is a growing focus in the educational mission, culture and ethos of Public University. Public University was among the first public institutions in the U.S. to engage in international recruitment as well as to establish international partnerships with elite national universities in China and pioneer an international pathway program. One of the study participants, Mr. Andrew, director of operations at Public University, observed that these early inroads have made Public University a preferred primary partner with several organizations in the region, and contributed to several emerging internationalization models, including an international pathway program for high school students to U.S. public schools, and a graduate school international recruitment pipeline program.

Public University has a diverse array of international programs and activities, including the International Programs Office, three colleges named for their global focus and numerous undergraduate, Master's and doctoral degree programs that emphasize an international academic curriculum and training. In addition, Public University has over 200 study abroad programs and international institutional partnerships. In the strategic plans of 2007 and 2011, Public University reaffirmed its strategic goal of internationalization.

In terms of the public good mission of Public University, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's Community Engagement Classification and the Association of Public and Land-grant Universities (APLU) have recognized Public University for its contributions to local community engagement and economic revitalization. In addition, approximately 79% of Public University's community partnerships are within the state. In comparison, 17% of their partnerships are national and only 4% international. At Public University, the Community Partnerships and Engagement Office (CPEO) provides the operational and funding support for most of the institution's community-engaged work, as well as conducts faculty-, staff- and student-led service learning opportunities focused on social issues in underserved local and global communities. Founded in 2011, CPEO has over 700 community partners in more than 150 local communities. Among the office's seven main programs, one is focused on international service learning.

The second study site, Private University, is located just five miles from Public University in a diverse, urban community in the Northeast. But unlike Public University, Private University is a private, nonprofit, Carnegie classified highest research-activity, 4-year institution. Founded in the late 19th century, Private University has an enrollment of 18,000 students, including approximately 20% international students. Compared to Public University, 80% of undergraduate students at Private University identify as White and traditional-aged, and 99% of students live on campus or college-affiliated housing (IPEDS, 2015).

In the 1990s, under the leadership of the former president, Private University administration began transforming the institution from a night-time commuter school

struggling with recruitment and retention, to a research university (institutional website). The University began to systematically decrease its overall enrollment of in-state and adult education programs in lieu of more full-time 'day' students. Soon, the majority student demographic shifted from part-time, commuter and non-traditional aged to a traditional aged, residential profile (institutional website). By 2005, following a major capital infrastructural investment and reorganization of the academic curriculum, Private University had transformed into a residential, national and highly ranked research university with a strong reputation for its innovative global experiential learning programs (institutional website). In recognition of Private University's international education programs, the university is the recipient of two prestigious institutional awards in international education.

In terms of its public good mission, Private University is among 350 institutions similarly recognized by the Carnegie Foundation's Community Engagement Classification for its contributions to the local community through its teaching and learning, research and economic revitalization initiatives. The office of community service at Private University manages the institution's partnerships with over 140 local organizations and agencies. The core mission of the office of community service is to support the integration of faculty-led courses and student academic goals with relevant opportunities for experiential and service learning among those community partners, ranging from course development, professional development, instructional support, learning assessment and publication opportunities. In addition, Private University administers six local institutional community service programs and has international service learning partnerships in four countries. Although the results are

not available, Private University launched a university-wide assessment of all its community engagement efforts in 2015. Both institutional sites, and their robust international programs, have the potential to enhance our understanding of what factors shape internationalization approaches and strategies across a diverse range of institutional types.

Institutional Documents and Records

To obtain insight into each institutional internationalization strategy and develop initial codes, I began my study by conducting document analysis prior to conducting interviews. Lincoln and Guba (1985) described two types of institutional artifacts. They defined records as recorded materials prepared for official reasons, such as government documents, meeting minutes, budget statements, “White Papers,” websites, strategic plans, mission statements, and speeches. In contrast, Lincoln and Guba (1985) defined documents as materials prepared for personal reasons, including diaries, memos, letters, field notes, emails, text messages, and websites.

Specifically, I conducted documentary analyses of institutional artifacts, including documents and records. Then, I compiled and analyzed institutional strategic agenda documents, including strategic plans, assessment reports, implementation plans, and strategic plan progress and committee reports, as well as speeches, internal memorandum and budgets for analytical themes (see Table 1). I also examined institutional archival and strategic documents, such as the histories of internationalization on campus, institutional strategic plans and implementation progress reports, transnational memorandum of understanding, campus web pages on international activities and programs as well as budgets. In addition, I reviewed

several international academic programs’ publicity and marketing materials, international admissions marketing materials, international students’ campus newsletters, and speech transcripts of the presidents and provosts related to the topic.

As discussed in the findings’ chapters, the institutional archival and strategic documents revealed a lot about the organizations’ characteristics, history, values, structure, and relationships to local and global communities. In addition, the document analysis proved useful in gaining the necessary background of a situation described by interview participants. This analysis also helped with data triangulation, member checks, and to confirm emerging or shifting institutional policy in internationalization as well as illuminate institutional historical perspectives on internationalization. Summarized in Table 1 are the multiple data collected as part of this research methodology.

Table 1: Data Collection Sources and Methods

Interviews	Document Analysis	Observations
Senior academic officers (n=3)	Institutional mission, vision, goals statement	International social events and programs
Admissions directors (n=3)	Strategic plan, strategic planning reports and meeting minutes	International student advisors workshops for international students
International program directors (n=6)	Strategic implementation and progress reports	International students and/or cultural affinity groups meetings
International student advisors (n=4)	Institutional websites, social media pages and blogs	Physical environment
Pathway programs directors (n=3)	Transcripts of president and provost speeches	
Faculty (n=5)	International admission marketing materials	
Domestic students (n=6)	Informational and marketing brochures on international opportunities	

International students (n=3)	International student offices campus newsletters	
Pathway students (n=3)	Study abroad and exchange training materials	
	Memorandum of Understanding with third party recruitment and pathway agencies	

Participant Sampling and Semi-Structured Interviews

Finally, I conducted 34 semi-structured interviews, and several observations to further develop earlier themes as well as identify emergent themes. After two months of document analysis of both institutional sites, I began initial participant recruitment, although I continued to analyze my documentary findings from both institutions continuously and simultaneously as the interviews and observations over the course of the next 14 months. My document analysis lasted from April 2015 until August 2016. This constant and prolonged comparative process of analysis and sampling allowed me to compare data between individual accounts and documentary evidence, compare one category of data with another as well as participants' experiences of internationalization with stated institutional goals and objectives (Charmaz, 2000).

Because the focus of the study was to ascertain the institutional conceptualization and rationales for internationalization, and how these rationales shape internationalization strategies at each institution, the interview participants of this study included a variety of institutional actors (see Tables 2 and 3). Participants included senior-level administrators with significant responsibility for internationalization strategic leadership, including current and former deans and a presidential advisor. In addition, I interviewed directors of international education programs, international services and centers, pathway programs and international

partnerships. Study abroad and international students' academic advisors, faculty as well as domestic, international and pathway students were also among the interview (see Tables 2 and 3).

I launched my initial recruitment, beginning with Public University, in June 2015. My sampling method in this initial phase was purposeful so I intentionally solicited and contacted approximately 100 administrators, faculty and staff across various units and departments engaged in international activities and programs, using the institutional website directory. This yielded 10 participants. Then, in October 2015, I launched phase two of recruitment at Public University. This time, I pursued a theoretical sampling method by contacting coordinators of student leadership programs, international student affinity group, the office of international students and scholars, division of student affairs, honors and scholars' programs, and community partnership and engagement service learning programs. In addition, I asked research participants to refer eligible colleagues and students who might also be interested in participating in the study. After several months, this referral recruitment effort yielded an additional 30 interested students and 4 administrators. I selected all the additional administrators and 7 students based on a variety of characteristics, including years of study, variety of international experiences and in the case of international students, nationality as well as pathway program versus regular international student admitted status. I completed all interviews in the second phase between November 2015 and May 2016.

My third and final recruitment focused on Private University. Similarly, I recruited in two phases, the first based on purposeful sampling, followed by

theoretical sampling. In February 2016, I began the first recruitment phase at Private University while simultaneously completing my second phase recruitment at Public University. This phase yielded 7 participants who I interviewed them between March and May 2016. Although I utilized my latter strategy of contacting coordinators at approximately 50 international single affinity groups and multicultural affairs as well as the international students' office, with some positive initial replies, I was only able to successfully recruit one student. In July 2016, I emailed all faculty and administrators who had previously participated, seeking their assistance with additional recruitment. I recruited 2 administrators and 2 students, including one who introduced me to a global academic leadership program through which I was able to recruit another 2 students.

All participants were interviewed once for approximately 60 minutes. The interviews took place in person, via Skype or phone based on participants' preference, and at locations determined by the interviewee, although all participants interviewed in person chose to meet on their campuses. While grounded theory methodology emphasizes sampling for concepts, rather than sample size dictates, I conducted 34 semi-structured interviews, including 21 interviews at Public University and 13 interviews at Private University based on sampling categories, maximizing comparisons between participant data, and saturating concepts. In other words, while my IRB application proposed a total of 24 interviews, 12 at each institution, the total number of interviews was informed by the concept of saturation, or the need to gather as much new, in-depth information as possible, rather than a prescriptively

predetermined sample size. More information about the study participants, their roles and demographic data is presented in the tables below (see Table 2 and 3).

Table 2: Interview Participants at Public University

Rank/Position		Pseudonym	Gender	Race/Ethnicity/ Nationality
Administrators				
<i>Senior administrators</i>	Senior advisor to system president	Dr. Jackson	Male	White/U.S.
	Dean	Dr. Johnathan	Male	White/U.S.
<i>Directors</i>	Undergraduate admissions director	Mr. Benjamin	Male	White/U.S.
	International admissions director	Mr. Martinez	Male	Latino/U.S.
	Director of operations	Mr. Andrew	Male	White/U.S.
	Director of co-op programs in China	Mr. Hsu	Male/Non-U.S. Citizen	Asian/China
	Director of ESL and international programs	Ms. Stanley	Female	White/U.S.
<i>International Partnerships</i>	Pathway program manager	Ms. King	Female	White/U.S.
	International partnership director	Ms. Jamie	Female	Asian/ China
Staff				
<i>Advisors</i>	International student advisor	Ms. Brelin	Female	Black/U.S.
<i>Coordinators</i>	ESL and international partnership advising coordinator	Mr. Jim	Male	White/U.S.
	Study abroad coordinator	Ms. Donald	Female	White/ Serbia

Faculty				
<i>Faculty of Education</i>	Full Professor	Professor James	Male	White/U.S.
<i>Faculty in Counseling Certificate Program</i>	Adjunct	Mr. Robert	Male	White/U.S.
Students				
<i>Senior</i>	Women's Studies/ Anthropology – double major	Shantel	Female	White/U.S.
	English major	Whitney	Female	Haitian/U.S.
<i>Junior</i>	Biology major	Roxanne	Female	White/U.S.
	Biology major	Marjorie	Female	White/U.S.
	Biology major	Nguyen	Female	Asian/Vietnam (Perm Res.)
<i>Sophomore</i>	Biology major	David	Male	Black/Ghana (international)
	Business	Patel	Male	Asian/India (Pathway)

**Demographics as reported by participants on questionnaire.*

At Public University, study participants included 2 senior administrators, 5 directors, 2 international partner program staff, 3 international student advisors, 2 faculty members, 4 U.S.-born students, and 3 international students (see Table 2). Comparatively, at Private University, participants included 1 senior administrator, 3 directors, 1 international student advisor, 3 faculty members, as well as 2 U.S.-born students, 2 pathway program students, and 1 international student (see Table 3). Two of the participants at Private University hold dual positions as full-time teaching faculty and directors of international education programs. Their responses for both roles is included in the data and analysis.

Table 3: Interview Participants at Private University.

Rank/Position		Pseudonym	Gender/Ethnicity	Race/Ethnicity/ Nationality
Administrators				
<i>Senior administrators</i>	Dean & Vice President of Global Strategy	Dean Tucker	Male	White/Canada & U.S.
<i>Directors</i>	Director of Faculty International Programs	Professor North*	Male	White/U.S.
	Director of Student International Programs	Ms. Scott	Female	Taiwanese/U.S.
	Director of Writing Program	Professor Brown*	Male	White/U.S.
<i>International Partnerships</i>	Director of Offshore Academic Programs	Dr. Long	Female	White/U.S.
	Director of pathway programs	Ms. Warner	Female	White/U.S.
Staff				
<i>Advisors</i>	International student advisor	Mr. William	Male	White/U.S.
Faculty				
<i>Faculty of Education</i>	Non-tenure track Professor	Professor White	Female	White/U.S.
<i>Faculty of English</i>	Associate Professor	Professor Brown*	Male	White/U.S.
<i>Faculty of American Studies</i>	Associate Professor	Professor North*	Male	White/U.S.
Students				
<i>Senior</i>	Management major	Naomi	Female	Asian/China (Pathway)

	Health Sciences major	Emma	Female	White/U.S.
<i>Junior</i>	Management major	Sally	Female	Asian/Korea (Pathway)
<i>Sophomore</i>	Engineering major	Alexis	Female	Hispanic/U.S.
	Psychology major	Ashley	Female	Indian/Panama (International)

*Demographics as reported by participants on questionnaire.

I recruited my interview sample drawing on institutional website directories for university administrators, staff and faculty engaged in international activities; and, contacted students using leadership and affinity group listserv and Facebook groups. To achieve greater density in the data collection and to ensure saturation of theoretical categories that emerge in the study, I also used participant referrals and theoretical sampling to identify and recruit additional and specific organizational stakeholders. Theoretical sampling, a grounded theory method of comparative data collection and analysis, was also an important data triangulation technique because it allowed me to select new cases and participants that provided a better understanding of partially known theoretical categories of information (Mertens, 2010). I conducted a biographic questionnaire prior to each interview designed to assess participants' positions, title and unit affiliation, tenure at the institution as well as race, ethnicity, gender, age and nationality. The amount of time participants had been in their positions ranged from three years to 18 years, while the total number of years each participant worked at their institution ranged from four to 20 years.

Observations

I also gathered data through observations. Merriam (2009) noted that, "the theoretical framework, the problems, and the questions of interest determine what is

to be observed” (p. 119). She added, “Where to begin looking depends on the research question, but where to focus and stop action cannot be determined ahead of time. The focus must be allowed to emerge and... may change” (p. 120).

Observations can include: (a) physical setting, (b) the participants, (d) activities and interactions, (e) conversation, (f) subtle factors (such as nonverbal communication, use of language, unplanned activities, “what does not happen”), and (g) the researcher’s own behavior (Merriam, 2009; Mertens, 2010; Patton, 2002). I observed the physical campus settings and environments of the international activities offices at both institutions as well as several International Education Week events, including a student-led global conversation hour and international student OPT workshop at Public University as well as a study abroad fair and international student orientation workshop at Private University. These observations allowed me to interrogate the ways in which institutional resources are leveraged towards internationalization strategies. In addition to observed behavior and events, I also noted what does not happen or what I do not see, but reasonably expected to happen or see given the documentary evidence or interviews.

Although both institutions are engaged in internationalization strategies overseas (e.g., overseas recruitment outposts, international branch campuses, dual enrollment programs, transnational partnerships), which are also critical to my understanding of competing rationales in internationalization approaches, my observations of international activities in this study were limited to campus-based programs and partnerships due to resource and time constraints to international travel.

Trustworthiness

The data collection and analysis described above corresponds with Charmaz's (2000) evaluation criteria: "throughout the research process, grounded theorists develop analytic data collection, which they use in turn to inform and refine their developing theoretical analyses" (p. 509). By simultaneously and methodically collecting and analyzing qualitative data, from documentary analysis to interviews and observations, my grounded theory study contributes salient analytical findings on internationalization strategies in two institutional contexts.

To fulfill the standards of methodological rigor in this study, I collected, organized and analyzed data in ways that met trustworthiness standards of qualitative research design. There are four main elements of trustworthiness: transferability, credibility, dependability, and conformability (Mertens, 2010). First, transferability is demonstrated through providing rich, thick descriptions that readers can infer and apply the research design and findings to other settings based on degree of similarity between the study site and the broader context (Mertens, 2010). In addition to the detailed description of my research method and process, I included thick descriptions of my observations as well as detailed quotations from participant interviews.

Second, credibility is important to the integrity of qualitative research and the concept of trustworthiness (Mertens, 2010). Mertens (2010) argued that the credibility of the research is supported by evidence from the researcher's observations, interpretations, and conclusions. In this study, I employed a number of strategies to address the issue of credibility, including substantial engagement with study

participants in an hour-long interview and site observations; negative case analysis; theoretical sampling; triangulating the interview data with institutional records, documents and observations; and member checks (Mertens, 2010). I utilized member checks by asking random participants to review early drafts of my study and to provide feedback on the accuracy of my interpretations and analysis of participants' responses and observations (Mertens, 2010).

Dependability is the demonstration of researcher accountability, which requires documentation of changes during the research process and the rationale for decisions made relevant to emerging data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I maintained a systematic database of detailed observation notes, digital recordings and their transcriptions, documentary evidence as well as coding memos to ensure an audit trail that would account for my processes, procedures, and decision-making throughout the study (Mertens, 2010).

Lastly, confirmability requires the analysis and elimination of potential bias in the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As a social constructivist researcher, I believe that I bring my whole self, including inherent biases and subjectivities, to the research process and interpretation. However, the grounded theory principles of intensive interviewing and examination as well as thoroughness and completeness of this study have undoubtedly enhanced its confirmability. In addition, my audit trail, and triangulation with other documentation, observations as well as participant interviews also established confirmability.

The Researcher's Role

Subjectivity is accounting for “the quality of your self-awareness of the potential effects of self on your research” (Glesne, 2006, p. 109). Undoubtedly, my subjectivities inform the study in myriad ways, including how my lived experiences as an educational migrant in East Africa and later, an international student in the U.S., continue to shape my values and beliefs that internationalization is an important global public good. My subjectivity is also derived from my social constructivist epistemology, which shapes my belief that knowledge is produced from the interpretation of multiple realities that reflect coexisting or mutually exclusive motivations. In other words, the practice and process of capturing truth does not exist outside the seeker (Thomas & James, 2006). Instead, I believe that action and meaning are dialectical and socially constructed (Charmaz, 2004).

In this study, I do not claim to advance a singular or objective truth claim, but rather an understanding of how contexts, situations, and actors influence meaning shaped by my own subjectivities. Charmaz (2004) described these researcher subjectivities as standpoints, noting that our standpoints shape what we see and what we view as truth. She continued by suggesting that theoretical perspectives sensitize us to exploring potential threads that allow us to generate new insights (Charmaz, 2004). As such, theories are themselves a starting “standpoint” (Charmaz, 2004), which are rendered from our socially constructed empirical interpretations.

The challenge then for me as a researcher is not to prevent my subjectivities from informing my study, but to demonstrate fidelity in reconstructing a phenomenon that is complex and involves multiple views of reality into one framework that represents

the larger issue. As such, the disclosure of my subjectivities, in terms of personal educational experiences and epistemological orientation, as well as the trustworthiness strategies I described above, allowed me to be self-reflexive on my own experiences, assumptions, and truth claims throughout this research process.

Furthermore, being aware of my subjectivities as a researcher alerts me to how my different sensitivities are contextualized in place, time, culture, and positionality (Charmaz, 2004). Contextual knowing allowed me to not only pay attention to “acts and facts” (Charmaz, 2004, p. 988), but also to incorporate a critical analysis of language, subliminal and implied meaning, as well as silent spaces, all of which reveal other views of reality, feelings, values, priorities, and involvement (Charmaz, 2004, p. 989). Finally, my subjectivity as a former female international student of color from Sub-Saharan Africa who attended several higher education institutions with varying levels of commitment to internationalization allowed me to focus on the ethics of internationalization and the impact of prevailing internationalization approaches on vulnerable populations of students, while examining critical perspectives in internationalization (Huckaby, 2011).

Limitations

This study has three clear limitations. First, the institutional sample size of two research universities limits the diverse range and varying contexts of U.S. higher education institutions. However, the choice of a grounded theory method and saturation in data collection, allowed me to engage in an in-depth exploration of the phenomenon and meet the standard of transferability. Consequently, the theory-generating conclusions drawn from my findings can be applied to the broader

landscape of higher education. Secondly, both institutions are in the same urban area in the Northeast region. While this shared topography allowed me to analyze how each institution is experiencing similar localized challenges and opportunities -- e.g., legislative state policies -- it also poses a limitation in terms of diversity of institutional contexts.

Reflecting on the implications of this study for theory, practice and policy, there are several limitations that cannot be ignored. First, it is necessary to approach the study of campus internationalization in tandem with the transnationalization of U.S. higher education: these represent homologous processes. While some findings address internationalization abroad strategies, more in-depth analysis of both public and private universities' transnational programs and overseas activities could extend our understanding of how students, staff and faculty's understandings of internationalization, academic capitalism and the public good are contextualized and mediated in a global context.

Additionally, by failing to incorporate the perspectives of sending nations and partners, and international universities on internationalization, these international actors can be perceived as passive bystanders, or similarly motivated as U.S. institutions. For instance, emerging research on perceptions of transnational education in China by Chinese institutions revealed that internationalization is not entirely driven by economic rationales (Djerasimovic 2014; Hou et al, 2014; Montgomery, 2014). In fact, China has expressed that the public good is a key internationalization driver (Hou et al, 2014). A comparative analysis of internationalization from national and international perspectives would contribute new understandings on the relevance

of academic capitalism, the public good and intersectional internationalization in global comparative context.

A second limitation relates to data collection in this study. Unfortunately, I was not able to collect the strategic and implementation plans from Private University. During the entire one-and-a-half years of this study, Private University was amidst a strategic planning process. Although the planning process was well-documented on their public website, including a draft of the plan and related subcommittee reports, I was not able to compare the variations in institutional plans and implementation approaches between the two universities due to the unavailability of Private University's final strategic plan and implementation plan. I was also limited in my data analysis of Private University's internationalization rationales and priorities due to inaccessibility of budgetary information. Compared to Public University where the institutional budget is public record, Private University financial records are private and despite several formal requests, I could not obtain the records.

CHAPTER 4

“GLOBALIZE THE LOCAL AND LOCALIZE THE GLOBAL”: INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONALIZATION

This chapter presents my findings on how two U.S. higher education institutions conceptualized internationalization, including how internationalization emerged as an institutional priority, and the strategic considerations that have shaped their international institutional activities. This chapter also offers an analysis on the role of institutional leadership and decision-making in internationalization. In this chapter, I compare my findings between the two institutional typologies of a public university and a private university.

Organized into two main sections, based on the research questions that guided the study, first I investigate the conceptualization and emergence of institutional internationalization. In the second section, I discuss the considerations that shaped the conceptualization and implementation of institutional internationalization strategies. In both sections, I begin by analyzing institutional data, as they exist in policy documents, institutional archival materials, university administration speeches, and

internal memoranda. Then, I summarize my findings from semi-structured interviews with a variety of institutional actors. Finally, I conclude with an analysis of the different research participants' reflections and observations, highlighting relevant tensions and intersections, in order to generate an in-depth discussion on the values of academic capitalism and the public good in U.S. higher education internationalization.

The Emergence of Internationalization in Institutional Contexts

In this section, I discuss institutional motivations for internationalization and how internationalization emerged as an institutional priority at a public and a private higher education institution using a content analysis of institutional mission statements and core values, strategic and implementation plans, budgets and speeches. A mission statement is a broad description of an organization's purpose while core values articulate the essential ideals of an institution. A strategic plan highlights the highest priorities facing an organization identified through a process of information gathering and analysis. In contrast, the implementation plan articulates the specific, tactical and measurable goals, approaches and activities necessary to achieve the broad strategic plan goals. Collectively, the mission and vision statements, and strategic and implementation plans constitute an institutional strategic agenda. An institutional strategic agenda not only presents an organization's policy and praxis guideline, but also serves as a symbolic artifact of institutional values and aspirations. As such, my document analysis prioritized these policy documents. I begin this chapter by describing the historical and current institutional internationalization strategic agendas at the two institutions, followed by a discussion

of the role of university leadership and faculty entrepreneurship in the emergence and development of campus-wide internationalization strategies in each institutional context.

The Global Public University

Based on documentary content analysis of mission and values statements, strategic plans, policy documents and speeches by university leadership, internationalization appears to be a very important strategic priority at Public University. The current mission statement clearly affirmed Public University's commitment to both local and global engagement. Compared to Public University's founding mission statement, which articulated the role of the University as a traditional, public land grant institution focused on equal opportunity and serving local, urban communities, the 2010 mission statement signaled a critical shift towards a new role of Public University as a *global* public institution. Most notably, in a commencement speech, the president declared that the founding vision of Public University needed to be re-conceptualized in the context of a global era from a "great urban, local" institution a "global urban institution," thereby reconstituting the historical mission of the American public university towards a new global imaginary (Public University Strategic Planning Implementation Design Team Report, 2011). In 2010, under the leadership of the current president and the provost, the university launched a 15-year strategic plan, including new mission and values statements. In addition, the institution's new core values (inquiry, transformation, diversity and inclusion, engagement, sustainability, development and urban commitment) also included articulations of "global diversity," "global engagement," and "global public

good” (Public University Strategic Planning Implementation Design Team Report, 2011). Interestingly, the university system office has yet to approve the new mission statement, although the reasons for the delay in gaining approval were unclear.

Central to Public University’s 15-year strategic plan priorities were internationalization and global engagement. For example, Public University’s strategic plan advanced an internationalization strategy, defined as: the globalization of scholarship; the development and refinement of multicultural pedagogies; translational and transdisciplinary approaches to teaching, learning and scholarship; the wider societal applications of knowledge; social inclusion; and the local and global public good (Public University Strategic Planning Implementation Design Team Report, 2011). More specifically, the university aimed to internationalize in the areas of scholarship, pedagogy, teaching and learning outcomes, and the public good.

Additionally, in the strategic plan progress update report, Public University described the expansion of academic international programs, to include the establishment of an office of international programs, an institute for visiting foreign scholars and students, the creation of several global majors and certificate programs as well as the establishment of several global university partnerships. Also, Public University renamed two colleges to reflect their global involvement and focus on international and translational research.

Arguably, one of the most substantial indicators of internationalization at Public University was the increased enrollment of international students. While the University has had a long history of international student enrollment, the current strategic plan advanced an unprecedented - and intentional - goal of expanding

international student enrollment from 10% in 2015 to 15% by 2020 (Strategic Plan Progress Report, December 16, 2015). In comparison, the out-of-state student enrollment goal was 5% in 2015 with a goal of 10% by 2020 (Strategic Plan Progress Report, December 16, 2015). Yet, further analysis of the institution's strategic implementation plan, which outlines the specific and tactical implementation of the strategic plan (see Table 4), revealed that several of these priorities, namely those related to pedagogy, teaching and learning outcomes, and the public good, are not operationalized or even mentioned.

Table 4 summarizes Public University's institutional strategic documents, including mission, values, strategic and implementation plans, and budget. In summary, internationalization is an important strategic priority at Public University and it is defined as being in the realm of the global public good. Specifically, Public University's internationalization goals as described in the strategic plan pertained to the globalization of knowledge and translational research, or the public good. However, the focus of most institutional internationalization activities and initiatives as described in the implementation plan related to revenue generating strategies, pointing to an overwhelming focus on a market-driven rationale. It is also important to note that in the implementation plans, the rationale articulated for a focus on internationalization is to increase the global competitive rankings of Public University. The association of these contradictory rationales with Public University's strategic plan versus the strategic implementation plan were salient.

Table 4: Summary of Institutional Strategic Agenda Documents, Public University

Institutional Documents	Conceptualization and Articulations of Internationalization
Mission	To foster an intentionally diverse multicultural educational environment that promotes global engagement
Values	To support students from nationally and culturally diverse backgrounds; contribute to the global public good; contribute to the state’s global economic and cultural development.
Strategic plan	To expand the globalization of scholarship; to develop and refine multicultural pedagogies; to provide translational and transdisciplinary approaches to teaching, learning and scholarship; to ensure the wider societal applications of knowledge; to promote social inclusion and the local and global public good.
Implementation plan goals and objectives	Enrich and extend the programs supported by the international programs office; grow the number of global academic and research partnerships; increase the percentage of international students as part of overall enrollment increase; consider differential fee expansion for international students.
Budget plan	To expand international student recruitment, including “aggressive” differential fees for out-of-state and international students; to increase international student enrollment; to introduce mandatory student fees, including international activities fee; hire three full-time international student advisors over three years.

The Private Global Multiversity

In contrast to Public University, where internationalization was an emerging institutional strategic priority, internationalization is embedded in the institutional

ethos, brand and culture of Private University. In fact, for the last ten years, Private University has been consistently ranked among the top 25 destinations for international students by the Institute for International Education Open Doors Report and has received numerous awards for its pioneering global education programs. In 2015, the current president and provost of Private University launched a new strategic and academic planning process, which articulates the leadership's ambitious vision of the global University to become a multinational institution, or 'global multiversity.' The national and international prominence of Private University's internationalization strategies reflects a growing trend among selective, private U.S. higher education institutions to create a world-class of 'global network universities,' modeled and defined by NYU as institutions that seek to provide a global experience for *all* undergraduate students while also challenging the idea that a university can only deliver education at a single campus (New York University, n.d. Global. Retrieved from <http://www.nyu.edu/global.html#below>).

At Private University, the global network is further demonstrated by the institution's over 10,000 cooperative education partnerships in 130 countries; countless opportunities for global distance learning; global dual enrollment; international ESL bridge programs; external degree programs offered in several countries; and a study abroad office, with a goal of 100% undergraduate student participation by 2020. In fact, a mapping of current global activities by a strategic planning working group revealed internationalized academic programs across all nine of the University's colleges; extensive support services; cultural sensitivity and anti-bias training; professional development for globally-focused faculty and staff; and

eight degree programs intentionally created to appeal to international students. In addition, Private University has three domestic branch campuses and has plans to open its first international campus in the fall of 2016.

Table 5 summarizes Private University's strategic documents for themes related to internationalization. As demonstrated by the university's mission and values statements, internationalization is not only an important focus, but is also overwhelmingly focused on public good-driven values. Although Private University was in the early stages of a new strategic plan during my data collection, the strategic planning committee had already identified the following essential themes as part of their emerging mission, vision and strategies: expanding experiential learning, including opportunities for international cooperative education; investing in faculty success; internationalizing the university; expanding research and scholarship, particularly on social good issues; and, promoting a culture of diversity and inclusion (institutional website). A content analysis of the strategic plan website further revealed the following four institutional core values: global citizenship, cultural competencies, international learning experiences, and preparing students to solve global issues. Private University's strategic implementation and budget plans were not available for analysis.

Table 5: Summary of Institutional Strategic Agenda Documents, Private University

Institutional Documents	Conceptualization and Articulations of Internationalization
Current Mission Statement	To create a research enterprise that solves global and social issues. A global research university engaging the world.
Values*	To support students to cultivate global citizenship identity, develop global cultural competencies, participate in international educational and cultural experiences, and train to meet emerging global challenges.
Strategic themes*	To expand experiential learning, including opportunities for international cooperative education; invest in faculty success; develop a global university network; expand research and scholarship, particularly on social good issues; and, promote a culture of diversity and inclusion.
Implementation plan goals and objectives*	Not available
Budget plan+	Not available.

**Data are based on emerging strategic plan documents and working subcommittee reports. Implementation goals and progress outcomes of the previous strategic plan 2010-2015 were not available. A full final draft of the new strategic plan is expected in the fall of 2016. + indicates institutional documents and policies inaccessible to the researcher.*

In summary, the emerging strategic planning at Private University clearly stressed the institution's continued commitment to internationalization while emphasizing its comprehensive approach to internationalization as global education at home and abroad. Furthermore, a documentary analysis of the previous strategic plan (Private University 2010-2015 Long Range Academic Plan), which articulated the strategic and implementation plan of Private University in four key areas – teaching, research, faculty, and students – also revealed a prioritization of internationalization.

Historically, Private University's internationalization strategies included: increasing support for global experiences for every undergraduate student; diversifying international co-op opportunities; expanding global partnerships with industry, government, and other educational organizations; advancing faculty engagement in international research collaborations; broadening international student recruitment partnerships and pipelines; and, increasing international student enrollment. Although a progress report showcasing the measurable institutional progress towards these goals and a budget plan highlighting the impact of these investments are not available, there was evidence that Private University is poised to embark on an ambitious and transformational institutional internationalization plan.

Leading Internationalization

In this section, I discuss my findings on the role of university administrative leadership as well as faculty leadership, in the emergence and institutionalization of internationalization strategies at both Public and Private Universities.

The Role of University Leadership

At both institutions, the president and provost were cited for their staunch support of internationalization. For example, at Public University, the provost, in various speeches and reports, described institutional internationalization as the globalization of research, including international research endeavors, the borderless extension of online teaching, international university partnerships as well as international student diversity. Furthermore, he described the pursuit of internationalization as an opportunity to increase and enhance the university's national rankings and international brand. Mr. Hsu, director of international programs in China at Public

University, attested to the provost's strong support of the Chinese international programs, citing his personal involvement in the development of their dual degree programs.

Regarding the role of university leadership at Public University, in my in-depth interviews, both Dean Johnathan, dean of a college at Public University, and Dr. Jackson, a senior advisor to Public University's system president, suggested that the institutionalization of internationalization is largely due to the personal and academic interests of the provost, and to a lesser extent, the campus president. In fact, Dr. Jackson suggested that the provost at Public University was the principal visionary of internationalization. He added:

The current provost is very much a supporter of international programs so since he has been provost and since the (new) president, internationalization has been more of a priority for the campus. I get the feeling that now, (the provost) is trying to do a more concerted campus-wide effort.

Similarly, Dean Johnathan, founding dean of an international college, noted the visionary influence of Public University's provost. He recalled:

We were approached by the provost to try and help the university figure out what the university platform should be internationally. I think that the provost has been probably the academic guide.

In contrast, the institutional vision and academic leadership for internationalization at Private University was largely shaped by the president, but enacted by a more diffused academic leadership structure. In addition to the provost, Private University has a senior vice president for global strategy, who reports to the president, a vice

president for global partnerships and enrollment, and four deans who oversee all global programs and international projects, including the branch campuses. However, the president of Private University was cited by several participants, including faculty and students, as the principal architect of the campus internationalization strategy.

Two faculty members also commented on the president's influential personal and professional commitment to internationalization, citing his personal background as a multinational citizen, and his prior academic training in three different countries. Specifically, Professor White, an adjunct Education faculty who also teaches in Private University's global dual enrollment programs in Vietnam and Australia, described him as a "citizen of the world." Similarly, Professor North, a tenured faculty member who directs Private University's bridge and pathway programs, described the president's impact on the institution's development of a strategy related to an international bridge and pathway program. He noted, "(Internationalization) was part of his strategic thinking, but he also came up with the plan." Because he is new to Private University, having joined the institution in 2015, the Provost's impact and leadership on the institution's internationalization strategies were hard to foretell. However, two faculty administrators described him as supportive of the institution's internationalization goals, and renowned for his global strategic vision and leadership at his previous institution.

Overall, the role of a supportive university leader was perceived and described as especially critical to the successful institutionalization of internationalization on both university campuses. Relatedly, several participants cited the backgrounds and experiences of these leaders, their personal identities, and previous international

experiences as contributing to their values of global engagement, and perhaps perceptions of their competencies to lead their institutions' internationalization strategies.

Faculty Entrepreneurship in Internationalization

While an analysis of institutional policy documents, strategic plans, interviews, and speeches demonstrated that support from senior university leadership is critical to the institutionalization of internationalization, several participants also cited the importance of faculty leadership. Notably, Dr. Jackson, a senior advisor to Public University's system president and a former dean at Public University, credited faculty entrepreneurship in internationalization with numerous innovations in campus internationalization strategies. Important to realize is Dr. Jackson's former leadership in internationalization as a career-long faculty, former dean and founder of a global college at Public University:

I was doing it as a faculty entrepreneur; I was not doing it as part of whole, concerted, coherent campus-wide effort. By doing what I did, I opened the university leadership's eyes, I gave them credibility, I gave them a whole set of accomplishments, a whole set of precedents and they built their international perspectives, international approaches right off of what I've done. And the fact of the matter is, that's the best way to get started. An entrepreneurial faculty member is the best way to get things started. It's much faster.

Another important note was that as a tenured full professor, Dr. Jackson was aware that he had the power (autonomy) and privilege (academic legitimacy) to initiate his

own international initiatives. Because university leadership are sometimes averse to risk-taking or hampered by institutional politics and competing priorities, he concluded that too often university administrators are not able to launch entrepreneurial ventures in internationalization. Likewise, Dean Johnathan suggested that most internationalization strategies at Public University seem, at least initially, to be faculty-driven.

I think sometimes the drive and push for internationalization has been from faculty who have a passion for it, and not as part of a systematic institutional strategy. The establishment of our school is clearly a statement.

Equally important to note, at Private University, all three faculty participants in the study discussed their entrepreneurial roles in various international programs and activities. For example, Professor North was the inaugural director of Private University's undergraduate pathway and bridge programs, while Professor Brown directed the first-year writing program, including a recent initiative on trans-lingual writing. Professor White of the Education Department helped to launch an education leadership graduate degree program in Australia and created a short-term study abroad program. In addition, she helped to decolonize the University doctoral degree program in Hong Kong by implementing a place-based, multicultural curriculum and revising her pedagogy rather than importing the curriculum from the U.S. campus wholesale and uncritically. Dr. White described her involvement in international activities:

Four years ago, the dean asked a couple of us to come up with something that would allow people who wouldn't otherwise have the chance to be able to be

internationalized. We developed a curriculum that's an eight-week course with seven weeks online and one-and-a-half weeks abroad. It's opened up the opportunity for people who otherwise wouldn't have had that opportunity. We are hoping that that concept will expand... For my own experience in Australia, I was basically just dropped in. What they said I was going to be doing and what I ended up doing bore no resemblance to each other whatsoever. That experience has led me into the field of transnational higher education and the centrality of the faculty in transnational partnerships.

In addition, Dr. Long, Private University's director of offshore academic programs, remarked:

When our faculty are present (in offshore programs), we notice an increase in student engagement. When our faculty are not present, it's a little bit less. I think that just goes to show that you need to have a faculty presence in transnational education, not just a presence in-country, but some type of engaged presence, whether it be 'I'm overseas and I'm doing an activity with the students' or, 'I'm checking in,' or 'I'm just going to do a partnership re-calibration.' Whatever the reason might be! That's something where we've noticed that there is variability due to faculty presence.

Faculty and an administrator at Private University, faculty entrepreneurship and engagement is critical to the development, effective implementation, and success of transnational and campus internationalization strategies.

A second important finding is related to institutional support for faculty engagement in international activities and programs. Professor James, a tenured

faculty and former department chair at Public University, suggested that historically, there was no institutional support for faculty engagement in internationalization. In fact, he sometimes faced institutional opposition and resistance towards his international engagement. However, he added that there has been a recent institutional shift from a focus on internationalization as student-focused (e.g., international student recruitment, mobility programs) to a focus on faculty-driven international programs and partnerships.

Since then, he remarked, Public University has been intentionally expanding its transnational MOUs to provide more global opportunities for faculty and students seeking to engage in international research and exchange programs. Likewise, Private University historically conceptualized internationalization as student-centered mobility activity, such as study abroad and international student recruitment. But Dean Tucker and Professors Long, North and White pointed out that as Private University's footprint in internationalization has expanded over the past seven years, from an exclusive focus on academic mobility (e.g., student exchange, recruitment and study abroad) to a more comprehensive internationalization focus comprised of global pedagogies, international experiential learning, international research and dual enrollment collaborations, and faculty engagement in internationalization.

Conceptualizing Internationalization

An important focus of this study is to understand how Public and Private Universities' conceptualizations of internationalization shape their internationalization strategies. In this section, the findings regarding the research question "*What considerations influence the conceptualization of*

internationalization?” are summarized and discussed. Although the concept of internationalization has been defined from a variety of scholarly and policy perspectives, the definition is constantly evolving in global, national, local and even, institutional contexts.

From Concept to Institutional Strategy

Overall, there was unanimous sentiment among university administrators and international partners at both universities that internationalization has the potential to produce positive outcomes. In Table 6, I present a synthesis of participants’ conceptualizations of and rationales for internationalization at their respective institutions. At Public University, conceptualizations of internationalization included institutional transformation from a localized-to-globalized campus (administrators), the internationalization of curriculum and co-curriculum (administrators), and institutional competition and striving (staff). In contrast, at Private University, participants defined internationalization as the bidirectional interaction of local and global (administrators), and global competencies and opportunities for faculty and students (staff).

However, conceptualizations of internationalization from the perspective of faculty and students at both Private and Public University were similar, including global citizenship, partnerships and pedagogies (faculty), and global and multicultural competencies (students). Meanwhile, participants’ perspectives on institutional considerations for pursuing internationalization were more convergent between institutional types. Participants within the same participant groups (e.g. staff, faculty, students) at both institutions had similar perceptions of the institutional considerations

for internationalization. For example, at both institutions, administrators cited globalization and workforce and economic development; staff noted the influence of revenue generation and institutional striving; faculty described positive personal impact and broader social goods; while, students focused on revenue-generation potential as a driver of institutional considerations

Table 6: Internationalization at Public University and Private University

		Contrasting Considerations			
		Administrators	Staff	Faculty	Students
Conceptualizations of Internationalization	Public University	Global competencies for students; local-to-global institutional transformation; “philosophy of learning.”	Internationalization of the curriculum and co-curricular; internationalization at home; student demands; institutional striving and competition.	Global experiential and service learning; access to international opportunities for students and faculty.	Cultural competencies; global citizenship.
	Private University	Local-as-global and global-as-local; student and scholar mobility; “pedagogy of experiential education.”	Dual enrollment and International exchange programs; cross-cultural competencies for faculty, staff and students; comprehensive internationalization (faculty, students, curriculum, learning outcomes); transnational education.	Global citizenship education for students, faculty and staff; faculty-led transnational partnerships; internationalizing the curriculum	Global mindset, global education; multicultural perspectives and global diversity.
Institutional Considerations for Internationalization	Public University	Globalization imperative; research is inherently global; democratization and economic development.	Institutional striving to be a ‘world class’ institution; competition and survivability; pursuit of global relevancy; revenue generation.	Democratization; reciprocity with international partners; broadens personal horizons; marketization.	Revenue generation, international student recruitment’ national and global trend; response to globalization.
	Private University	Globalization; workforce development; non-transactional global	Student demand for global experiences and skill-building; institutional competition; revenue generation; global brand recognition.	Global citizenship; transnational education as future model; global public	Revenue generation, institutional rankings, international student

		relationship management; cross-cultural dialogue.’		good; partnerships; global educational access.	recruitment.
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More specifically, at Public University, each administrator conceptualized internationalization primarily as the training and cultivation of globally-minded students; and, secondarily, as institutional transformation from a locally to a globally focused institution. For instance, Dean Jackson, senior advisor to the Public University system president, described the University’s transformation from an “inward-looking, overly local” institution to a global university. Similarly, Dean Johnathan, founding dean of a college division at Public University, described internationalization as preparing university graduates and supporting faculty to make a difference and solve social problems on a global platform. Moreover, other Public University administrators defined internationalization as creating an inclusive, multicultural campus culture as well as integrating international perspectives in teaching and learning.

Meanwhile, staff members at Public University noted that internationalization goes beyond student mobility to focus on fostering inclusive, multi- and cross-cultural interactions in teaching and learning. Importantly, they described internationalization as campus-based, academic, and co-curricular. Similarly, Ms. Stanley, director of ESL and international programs at Public University, described it as a new “philosophy of learning,” which seeks to enlarge the university classroom by bringing in world-wide perspectives, but also helping students to see their footprint as global. She noted,

I think there are two very distinct reasons that are at odds with each other. One is that, of course, we're a higher ed institution. The best way to learn is to understand the world in which we're learning, and just the whole philosophy of learning. The larger the classroom, the more you can learn if we assume that the classroom is the whole world where you can learn from others, and also put your footprint in the world. We are a public university, but funding is important. Money is a big driver, but it's not necessarily for a profit. It's just all tangled up together. When you have money, you have resources to get things done that you want to do.

Another conceptualization of internationalization at Public University is institutional striving and competition. Mr. Andrew, director of operations at Public University, discussed the influence of the university's competition and striving. He noted,

I think competition has been pretty significant. It plays a very, very important role here. Since we're one of the pioneers, it was something that we were already doing. We were already established in these countries, well before all these other universities jumped onboard, looking to internationalize their campuses.

In contrast, Private University administrators conceptualized internationalization as transnational education experiences, including student mobility and the engagement of students in wide-ranging global experiences. For example, Dean Tucker defined internationalization as the pedagogy of experiential learning, a core philosophy at the institution, adding that having students learn by engaging the world as part of their

educational experience was an essential characterization of internationalization. Furthermore, he remarked that the institutional rationale for internationalization is shaped by the global rise in student mobility, the global interconnectedness of education systems, the increasing role of cultural education, and the potential of global exchanges as ‘soft diplomacy.’ Dr. Long, director of offshore programs, described Private University’s comprehensive conceptualization of internationalization:

One aspect of internationalizing the campus and the curriculum is the mobility piece, but I think if we’re looking at a comprehensive picture of what is internationalization of this institution, I think it touches multiple stakeholders, and I think it touches the faculty. It’s diversifying the faculty, diversifying the student population, diversifying the curriculum, diversifying the learning outcomes, diversifying the community in which we operate, and thinking about how to raise global awareness in the student population in multiple ways.

Additionally, senior administrators at Private University described the emergence of institutional internationalization as a response to the external pressures of globalization and interdependence. In fact, most staff members argued that the rise of internationalization at their institutions was a deliberate, comprehensive market-driven response to students’ demands for more global experiential opportunities and experiences. Ms. Scott, the director of student international programs at Private University, observed that successful institutional internationalization strategies included opportunities for cross-cultural experiences for both domestic and

international students, as well as faculty and staff engagement in professional intercultural interactions. She added, “Internationalization isn’t just about international students. The future of our education is heading especially towards a globally interconnected world, but also in order to maintain our competitive position, (internationalization) is what we have to do.”

Related to the longstanding culture of experiential education at Private University, several faculty members commented on the workforce skills students gain through global co-ops, linguistic skills and study abroad, which makes them more competitive and employable. For instance, Professor White described his notion of internationalization as “global citizenship education for students and us (adults),” an expansion in the university’s global reach; faculty and staff engagement in transnational education, study abroad and international partnerships; the global public good; and, internationalization of the curriculum.

It was interesting to note the unanimous and contradicting conceptualization of internationalization articulated by student participants. Unanimously, the twelve students interviewed at both Public University and Private University defined internationalization as the advancement of their cross-cultural competency and global citizenship in an increasingly borderless world. For example, Nguyen, a junior majoring in Biology at Public University, internationalization is both a global context and a competency. She aptly noted:

Internationalization is important here because globalization is a trend of the modern society now. It is important so that people can understand each other more in terms of the connection between people in different country, different

culture and different areas. I think that's why our university wants to focus on that.

For Sally, a pathway program student majoring in Management at Private University, internationalization is both a global mindset and global interconnectedness. She noted,

Personally, I think internationalization is same as globalization. Nowadays, with the internet, we can contact each other. I live here but I can connect easily to my family back in Korea. I think everyone living in this era experiences globalization, that is why we have to have a global mindset, especially young generation. Living in Korea, if you want to advance in your career, you have to travel somewhere and have some experience about different cultures or customs or cultural standards, and how others live. But I think it is a very important thing to do for your whole life, not just only for your career advancement.

Furthermore, Emma, a health sciences senior at Private University advanced a conceptualization of internationalization relative to her global educational experience:

I think Private University really wants us to think outside the box and be open to other people with different cultures, other countries, other languages. I think, from a progressive standpoint, the way we're going to move forward and make really good advances is to work together, promote tolerance, and the spread of ideas and things like that. Especially, I'm speaking from my own experience, wherever I've gone to travel, I've noticed obvious culture differences. In Peru, for instance, there were some things that were a culture

shock to me, but of course, to them were just normal and everyday life. I'm really putting that experience into perspective now. Like, when I'm a clinician in the future, I want to be able to understand my patients, and although something may not seem obvious to me, to them, it may just be the way they were raised or way of life, especially living in the U.S. where so many people come and immigrate from other countries. Spanish is a huge language here. That's another reason why I wanted to learn it, and get an experience in a different, non-American culture.

Yet, when asked about their university's drivers for strategic internationalization, all students noted that the institution engaged in internationalization due to external drivers of globalization, market and institutional competition, revenue generation and institutional prestige. For example, Patel, an international student at Public University added:

I think it's true that at any institution, international students pay almost twice. It is a business, if you boil it down. Internationalization is supported because foreign students coming in are willing to be here, and do all sorts of things to have access. And they bring in a lot of capital into the country. What I don't understand is why institutions are encouraging a lot of internationalization and are willing to admit and accommodate more and more international students even though that may mean they are not prioritizing other things to do with regular U.S.-born students. I think it's more of the business factor in it, that's probably why internationalization is prioritized, I think. I can't see another reason for it.

Meanwhile, Private University undergraduate sophomore Alexis suggested that the rationales for internationalization are multidimensional, including competition and global rankings:

I think the considerations for why my university is engaged in internationalization is definitely layered. Right now, Private University is very focused on moving up through the ranks.

As a pathway student at Private University, Naomi also described the market-driven rationale for international student recruitment:

So, I think the first motivation for Private University to recruit international students is that they pay. I don't know how much but it should be a large amount, certainly more than local students.

When I asked Naomi whether she perceived this market-driven rationale for international student recruitment as contradictory to the Private University's stated goals for internationalization as a social and public good, she responded:

Well, I do not think that they contradict each other. It's totally understandable and it totally makes sense why Private University wants to recruit more international students because international students can bring many good things, like financial benefits. Also, as I mentioned before, I think being international is a good thing because you bring a different perspective. So both aspects are positive factors in the whole development of the campus. It's just that there may be many problems arising during that process.

Overall, students at both Public and Private University noted that the public good- and market-driven rationales intersect and coexist in internationalization strategies.

None of the students associated institutional internationalization with fostering or advancing their educational goals or learning outcomes. In fact, very few students had taken any courses related to international topics, and none attributed those courses with their academic and personal interests in international engagement. Instead, their engagement in internationalization activities and programs was driven by personal interests, sense of belonging, cultural curiosity, and heritage affinity as well as an interest to engage in a unique educational experience. For instance, Roxanne, a Public University junior and biology major, described her heritage as half-Italian and an affinity for travel as a motivation for her engagement in study abroad. Specifically, she said,

I am half-Italian. Everything about Italy has always fascinated me. I went to Europe in high school; in my senior year, I went to Italy, Paris and Switzerland. I fell in love with travelling and Europe. I knew when I got to college that I wanted to do some sort of study abroad, maybe not a full semester abroad. I don't want to live away. I was hoping to find some sort of, maybe a week-or-two study abroad thing. In my sophomore year, I saw that they had a bunch of signs for summer programs. I found two that were both in Italy, and I was like "Oh my god! I need to check in those. That's what I've been looking for."

While Roxanne credited her previous international experience and personal heritage for her continued interest in global engagement, Marjorie, also a U.S.-born biology junior at Public University, described the lack of diversity in her upbringing as a driver:

I come from a small town. When I say small, I mean *small*. We tip cows for fun on Friday nights. Coming to Public University was a really great opportunity for me to explore cultures that were different from mine, especially having only been exposed to one culture for so much of my life. Public University has so many opportunities to go abroad, and learn a little bit more about myself through these trips abroad -- what my values are, how my perception of things differs comparatively. I just really value those international experiences.

For Naomi, a pathway senior majoring in management at Private University, the motivation to travel and study in the U.S. was driven by a personal desire for new, challenging experiences shaped by previous experiences:

One of the things that attracted me to Private University even before I came here, is my personality. I like challenges, I like taking risks, and I like to experience things that I've never experienced before. Coming to Private University was my first time in the U.S. Before that, I've traveled to South Korea, India and Tibet, all by myself.

In summary, participants at both institutions shared similar conceptualizations of internationalization, which included a focus on educational competencies outcomes in global citizenship, international partnerships and pedagogies, and broad goals of social and public good impact. However, the perspectives of administrators, staff, faculty and students on institutional rationales for the pursuit of internationalization were more divergent, particularly among participant groups and between institutional typologies. For instance, staff and students primarily described the institutional rationale for internationalization as market-driven, while administrators suggested

that the economic value of internationalization was an outcome that advanced broader local economic and workforce development, rather than a strategic driver.

The Process of Internationalization: Ad-hoc vs. Intentional Approaches

While the previous sections highlight the prevailing emphasis on internationalization at the two institutions as well as the critical roles of faculty entrepreneurial leadership in initial stages of internationalization and of senior university leadership in institutionalizing campus-wide internationalization, this section presents my findings on the process and implementation of internationalization activities and approaches. Most notably, although senior administrators and international partnership directors at both institutions described the process of internationalization as part of an intentional strategy, most staff, students and faculty disagreed, arguing that the process of internationalization on campus and abroad continues to be ad hoc and accidental.

Special advisor to Public University's system president, Dr. Jackson quipped that campus internationalization at the 50-year old Public University prior to the current administration, which came into leadership in 2010, came about "quite by accident." In reflecting on his academic career and his establishment of the first global research institute at Public University, he commented:

None of what we did here was a part of any broader (internationalization) strategy. None of what I did was part of Public University's strategy. In fact, it was just (as) a lone wolf. Before the current administration, (internationalization) was not really a priority for the campus.

Yet, Professor James, a faculty in education at Public University, remarked that even with the current administration's commitment to internationalization, there continues to be a lack of diffused internationalization in his academic unit:

For most faculty in my college, I don't see anything related to internationalization. I think we're lucky that two of our six-and-a-half faculty have a focus on international studies. I was on two of the most recent search committees and that was very important to us. The search before the last one, the professor is himself international, not born in the U.S., but he doesn't really do that much international scholarship.

Mr. Hsu, director of international programs in China at Public University, explained that the lack of diffusion to other academic units, and thus permeation within the organizational culture, is due in part to strong opposition and resistance from mid-level leadership, particularly deans and department chairs, to the internationalization strategic agenda of the university leadership. He noted:

Our university leaders, they are very international and they are very supportive with international program but at level of deans, chairs, program chair level, from my experience, the support is not strong. For example, the dual degree program actually started from an initiative by our provost. Then our center got involved. We really work hard to promote it. But so far it's more than one year, very little progress because in some way our university is still not ready to do that. It's not due to the University leadership level. They all give support but from deans, chair level, it's very slow.

Similarly, in the case of Private University, there is a contradiction, due in part to an apparent or perceived lack of clear vision and focus, between the senior leadership's emphasis on internationalization and smaller organizational units within the university. Faculty member Professor North, who also directs the University's global pathway programs, stated:

There's a lot of confusion. For example, the leadership brought in some consultant guy and they're asking office managers and staff, "Tell us what your vision of a global college is." From the faculty standpoint, that shows a lack of leadership and a lack of understanding because they're going abroad and then kind of figuring it out there. They are not saying, "our vision is this," but they're going searching for it. So, they haven't really figured out how to do it and there's some frustration with how internationalization is being done.

In terms of institutional commitment to internationalization strategies in faculty recruitment, hiring, retention, and engagement, Professor White, an education faculty at Private University, noted:

There are some faculty who are interested but it's not a part of the regular workload so there's no push to [do] it. It's not more valued than any other activity that you have. Nobody is saying 'we want you to go and do this,' at least not yet.

Both Drs. White and James at Private and Public Universities, respectively, suggested that there is little institutional incentive, including the tenure and promotion policies, that value or reward faculty engagement in international research, scholarship and engagement.

Another area in which institutional internationalization implementation is seemingly ad hoc and accidental is the development of international partnerships and recruitment. When I asked Ms. Stanley, Public University's ESL and international programs director, the process by which the international partners in her department are vetted and selected, she said:

I'm not entirely sure. I think we use educational agents. In Colombia, there are actually universities or government units (we partner with). It's actually because my director's fiancée lives in Colombia so he says, 'okay, I'll do some work while I'm down here,' and she works in the government.

Additionally, Mr. Martinez, the director of international recruitment at Public University, explained that some of the international recruitment destinations were undertaken simply because the opportunities presented themselves through personal connections, and not due to any intentional marketing or recruitment plan that was informed by the strategic or implementation plans.

Similarly, Dr. Long of Private University noted that there is "very little overlap" between undergraduate study abroad and exchange MOUs with transnational education offshore program sites. She described the challenges of collaboration and coordination as follows:

There is very little overlap between transnational education (T&E) initiatives. Very little. (In part), it's because we actually don't have students that are going to the locations where our T&E programs are. But on another perspective, there are opportunities that we could, I think, better enhance in

terms of the dynamic between those two populations...but I need to get buy-in from every department that sends students if we're actually going to do this.

In addition, Ms. Scott, director of global student programs at Private University, commented that most of the University's international partnerships are largely ad hoc, driven by preexisting personal and professional connections. She declared:

On one hand, there's an emphasis that we're wanting to create a diverse campus that is not only made up of domestic but, international students as well. But the reality of it is it's really based on who has heard about it, what kind of connections Private University already has, and which partners in certain countries.

She concluded that there is a growing tension resulting from the contradiction between market-driven approaches to internationalization and intentional institutional internationalization, including a largely homogenous bridge and pathway program student population versus campus domestic and global diversity priorities; the increased enrollment of international students without proportionate investments in student support services and infrastructure; and increasing international student enrollment without fostering cross-cultural engagement on campus.

In summary, in this section, I examined the emergence of internationalization as a campus-wide strategic initiative at both Public and Private Universities by analyzing the institutions' historical and current strategic engagement; and, the role of university administrative and faculty leadership. I found that Public University has a new institutional identity as a global public university, which is manifested in a new mission statement and throughout several institutional policy and strategic

documents. In contrast, Private University, an institution with a well-established global reputation, is seeking to embark on a new, expanded vision of a ‘global multiversity.’

In addition, the universities’ senior leadership, particularly the president at Private University and the provost at Public University, play a critical role in institutionalizing internationalization through their personal identities, international professional experiences and institutional leadership in launching key initiatives. Notwithstanding, faculty and staff entrepreneurship and leadership often shaped and contributed to institutional internationalization strategies in important ways. Yet, the process of internationalization at both institutions continues to be ad hoc and accidental, resulting in tensions between institutional internationalization strategies and various organizational units within the universities.

Considerations Shaping Institutional Internationalization Strategies

In this section, I summarized my findings on the considerations, rationales and drivers for internationalization at Public and Private Universities. In analyzing participants’ responses, my findings revealed that the rationales for internationalization centered broadly in the following areas: market-driven, applied research, global and local community engagement, and emerging critical perspectives. The sections below summarize each of these related findings. Consequently, I analyzed how these rationales inform specific internationalization strategic approaches at each institution, as well as the potential implications of these rationales.

Market-driven Rationales

A significant finding from this study relates to the considerations that shape institutions' strategic engagement in internationalization. Based on interview data, three market-driven strategies predominated my conversations and were cited as demonstrative of both universities' market-driven considerations and strategies in internationalization. The first market-driven strategy concerns the expansion, internationalization, and revenue-generation focus of ESL programs. While Public University has had a history and enjoys a strong reputation for its traditional ESL programs, more recently, the University has been creating and recruiting international students for its new undergraduate and graduate language proficiency programs. Ms. Stanley, director of ESL and international programs, added:

Now, we are past that initial growth of 'recruit, recruit, recruit' because we've got to get the students to, 'how do we keep these students here? How do we make them successful?' so that we don't turn into a school that's just seen as wanting to recruit students and not supporting them when they're here.

Ms. Stanley made clear that a market-driven approach to recruiting international students who are not proficient in English to attend non-degree ESL programs has the potential to compromise the quality of educational programming, institutional reputation as well as the international students' own experiences on campus.

Several students at Public University also expressed their frustration with their institutions' contradicting values and shifting priorities from an urban local and regional mission, respectively, to a global focus, predominantly on wealthy international students. Shantel, a senior at Public University, described a pivotal

experience on a study abroad trip, which unbeknownst to the student participants, was also a cultivation trip to establish an MOU with the host university. She said,

We were a little frustrated that we felt that we were almost a little bit placed as pawns to advocate for the university and try to make these connections without really knowing exactly what we were doing. It was a very weird experience where I was involved in these politics that I didn't really quite understand yet.

Moreover, several students acknowledged the negative consequence of this revenue generation focus on international student recruitment. Shante added:

There's a population of both students and faculty that are increasingly frustrated with this university's shift to catering to international students.

Private University has several international offshore, bridge and ESL programs that attract a growing population of full fee-paying international students, largely from China, Brazil, and Vietnam. Mr. William, an international student advisor at Private University, noted that there is an intense institutional 'push for bridge' programs, particularly for undergraduate ESL programs as well as business and engineering departments, which are all largely dominated by Chinese students. More recently, administrators and faculty at Private University began targeting Vietnam and Brazil for recruitment and enrollment in their international ESL bridge programs due to the declining Chinese economy. Equally, in offshore educational program delivery strategies, Private University's Dr. Long emphasized the influence of revenue generation considerations. She stated:

To put it in blunt terms and quite candidly, revenue generating streams, revenue generating practices, cannot go away. That's the reality. I think as an institution, we need to think about how we can integrate the idea of a financial model, and a model that will allow us to continue to get paid, and allow us to continue to have those viable opportunities.

These revenue generation rationales and strategies led Professor Brown, Private University English faculty and director of the writing program, to observe that there is “a sort of a naked commerce motivation in that international students are paying full freight.”

Other important negative consequence of this expanding, revenue-generation focus in international pathway and bridge programs and related international student recruitment is the displacement of institutional support and programs for domestic, first-generation and immigrant ESL students. At both Public and Private Universities, staff administrators and faculty remarked that the expansion in international ESL programs has compromised, and even displaced, institutional support for ESL support for domestic immigrant, non-native English speakers. Ms. Stanley, the director of ESL and international programs at the continuing education division at Public University, noted:

There's faculty that are having to stop teaching what's on the syllabus to explain something in a different way because they've never really had this many students who didn't understand. Before, when it was one student who didn't understand, they could go to office hours. But when half the class are non-native English speakers, I think that it's not just affecting international

students anymore. It's kind of getting to a boiling point. The ESL program is now almost entirely international students. On a day-to-day basis, what are these particular business practices that we're doing and what are the effects of them? It's great if we're getting the numbers, but what are the latent side effects? Students are walking in and we don't have enough staff to answer their questions about ESL, so that's one less number we're getting if you care about numbers, or that's one less student who's learning if you care about learning, or that's one less student who might be escaping an abusive relationship because she comes from a culture where her husband beats her and we have the support system here that a private ESL school doesn't, if you care about that.

Meanwhile, at Private University, Professor North said:

The College of Continuing Education was an adult education (division) and they placed the pathway programs there, which was anything but adult education. I mean there were some adult learners, but they were no longer that traditional working adult, and those working adults became kind of displaced. It conflicts with the mission and the identity of the College.

On the displacement of the access mission of Private University, Professor Brown, director of the writing programs, added:

We don't have a lot of generation 1.5 students, or domestic non-native English speakers, here. We've been having conversations about this on one of the committees I'm on. As Private University has wrapped up its (mission) in terms of excellence, as measured by incoming SAT scores, it is at the cost of

access. Where that has changed things is the enrollment in fields like health sciences, humanities, and some of the social sciences because those students don't fit the same kinds of admissions profile as students that we are recruiting so heavily or accepting (including international students). There's a narrowing of academic diversity which correlates pretty strongly to racial and ethnic diversity as well.

It is ironic that while pathway and bridge programs provide international students much needed academic remediation and cultural transition to enable them to succeed in Private University's competitive culture, domestic non-native English speakers and underrepresented students are denied admission due to an emphasis on academic excellence standards. In addition, the racial and national homogeneity of the international student population as well as their preference for management and engineering majors further compound the lack of academic and racial diversity at Private University.

The second finding related to prevalent strategies of internationalization at Public and Private Universities is the rise in and narrowly focused international student recruitment from Asia. Public University has a partnership with three for-profit undergraduate student recruitment and pathway programs geared toward increasing the enrollment and matriculation of international students from key Asian markets, such as China and Vietnam. Specifically, Public University has a goal of increasing international students' enrollment to 15% as part of an overall enrollment growth goal of 20,000 students by 2020. Public University director of international admission Mr. Martinez noted that the function of enrollment management has dramatically changed

in the past 15-to-20 years, and is much more intentionally and strategically shaped by the economy, technology and marketing. He further noted that institutional decision-making in international recruitment and admissions, his principle area of leadership, has become decentralized and disparate. He lamented the fragmented decision-making in international recruitment and admissions, noting that most of the considerations and prioritization were driven by enrollment management.

Comparatively, international student recruitment is also a dominant internationalization strategy at Private University. With over 9,000 international students representing 20% of the student body, international student advisor at Private University Mr. Williams noted that there has been a growing prevalence in second- and third-party recruitment, particularly from Asian countries. He goes on to add, “There are some programs where there are really large populations of international students and I’ve had some Chinese students who have said to me that they feel like they’re still studying in China.” In contrast to the purported benefits of international students engendering positive global educational benefits on campus, Mr. Williams noted that international ESL students struggled with integration and reported a lack of cross-cultural interactions with U.S.-born students. Paradoxically, due to these barriers, they also struggled with their linguistic skills and training, which further compounded their sense of cultural isolation and lack of belonging. Mr. Williams concluded,

A lot of international students come to this campus thinking that their English is going to improve drastically, that they are going to become fluent in six months to a year, that they’re going to become integral parts of the community

both on campus and in the city, and sadly, that's not the case. International students have a really difficult time integrating with the community, especially on campus...they have no American friends, they rarely speak English outside the classroom and they live predominantly with other people from their same culture.

With the rapid expansion of revenue-generating international ESL programs at Private University, other resultant negative consequences are the displacement of adult education and the stratification of university internationalization strategies. Several administrators and faculty argued that there are two segregated undergraduate colleges at Private University – the ‘day college’ and the ‘night college.’ Reminiscent of non-traditional adult continuing education college divisions with mostly evening and night classes, the continuing education undergraduate college at Private University enrolls two distinct constituents: local, non-traditional, professional adult learners, and international ESL and pathway program students. The discourse of the ‘day college’ and the ‘night college’ was echoed by three participants although Professor North, director of faculty in the international programs, suggested that ESL and pathway programs at Private University were not relegated to evening or online classes.

Not only does this stratification have the effect of creating two distinct cultures at the University, but it further compounds the malaise of isolation, segregation and lack of integration experienced by international students in the programs. For example, a student shared that the two colleges even had separate commencement ceremonies for pathway students and ‘day’ undergraduate students even though they are awarded the

same degree. In addition, Professor Brown also described the symbolic implication of the stratification of these activities:

We sometimes talk about the day school, which is serving our residential traditional students on campus, and everything else. The global strategies are kind of ‘everything else.’

Consequently, Professor North observed the commingling of adult education and international programs in the school of continuing education has contributed to two separate and conflicting missions in the college: “globalize the local” (day school) and “localize the global” (evening school).

Applied Research Rationale

At both Public University and Private University, several respondents described international applied research opportunities, particularly aimed at solving global issues, as a key institutional rationale. Faculty at Public University discussed the importance of international research collaborations and partnerships to their scholarship and research productivity. By so doing, they posited a possibility for mutual agreements between the organizational and their professional rationales in internationalization.

Furthermore, Dr. Johnathan, founding dean of a global college at Public University emphasized the growing importance of student engagement in global experiential learning. To enumerate, some students expressed that the opportunity to engage in applied research projects abroad and international service learning shaped their educational experiences in invaluable ways. Public University undergraduate student Marjorie credited the applied research experience she gained while on an

international service learning program with giving her a strong sense of public purpose in her education. She said:

It's given me the "why" and the "where" and the "who" for my ultimate career in medicine. I still want to go to medical school. I still want to either become a PA or a doctor, but I know who I want to serve. I know why I want to serve as a doctor, and I know where I want to go. That's really, I think, how they've shaped me. The 'who' is the underprivileged. That's what I see myself doing. (The community engagement program) has really kind of enforced that, or I don't know, imparted that unto me. That I have a skill. Who's going to benefit the most from me practicing that skill?

Marjorie credited her three international service learning experiences with clarifying her career aspiration and developing the necessary skills to serve an underserved community. In contrast, Alexis, a sophomore engineering major at Private University who has participated in one study abroad program and is currently pursuing a self-directed student exchange program, described the institutional driver for internationalization as institutional striving. Yet, she went on to also describe her department's integration of a global and applied research focus in the curriculum. She said,

I think we definitely have global opportunities but in terms of our university being far reaching, I think our students are global but I don't think our university is global. On a department level, our teams and professors, specifically in engineering, have a big emphasis on being a global engineer...because we're in such a globalized society that everything that

we're doing here is affected by what other people are doing in other countries and we can learn from them.

Further complicating this paradoxical tension and simultaneous convergence in internationalization rationales, she added:

But I think that in order to be a global university, it's more than just opening up new buildings in places. I think it's more like establishing longer connections with other universities. It's definitely something that I've talked about with other students, and we feel that it's odd for Private University to be branding the university as a global university.

At Private University, Dean Tucker, dean and vice president of global strategy at Private University, described student engagement in global applied research as a critical competency to gain marketable technical expertise and workforce skills. In addition to workforce readiness skills and competencies, Private University also aspires to train global citizens who would contribute solutions to global problems.

Ultimately, applied research serves as a rationale and driver for internationalization at both Private and Public Universities. Yet, as my findings demonstrated, there is a tension between the public good- and market-driven impetuses for this institutional strategic engagement.

Community Engagement Rationale

In my study, several participants at both institutions discussed the institution's engagement with local surrounding communities and, relatedly, how these local communities are supported or further disadvantaged by the institution's global agenda and strategies. Relatedly, several participants described their institutions' community

engagement as an essential part of the public good motivation for institutional internationalization.

Most Public University students who participated in this research study have been involved with the University's Community Partnerships and Engagement Office (CPEO), and credited the department for their transformational learning opportunities. For example, Public University junior Marjorie, who participated in an exchange program in Scotland her freshman year and was preparing to co-lead a student service learning trip to Guatemala at the time of our interview, shared her learning goals for her students:

I think the biggest goal is a sense of cultural competencies. I want these students to know the culture they're going to serve. I want them to learn what being an ally means, what the real definition of service is, how to be an active citizen. I want them to take those experiences they have in Guatemala and bring them back here.

In contrast to students' perceptions of global community engagement, Public University undergraduate senior Whitney, who works at a local rental leasing company and is a student representative to the campus physical planning committee, suggested that there is also a growing tension between the University and local communities due to campus physical expansion into neighboring low-income communities. Whitney said:

I worked at a local leasing office when Public University was trying to build dorms. It was like a point of tension because obviously the landlords lease to students, and mostly international students, at a fairly high rate. They make a

lot of money every year, like a *lot* of money. And I was in a (Public University) construction meeting a couple of weeks ago. The campus is trying to be very inclusive. We promised the community that we wouldn't be building dorms, but we are. We are trying to be really inclusive for it. We have elementary and middle schools over here, so we're not trying to be a big black wall of a dorm that comes. We're trying to how to be open and work like we are also part of ... the community.

Whitney went on to add that these tensions between the university campus and the local community are further exacerbated by lack of economic and social revitalization within the local community due, in part, to the failure of the University to invest in social services and infrastructure.

Comparatively, Alexis, an undergraduate sophomore at Private University, explained that the University's actual engagement efforts stood in contrast to its image as a community-engaged campus. Describing a recent Private University-sponsored playground and small community center built in a nearby low-income community, she theorized that the projects were more "spruce up" gestures motivated by the "appearance of community outreach" than substantive investments in transformational and community-based change. Drawing similarities between this approach to local community engagement and global community engagement, Alexis added:

I think as a global university, Private University should be more focused on the relationship with the place. That's why I think forming relationships with other universities would be more globally mindful than say opening a campus

where they would send a couple of professors not nearly as many or nearly as qualified because what professor would want to go teach and be detached from all of the campus activities and opportunities here?

Notwithstanding Alexis' critique of Private University's local community engagement as superficial, Dr. Long also of Private University suggested that the University's local community engagement activities were mission-centric and based on mutual respect:

From my perspective, I want to make sure that we are ingrained in the local culture and taking into consideration the local culture when we promote our program and we deliver our program.

Although Private University offers 150 fully funded scholarships annually for local, urban students and has a recruitment and admissions partnership with the local public school system, both Professors North and Brown noted that more recent focus on international ESL students has displaced the recruitment of domestic, immigrant students and community college transfer students.

Overall, participants at both Public and Private Universities emphasized the importance of place-based local and global community engagement in response to the public good mission of the institution. Students pinpointed community engagement as a driver and motivation for their personal engagement in internationalization activities and learning opportunities.

Emerging Critical Perspectives

In existing critical studies on internationalization in U.S. higher education (Khorsandi, 2014; Rizvi, 2001; Vavrus & Pekol, 2015), there is seldom a focus on

social justice. In the absence of critical, social justice-focused internationalization studies, the question of who and what forces shape institutional internationalization strategies, and who benefits and who is marginalized are still unanswered, and the question of whose perspectives are represented and marginalized are still unanswered and need to be examined. A critical social justice study of internationalization seeks not only to understand the drivers, process and implementation of internationalization, but also the impact and influence of these strategies on various stakeholders as well as on institutional equity, equality, fairness, and equal opportunity (Charmaz, 2005).

While one of the goals of this grounded theory study is a social justice approach to the study of internationalization, a significant finding was the emergence of critical approaches of administrators and faculty engaged in internationalization. For example, four participants, including faculty and administrators, at both Public and Private Universities described how they began to recognize problematic neocolonial patterns in transnational internationalization strategies, although the origins, activities and consequences of these patterns varied in each context. Yet, drawing on anticolonial, postcolonial, decolonial and social justice frameworks, respectively, each participant described how a consideration of these critical approaches shaped their perspective and engagement in internationalization.

Among them, Private University Professor White mentioned that she and her colleagues who teach in a transnational education leadership program in Vietnam have wrestled with the implications for critical internationalization and pedagogy. They frequently pondered together what constituted an ‘international experience’ for

a Vietnamese student enrolled in a Private University course taught in Vietnam focused on largely American content and pedagogical approaches. She explained it this way:

Do we take what we have here, pick it up and plunk it into Vietnam, or do you make an adjustment? If a Vietnamese student comes to the United States and is exposed to the American way of learning, when they go out the door, they're still in the United States. We go over to Vietnam; we give them the American way of learning. When they go out the door, guess what? They're in Vietnam!

As Professor White continued to ponder this contradiction of internationalization-as-Americanization and “transnational education as a different form of colonization” from her experience teaching in Vietnam, she went on to describe a different subsequent experience she had in a course delivered in Australia. In Australia, Professor White adapted her curriculum, teaching pedagogy and the learning outcomes to the rich multicultural diversity of the students. She shared that she was immensely gratified by her Australian experience, which forced her to decolonize her “almost entirely American-centric” curriculum by engaging the students to “adjust (the curriculum) to the richness in the classroom,” including adding international case studies from each student’s country. She was proud to share with me that one of her research case studies, co-published with a student, won an international award.

As a senior administrator tasked with internationalization initiatives at Private University, Dean Tucker reiterated the importance of critical internationalization to his consideration of international partnerships and transnational programs.

Interestingly, Dean Tucker responded to my question on the drivers and considerations of Private University's transnational global strategies by contrasting the University's approach to other prevalent institutional approaches. First, he emphasized that Private University's transnational programs were a countertrend to traditional British branch campuses in Asia, which he considered "a form of educational colonialism." Instead, Private University international programs and campus constituted models of place-based and pedagogically, philosophically and culturally-relevant approaches to teaching and learning in each country.

Second, he reported that Private University's international campus was distinct from prevalent American universities' branch campus expansion, which he described as "establishing physical campuses in different countries, but their curriculum and their courses, and most of their faculty are still being promulgated by faculty from the main campus." Instead, Dean Tucker described Private University's first international campus, which he will serve as the founding president, as "intellectually and foundationally, a different presentation" constituting indigenous faculty. Despite his assertions, Dean Tucker did not expand upon this institutional distinction, or his strategies for establishing coexisting values and cultural reciprocity.

While the two participants at Private University notably discussed emerging anticolonial and decolonial epistemologies in their transnational programs and international partnerships, conversely, articulations of critical perspectives in internationalization at Public University focused on democratization, equal opportunity, and the global public good. Dr. Johnathan, dean of a global college, described the critical transnational focus of the college as grounded in social justice

principles of equal opportunity, social inclusion, and a community asset-based approach. To put it differently, Dr. Jackson, senior advisor to Public University's system office and former director of a transnational research institute at Public University, suggested that the role of international research is to identify, translate, transfer and apply knowledge and techniques to global issues. In addition, Dr. Jackson emphasized that critical engagement in internationalization required a disposition of cultural humility, postcoloniality, and non-paternalism.

In the final analysis of the postcolonial and decolonizing internationalization considerations and practices discussed by all four respondents identified above, the institution's critical commitment to transnational teaching, partnerships and engagement were consistently identified. Although campus-based internationalization activities constituted a significant strategy at each campus and a significant responsibility for each of these respondents, ranging from teaching to founding college divisions, none discussed how critical internationalization influenced their strategic leadership, engagement, and teaching practices within the U.S. context.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented my research findings related to the emergence of institutional internationalization strategies, and the development of a global public university and a private global multiversity. I described the role of leadership by explaining the importance of university leadership and faculty entrepreneurship in institutionalizing internationalization, and provided an overall analysis of the process of internationalization with illustrative evidence drawn from my participants' experiences and perceptions of campus internationalization. I also discussed prevalent

conceptualizations of and considerations for internationalization reflected by participants.

Although these were varied and multidimensional, they nonetheless represented the following main themes related to conceptualization of internationalization: institutional internationalization, global competencies and pedagogies, transnational partnerships, and multicultural or global diversity. Relatedly, the four main rationales driving institutional internationalization included: globalization, competition and striving, global public good, and revenue generation.

Based on these conceptualizations, considerations and rationales, participants have come to value the role and influence of leadership, particularly university presidents, provosts and faculty, in the institutionalization of internationalization. My findings advanced the importance of university presidents and provosts for institutional vision and academic leadership, such as the vision for a global public university and private global multiversity, while emphasizing the vital influence of faculty leadership and entrepreneurialism in advancing and creating innovative approaches to international programs and partnerships. Although internationalization is an institutionalized strategic priority at both Public and Private University, it nonetheless has significant as well as both positive and negative outcomes. Both Public and Private University are invested in strategic internationalization as recognized by organizational awards and demonstrated by related goals and outcomes identified in institutional strategic documents in these four areas: the internationalization and expansion of the University's ESL programs, international

student recruitment, global branding and the development of transnational partnerships, and faculty engagement in international research and scholarship.

Despite the measurable progress and positive impacts of internationalization strategies, including emerging approaches in global community engagement and critical internationalization, several participants at both institutions also discussed aspects of institutional strategic processes as *ad hoc* and *accidental* with potential negative implications due to market-driven approaches that threaten to compromise access, equity, opportunity and affordability for historically underrepresented and underserved students.

CHAPTER 5

CONSEQUENCES AND COEXISTENCE: THE INTERSECTION OF ACADEMIC CAPITALISM AND THE PUBLIC GOOD IN INTERNATIONALIZATION

In this chapter, I synthesize my findings related to my third and final research question, which interrogates the intersections of market- and public good-driven rationales in institutional internationalization strategies at Public University and Private University. Organized into two main sections, first I summarize and discuss the key consequences and risks inherent in and reflected by the dominance of market-driven rationales in both institutions' internationalization strategies. Secondly, several participants at both universities describe institutional internationalization as the coexistence of the public good- and market-driven strategies. Therefore, I present my key findings on these areas of intersection, highlighting countertrends such as critical transnational pedagogies, democratization of internationalization, multisector partnerships, and cooperation and collaboration. By delineating the coexistence between market- and the public good-driven internationalization strategies in U.S. higher education from a variety of institutional perspectives at a Public University

and a Private University, these findings will contribute to evolving perspectives and insights on intersectional internationalization.

Analyzing Consequences and Risks

Knight (2015) advanced our understanding and conceptualizations of internationalization by contributing new empirical findings on national and contextual internationalization rationales, including international reputation, income generation, research and knowledge production, strategic alliances, and student and staff development. More importantly, she underscored an important area of scholarship that is often overlooked - the influence of these institutional rationales on the 'public' and 'private' nature of internationalization strategies in higher education (Knight, 2015). She declared, "There is room for greater reflection and clarity in the articulation of the values, especially cooperation and competition and the positioning of education as a 'public' or 'private good,' in the provision of higher education" (Knight, 2015, p. 5). However, she stopped short of offering specific reflections on the potential implications of these values on private good- and public good-driven rationales in internationalization. While the previous chapter in this study interrogated the conceptualizations of the "public" (defined here as public good-driven) and "private" (market-driven) goods within U.S. internationalization strategies, in this section, I describe my findings and discuss the implications of these rationales on institutional goals and educational outcomes for students.

Participants in the study identified numerous consequences and risks arising from a market-driven focus in institutional internationalization strategies. In this section, I discuss the four main consequences highlighted by interview participants. They

include: risking domestic equity in pursuit of internationalization; isolation, ethnic enclaves and institutional cultures of exclusion; stereotypes and counter narratives; and the lack of evaluation and assessment.

Risking Equity in Pursuit of Internationalization

At both institutions, some participants believed that an increased emphasis on international student recruitment and other market-driven internationalization (e.g., international ESL, bridge and pathway programs) have contributed to the displacement of the public good values of equal opportunity and access for traditionally underrepresented students in the U.S. For example, at Public University, advisors and faculty argued that there has been an increasing investment in international student ESL support services, which has displaced and in some cases, replaced English remedial language support for first-generation non-U.S. born students. At the same time, at Private University, faculty noted that the institutional culture of academic excellence and selectivity contributed to a narrowing of academic diversity and unequal access for underrepresented students.

Ms. Stanley, director of ESL and international programs at Public University described this tension thus:

When international students are the minority, we can draw upon their influence, and their needs are manageable. As the numbers grow, I think, it becomes more at odds, it becomes more problematic. I mean it's difficult for me to say because my (role) is international advising, but I guess you could say that's proof of the problem because my role has shifted (from ESL) to

working with foreign students coming in, and I look at support for domestic students as something that I don't have the time to do.

Paradoxically, as the population of international students in her division's international partnership grows, their needs have supplanted her responsibilities in ESL advising and study abroad advising for domestic under-represented students.

Further, Mr. Martinez of Public University argued that the institutional priority has shifted from diversifying the campus to globalizing the campus. He suggested:

Maybe 15 years ago, we were saying 'we need to increase the minority student population,' so African-Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and so forth. Our goal was to increase the numbers. That goal or emphasis switched, or has taken a different turn, because now everything is about globalization, 'Let's globalize the campus.' I suppose because of competition, because of other universities, there is so much emphasis on globalization, (and to bring) international students and faculty or professors from other countries to the campus.

Similarly, several students, faculty and other staff at Public University credited the increase in pathway recruitment and regularly admitted international students for a recent majority-minority demographic shift. For the first time in Public University's history, the incoming freshman class includes more traditional-age students than nontraditional students even though more Public University students continue to be in-state, students of color, and first-generation immigrant students. Citing this demographic shift, Public University senior Whitney expressed her concerns regarding the erosion of the public, urban mission:

We are all about the urban mission because we recognize it. We love the institution that we came into, but even in the past four years, I have seen a shift to traditional students and international students, because it's what sells which is a really bad way to say it. I think if you look at the population right now, you find it fulfilling the urban mission that it promises. I think that urban mission includes students like me. I think it includes continuing education students. I think it includes just the diversity that's here in our local communities that I've come to love. It's my favorite part about Public University....it scares me for the non-traditional students. I don't want this to become a traditional campus, because I have come to value the non-traditional aspect of it.

Meanwhile, Dr. Brown at Private University discussed a narrowing of academic diversity, which he argued correlated strongly to racial and ethnic diversity as well. At the same time, he observed a growth in international student enrollment. He noted:

We've been having conversations about this in one of the committees I'm on. As Private University increasingly strives for competitiveness and excellence both nationally and globally, it is at the cost of access. That's not an unusual trade off. Where that has really changed things is the enrollments around fields like health sciences, humanities, and some of the social sciences because those students don't fit the same kind of admissions profile as students that we are recruiting so heavily or accepting; students that we're essentially accepting. For example, I have colleagues in criminal justice, which is a great department. It used to be its own school, actually, but it's not

any longer. They just keep losing majors because the kinds of students Private University wants to attract don't want to major in criminal justice. There's a narrowing of academic diversity, which correlates pretty strongly to racial and ethnic diversity as well.

Dr. Brown argued that Private University's values of excellence and competition have contributed to a more selective admissions policy for in- and out-of-state students while expanding international enrollment. One consequence of this selectivity- and enrollment-driven emphasis is a narrowing of academic, racial and ethnic diversity, with disproportionate impact on fields of study that traditionally underrepresented and underserved students were typically drawn to, such as health sciences and criminal justice.

In addition, at Private University, some participants suggested that a prevailing focus on international student recruitment has come to replace community college student transfer as an enrollment management and institutional diversity strategy. Professor North of Private University underscored the historical, social and cultural consequences and risk of this shift:

It was a recruitment initiative, some message from above saying that we want a diversified student body. How do we accomplish that? Then they went to Global Recruitment, an international recruitment and pathway program. For a long while, the way it worked was that you had the regular admissions, and then you have people in the community college, who would transfer but Private University moved away from that. It went away from that and then it came up with the current model, which is that we will get international

students who are now considered transfer students. It's called January freshman, but we do it with international students. When I first came, it was 100, next year it's going to be 800 transfer students.

In addition to the unintended negative impact on access for underrepresented students, Professor James of Public University added that market-driven internationalization strategies have a negative consequence for the urban, public good mission of the University. He explained:

I think that there's a sense in which, at least there's some perception that I would share to some extent, that the move toward globalism is a move away from the public good. That is, the urban local mission of Public University. There are some real wonderful exceptions to this. (But) I've been critical of the university because it has not really set up an office of community engagement and service learning in the way that is real and on the academic side of the house. It's just bits and pieces here and there. On the urban mission, you'll hear some of them say we've lost a soul of this university. If you push them, it will mean the focus of the urban mission which I think would fit with your exploring as the public good.

In summary, while the values and rationales for institutional internationalization at Public University and Private University are diverse and complex, one attendant negative consequence, described here as risking equity in the pursuit of internationalization, is the displacement of local and marginalized student populations as well as the narrowing of academic and racial diversity in the quest for global access for international students. In the case of Public University, this displacement

coupled with a market-driven rationale in internationalization strategies, also has the potential for undermining the public good mission of access, equity and inclusion long sought for traditionally underrepresented and underserved students in U.S. higher education.

Isolation and Ethnic Enclaves: Negotiating Cultures of Exclusion

Several Public and Private University international students, international student advisors and faculty described a variety of challenges facing international students on campus associated with the lack of an inclusive culture and climate of internationalization. While international and pathway student participants at both institutions reported that the international diversity and opportunities were among the academic values that attracted them to their institution, they also noted several obstacles to their international engagement on campus. These included limited informal cross-cultural interaction with U.S.-born students, restricted institutional policies that prohibit them from enrolling in certain courses and international opportunities, a narrowed internationalization of the curriculum, an institutional climate of exclusion, and neoracism (Lee & Rice, 2007). Public University international student Nguyen discussed the personal impact and how she negotiates the lack of inclusion in academic spaces:

If you are not White and you are not academically outstanding, U.S.-born White Americans would not respect you and they say you have broken English. The things that I experienced in the class is if they are in the lab, they ask students like them to work together. If I am in a group of mixed races, like Asian, Black and White, it's easier for me to work. If the class is mostly

Asians, the Whites will mostly ignore me. But if I want them to notice or respect me, I have to be outstanding. I need to know everything that they don't know, and I have to get excellent scores for them to look up to me. In a class I took last semester, I felt so uncomfortable because there was a lot of white(ness), it was a psychology class.

Similarly, Private University Professor White described the lack of intersectional internationalization on campus:

All you need to do is sit in the campus and watch. The Indians walk together with the Indians, and the Asians walk together with the Asians, and the jocks walk together with the jocks. Private University and everybody else needs to do a much better job of integration.

Sally, a pathway student at Private University, described her experience as follows:

We are separate from the native classrooms, so I want our program to make more connections with those classrooms so we can have mixed classrooms. Now I think back, we don't have any U.S.-born students in our classroom, so we don't know how they think about some topics, business cases, or general ideas in the U.S. I think there should be more courses in the program where American and pathway classmates can mix together and share, communicate together and become friends. When we graduate, or when I will graduate, even our graduation day is separated so the ceremonies are also separated. I feel a little bit isolated.

Similarly, Private University pathway student Naomi shared her own personal experiences of isolation, loneliness, encounters with international student ethnic

enclaves, and the lack of an institutionalized inclusive culture for international students:

The Chinese hang out with Chinese friends, the Indians hang out with Indians, and the Americans hang out with Americans. I guess it's so easy if you find a person that speaks the same language as you. Another reason is being open. I think I'm more open compared to my peers. But actually, it hasn't been easy for me to make a lot of friends either. I don't know why. Sometimes, when I'm walking on the road, and I would ask for directions and I would say to a U.S.-born student, "hey, can you tell me where to find some place?" They're very polite and I can see that maybe we're heading in the same direction but after my question, they just walk very fast to leave me behind. Sometimes, I want to carry out a conversation, but it seems that they are not interested.

In contrast to other international student participants, including Naomi and Nguyen, Patel, a pathway student from India who had transferred as an international student from a Midwest institution to Public University, implicated international students for refusing to integrate and assimilate to American values and culture. Although a pathway program student, he was eager to distance himself from other pathway and international students on campus. He noted:

Because I was Americanized enough already, I didn't really gel with people in the pathway program. It was too international for me. You have to understand that before Public University, I went to a Big Ten university in a small college town -- the most American thing you can do. I was a part of a fraternity as well. That's even more American. I was very Americanized. Now, I'm not

international. I don't see eye to eye with other cultures per se now. Before, I used to, but not now. I don't know if that's a good thing or bad, but I've just changed.

When I asked him about what made him change, he went on to add:

For example, there were a lot of Indians in the pathway program. When I was new to campus and this city, I wanted to make friends. But even after trying multiple times, I just could not gel with them. My interests include having a fun time, and going out drinking, getting some good food, watching a movie or two, hanging out here and there. Those people, they just wanted to indulge in other frivolous, sometimes illegal, activities. But also, they talk in another language. I only speak Hindi with my parents. I feel so weird talking in Hindi with someone else now. Before it wasn't the case, but now it's all English for me. I could not see myself associated with those people, or I didn't really want to spend time or waste time. Even though that made me lonelier, I still could not do that. Also, in my first year, I had a rough academic time so I just wanted to focus on my classes; I didn't really bother with a lot of things.

Unlike other international students at Public University who were drawn to informal international student ethnic enclaves as safe spaces from the institutional culture and climate of exclusion and microaggressions, Patel actively disassociated himself from international programs and students, including those from his cultural group. Patel believed that distancing himself from his cultural and ethnic group on campus would better allow him to become Americanized and socially integrated. Even so, he discussed being confronted with several personal sociocultural challenges, including

loneliness, a lack of strong social peer community and network, and a lack of academic integration to the dominant academic culture.

Several international advisors suggested that these obstacles and feelings of isolation and frustration risk alienating those students, and potentially impeding their academic progress and success. At Public University, international student advisor Ms. Brelin noted there is a general lack of awareness on campus regarding international students. She acknowledged that for international students, who have to meet legal residency requirements and might have particular academic needs, the campus can feel isolating and the lack of direction overwhelming. She noted:

It would be awesome if more people were just aware of it, even if it's just on a surface level. I think that... I feel like there's a sense around the campus that people are just like, if they have an international student, they're like, "Go to the international office."

She added that during her international student workshops, she has begun to prepare the international students for the culture shock that comes from the invisibility they might encounter.

Paradoxically, Public University study abroad coordinator, Ms. Donald, argued that while U.S.-born students are eager to travel abroad and engage with international cultures and peoples, they are often unwilling to engage with international students from those same countries. She noted,

A reoccurring problem that I have seen, although we tried to match them but not sufficiently, many universities have a buddy program so that the local student will be buddying with the exchange student. And at Public University,

we don't. The other thing that I find really strange, all those students who want to study abroad make no effort to meet the international students either from that country, or in general, while they're on campus. We put them in touch. I will say email this person. He's from the same place, from the same university. We have conversation hours but they don't come. The international students will come, but the U.S.-born students don't. The most they say is, "oh yes, we're exchanging, we're on Facebook."

Similarly, Ms. King, the pathway program director at Public University described a challenge with cross-cultural interactions between pathway program students and non-pathway students:

I think when it comes to mixing our students in with other local students that are non-pathway students, there are ways that we can improve on that. We're just trying to figure out what they are. Now that our numbers are growing we're seeing that we have more students out there in the regular community.

Meanwhile, Ms. Warner, director of pathway programs at Private University, added that international students are incredibly stressed by their academic requirements, which can hinder their engagement in extracurricular and social interaction events. She said:

I think we just don't do as good a job as we could to facilitate that cultural transition for students. I think it's still a struggle, certainly for the pathway programs, to integrate into the university. Partly because these students are very stressed; they have to meet a lot of requirements. We find them very preoccupied with their curriculum, their studies, their program, preparing for

the (ESL) test. Our efforts to incorporate them through a conversations program or through community service activities sometimes fall flat. We encourage them to join student clubs, and try to facilitate those types of get-togethers but they often don't engage. And if you look at the international student barometer data, the international students struggle quite a bit really, to feel part of the university. So you'll see many East Asian students together, you'll see the students grouping from their own nationalities so I think there've got to be ways to just better incorporate them socially into the university.

Further compounding these personal and academic stressors related to institutional cultures and a climate of exclusion experienced by international students, Ms. Stanley of Public University noted the prevalence of mental health-related issues among international students. She observed:

China, similar to Japan, is a shame-based society, so mental health issues are not acknowledged, learning disabilities are not acknowledged, any disabilities are not really talked about. Based on specific experiences that I've had over and over again, students coming from China to America have much higher incidences of mental health issues, learning disabilities, cognitive functioning issues, and they resist the testing. Our center for disability had never worked with international students until I brought a student over and said, 'this person needs help.' This was two years ago and there's still really no testing availability. Neuropsychological testing is normed for Americans who speak English. So, these kids have tons of family pressure and they end up having serious stress and mental health issues. They don't deal with it, and then

there's behavioral issues or health issues that arise. It's this thing that snowballs out of control, it's plopped into a seat and told, 'be an international student, but be American too because now you're in America.'

The psychological stressors and mental health issues facing college students have sociocultural implications for international students, who frequently feel isolated and whose needs often go unrecognized on campus (Lee & Rice, 2007). In addition to potential cultural stigma surrounding mental health, Ms. Stanley illustrated the unique challenges that international students face at Public University, where psychological services normed to U.S.-born cultural groups, are not structured to support them.

Overall, international students interviewed at both institutions reported feeling isolated, disconnected from the campus community, and lonely. Many indicated that while they had hoped to make American friends and learn more about local cultures, there were minimal opportunities for cross-cultural interactions. Furthermore, they experienced microaggressions and being stereotyped by U.S.-born White students. Due to a climate of exclusion, some international students exclusively socialized in international student ethnic enclaves, which serve as informal safe spaces. These findings suggest the need for both universities to develop practical policies that create a culture that is more inclusive of international students, whose social, academic and psychological challenges often go unrecognized on campus.

Countering Stereotypes and Creating New Narratives

Many faculty, staff and student participants described dominant stereotypes about international students as underqualified, underperforming and English as a Second Language (ESL) speakers. While some participants were eager to disprove these

stereotypes by creating positive counter-narratives of international students as capable and committed students, other professors and peer students felt wary and hesitant about the growing international student populations, particularly pathway program students. For example, Ms. Stanley, director of the ESL and international programs at Public University, expressed strong reservation about the market-driven model of for-profit international student recruitment and pathway programs. She argued:

Our international pathway partnership business model is, from what I understand, recruiting students who wouldn't otherwise be admissible. When we have this relationship with a big money maker, exceptions are made. It gets to the point where this is very problematic. Where normally I have the authorization to deal with pathway students' discipline issues in a way that I see fit, because I know that it's a partnership program, and I don't want to get in trouble for doing something that would risk our relationship, I have to tip-toe around the issue. Sometimes exceptions are made by my supervisors, and it reinforces that this is okay. Almost all the academic and behavioral discipline cases I get are related to students in these profit-driven partnership programs. Their admission vetting process and standards are not as high as Public University claims that they are.

Ms. Stanley feared professional retribution after having recently expressed her views to a dean of students. Yet, she worried that Public University's increasingly market-driven focus on international recruitment and enrollment of international pathway program students has negative consequences on academic outcomes, and poses risks for the institution's reputation.

Conversely, Ms. King, the international pathway program academic manager at Public University, countered the negative stereotypes of pathway students. She noted that their organizational data demonstrate that pathway students have higher GPAs and degree completion rates compared to regularly admitted international students at Public University. Yet, prevailing negative perceptions of pathway program students as underqualified and inadmissible continue to plague all international pathway programs, while pathway program students (and the programs that support them) continue to struggle for acceptance within the University. She said:

We have close to 100% progression rate, maybe 95% of the students who start the program, finish the program. When you look at the institutional numbers, our students actually end up finishing their freshman year with higher GPAs than all students at Public University. We're also starting to see that their GPAs are higher compared to international students. One of our goals is not just to bring in any student, but to bring in students that can do well. I think looking at those institutional research numbers, we've done a really good job of that.

At Private University, Ms. Warner, director of two pathway programs, also noted:

For many faculty, it's a challenge getting used to this different demographic of pathway students in the classroom. In part, I think it's still a struggle to integrate international students into the university, and that's particularly true of the pathway students. Based on the international student barometer data for Private University, the international students struggle quite a bit really to feel part of the university so I think we have some ways to go. For the pathway

programs, there's not a great awareness by the faculty of what our program looks like, where our students come from, what their requirements are. That's something we struggle with a little bit because oftentimes, at the university, if there's ever an international student, particularly one who looks like he may be from China, who is really struggling, there's just a rush to say, "Oh well, he's a pathway student. He's through pathway." That's not necessarily the case. In fact, the data we have on how students are doing once they matriculate put our students in a very positive light in terms of their GPA, their retention and graduation rates. The data suggest that our students do great but there's still definitely a perception across campus and among the faculty that pathway students are not the highest achievers. That's a perception we're always fighting against by putting the data out there to show actually our students do very well when they matriculate.

Both pathway program managers at Public and Private Universities discussed the stereotypes of pathway students as underqualified, inadmissible and academic underachievers, as well as their efforts to counter these negative perceptions and create new narratives about pathway students. It is also important to note the practical risks of these stereotypes expressed by some participants. Below, I discuss my findings from both institutions related to curriculum decision-making and policy changes driven by faculty assumptions and concerns about the quality and academic preparation of international students.

At Public University, several departments implemented additional language prerequisite requirements to winnow out pathway students and ESL international

students matriculating from bridge and pathway programs to full-time undergraduate status. Ms. King, the pathway program manager at Public University, described the controversial curriculum change as part of a broader tension among the faculty regarding for-profit partnership students:

There is a tension here with faculty, part of what I deal with is mediation with them. There is a lot of resistance from faculty here. A big issue is a couple of departments have set English 102 as a prerequisite for any course in their department because they say they are dealing with ESL students. But when we went through the list of ‘problem students’, more than half of them had never been in my ESL program. A lot of them were pathway students. Some of them were non-native English speakers who were raised in America and went to American high schools, but there is a trend that, “oh, ESL students are problematic.” We really need to think differently about how we are working when there is not a token international student. We need to look at them as part of the community and how that affects everyone else.

At Private University, both Professors White and Brown discussed similar tensions and challenges. In the university writing center programs, for example, Professor Brown noted that the ‘one-size-fit-all’ ESL courses and undergraduate writing requirement offerings failed to account for the wide-ranging language abilities reflected in the international student population. Furthermore, Dr. Brown considered the potential of data-driven, asset-based pedagogies of internationalizing the writing curriculum to incorporate the linguistic diversity of international students at Private University. He noted:

At some point, I realized that every course section, we had international students. We thought, "Why not prepare all teachers to work with students from a whole variety of language backgrounds and kind of have an even system?" Then, we realized that we didn't really know very much about our international students, or more specifically, multilingual writers, knowing that not all international students are multilingual writers. That not all multilingual writers are international students.

He added:

We've been collecting survey data for the last three years essentially asking the question, who are multilingual writers. Not surprisingly, we found a really wide variety as far as proficiency, as far as different languages, as far as multiple languages. Then even within sub groups, whether they went to high school or outside this country, whether they came through pathway programs or not. I think we're still kind of in the midst of trying to figure out what that all means and how it affects our curriculum. It makes me also wonder what it would be like if we saw their linguistic diversity as an asset, for example, teaching writing courses such as translingual writing. But another part of the dilemma is different aspects of the institution don't communicate with other aspects of the institution. It's not like admissions comes to us and says, "What should we be doing about recruiting international students?" We don't get to weigh in on that. "Where should their language skills be?" We don't get to weigh in at all.

On the other hand, Private University Professor White, who similarly noticed a growing presence of international students, particularly from China, in her

classrooms, shared her personal challenges with negotiating cross-cultural differences in the classroom. Perceptions and stereotypes about international students' academic preparedness, linguistic competencies and scholastic commitment continue to challenge efforts focused on institutional internationalization as well as mask the empirical evidence of international and pathway students' academic successes at both Public and Private University. A potential risk of this stereotyping is a failure to recognize the immense diversity among international students from socioeconomic and linguistic perspectives, as well as in terms of their previous educational experiences. Several participants described a lack of institutional academic and social support services for international students beyond ESL support, and ad hoc faculty and departmental academic policies regarding international students. Another consequence is that uncritical faculty and institutional narratives about international and pathway students have the potential to sustain asymmetrical institutional investments in international recruitment versus support services.

Lack of Evaluation and Assessment

Participants at Public and Private University spoke about the lack of evaluation and assessment, and absence of clear benchmarks of internationalization, including internationalization of the curriculum, multicultural pedagogies, and the global public good – all identified as key internationalization strategic goals. Another finding related to this theme is the lack of empirical data on the positive learning outcomes of commonly implemented internationalization strategies, such as study abroad, international curriculum and international student recruitment. In addition, some administrators and advisors explained that they spent significant amounts of

time implementing internationalization strategies, such as study abroad, international curriculum and international student recruitment, yet found no empirical evidence that these strategies have positive influences for students, faculty and the institution.

As Mr. Benjamin, Public University admissions director, said:

What I'd like to see us do even more (is) articulate what (internationalization) does for the campus. How does that change the overall experience? We say we want students to have a global experience. Well, how do we determine that they've done that and what's the benefit of it? It would be great if we were more deliberate about measuring that, or being more specific about the benefits of that. Also, we have expanded our international student population, well, what does that mean? What does it mean for our local students? We talk about our classroom experience being diverse, but you could talk about diversity in many different ways. When it's diverse because of international students, how does that change the overall conversation in the classroom? With our faculty, we've been really successful in attracting faculty throughout the world. What does that mean for the students' experience? We know, or we think we know, that it's a positive thing, but do we know why? What does that lead to? Does it produce students that are ready for a different challenge in society? I don't know that as an institution we have been as good about kind of articulating what internationalization means.

Similarly, Public University international advisor Ms. Brelin suggested that the institution needs to define its academic and research goals for internationalization as well as the purpose, values and rationales for a global education.

At Private University, Professor White also advocated for a clear institutional rationale for international engagement and partnerships. She noted that too often U.S. higher education institutions develop transnational partnerships and presence without assessing and evaluating their goals, or recognizing the differences in those institutional and cultural contexts. She observed:

One has to know, what is the reason for a transnational program? Before any institution says, "Oh boy, oh boy, I'm heading off to Iceland," there needs to be a reason for the transnational program. Then, there needs to be a cultural understanding of what prior learning processes have been for the people who are in that country, and if it's a multi-national partnership, then you need to do some research. It isn't just teaching is teaching is teaching is teaching. To do that, I think that an understanding of more non-Western approaches is something that we, in higher education, not just Private University, need to understand.

Furthermore, Dr. North at Private University added that the institution's internationalization vision and goals are still quite unclear:

I think there's a lot of confusion about what the institutional vision of a global university is. The senior leadership team had a meeting two days but they were sitting around and they're asking office managers and staff, 'tell us your vision of what a global college is.' From the faculty standpoint, that shows a lot of lack of leadership and a lack of understanding, they're kind of figuring it out as they go along. They don't say "this is our vision;" they're searching.

In the meantime, there have been a lot of missteps. The branch campuses are a misstep.

The absence of an evaluation and assessment culture related to institutional internationalization at both Public and Private University demonstrates that there is a clear need and opportunity to define, assess and evaluate the impact of institutional internationalization strategies on students' learning outcomes, engagement and skill development. While emerging research on global competency measurements and evaluation are promising (Harris, 2015), little is known about how undergraduate students' engagement in institutional international activities informs and shapes their short- and long-term personal, educational and professional experiences.

Coexistence of the Public Good and Academic Capitalism

In addition to the four consequences and risks related to market-driven rationales in internationalization discussed in the previous section, some participants upheld that market- and public good-related approaches coexist to produce positive public good outcomes. This section explores four areas of coexistence in the internationalization strategies at Public University and Private University, including critical transnational pedagogies, democratization of internationalization, multisector partnerships, and cooperation and collaboration.

Critical Transnational Pedagogies

Although the internationalization of the curriculum did not emerge as a prominent strategy in participant interviews or institutional strategic documents at either institution, one faculty participant at Private University credited institutional internationalization activities for his development and incorporation of critical,

transnational pedagogical approaches. Critical transnational pedagogies did not emerge as a theme among participants at Public University.

Professor Brown, director of the writing program at Private University, described the rise in international students with increased supplemental writing needs in his program. As part of an initiative to assess the academic support demands of international student enrollment on academic units, international admissions used to engage Professor Brown and other department chairs in discussions of the international student placement language requirements.

However, Dr. Brown noted that soon those collaborative meetings ended, even as the institutional investment in international student enrollment continued to grow. Despite the institutional drive for international student recruitment and enrollment, Professor Brown attributed the rise in international students in the first-year writing seminars to the development of an innovative writing program for trilingual language speakers. He said:

We started to weigh in on (international admissions placement issues), but somehow that conversation stopped. At the same time, the trans languages division of students actually did increase. The preparation of multilingual writers and international students has definitely been strengthened over the last five years. We're able to bring in noted scholars around issues of second language writing, or trans-lingualism. We now have a trans lingual writing course. That was an attempt to kind of recognize the change in (our student) population, that we have many more multilingual writers in our classes, and what are we trying to do about it. I think curricularly, we need to think even

more, as I said, a few people are doing world English, but I think there's other ways we might want to continue to be creative about curriculum in first year writing and how it can take into consideration issues of globalization and language and culture.

The Democratization of Internationalization

The second salient finding related to the coexistence of market- and public good-driven strategies was within the relational context of transnational partnerships. Within the social and educational context of the U.S., it is easier to diminish the impact of the internationalization process on partnering institutions and organizations due to power, privilege and the unquestioned perception that internationalization is positive sum for all institutions. Participants expressed a complex conceptualization of social equality, reciprocity, mutuality and common goods within the process of transnational educational partnerships, which I describe as the democratization of internationalization process. Three elements define the democratization of the internationalization process. Specifically, internationalization 1) broadens educational access for students at all participating institutions; 2) increases accessibility to higher education for students at home and abroad; and, 3) provides mutual and reciprocal benefits that accrue to the academic and economic development of both U.S. institutions and their foreign counterparts.

At Public University, Dr. James described his experience spearheading a joint institutional partnership in Asia, which was driven in part by his professional motivation to develop a democratic and collaborative research partnership. At the same time, the University was eager for him to cultivate this partnership because of

the potential for income generation in a competitive international student market in Asia. Ultimately, Dr. James collaborated with Public University to establish an institutional agreement which prioritized two seemingly contradictory purposes of collaborative research and revenue generation. In addition, Dr. James of Public University was especially interested in ensuring that the partnership was focused on shared mutual goals, rather than a one-way flow of knowledge, resources and technical assistance that privileged the perspective and agenda of American higher education institutions. Furthermore, Dr. James wanted to ensure that his foreign collaborator was a dual grantee, received equal co-publication credit, and shared governance in the transitional partnership program.

Meanwhile, at Private University, Dr. North, whose responsibilities include the cultivation and development of for-profit pathway programs focused in China, Brazil and Mexico, in partnership with foreign governmental agencies in those countries, discussed his opposing rationale for more equitable and public good-driven programs. Dr. North acknowledged that the focus and sole purpose of his portfolio of pathway programs was to generate revenue through international student recruitment to their short-term pathway programs. Yet, in a recent expansion of those programs, he staunchly advocated for the inclusion of Nigeria as the fourth national pathway recruitment site. He explained that his rationale for selecting Nigeria was to include more equitable access to students from underserved low socio-economic backgrounds, underrepresented racial and ethnic groups, and from a developing nation. Dr. North also strategically leveraged the Sub-Saharan African nation to recruit international students on need-based financial aid subsidized by the foreign

government. By integrating a partnership, focused on equity, access and global diversity, into an institutional strategy of pathway programming long dominated by a sole focus on revenue generation, Dr. North demonstrated the potential convergence of market- and public good-driven rationales through the democratization of internationalization. In discussing his and the institutional rationale for this initiative, Dr. North noted:

It was the first program where we were not just going after the very wealthy kids. We were going after scholarship kids who were just given an opportunity for an education. That was our dream to make that work, and it just failed. There was also a plan to bring Angola into it. Angola also has oil, but interestingly the negotiations with the Angolan government, they broke down because the Angolan government is controlled by the oil industry, and the oil industry said we'll send you students, but they can only be engineers to come back to work for the oil industry. That conflicted with our university philosophy, that a student has the right to choose their major. We didn't want the corporation interfering with student liberties.

Dr. North was especially invested in ensuring that educational access provided by pathway programs also extended to international students from less privileged socio-economic backgrounds, and the black diaspora.

It is important to note that the process of internationalization has the potential to disproportionately benefit U.S. higher education institutions rather than their foreign counterparts. In some cases, the attendant positive benefits of internationalization in U.S. higher education contribute to several negative consequences (e.g., brain drain)

for institutions abroad. By asserting concepts of mutuality, reciprocity and common goods in the transnational engagement of their respective campuses, these participants provide critical insights into the democratization of internationalization.

Multisector Partnerships

In recent years, as higher education institutions have increasingly searched for more innovative ways to sustain and expand their global agenda, universities have increasingly developed multi-agency and multi-program (hereafter referred as multi-sector) public-private partnerships. Kinser and Green (2009) defined public-private partnerships as “a cooperative agreement between a higher education institution to coordinate activities, share resources, or divide responsibilities” (p. 4). Both Public and Private University have networks of multisector public-private partnerships in the areas of international recruitment, ESL providers and third-party study-abroad providers that deliver services on behalf of the institution. Several participants underscored that those services are often more economical and efficient than what the institution can provide on its own. In some cases, these multisector partnership services provided more affordable access for students. This section illustrates the important findings related to the functioning and consequences of multisector public-private partnerships in the global agenda of Public and Private University.

Most Public University and Private University students noted the financial cost of study abroad and international service learning programs as inherent barriers to participation, particularly for students juggling family responsibilities and full-time employment. To help subsidize these cost barriers for domestic students, both Public University and Private University offer financial aid and scholarships for study

abroad, generally in the amount of \$1,000 to \$2,000. Most students described their institutional support towards study abroad as insufficient. Additionally, at Public University, compared to the cost of study abroad options offered by third party for-profit providers, the cost to participate in Public University-run study abroad and exchange programs is more expensive. Public University study abroad coordinator Ms. Donald noted:

These (public-private study abroad) partnerships are very good and they are the least expensive. The third-party providers offer very competitive prices. If you added the tuition of Public University which is around \$6,000 and then you build in housing and airfare, you cannot come up with a price of less than around \$12,000 per semester total. These partnerships do allow our students to go more affordably. They are very competitive because they accept also financial aid. When the student applies to those programs, their financial aid is also applicable to go. Some of our institutional financial aid, e.g. presidential scholarship, are not.

In addition, Public University uses multisector public-private partnerships in traditional undergraduate recruitment and admissions, including the use of agents, and the development of ESL bridge programs with foreign corporate subsidiaries, private and public educational institution. Public University director of operations, Mr. Andrew, offered his perspective on international partnerships with corporate and for-profit entities versus more traditional partnership models with overseas public higher education institutions in undergraduate recruitment:

I think the private partnerships are more influential. The private partnerships, since they are resource-driven, tend to be more strategic. They know what the market is looking for, and they work with institutions that can offer the programs, the amenities, geography. I can tell you one thing, non-profit recruitment programs and foreign universities are not as strategic; they also lack in resources. I know that money drives things too (at private partnerships), but it just doesn't seem like the people behind (public partnerships and institutions) are as vested in a partnership like your private corporate.

Although comparative findings on multisector partnerships in global enrollment strategies at Private University did not emerge, Private University administrators referenced a growing influence and dominance of public-private partnerships over institution-led global opportunities programs, which eventually led the institution to outsource all traditional, non-faculty-led study abroad programs to a network of third party providers.

Collaboration and Cooperation

The fourth area of coexistence between public good- and market-driven strategies in internationalization is represented by collaboration and cooperation. Ms. Warner, director of pathway programs at Private University, described a growing sense of institutional awareness aimed at supporting the growing numbers of international and pathway students on her campus:

To the first question our larger university efforts over the years, as we've so rapidly increased our number of international students, is growing awareness

that we aren't necessarily familiar with what other colleges and units are doing for international students, or have a similar mission, to really incorporate international students into the university because we're not necessarily always communicating with one another to know what those different offerings are. One of the bold things is to bring together these different groups that are already doing work so that the work is coordinated and that the communication is clear.

She went on to add:

In terms of my programs, we've definitely made strides over the past couple of years to better connect with the advising units. We have students matriculating into the graduate programs, including all of the graduate colleges across the university and the school of law. In addition, we have undergraduate students in the undergraduate residential 'day' programs. There's a lot of different advising units so we've really made an effort to try and facilitate a bridge (between pathway and regular admission programs) so that we're advising students in a similar way. We have a series of transition events in our students' final term of study where they have an opportunity to meet with the advisory of their target degree program just to learn more about requirements. There's a common understanding of who the students are, what their needs are, or what types of support they need so that's certainly an improvement we've seen over the past couple of years of transition.

This finding demonstrated that greater collaboration and cooperation in institutional internationalization strategic engagement aimed at improving institutional awareness

of international students' support services may help to bridge the disparities in international and domestic students' experiences.

Ms. Stanley, director of international and ESL programs at Public University agreed that there is a need for more communication, coordination and collaboration with other colleagues engaged in internationalization strategies. She said:

There's an international student forum that was created for people who work with international students, involved with advising and involved with the counseling center. It would be great if we had specific things that resulted from it, but we don't have the influence to really get stuff done. The goal I think is to say, look, the more people that agree on this, the more we can bring it to someone in a diplomatic way and say this really isn't working and this is what needs to happen. Because there are so many things that aren't being done right that the people who are doing them know that but just aren't able to in terms of advising and registration and just the logistical stuff. If the institution's priorities, and I've heard cited our goals for the next five years is to increase, I think we're at a fracturing moment where things are not going to work to scale if you sort of hobble along, that's not going to work when we're talking about those types of numbers. Hopefully that means that there's some bigger conversations around. Okay, let's revisit a model and try to develop something that's more holistic and more comprehensive.

Countering disparate, market-driven internationalization with public good-driven approaches in advising, retention and logistics through collaborative and cooperative

approaches has the potential to create institution-level changes that have the potential to improve students' global education success.

Summary

Notwithstanding the benefits and positive impacts of internationalization, there are several negative consequences and risks that can arise from the intersection of public good- and market-driven rationales that characterize institutional internationalization strategies. Participants at both Public and Private University spoke about four negative consequences and risks arising from these tensions: risking equity in the pursuit of internationalization; isolation and ethnic enclaves; negative stereotypes; and the lack of evaluation and assessment.

First, participants spoke about the risks of increased institutional focus on market-driven internationalization strategies, such as international student recruitment, bridge and pathway programs, and limited access (through narrowing academic diversity and cultures of academic excellence) and equal opportunity (to student support services like ESL) for historically underrepresented students in the U.S. In addition, some participants argued that a consequence of this market-driven focus is the lack of international student integration, which results in institutional cultures and climates that exclude international students. Several international students expressed feeling a sense of isolation and marginalization on campus. While several U.S.-born participants were frustrated with the prevalence of international student ethnic enclaves, international students described the importance of these ethnic enclaves as informal networks upon which they can rely for social, emotional and practical support to negotiate and navigate school.

The third finding related to negative consequences is stereotypes of international students. Some participants described dominant stereotypes of international students as underqualified, underperforming and sometimes, academically dishonest. These participants described a wariness about the growing presence of international students on campus. However, other participants were eager to disprove these stereotypes through data-driven counter-narratives of international and pathway students' academic performance, retention and persistence. The final theme in my findings focused on the lack of institutional evaluation, assessment and clear benchmarks of internationalization strategies and goals.

Notwithstanding the consequences and risks of a largely market-driven focus in institutional internationalization, some participants asserted and described how public good- and market-driven rationales converged in positive, highly unconventional and non-normative ways in internationalization strategies, including: critical transnational pedagogies; democratization of internationalization; multisector partnerships; and, cooperation and collaboration. Although critical transnational pedagogies were not a theme at Public University, faculty at Private University discussed how their pedagogical challenges in dominant international programs, notably ESL writing programs and transnational program delivery, motivated them to create and implement critical pedagogies in transnational and trans-lingual teaching and learning, respectively.

Secondly, several participants at both Public and Private University discussed the importance of prioritizing bidirectionality, mutuality and reciprocity, alongside their institutional market-driven agenda, in their international institutional partners.

By rupturing the normative market-driven institutional rationale as a key driver for internationalization, participants at Public University emphasized the values of knowledge production, translational research and access to international academic partnerships. Similarly, at Private University, participants discussed the importance of mission-centric values, such as global diversity, access and equity values, in the expansion of for-profit pathway partnerships. This view of international institutional partnerships as mission-centric and mutual partnerships has the potential to democratize the internationalization process by disrupting the system of power and privilege that sustain and reproduce the regime of Americanization in internationalization strategies.

Third, participants credited multisector partnerships in internationalization, particularly those aimed at global opportunities and international student recruitment, for providing more access for students. In so doing, the convergence of the private and public sector helps to expand the availability, variety and affordability of existing institutional internationalization strategies in global education. Finally, participants also indicated that new forms of collaboration and cooperation emerge from the convergence of public good- and market-driven strategies and partnerships. A growing awareness of the challenges and barriers to U.S.-born students' and international students' engagement and integration have led to more coordinated approaches in academic and student support services. Although market-driven rationales and approaches continue to inform and prevail in internationalization strategies in U.S. higher education, with attendant negative consequences and significant risks, my findings expand our notion of internationalization by advancing

and highlighting the intersection and coexistence of academic capitalism and the public good.

CHAPTER 6

TOWARDS A GROUNDED THEORY OF INTERSECTIONAL INTERNATIONALIZATION

Higher education institutions engage in internationalization for diverse and complex sociocultural, political, academic and economic reasons, including as a response to globalization, research and knowledge production, competition, student and faculty development, and income generation (Deem, 2001; Marginson, 2007, 2012; Scott, 2005). This study's exploration of these complex institutional internationalization rationales also revealed several important areas of coexistence, with attendant tensions and consequences, between market- and the public good-driven outcomes in internationalization.

To examine these rationales and outcomes, I reviewed four theories of marketization in higher education – academic capitalism, entrepreneurialism, new managerialism and the Triple Helix model. Collectively, these frameworks intimated that there is a growing influence of economic rationalism in higher education that prioritizes cost effectiveness, efficiency and revenue generation as important

rationales in internationalization strategies (Deem, 2001; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997; Meek, 2002; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Most notably, Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) study complicated our understanding of marketization rationales in higher education by positing that there are potential sites where academic capitalism and the public good overlap, intersect, and co-exist. Although few studies critically examined the intersections between the public good and academic capitalism in higher education (Mars and Rhoades, 2012; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Szelényi and Bresonis, 2014), they make it clear that these sites of intersection present nuanced complexities and tensions in institutional and public policy environments.

To inform a conceptualization and theorization of internationalization as a site of coexistence between academic capitalism and the public good, it was also critical to better understand the role of the public good in the internationalization of higher education. Samuelson's (1954) conceptualization emphasized the characteristics of the public good as non-excludable and non-rivalrous (Marginson, 2007; Samuelson, 1954). Several scholars called attention to how the public good is shaped by public and institutional policies, decisions and strategic actions as well as counter-actions of higher education leaders and policy-makers (Couturier, 2005; Marginson, 2007b, 2012; Menashy, 2009).

Together, these theoretical and empirical studies on internationalization, academic capitalism, and the public good (and their intersections) demonstrate that there is a dearth in our scholarly and practical understanding of the nature, extent, and qualities of internationalization as a site of intersection between academic capitalism and the

public good. Consequently, this study examined the coexistence of market- and public good-driven rationales in the internationalization strategies of two U.S. higher education institutions.

In this chapter, I synthesize and analyze my research findings presented in chapters 4 and 5. A major goal of this research was also to render a generative mid-range grounded theory of institutional internationalization strategies, rationales and their intersections, which I present here as the grounded theory of intersectional internationalization.

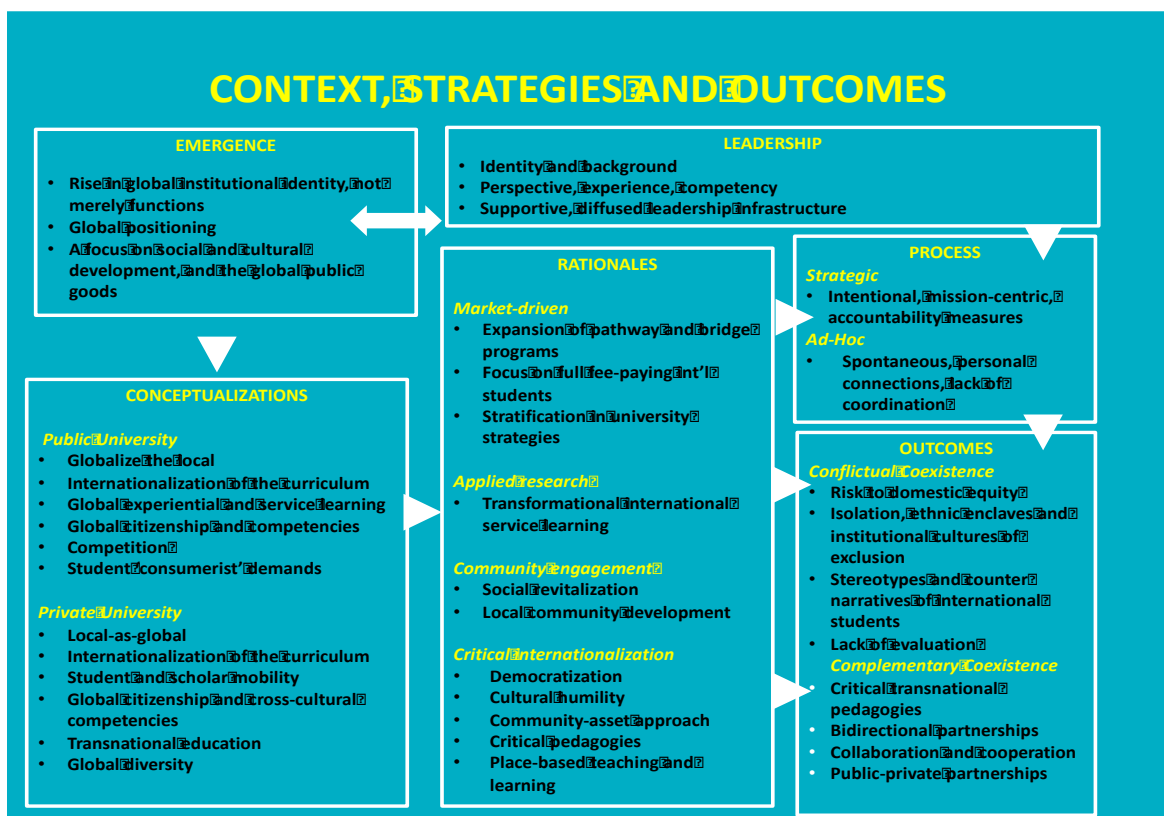
Discussion of Research Findings

As indicated in my research questions, my goal in this study was to interrogate the internationalization strategies of two U.S. higher education institutions, a public and a private university, to better understand how their public and private nature similarly or differently shaped institutional rationales and engagement in internationalization. My research findings were organized into six main grounded theory categories: the emergence of internationalization; conceptualizing internationalization; leading internationalization; rationales shaping institutional internationalization strategies; processes of internationalization; and the outcomes of internationalization. For simplicity, I summarize the salient themes of those findings in Table 7.

Table 7 reports the findings of the conceptualizations and rationales for internationalization at both institutions, and the areas of intersections between marketization and the public good in institutional internationalization strategies. In the first column, I present the seven key conceptualizations of internationalization described by participants at Public and Private University. In the next column, I

report the main rationales in institutional internationalization which were remarkably similar between institutional typologies. The last column contains findings related to the two possible outcomes in the intersection of the public good and academic capitalism: conflictual coexistence resulting from a market-dominant focus, or complementary coexistence of the public good and marketization. The findings summarized and presented in Table 7 are further explained below.

Table 7. Context, Strategies and Outcomes of Internationalization.



Emergence of Internationalization

Early histories of internationalization engagement were evident in each institution's historical archives and contemporary strategic priorities. Thus, internationalization is not a new phenomenon in the institutional contexts of my research sites. However, the resurgence and emergence of a new focus on

internationalization reflected a paradigm of a global institutional identity – the “global public university” and private “global multiversity,” respectively. At Public University, a traditional land-grant urban institution, this incorporation of a new “global public” institution in its mission, values and strategic identity reflects a shift from a localized institution towards a new global imaginary in terms of the institution’s global competitive positioning, the promotion of global economic and cultural development, and serving a global public good. Further analysis of institutional records showed that Public University was aggressively prioritizing international student recruitment; global partnerships with international universities and for-profit and non-profit organizations; and, the development and refinement of global academic programs (e.g., global majors, pathway degree programs) and international student support services (e.g., international advising, international student and scholar office, international ESL).

Comparatively, my findings at Private University also pointed to a paradigm shift to join the ranks of selective, private, global multinational institutions, or “global multiversities,” modeled after and defined by NYU as institutions that seek to provide a global experience for *all* undergraduate students while also challenging the idea that a university can only deliver education at a single campus. In summary, both institutions articulated a new trend in institutional internationalization strategies – a move to a “global public” institution and a private “multiversity,” respectively. Potentially, this focus on the globalization of the institution as a whole, rather than merely its disparate functions, could reveal a promising avenue for future research on internationalization in U.S. higher education.

Conceptualizations of Internationalization

An analysis of the strategic plan, mission and values of Public University and Private University collectively framed a multidimensional conceptualization of internationalization. Interview participants and institutional strategic plans at both Public University and Private University conceptualized internationalization as the globalization of the knowledge economy, widely understood as students' pursuit of global competencies, institutional competition, and transnational and translational research (see Table 7). Collectively, administrators', staff members', faculty's and students' conceptualizations of internationalization ranged from global curricular and co-curricular activities to transnational partnerships and global branding. Other conceptualizations identified by participants included institutional striving for global relevance, internationalizing the campus, and international student recruitment. But the rationale for internationalization most frequently cited by participants at both institutions was revenue generation, or a market-driven rationale.

Significantly, my findings on the conceptualization of internationalization were most convergent among institutional typologies (Public and Private University), and most divergent among participant groups, namely staff members and administrators. In other words, the perspectives *within groups* of students, staff, administrators and faculty across the two institutions were remarkably similar. For instance, administrators at both Public and Private Universities conceptualized internationalization as institutional as well as pedagogical strategies. In comparison, the conceptualizations of internationalization from the perspective of faculty and students at both Private and Public University were remarkably similar, including

global citizenship, partnerships and pedagogies (faculty), and global and multicultural competencies (students).

While *within-group* analysis (e.g., administrators-to-administrators, students-to-students) revealed similar conceptualizations of internationalization at both the private and public institution, the comparative analysis of *between-group* responses (e.g., staff vs. faculty vs. student vs. administrators) demonstrated key differences among the various groups at each institution. This was especially true for administrators' perspectives compared to students and staff members. For example, at both institutions, administrators cited the positive contributions of internationalization to the global and local public good, and workforce and economic development. Meanwhile, staff members and students were more critical of the influence of market-driven rationales, such as profitability and competition, on the institutional conceptualizations of internationalization. In summary, while both institutions conceptualized internationalization similarly, there were key differences and disagreements between participant groups within each institution, particularly between administrators, students and staff members, about the influence of public good- and market-driven considerations on those conceptualizations.

Leadership in Internationalization

A main finding that emerged in my study related to internationalization-focused leadership within the university. First, at both institutions, the support and leadership of senior administrators, particularly presidents and provosts, were cited as especially critical to the advancement and institutionalization of campus-wide internationalization strategies. Secondly, participants at both institutions noted that in

many cases, new internationalization strategies were initiated and launched by faculty members. In fact, several transnational initiatives and global knowledge production linkages were borne of faculty entrepreneurship and leadership. Therefore, faculty entrepreneurship and leadership were equally important to successful institutional internationalization.

Despite the important contributions of strong leadership, whether administrative or faculty, to creating a supportive climate and outcomes in institutional internationalization, several participants at both Public and Private University described tensions arising from the lack of support for internationalization among mid-level leadership and within academic units. At Public University, participants discussed two sources of tension: (1) opposition to faculty entrepreneurial strategies by organizational leaders, particularly in the early stages of an international initiative, and (2) resistance of mid-level leadership to institution-wide, top-down initiatives, especially in the implementation of internationalization strategies. At both Public and Private University, faculty also discussed the lack of institutional incentives in tenure and promotion as a barrier and challenge to faculty engagement and leadership in internationalization. Importantly, these findings contribute new understandings on the role of faculty entrepreneurship and leadership in internationalization.

Rationales Shaping Internationalization

This study has also focused on the rationales shaping institutional internationalization strategies. My findings revealed four main rationales: market-driven, applied research, community engagement, and critical perspectives (Table 7). In the study, I expected that institutional pressures resulting from diminishing state

appropriations in public funding would contribute to a greater focus on a market-driven rationality in internationalization at Public University, particularly since the University sets tuition differentials for out-of-state and international students, as well as keeps the proportion of the revenue from international students' tuition. But in fact, I found that market-driven rationales in internationalization are salient at both institutions. Revenue generation, profitability and a focus on international emerging markets were key drivers for institutional internationalization activities and initiatives at both institutions in the areas of international student recruitment; transnational program delivery; bridge and pathway programs; and global partnerships. For example, the overwhelming majority of Public University's and Private University's international recruitment, bridge programs and global partnerships are in China, including partnerships with Chinese governmental subsidiaries, high schools, colleges and universities, and businesses.

Furthermore, both institutions have partnered with two internationally renowned for-profit pathway programs that specialize exclusively in recruiting international students from China. Faculty and administrators at both institutions observed that a revenue-generation focus has contributed to an uncritical institutional assumption that all Chinese-related partnerships are income generative. Internationalization strategies focused on China and other emerging markets highly prized for their revenue generation potential were hyper-visible and garnered more support from university leadership.

This market-driven rationality at both institutions has also resulted in negative consequences for access, equity and equal opportunity, such as the narrowing of

academic diversity, the displacement of ESL support for historically underrepresented students in U.S. higher education, and the lack of racial and class diversity among pathway and bridge international students. These challenges were identified as especially problematic by some participants of this study because of the contradiction to the logic and espoused institutional commitment to the public good.

Notwithstanding a market-driven rationale in internationalization strategies at both institutions, participants also noted the prevalence of public good-driven rationales and outcomes in internationalization, including applied research and community engagement. An analysis of the strategic agenda and participant interviews at both institutions revealed an international applied research focus on global public goods, including solving societal issues, cultivating democratic research partnerships, and supporting international service learning.

Similarly, several participants discussed community engagement as an institutional driver in internationalization strategies. For example, students ascribed their personal engagement and transformational global experiential learning to an institutional focus on community engagement. Specifically, students noted that their engagement in internationalization activities and programs was shaped by personal interests in global issues, cultural curiosity, and heritage affinity as well as an interest to engage in a unique educational experience. In fact, very few students had taken any courses related to international topics, and none attributed those courses to their academic and personal interests in internationalization.

The fourth and final rationale in internationalization cited by participants at both institutions related to emerging critical approaches. Concerned with the

Americanization and colonizing impacts of prevalent internationalization engagement approaches, several faculty and administrators described new institutional considerations of anticolonial, postcolonial, decolonial and social justice-oriented approaches to internationalization. Specifically, faculty described critical approaches in pedagogical, curricular and research paradigms, while administrators considered the positive impact of critical approaches towards more culturally relevant educational program delivery, social inclusion, equal opportunity, as well as community-based democratic partnerships, both domestically and transnationally.

Process of Internationalization

My study also revealed important findings related to the process of internationalization. Several participants described the process of internationalization as intentionally informed by the institutional strategic agenda, while others noted that it was ad hoc and sporadic. At both institutions, several administrators, working in offices that ranged from admissions and recruitment to international partnership development, collectively suggested that some key internationalization strategies in the areas of global recruitment and international university partnerships were driven by personal connections, spontaneous opportunities and preexisting professional networks of individual faculty and staff, rather than specific strategic or implementation plan goals and benchmarks. In addition, at Private University, the director of international partnerships noted that there was little overlap and coordination between undergraduate study abroad and international exchange MOUs with offshore transnational education programming.

Consequently, the lack of coordination between internationalization strategies “at home” versus “abroad” in the areas of study abroad and exchange, and the lack of support for faculty engagement in internationalization within academic units have contributed to ad-hoc processes of internationalization at both institutions, and tensions between institutional internationalization strategies and various organizational units within the universities.

Outcomes

Several participants identified outcomes that demonstrate how institutional rationales and strategies have significant impact on students and faculty engaged in institutional internationalization activities. Those outcomes are represented within two broad categories: conflictual coexistence and complementary coexistence. While these outcomes are not inevitable in internationalization, they nonetheless present important implications for understanding the impact of market-and public good-driven rationales on institutional internationalization organizationally. The first dimension, conflictual coexistence, describes the dominance of market-driven rationales in internationalization which present several negative consequences and risks to the public good, including the growth of full-fee-paying international students, the expansion of for-profit bridge and pathway partnerships, and a growing focus on emerging international markets in admissions, recruitment and enrollment.

Even though several findings demonstrated the conflictual dimensions and tensions emerging from market-driven outcomes in institutional internationalization strategies, there was counterevidence indicating several positive outcomes resulting from this site of intersection. I describe this second dimension as complementary

coexistence. This countervailing perspective points to the convergence of both market- and the public good-driven rationales in internationalization, resulting in public good outcomes, including critical transnational pedagogies, democratic global partnerships, new forms of institutional collaboration and cooperation, and multisector partnerships that provide more affordable and high-quality global opportunities for all students.

An Overview of Existing Theoretical Perspectives in the Study of Internationalization in Higher Education

Numerous studies have examined the growing emphasis on internationalization in higher education (Davies, 1992; Ellingboe, 1998; Knight, 2004, 2008; Olson, 2005; Raby, 2007). Among this rich body of scholarship, Knight (2004, 2008) conceptualized internationalization as a range of strategic and operational institutional processes and choices, embedded in diverse and complex values, organized towards the purpose, function and delivery of higher education. Knight's (2004, 2008) definitional engagement is distinctive for its focus on organizational behavior, culture and values, rather than a mere typological classification of those activities and functions (Edelstein & Douglass, 2012). Yet, few studies besides Knight's (2015), provide empirical and analytical evidence of *how* these values work together to shape and inform university internationalization processes. Further, no study to date has focused on theorizing how institutional characteristics (public vs. private) and values (the public good vs. marketization) may be related to internationalization rationales and strategic choices, and how the intersection of these strategies and values shapes approaches to internationalization. For the purposes of this study, I draw upon

Knight's (2004, 2008) definition to discuss the implied and explicit ways institutions' typologies (public vs. private), values and leadership ethos shape its internationalization rationales and strategies.

I use the public good theoretical construct to frame and interrogate the values, rationales and strategic choices of U.S. higher education institutional engagement in internationalization. For this study, the public good refers to the accrued benefits of a postsecondary educational system's educational activities in teaching, research, and service to advancing the social charter as well as local, national, and global public wellbeing (Couturier, 2005; Samuelson, 1954). In my analysis, I also considered global public goods theory, which advances a focus on the global and transnational dimensions of higher education institutions as well as a social justice focus on global equity, both important contributions to our contemporary understanding of internationalization (Marginson, 2007; Menashy, 2009).

Previous studies have elucidated that the public good informs a focus on public good-driven values and rationales in internationalization, including a focus on process and pedagogy, multicultural and global perspectives in teaching and learning, internationalization of the curriculum, global collaboration, and the social goods aspect of internationalization (Absalom & Vadura, 2006; Foskett, 2010; Marginson, 2012; Rumbley et al., 2012). Noting the increasingly blurred dimensions between public and private higher education as well as the role of private higher education institutions in providing the public good (Marginson, 2007; Menashy, 2009), this study also extended the theorization of the public good in internationalization to examine both public and private higher education institutions.

In this study's context, my findings demonstrated that both Public and Private University focused on the public good in their institutional mission and values statements, and conceptualizations of internationalization. In my analysis of institutional strategic documents and participant interviews, both institutions emphasized "the public good" and "global social goods" as important strategic values in addition to related constructs of experiential learning, internationalization of the curriculum, global citizenship, cross-cultural understanding and competencies, and global diversity (Table 7). These findings supported existing literature, but also advanced Marginson's (2007) and Menashy's (2009) claims that both public and private institutions provide public goods. Significantly, while my findings on the conceptualization of internationalization were most similar between institutional typologies (Public versus Private University), demonstrating remarkably little difference between public and private institutions, they also pointed to a divergence between participant groups, namely administrators versus staff and students. At both institutions, administrators suggested there was a more public-good driven focus in internationalization, while staff and students countered that there was a more market-driven focus in institutional internationalization strategies. In other words, my findings demonstrated the coexistence of both public good- and market-driven values, rationales and strategies in institutional internationalization.

To further explore the growing focus on internationalization in U.S. higher education and complicate the coexistence of the public good- and market-driven rationales, the theory of academic capitalism provided an important analytical framework in this study. Originally developed by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and

expanded upon by Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), academic capitalism theorized the engagement of higher education institutions in market and market-like behavior by examining the regime of behaviors and policies in research, educational delivery, and service functions. Essentially, the theory advanced that a focus on revenue generation and consumerism has displaced the influence of the public good in higher educational processes and activities as well as blurred the boundaries between the non-profit and for-profit orientation of colleges and universities in the U.S. While Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) posited that there are potential sites where academic capitalism and the public good overlap, intersect, and co-exist, they unfortunately provided little explanation on this important phenomenon.

Building upon the theory of academic capitalism, Mars and Rhoades (2012) and Szelényi and Bresonis (2014) constituted two of the few studies that critically examined the intersections between the public good and academic capitalism in higher education. Both studies investigated how students and/or faculty in STEM negotiated tensions between academic capitalism and the public good in higher education (Mars & Rhoades, 2012; Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014). Szelényi and Bresonis (2014) advanced a conceptual framework of complementary (convergence) and oppositional (contradictory) rationales to theorize the dualism of academic capitalism and the public good as well as highlight the ways in which institutional actors negotiate the intersections in this new frontier in higher education. Their study extended the theory of academic capitalism by highlighting and complicating the nuanced interactions in the theoretical interstice, or ‘middle’ space, between academic capitalism and the public good (Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014). However, no studies

have examined internationalization as a site of academic capitalism, or the implications of the intersection of the public good and marketization in this important and growing area of U.S. higher education.

In my findings, several participants indicated that market- and public good-driven rationales intersect in both contested and beneficial ways to shape internationalization strategies at both Public University and Private University. Participants also described the sites of intersection in internationalization as tense and contentious realities constituting a “difficult balancing act” between competitive marketization in higher education and public good values. In particular, four rationales emerged from my findings at both institutions: market-driven, applied research, community engagement and critical internationalization.

Significantly, an equally large number of participants described internationalization processes, strategies and activities at their institutions as “blended strategies” that sought to balance a focus on revenue generation while advancing the global and local public good priorities of the institution. The areas of complementary coexistence included critical transnational pedagogies, the democratization of internationalization processes, multisector partnerships, and new opportunities for cooperation and collaboration. Even though several participants described the intersection of academic capitalism and the public good in institutional internationalization strategies as complementary coexistence, other participants discussed the conflictual coexistence, tensions, risks and negative consequences that often arise as institutions prioritize market-driven strategies in internationalization.

In fact, the risks and negative consequences identified by study participants at both institutions included a risk to access, equity and equal opportunity for traditionally underrepresented students; the narrowing of academic diversity; the displacement of ESL support for historically underrepresented students; and, the lack of racial and socioeconomic diversity among pathway and bridge international students. In addition, institutional climates of exclusion contributed to the stereotyping of international students as underqualified, underprepared and underperforming, further compounding international students' sense of isolation and the prevalence of international student ethnic enclaves as safe spaces from those microaggressions. Further, there were tensions related to the fast-growing population of full-fee-paying international students on the campuses, the expansion of for-profit bridge and pathway partnerships, and a growing focus on emerging international markets in admissions, recruitment and enrollment. In addition, the lack of support from mid-level leaders and organizational units presented challenges to the institutionalization of internationalization strategies. These risks, tensions and consequences were further compounded by the lack of evaluation and assessment, and absence of clear benchmarks of internationalization goals, including those strategic goals identified by both institutions as key institutional priorities.

Drawing on theories of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), complementary and oppositional rationales in academic capitalism (Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014), and social and eco-entrepreneurialism in academic capitalism (Mars & Rhoades, 2012), this study demonstrates that internationalization represents an increasingly important site of intersection between academic capitalism and the

public good in U.S. higher education. Yet, few studies have examined the transnationalization of academic capitalism in U.S. higher education (Kauppinen, 2015; Kauppinen & Cantwell, 2014). The absence of critical considerations of internationalization within the frameworks of academic capitalism and the public good presents an understudied area of scholarship in higher education. In the next section, I outline and advance a conceptual theory of intersectional internationalization, which redresses this scholarly dearth.

Intersectional internationalization, or the process referring to the internationalization of institutions of higher education at the intersection of the public good and academic capitalism, has three defining dimensions. The first dimension of intersectional internationalization challenges the understanding of internationalization as neutral by highlighting the positive, negative and contested rationales, processes and consequences associated with internationalization. The second important dimension of intersectional internationalization highlights internationalization as an ongoing process of overlapping complementary and conflictual activities and strategies between market- and public good-driven strategies. Third, intersectional internationalization involves understanding *how* global and comparative perspectives inform institutional approaches to teaching, learning and service at home and abroad. The next section expands upon the theory of intersectional internationalization and considers the implications of this framework for understanding the challenges and tensions in higher education internationalization.

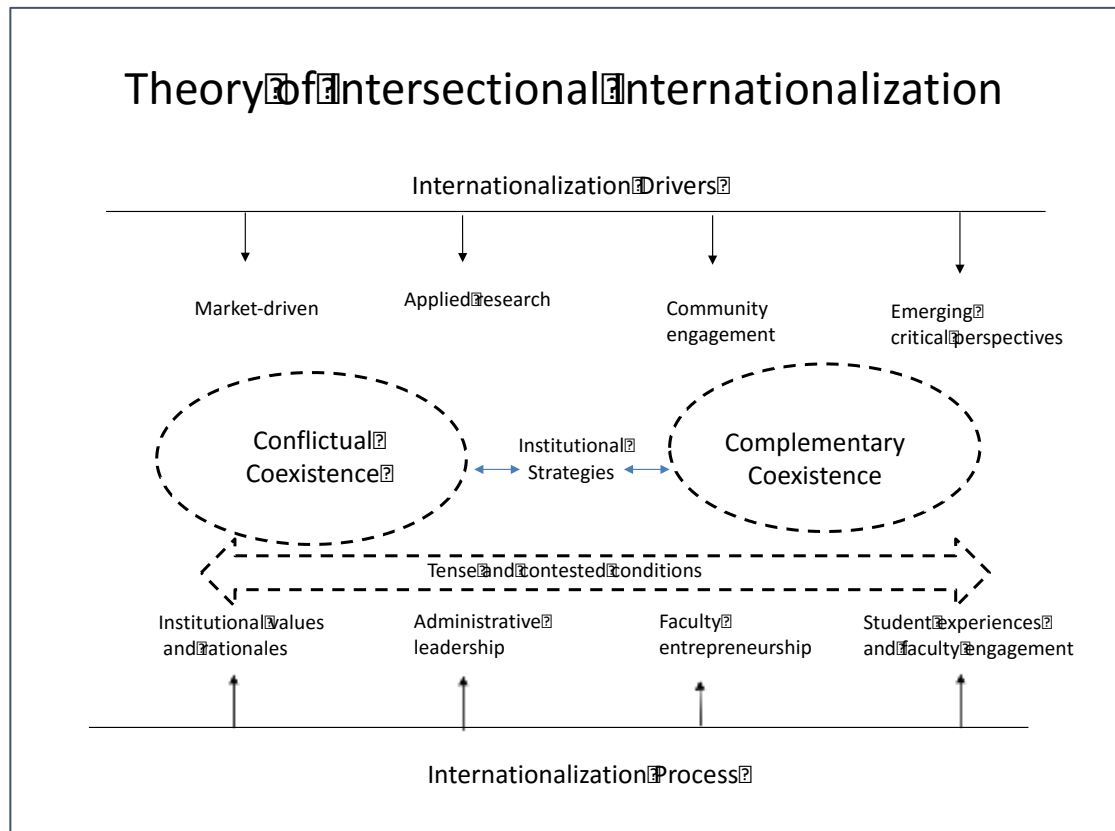
A Grounded Theory of Intersectional Internationalization

Previous higher education studies have examined the influence of academic capitalism in U.S. higher education (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) as well as the oppositional and complementary outcomes that emerge from the intersection of the public good and academic capitalism (Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014), including public good-driven outcomes such as eco- and social entrepreneurship (Mars & Rhoades, 2012). While these scholars have advanced the theory of academic capitalism in higher education (Mars & Rhoades, 2012; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Szelényi & Bresonis, 2014), the theory of intersectional internationalization focuses on the growing yet undertheorized internationalization of U.S. higher education institutions. In fact, it is important to note that no studies to date have specifically theorized internationalization as a site of organizational intersection between academic capitalism and the public good. Furthermore, the theory of intersectional internationalization offers a more complex understanding of the sites of intersection between the public good and academic capitalism by revealing the tensions and outcomes at a private versus public higher education institution, and between local and global internationalization strategies.

The theory of intersectional internationalization focuses on the strategic and processual nature of internationalization, and establishes internationalization as a site wherein marketization and the public good act as mutually constitutive rationales that coexist in both complementary and conflictual manners. Indeed, an examination of internationalization as a site of academic capitalism has the potential to complicate the nationalistic assumptions of who is the “public” and what societal “goods” are

produced due to the transnationalization of U.S. higher education, as well as extend the critical bounds of the academic capitalism theoretical framework by interrogating the growing tensions in access and equity. The theory of intersectional internationalization highlights the ways in which internationalization as a site of intersection between market- and public good-rationales is shaped by institutional strategies, which I describe as *conflictual coexistence* and *complementary coexistence*, within *tense and contested organizational conditions*. Figure 5 depicts the three important dimensions of the theory of intersectional internationalization: conflictual coexistence, complementary coexistence, and conditional tension and contestation, which are further explained in the following sections.

Figure 5. Theory of Intersectional Internationalization



Conditional Tension and Contestation

The tense conditions and contested nature that marked the intersection of market- and public good-driven rationales in internationalization strategies at both Public and Private University were contingent findings in my study. This section contributes to the emerging theoretical construct of intersectional internationalization by helping to shape new paradigmatic understandings of the conditional tensions and contestations that inform coexisting academic capitalist and the public good-related internationalization strategies.

Characterized by the blurred boundaries between the public and private, local and global, and between market-driven and critically transformative public good-related approaches in internationalization, several participants pointed to tension and contestation that arise from the strategic and leadership ambivalence. For example, there was opposition from some mid-level leaders and organizational units to senior leaders' institutional internationalization strategies and goals, asking: What kind of internationalization agenda is being constructed? By and for whom? What is the relationship between the universities' internationalization priorities and the public good mission of the institutions? They called attention to the tensions arising from an institutional focus on academic capitalistic activities, such as expanding admissions for full-fee-paying international students and for-profit bridge and pathway partnerships, with a concomitant focus on public good-related goals, such as international transnational research partnerships and global citizenship. Several faculty and mid-level administrators at both institutions noted that these ad hoc, ambivalent and sometimes, contradictory trends, contribute to tension and

contestation between strategies and organizational units, and give rise to the conflictual coexistence of market-driven and public good-shaped strategies.

Conflictual Coexistence

Conflictual coexistence in internationalization strategies can be characterized as efforts that (1) reflect inherent contradictions in internationalization strategies and activities when academic capitalism presents a clear threat to an institution's public good mission, and (2) perpetuate inequalities in access and student outcomes (Table 7). In my findings, conflictual coexistence is typified by an internationalization strategic focus on expanding for-profit bridge international recruitment partnerships, which target full-fee-paying international students in need of academic remediation support, while simultaneously pursuing more selective standards of excellence in admissions of in-state and out-of-state students. This finding magnifies the conflictual coexistence inherent in institutional strategies that seek to expand educational access for international bridge students, while simultaneously dismantling admission policies that center equal opportunity and access for historically underrepresented students. Another element of conflictual coexistence is the focus on international student recruitment from a few select countries, namely China, India, Brazil, and South Korea. In this study, both institutions were focused on recruiting international students from the same emerging economic markets, rather than a focus on attracting a diverse population of students from various countries, regardless of their socioeconomic status. This market-driven strategy pays little attention to the institutions' own goals of student body diversity, while also limiting the long-term sustainability of their enrollment strategy.

Conflictual coexistence has implications for compounding inequitable and unequal access for less privileged international students and local immigrant students; creating institutional cultures and climates that are exclusive and isolate and alienate international students; and, risk the perpetuation of negative stereotypes about international students. In addition, negative consequences and tensions arising from the coexistence of market- and public good-driven internationalization strategies can threaten the benefits and positive outcomes of internationalization. The risks and negative consequences identified by study participants at both institutions included a risk to access, equity and equal opportunity for traditionally underrepresented students; the narrowing of academic diversity; the displacement of ESL support for historically underrepresented students; and, lack of evaluation and assessment. Lastly, institutional climates of exclusion contributed to the stereotyping of international students as underqualified, underprepared and underperforming, further compounding international students' sense of isolation and the prevalence of international student ethnic enclaves as safe spaces from those microaggressions. The recognition of these risks and consequences in the conflictual coexistence of public good- and market-driven internationalization strategies were widely espoused by participants from both institutions.

Complementary Coexistence

Although the conflictual coexistence of market- and public good-driven internationalization prevailed at both institutions, participants also acknowledged that the public good- and market-driven rationales coexisted in highly unconventional, non-normative and complementary ways. Characteristics of these complementary

strategies in internationalization include: (1) consistency and coherence in internationalization-related mission and activities and (2) the development of internationalization strategies and pedagogy that seek to render critical considerations of transnational contexts, global perspectives, and the multifaceted global and social identities of student. For example, participants at Public University emphasized that mutuality in revenue generation goals as well as public good- and student-focused outcomes and research were twin drivers for developing specific international institutional partnerships. Similarly, participants at Private University discussed the importance of co-integrating global diversity, access and equity values within the expansionary scope of for-profit pathway and bridge program partnerships. By so doing, Public and Private University participants believed that complementary strategies would help expand the availability, variety and affordability of existing institutional internationalization strategies in global education. The level of commitment to specific organizational and student outcomes, in addition to revenue generation and profitability, was critical in all complementary coexistence strategies.

Similarly, participants at both institutions described a complementary coexistence in international partnerships with non-profit, for-profit, industry and governments based on a shared commitment to positive student outcomes as well as revenue generation, or profitability. Specifically, faculty and administrators engaged in multisector and transnational partnerships, disrupting the status quo by de-centering the U.S.-centric context – in which U.S. higher education institutions and context are inherently dominant – by focusing on partners as agentic subjects with a different context and ability to engage in bidirectional ways. These complementary coexistence

findings magnify the potential for critical perspectives, such as decolonial, anti-colonial and postcolonial approaches in transnational curricular spaces and internationalization strategies.

The participants' reflections on educational colonialism were reminiscent of Lazarus and Trahar's (2015) discussion of cultural contestations and educational imperialism in transnational higher education. Lazarus and Trahar (2015) defined educational imperialism as the ethnocentrism of developing educational programming in one context and transferring it to another cultural context without regard for ethnorelativism. In terms of reconceptualizing pedagogy in transnational teaching and learning, Lazarus and Tahar (2015) theorized about third space pedagogy, which they described as the opportunity for educators to engage in teaching and learning in new cultural contexts while they interrogate their own values, beliefs, and positionality. Further, Blanco Ramírez (2013) advanced that a postcolonial approach can help to foster authentic and non-essentialist cultural engagement with the other. As Smith (2009 p. 112) wrote,

Working transnationally is not just about working with international students. Transnational teaching challenges academic roles and identities at every level. Transnational teachers are expected to work in environments, climates and classrooms, which are culturally very different to their own. Assumptions about university education are shaken and many teachers find themselves having to return to and question the very fundamentals of their teaching, learning and assessment practices.

Collectively, the perspectives of Blanco Ramírez (2013), Lazarus and Trahar (2015) and Smith (2009) on decolonizing transnational teaching and learning generates important implications for inclusive transnational pedagogies and other critical internationalization strategies and policies.

Implications

The contested and intersectional nature of academic capitalism and the public good in internationalization has important implications for understanding the limits of academic capitalism as well as the negative unintended consequences of market-driven strategies in internationalization, but also offers new possibilities for hybrid and emerging critical perspectives in higher education internationalization. This section focuses on the practice- and policy-related implications of the theory of intersectional internationalization for better understanding the role of academic capitalism and the public good in institutional internationalization strategies.

Implications for Practice

The emergent theory from this study may be useful to researchers and practitioners who not only want to understand what conceptualizations and rationales shape and inform prevailing internationalization strategies in U.S. higher education, but also consider internationalization models that may support more equitable processes, critical practices and promote student outcomes. This section presents recommendations participants in the study identified and/or engaged in to develop a social justice orientation and more equitable internationalization strategies at their own institutions. The recommendations for practice and policy fall into five main categories: (1) inclusive classrooms and integrated social spaces; (2) an integrated

first-year global seminar; (3) professional development for faculty; (4) the institutionalization of internationalization; and (5) a purposeful communication plan on international opportunities. Each recommendation is discussed below.

Diversifying academic and social spaces. While both institutions boast a critical mass of international students, almost all administrators, faculty and students described the segregated and stratified classrooms and social spaces, including housing, on campus. Not only are there few diverse and integrated spaces, but also among international students, many live and study in ethnic enclaves that mimic educational institutions in their home countries. Some interview participants proposed global living-learning communities for highly engaged student leaders.

Integrated first-year global seminar. Some participants observed that first-year seminars, and freshman and international student orientations are commonplace at most institutions. They recommended a first-year global seminar, integrating both international and domestic first-year students, which has the potential to introduce incoming students to the intentionally global and diverse communities at each institution. Additionally, a freshman global seminar can provide students with an intentional cross-cultural opportunity to engage in the classroom and dismantle some of the interpersonal challenges and tensions inherent in integration and acculturation.

Faculty global workshops. Several participants recommended more intentional opportunities for faculty development in the areas of curriculum internationalization, global awareness and transnational seminars. More professional development opportunities for faculty would not only engage faculty in institutional efforts in internationalization, but would also ensure that faculty entrepreneurship is more

intentional and sustainable. Finally, faculty global workshops would help support the diffusion of the culture of internationalization across academic units, and potentially foster more cooperation and collaboration between organizational units.

Institutional internationalization plan. Although the values and rationales for institutional internationalization were discussed in institutional strategic plans, neither the vision, goals and objectives nor methods for evaluation and assessment of internationalization were articulated. Consequently, several internationalization activities were ad hoc and sporadic, and there was little collaboration and coordination between departmental units. An institutional internationalization plan, including an evaluation and assessment methodology, would allow institutions engaged in internationalization to evaluate the convergence and contradictions between their institutional internationalization priorities and other strategic priorities; establish an intentional and transparent internationalization plan; and communicate the importance and institutional vision for successful internationalization to all institutional actors and partners.

Better communication about global opportunities. Student participants recommended improved communication about the availability of global opportunities. This recommendation was supported by my research findings wherein most students identified finding out about global opportunities by happenstance, or informally through word of mouth from faculty and peers. In addition to poor advertisement and marketing of international opportunities, students at both institutions also noted the communication challenges with their home institution when they are abroad. Several students noted that it was particularly cumbersome to obtain

vital logistical information from the study abroad offices as well as sustain communication with important administrative officers, particularly in the bursar and registrar's offices, when overseas.

Implications for Policy

In terms of implications for policy, this study informs policy frameworks related to internationalization in U.S. higher education. Marginson (2005) described internationalization rationales and strategies as a set of policy choices and decisions made by various institutional actors. Furthermore, he added that the private and public good “character of education is not natural, but a social and policy choice” (Marginson, 2005, para. 14). This understanding of institutional internationalization strategies and rationales as a set of policy frameworks allows us to explore unconventional and non-normative methods that challenge prevailing market-driven approaches and negative consequences in internationalization policy choices to produce more intentional public good-related educational outcomes through intersectional internationalization strategies.

This research project demonstrated that critical policy analysis focused on access, equity and equal opportunity has had less influence on institutions' internationalization strategies and processes compared to market-driven strategies. Yet, the area of critical policy studies in internationalization has the potential to shape and inform institutional practices and initiatives. For example, the implications of emerging critical perspectives in internationalization rationales (e.g., decolonial, postcolonial, anticolonial and social justice rationales) and strategies (e.g., critical transnational pedagogies) for the centrality of the public good in the

transnationalization of U.S. higher education as well as its impact on the experiences and outcomes of traditionally underrepresented students and international students cannot be overstated. U.S. higher education leaders and decision-makers should be aware of these emerging critical perspectives for advancing intersectional internationalization strategies.

Conclusion

While extant scholarship has examined the rise of commercialization, privatization and marketization in higher education (Altbach, 2012; Deem, 2001; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1997; Samuelson, 1954; Santos, 2006; Schugurensky, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Szelényi and Bresonis, 2014), and numerous studies have investigated the changing social charter and the public good of higher education (Green et al., 2010; Kaul et al., 1999; Mars & Rhoades, 2012; Marginson, 2005, 2007, 2012; Menashy, 2009), more recent studies have examined the implication of these rationales in the internationalization of U.S. higher education (Altbach, 2012a; Beck, 2012; Enders & Fulton, 2002; Knight, 2004; Marginson, 2011, 2012; Meek, 2002; Moffatt, 2003; Redden, 2010). Yet, no studies have investigated internationalization as a site of intersection between academic capitalism and the public good in U.S. higher education.

To address this gap in the literature, this study examined the rationales, strategies and outcomes from a growing focus on internationalization as a key institutional strategic focus at a public and private U.S. higher education institution.

Internationalization is an important part of Public and Private Universities' institutional strategic policies. Furthermore, administrators, faculty and staff at both

public and private universities have been responding to the globalization of the university with urgency and creativity using market- and public good-driven rationales, including market-driven, applied research, community engagement and emerging critical perspectives in internationalization. Several participants described the critical role of strong university leadership and faculty entrepreneurial leadership in campus internationalization, while a salient finding from the research revealed institutional strategies at both institutions in a variety of ways, including intentional, ad hoc and opportunistic internationalization.

This study also highlighted the conflictual and complementary coexistence of market- and public good-driven rationales in internationalization processes; identified several tense and contested conditions arising from a market-driven focus in internationalization; and revealed the emergence of critical perspectives in institutional strategies in internationalization. Congruent with existing scholarship on internationalization strategies in U.S. higher education, senior leadership, administrators, staff, faculty, and students participants interviewed at both institutions believed their institution's approaches to internationalization are shaped by the conflictual coexistence and complementary coexistence of market- and public good-driven strategies. Consequently, the grounded theory of intersectional internationalization, which emerged from these findings, advances the conceptualization of conflictual and complementary coexistence as a framework for bridging new understandings of the underexplored organizational middle space between academic capitalism and the public good in higher education.

Even though a market-driven rationale was cited as a significant institutional consideration in internationalization strategies, a finding also supported by my document analysis, several participants described their institution's international engagement as a convergence of the public good- and market-driven motivations in the areas of critical transnational pedagogies, democratization of internationalization, multisector partnerships, and cooperation and collaboration. This finding offers a divergent perspective from dominant scholarship on internationalization (Altbach, 2012a; Beck, 2012; Enders & Fulton, 2002; Knight, 2004; Marginson, 2011, 2012; Meek, 2002; Moffatt, 2003; Redden, 2010), which advanced that higher education institution's engagement predominantly market-driven.

A core insight of an intersectional analytical framework is that there are twin impulses that animate institutional strategies: the public good and market-driven rationales. Specifically, the theory of intersectional internationalization has the potential to shed light on major ongoing debates in the field: the legitimate scope of entrepreneurialism within the university, the balance between the public good and marketization, and the emergence of critical transnational approaches. More importantly, an intersectional framework focused on the twin impulses of the public good and marketization offers an interventionist, rather than merely theoretical, approach for vigorously addressing the negative determinants and impact of prevailing market-driven internationalization strategies. An intersectional approach shows how U.S. higher education institutions focused on social justice goals and the public good can promote institutional strategies and policy imperatives, such as improving access and inclusion for domestic and international students, supporting

faculty engagement in critical pedagogies, and addressing the socioeconomic disparities and barriers to international educational opportunities with an eye on the needs of the most vulnerable students. Intersectional internationalization approaches, therefore, are critical to social justice in higher education.

With the resurgence in global populism and the neo-nationalist political movements, fueled in large part by the frustrations of those left behind by globalization, U.S. higher education institutions need to critically interrogate institutional policies, practices, and strategies that further exacerbate these inequalities. Intersectional internationalization approaches focused on advancing more public good outcomes and addressing these urgent inequalities have the potential to counterbalance these populist policy directives. Universities who ignore this imperative for an intersectional internationalization approach do so at their peril in the face of a growing populist backlash that perceives universities as increasingly globalized, unequal spaces.

Directions for Future Research

The focus of this study was to better understand how market- and public good-driven rationales and strategies inform the internationalization strategies of public and private U.S. higher education institutions through the experiences of administrators, staff, faculty, and students. The findings, however, raise several considerations for future research. While a variety of administrators, staff, faculty and undergraduate students were invited to participate in the study, the institutional sample size may not be representative of U.S. higher education institutions. The transferability of the study findings could be further strengthened by surveying more institutions to gain a more

comprehensive understanding of the issues suggested by the institutions in this study. Thus, a worthwhile direction for future research would be a case study approach to explore the internationalization strategies and approaches at other public and private institutions, including a wider range of institutional types such as liberal arts colleges, master's institutions, and community colleges.

In this study, participants and institutional data comprised primarily of “at home” internationalization strategies. An examination of the perspective of transnational partners, including an exploration of internationalization strategies “abroad” from non-Western perspectives, would contribute significantly to the emerging area of scholarship on critical higher education studies and research on internationalization. This future direction of scholarship should examine the conceptualization of intersectional internationalization from a non-Western perspective.

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Senior Administrators
(e.g., Provost, VPs, Chief Academic Officer, Deans)

- 1) Tell me a little about yourself and your role at the university.
 - a) What specific responsibilities do you have for fostering and encouraging internationalization on campus (e.g., assessment, benchmarking goals, evaluating faculty or student participation, developing new partnerships, cross divisional collaboration)?
- 2) Please describe the governance and leadership structures that support institutional internationalization on your campus.
 - a) Who sets the direction and has primary responsibility for the internationalization strategy of the institution?
 - b) Has your institution formally assessed the value of international education efforts in the past five years?
- 3) Your mission statement mentions the institutional commitment to global learning, and your strategic plan discusses the institution's prioritization of global engagement. In your own words, please reflect on the core values that drive current institutional internationalization initiatives.
 - a) Give me an example of an international program or activity that best articulates those values.
 - b) What value do you see in internationalization?
- 4) Serving the public good and fulfilling social needs seems to also be a focus of the institutional mission, vision and strategic priorities.
 - a) Please describe some of the practical implications of this commitment.
- 5) In what ways has internationalization contributed to your institution's ability to fulfill its mission to serve the public? In what ways do these values (internationalization and the public good) contradict?
 - a) If I were an international undergraduate student considering applying to your institution, describe what my experience as a student at a (private)/(public) research university might be like.
- 6) How did internationalization as a key institutional strategic priority come about?
 - a) To what extent and in what capacity were you involved in the process?
 - b) Can you tell me about the last time you were involved in a university

internationalization initiative beginning with how the initiative was conceptualized?

- 7) What are some of the reasons you think your institution is placing an importance on internationalization?
 - a) How influential is competitiveness with other higher education institutions?
 - b) How influential is establishing collaborative links with the private sector domestically and internationally?
 - c) In what ways has internationalization generated revenue for your institution? How important do you see that function of internationalization?
- 8) How has internationalization shaped the culture of entrepreneurship at your university?
 - a) Are there strategies to increase revenues through internationalization initiatives, activities and programs on campus or abroad?
- 9) What does success look like in the future when the university reaches its internationalization strategic goals?
 - a) What specific strategies and achievements would allow the university to reach that vision?
- 10) Do you have other thoughts or suggestions that you would like to share to help me better understand internationalization at your institution?

Global or international programs directors and coordinators

- 1) Please tell me a little about yourself and your role at the university.
 - a) What specific responsibilities do you have for fostering and encouraging internationalization on campus (e.g., assessment, benchmarking goals, evaluating faculty or student participation, developing new partnerships, cross divisional collaboration)?
- 2) Your institutional mission statement mentions the university's commitment to global learning, and your institutional strategic plan discusses the institution's prioritization of global engagement. What are some of the reasons you think your institution is placing an importance on internationalization?
 - a) How influential is competitiveness with other higher education institutions?
 - b) How influential is establishing collaborative links with the private sector domestically and internationally?
 - c) In what ways has internationalization generated revenue for your institution? How important do you see that function of internationalization?
- 3) Please give me some examples of specific goals, programs or partnerships that emerged/come about specifically in response to the articulation of

- internationalization in the institutional strategic focus. What was your role in this process?
- 4) Serving the public good and fulfilling social needs seems to also be a focus of the institutional mission, vision and strategic priorities. In what ways has internationalization contributed to your institution's ability to fulfill its mission to serve the public? In what ways do these values contradict?
 - 5) If I were an international undergraduate student at your institution, describe what my experience as a student at a (private)/(public) research university might be like.
 - 6) Tell me about the trends on your campus for student engagement in campus international programming and education abroad.
 - a) How many domestic versus international students, and faculty participate?
 - b) What do enrollment patterns reveal to you about who is engaged and who is not?
 - 7) Tell me about international student engagement and experiences on campus.
 - a) What are some of the impact of their engagement on the curriculum, co-curriculum, and cultural life on campus?
 - b) What common trends do you see in the feedback you receive from international students about their experience? What has been of most benefit to them? What challenges them the most?
 - c) Is there a strategy in place to increase the number of international students on campus?
 - d) What obstacles might exist for the success of that strategy?
 - 8) How are faculty encouraged and supported to engage in international activities and programs?
 - a. Do you offer workshops to faculty on how to internationalize their curricula?
 - b. Do you offer opportunities for faculty to increase their foreign language skills?
 - c. Do you recognize faculty specifically for international activity?
 - d. To what extent do faculty members engage in collaborative research with faculty in other countries?
 - 9) In what ways could the institution improve or enhance its international goals?
 - 10) Do you have other thoughts or suggestions that you would like to share to help me better understand internationalization at your institution?

Pathway programs

- 1) Tell me a little about yourself and your role at pathway program.

- a) What specific responsibilities are entailed in your position (e.g., recruitment, teaching, benchmarking goals, student transition, developing new partnerships, cross divisional collaboration)?
- 2) Give me some examples of prevalent internationalization strategies pathway programs engage in when supporting U.S. universities advance their strategic priorities.
 - a) From your perspective, is there a distinction between the services or strategies offered in the U.S. versus other countries you are engaged in? If so, what distinctions do you observe and why?
 - b) What do the enrollment patterns in this program over time say to you about the future prospects of pathway programs in U.S. higher education?
 - 3) Tell me about how the partnership between your pathway program and the university came about beginning with the prospecting and negotiation. What was your role in this process?
 - 4) The university mission statement mentions a commitment to global learning, and the university strategic plan discusses the prioritization of global engagement. Why do you think this institution is placing an importance on internationalization?
 - a) How influential is competitiveness with other higher education institutions?
 - b) How influential is establishing collaborative links with the private sector domestically and internationally?
 - c) How influential is entrepreneurship and the potential of revenue generation? How important do you see that function of internationalization?
 - 5) Tell me about the strategic goals and targets (e.g. in recruitment, enrollment, retention, teaching and learning, revenue generation, overseas presence or course delivery) of your partnership agreement with the university.
 - a) Which of these goals have been the most successful and least successful? Why?
 - b) What obstacles might exist to the success of these strategies?
 - 6) If I were an international student considering applying to your pathway program, describe what my experience as a student at a private versus a public research university might be like.
 - a) How would you characterize the level of engagement of pathway students in campus life?
 - b) What are some of the impact of their engagement on the curriculum, co-curriculum, and cultural life on campus?

- 7) What common trends do you see in the feedback you receive from pathway students about what has been most beneficial to them in their experience? What challenges them the most?
- 8) What are the trends in your program for pathway students taking international courses, majoring in a field with a global focus or becoming involved in international co-curriculum activities?
- 9) Please give me an example of what has worked well and not so well in this pathway program-institution partnership.
- 10) Do you have other thoughts or suggestions that you would like to share to help me better understand the role of your partnership in internationalizing the campus?

Admissions Directors

- 1) Tell me a little about yourself and the specific responsibilities entailed in your position (e.g., recruitment, enrollment, marketing)?
- 2) Your institutional mission statement mentions the university's commitment to global learning, and your institutional strategic plan discusses the institution's prioritization of global engagement. What are some of the reasons you think your institution is placing an importance on internationalization?
 - a) How influential is competitiveness with other higher education institutions?
 - b) How influential is establishing collaborative links with the private sector domestically and internationally?
 - c) In what ways has internationalization generated revenue for your institution? How important do you see that function of internationalization?
- 3) Serving the public good and fulfilling social needs seems to also be a central focus of the institutional mission, vision and strategic priorities.
 - a) If I were a state policy maker, what would you tell me about how admission contributes to your institution's ability to fulfill its mission to serve the public.
 - b) In what ways does internationalization support this mission? In what ways does it contradict?
 - c) How has the function and role of admissions changed due to specifically to the articulation of internationalization in the institutional strategic focus?
- 4) Tell me about the admissions office goals for international recruitment, admissions, enrollment and retention.
 - a) How does that compare to competitor institutions?
 - b) Which of these goals have been the most successful and least successful? Why?
 - c) Is there a strategy in place to increase the number of international students on campus?

- d) What obstacles might exist to the success of these strategies?
- 5) If I were an international undergraduate student considering applying to your institution, describe what my experience as a student at a (private)/(public) research university might be like.
- 6) What does the international student enrollment demographic patterns (e.g. nationality, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic, gender) at your institution over time reveal to you?
- 7) What does the academic enrollment preferences of those enrolled international students reveal to you (e.g. course of study)?
- 8) Has your institution formally assessed international admissions efforts in the past five years?
- 9) What does success look like in the future when the admission reaches its internationalization strategic goals?
 - a) What specific strategies and achievements would allow the university to reach that vision?
- 10) Do you have other thoughts or suggestions that you would like to share to help me better understand the development, adoption and incorporation of internationalization as a core institutional strategic goal?

International Student Advisors

1. Tell me about your role and responsibilities as an international student advisor.
 - a. What is an average advisor caseload?
 - b. What other duties and roles do you have in addition to international student advising?
2. What major programs, events and support services does your department offer for international students? (e.g. Orientation, first year experience, retention)
3. The university mission statement mentions a commitment to global learning, and the university strategic plan discusses the prioritization of global engagement. Why do you think this institution is placing an importance on internationalization?
4. In what ways, if any, has the growing international focus of your institution changed or led to the development of academic student support services, programs and activities for international students?

5. Tell me how your program defines international student advising.
 - a. Is advising primarily student services centered, primarily academic, or some combination?
 - b. Is advising performed once per term at a designated time devoted to planning and scheduling for the next semester, or do students receive a combination of one-on-one and group advising on curricular and non-curricular topics?
6. How many international students does your office currently support and what percentage of total enrolled international students is that?
7. At your institution, what resources are committed to supporting the advising of international students? How does that compare to advising support services for domestic students?
8. Tell me about common trends you observe in advising international students.
 - a. What has been most beneficial to them in their academic experience?
 - b. What challenges them the most?
 - c. How has the advising and support needs of enrolled international students changed over the past five years (e.g. sending countries, field of study)? In your opinion, what are some of the reasons for these changes?
 - d. What are the trends in international students enrolling in international courses, majoring in a field with a global focus or becoming involved in international co-curriculum activities?
9. What would you like to see the institution do or enhance the advising support for international students?
 - a. What types of approaches would you like to see the senior administration implement?
10. Do you have other thoughts or suggestions that you would like to share to help me better understand internationalization at your institution?

Students

1. Tell me about yourself and your background.
 - a. What major are you in?
 - b. What year are you in?
 - c. What is your country of origin/nationality?
2. Are you an international student?
 - a. Have you ever used a third-party recruitment agency or participated in a pathway program?

- b. What previous international educational experiences (outside your country of origin) have you had prior to matriculating to the University?
 - c. To what extent did the private vs. public characteristics, its commitment to internationalization, and/or the public good mission of the institution impact your matriculation decision?
3. Your institutional mission statement mentions the university's commitment to global learning, and your institutional strategic plan discusses the institution's prioritization of global engagement. What are some of the reasons you think your institution is placing an importance on internationalization?
4. Tell me about any international or globally focused courses you have had.
 - a. To what extent have your general-education requirement and/or major courses included international or global content, perspectives and different ways of knowing?
 - b. As an international student, what influence do you feel you have in those learning contexts? Do you feel your multiculturalism is valued?
5. Tell me about any co-curriculum international experiences you have had.
 - a. Have you participated in an education abroad program? What was your destination?
 - b. Please describe other types of international activities and programs you have engaged in.
6. What motivated you to pursue those experiences?
 - a. In what ways have you been encouraged to or discouraged from participating in international learning opportunities on campus? Outside the United States?
 - b. Which specific international programs and activities have proved most helpful to you?
 - c. How about ones that have not been helpful? Harmful?
7. What impact did your involvement in these international academic and co-curriculum learning opportunities have on you?
8. What have been some highlights in your international experience as a student at the institution? What are some of the greatest challenges you have faced?
9. In what ways can the institution improve or enhance its international goals, and its support for students interested in international topics as well as international students?
10. Do you have other thoughts or suggestions that you would like to share to help me better understand how internationalization at this institution has shaped your experiences?

Faculty

- 1) Tell me a little about yourself, your courses and research interests.
- 2) Your institutional mission statement mentions the university's commitment to global learning, and your institutional strategic plan discusses the institution's prioritization of global engagement. What are some of the reasons you think your institution is placing an importance on internationalization?
- 3) Serving the public good and fulfilling social needs seems to also be a focus of the institutional mission, vision and strategic priorities.
 - a) In what ways has internationalization contributed to your institution's ability to fulfill its mission to serve the public?
 - b) In what ways do these values contradict?
- 4) If I were an international undergraduate student considering applying to your institution, describe what my experience as a student at a (private)/(public) research university might be like.
- 5) To what extent does the institution's general-education requirement include international or global content, perspectives and different ways of knowing?
- 6) Tell me about the internationalization of the curriculum and enrollment trends in your department for courses with an international or global focus.
 - a) To what extent does your academic department promote the internationalization of their curriculum where appropriate?
 - b) How has this trend changed over the past five years?
 - c) Who has benefitted and who hasn't from these changes?
 - d) What do student enrollment patterns in your department reveal to you about student interest in global courses/majors?
- 7) Tell me about the enrollment trends of international students in your department.
 - a) How has this trend changed over the past five years?
 - b) What impact do international students have on campus?
 - c) What do these international student enrollment trends reveal to you about your school?
- 8) Describe in what ways internationalization has influenced your scholarship, research and service values and priorities.
- 9) How is faculty participation in international activities and programs encouraged and supported at your institution?
 - a) Have you participated in faculty workshops on how to internationalize their curricula?
 - b) Do you have opportunities to increase your foreign language skills?

- c) Are faculty recognized specifically for international activity?
 - d) To what extent do faculty members engage in collaborative research with faculty in other countries?
- 10) Do you have any other thoughts you would like to share to help me better internationalization at your institution?

APPENDIX B

PRE-INTERVIEW DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE PROTOCOL

Project: *University Internationalization Strategies*

Date:

Place:

Interviewee (Pseudonym):

1. What is your current title/position?
2. Which department/division do you currently work in?
3. How long (in years) have you been employed in the position above?
 0-3 years
 4-6 years
 7-10 years
 11-15 years
 16+ years
4. How long (in years) have you been employed at institution?
 0-3 years
 4-6 years
 7-10 years
 11-15 years
 16+ years
5. How do you identify your gender?
 Male
 Female
 Transgender
 Other
6. How old are you?
 18-25 years old
 26-33 years old
 34-40 years old
 41-50 years old
 51-58 years old
 over 59 years old
7. What race or ethnicity do you consider yourself?
 White, Caucasian
 European

- Middle Eastern
- Hispanic, Mexican-American, or Latino
- Asian
 - East Asian
 - South Asian
 - Pacific Islander
- Black or African American
- Native American
- Other: (fill in) _____
- Cannot choose/Refuse to Answer:

8. Were you born in the U.S. or another country?

- U.S.
- Other country

9. What country were you born in? (fill in) _____

- Cannot choose/Refused

APPENDIX C

OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

1 of ___pages

Project: *University Internationalization Strategies*

Date:

Time:

Location:

Type of Activity:

Length of Observation:

Participants:

- Observe verbal and non-verbal communication
- Observe words/actions that communicate public good/market-driven/hybrid
- Observe any actions/words that are contradicting
- Observe behaviors that indicate public good values
- Observe behaviors that indicate commercial and market-driven interests
- Observe behaviors that demonstrate overlapping values
- Observe how and who makes decisions
- Observe and label the roles that each participant plays
- Observe any conflicts and how handled
- Observe any benefits derived from working with international students
- Document most pertinent quotes
- Include schematic drawing or representative photograph(s) (if participants agree) of the setting.

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes

APPENDIX D

LIST OF TERMINOLOGY

Concurrent enrollment: Students enrolled in a combination of non-credit ESL classes and credit-bearing courses, or non-English undergraduate credit bearing courses, in combination with ESL.

Designated School Official (DSO): A university administrator designated to oversee the immigration process for international students and act as a liaison between the university and immigration services.

ESL program: a non-credit, pre-collegiate university preparation program specifically for students whose native language is not English.

International student: A person who is not a citizen or national of the United States and who is in this country on a visa specifically for matriculation to a degree-granting institution and does not have the right to remain indefinitely.

Intrusive advising: Rather than a semester-, group- or academic-based advising models, intrusive advising is data-driven outreach-based advising where advisors identify students based on markers of attrition or academic challenges, and proactively reach out to them in order to enroll them in one-credit courses focused on skill building, mentorship or support.

Pathway programs: A transitional program that exclusively recruits and admits international students. Students in pathway programs enroll in sheltered concurrent status courses, and they must complete 10 classes with a GPA of 2.0 before they progress to full-time status at the university. Undergraduate students in pathway programs are considered fully admitted, matriculated university students, while graduate students in pathway programs are considered non-degree seeking students. Undergraduate students admitted to pathway programs have to meet university admission standards, while graduate students have to meet certain requirements aided by the pathway program before they are considered for admission to the university graduate school.

Short-term study abroad: Any study abroad for a term length less than a full semester

Study abroad providers: Independent, for-profit organizations that provide logistical support and academic programs abroad to colleges and universities. This is new terminology for third-party providers.

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