

FROM STUDENT MOBILITY TO MARKET SUCCESS: THE CHANGING LOGIC OF INTERNATIONALIZATION IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

by

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(Under the Direction of Sheila Slaughter)

ABSTRACT

Internationalization has become an important topic for higher education institutions in almost every country. Research cooperation, student and staff mobility and university partnerships are seen as vital to the success of students, researchers, and universities. Not surprisingly, policy-makers throughout the world attempt to increase the competitiveness of universities and national higher education systems in order to attract the best and brightest students. Germany and other non-English speaking countries have often been perceived as latecomers to the current higher education internationalization trends; yet the country's universities and organizations have long engaged in international activities. Following World War II, student mobility was considered a public good that benefited society as a whole. In the last decade, however, the logic underlying internationalization efforts has changed significantly as seen in the shift of objectives within student mobility frameworks. The traditional orientation towards educational partnerships is gradually being overlaid with an economic rationale emphasizing market success. Through championing the ideals of competition and differentiation,

stakeholders in the higher education landscape have focused on turning the country into a recognized entity in the global knowledge economy.

The qualitative dissertation project focuses on the consequences of the changing logic of internationalization for actors within the landscape of German higher education. To successfully compete in attracting international students, universities and other organizations have (re-) developed structural incentives and initiatives, which effect university practices and processes. Having conducted over 40 interviews with actors in three German universities and two higher education organizations; and undertaken an in depth document analysis the research focuses on how these actors engage in reorganizing themselves to meet new global demands and compete for resources with increasingly strategic motivations. The interviews revealed that internationalization initiatives are serving various purposes, whether intended or not, which training actors to be flexible, adaptable, and responsive to more market-centered or entrepreneurial goals. Actors respond to the new dynamics with a degree of ambivalence, but are nonetheless engaging in the market-making or academic capitalist initiatives.

INDEX WORDS: German higher education, internationalization, international student mobility, academic capitalism, institutional work

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The journalist Aisha Labi reported in a recent *Chronicle of Higher Education* article (January 20, 2012) that German universities' lack of tuition fees equates to an openness to international students and belief in student development and society¹. Labi (2012) argues this is a unique perspective within the current climate surrounding international student mobility and internationalization, because “unlike some countries, Germany does not view foreign students as a source of money to prop up cash-strapped institutions” (p. A18). In contrast, German politicians see internationalization as a necessary part of the globally connected world. Germany has dedicated public funds for German students to study abroad, international students to study in Germany as well as invested in foreign-backed universities. The government partners with other national governments to provide collaborative opportunities similar to branch campuses like the Vietnamese-German University and the German Jordanian University. Despite these offerings, Mr. Herbert Grieshop, managing director of the Free University of Berlin's Center for International Cooperation is quoted in the same *Chronicle* article as saying that one reason universities don't charge tuition is because, “if universities start charging foreign students tuition,

¹ The German *Länder* (states), who regulate university actions, are reluctant to allow universities to charge tuition to any student—German or international—due to its continued belief in the Humboldtian tradition that education should be pursued without boundaries, including a student's financial background. In 2005 this changed when the Constitutional Court (Bundesverfassungsgericht) decided that the federal states could charge up to 500 Euros per semester in tuition. Although only seven of the 16 federal Länder decided to charge tuition and with changes in political parties in recent years there are now only two *Länder* (Bavaria and Lower Saxony) where tuition fees are implemented, the discussion did not divide along taxpaying versus non-taxpaying students as it did in other European countries where the trend of using international students' full tuition payments as significant revenue in place of declining state funding (Marginson, 2001; Vincent-Lancrin, 2008).

those students will demand the same high level of services and campus amenities that they have come to expect from American and British institutions.” Bernd Wächter of the Brussels-based Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) also contributes to the discussion, stating that tuition “is a taboo which at some stage will fall. Even though it’s [higher education] a public good, there is a private benefit.” The dialogue surrounding tuition and internationalization are in many ways emblematic of the broader debate: is higher education a public good or a private benefit? Although German universities are not financially benefiting from international students’ tuition fees, the underlying rationales for engaging in internationalization are shifting. This shift follows a new logic that is contributing to a change from a more public good perspective to seeing higher education as a private benefit.

Internationalization within higher education arenas centered on student mobility until the mid-1980s. At that time, the concept of internationalization expanded to include “other aspects of interconnectedness between national education systems” (van der Wende, 2002, p. 49) including cross-border activities, academic cooperation and collaboration, academic knowledge transfer, international education, and student and scholar mobility (Teichler, 2009). Within this wide range of activities, a feasible definition of internationalization stems from Jane Knight’s (2004) work. She defines internationalization as, “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the objective, function and provision of higher education” (Knight, 2004, p. 21). Although most scholars and stakeholders involved in the discourse agree with Knight’s definition, it was still evident that the “primary indicator of internationalisation for higher education institutions continued to be student mobility” (Luijten-Lub, van der Wende & Huisman, 2005, p. 153).

The internationalization of German universities, with a focus on graduate-level international student mobility, is the basis of my dissertation. The project investigates through qualitative methods the endeavors actors in German universities and higher education organization located at the federal level undertake to fulfill the global and national internationalization agendas. Changes in German universities expressed in European and German policy documents can be described as layering a private benefit, economic model for higher education on top of the longstanding public good configuration. Münch (2011a) describes this layering of private over public good as occurring when “research and teaching are subjected to an entrepreneurial strategic operation....[and] universities have to secure shares of the market through strategic decisions and managerial control” (p.4). Münch (2011), following Slaughter and Rhoades’ (2004) theory, refers to these forces as academic capitalism. Academic capitalism seeks to explain the change processes higher education institutions take as they move from a public good knowledge regime towards a market-responsive learning regime. Although academic capitalism’s analysis has not directly focused on internationalization processes, international competition has become a key topic for German federal and supranational policy involvement in higher education, typified by General Trade Agreement in Services (GATS) discussions (Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007; Verger, 2010; Wildavsky, 2009).

Grounded in the framework of academic capitalism, the research project aims to contribute to an understanding of how the market perspective is shifting the logic and rationales for internationalization initiatives. To accomplish this goal, I draw from ongoing programs within the German higher education landscape that contribute to producing a more market-facing practice and agenda for internationalization. Additionally, I analyze the motivations and mechanisms underpinning these programs. I examine whether internationalization is supporting

universities' public good mandates or if the term is being co-opted to support commodification of knowledge, defined as transforming educational processes into a form that can be captured and packaged in order to be sold under market conditions (Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005), thus bring to light a more academic capitalist approach to education.

1.2 The changing logic of internationalization in German higher education

In using internationalization as a lens to look at German higher education reforms, the research identifies the initiatives undertaken as well as the tensions and uncertainty actors express when discussing the underlying rationales for engaging in internationalization. There is a wide range of existing scholarship on internationalization in German higher education. Much of its focus, however, has been related to national or global policy (e.g. Guruz, 2008; Keeling 2006; Wildasky, 2009; Marginson & van der Wende, 2007), academic careers (e.g. Krücken, Blümel & Kloeke, 2009; Enders, 2001; Prichard 2005), research funding (Münch 2011; Kehm & Pasternack, 2009), GATS (e.g. Hahn, 2003; Verger, 2009), and, most voluminously, on the Bologna Process (e.g. Witte, 2006; Teichler, 2008; Keeling, 2006; van der Wende, 2008). Each of these is an important aspect of the analysis, but no single approach conveys the overarching shift that is occurring across the German higher education landscape. My research contributes another perspective to the discussion. It looks at the programs and initiatives within internationalization of higher education and reveals how they create space for an academic capitalist perspective to emerge.

From the amount of funding provided to the federally funding student exchange agency, the DAAD, for its internationalization initiatives (397 million Euro in 2010) German policy makers support is evident, thus it is surprising that there is not a more distinctly defined goal for

what the country or universities hope to achieve. Despite lacking a clearly articulated purpose, Germany seems to attend to a “currency of brains”, according to a previous Rector of the University of Bonn, (Desruisseaux, 2000), rather than the currency of tuition noted in the *Chronicle* article.

Beginning as early as the 1980s, Chandler (1985) noted that, “the German experience also points to another aspect of the foreign student issue, and that is the importance of scientific knowledge. Such technical expertise is the present-day equivalent of fertile land, cattle, gold, and spices” (p. 46). In line with this argument, the previous president of the DAAD stated in 2010, “recruiting foreign students appears to be the ideal way to boost Germany's skilled labour force. So, from the DAAD perspective, the priority must be to significantly increase the number of students from abroad, from a present 240,000 to 300,000 in 2020” (Gardner, 2010, p. 1). The federal government’s support for this rationale is evident in the changes made to its immigration laws in 2005 and 2007. Through introducing a green card program targeting information technology specialists from non-EU countries; enabling highly skilled international workers to immediately obtain permanent residency upon finding a job; and granting international students the opportunity to work during their studies and a one-year residence permit after graduation to find work the federal government is committed to opening Germany to highly skilled workers. These actions, according to the German Interior Minister, “give us the opportunity to take part in the race for the world’s best brains” (cited in Tremblay, 2005, p.10). However, many students, and even some universities, do not know about these options. As one DAAD interviewee noted,

There is a lack of information; we saw this in the meeting at the end of November. We saw that they [international students] simply do not know that they can stay. There’s no urgency, no requirement to leave after finishing the PhD or masters....the government implemented these new rules but in secret, they don’t want to talk about it because it’s not popular. Because in society we still have this “we are not an immigration country”—its like double speak (DAAD 2).

Hence, the motivation for internationalization may not be for immediate, institutional financial gain as it is in many of the Anglo-American countries, rather it appears to be linked to a long-term investment in economic stability and growth through ensuring a sufficient number of highly skilled and trained individuals (Hawthorne, 2008). The long-range perspective results in a conception of universities as institutions that are able to create “the economies of the future,” “magnetiz[e] talent,” and “provide the ideas and energy to drive economic innovation” (Coughlan, 2011).

At its most basic level, internationalization can be defined and measured quantitatively: the number of international students in Germany, the number of German students studying abroad, the number of courses taught in English, the number of international partners (memoranda of understandings are the common unit of analysis), and the number of services offered to international students. Yet, it is the qualitative changes in perspective that reveal the depth to which internationalization is shifting and in which direction it is moving. In the past 10 years, Germany (and many other countries) can be seen as amending its motivations for and practices of attracting international students. This is seen most visibly in the German federally funded Guide to Academic Training and Education (GATE) marketing project. This marketing initiative is administered by two intermediary organizations, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the German Rector’s Conference (HRK). One of the primary aims of GATE Germany is to encourage German universities to profile themselves in such a way as to market to and recruit international students. GATE Germany has stipulated that member universities should strive to have 15% of their student body comprised of international students (GATE Germany, 2010). However, the reasons for the 15% target were not specifically outlined in the GATE Germany literature. Through an interview with a GATE Germany actor one reason

or rather two were given, identifying that there are competing rationales for wanting to attract international students,

...the partnership approach and transparency, incomings and outgoings, and the academic who should sort of give back as a sort of moral responsibility in addition to the academic responsibility....Having said this we are quite aware of, you know, needing 400,000 skilled workers from elsewhere and sometimes there might be a certain bias in what we say and do. So I think what is very important for us in this day and age is to be honest about this ambivalence (GATE 2).

The stated ambivalence stems from a tension between Germany's initial ideal of internationalization as academic partnership and knowledge-sharing/giving within a public good regime of higher education and the rise of a politically and economically fueled competition for the best brains. German university actors and higher education stakeholders vacillate between the two rationales of partnership and competition. Their reactions to the change processes appear ambivalent as they question whether to reject certain initiatives as too indicative of a commodified higher education system or to embrace reforms such as in pursuit of funding for international student scholarships. The ambivalence does not only exist in universities. Many of the funding organizations find it difficult to identify mechanisms to measure the success of their programs: should they count the number of international students in universities? Or the number of international students who remain after graduation? In essence, organizations, governments, and universities are unsure of how they want to define the "outcomes" of their initiatives.

1.3 Public good to private benefits

Germany's view of higher education as a public good is tied to its post-World War II positioning to reestablish itself within the global community. The DAAD provided funding opportunities for German and international scholars and students to assist in reestablishing a

peaceful and partnership oriented role. Although still an important component of DAAD's current perspective, it is evident that the traditional public good perspective is no longer the only guiding principle given the rise of the European Commission's supranational agenda for higher education systems and Germany's own changing laws and perspectives. The emphasis now placed on attracting international students has not only brought forth a new logic it has also contributed to introducing revenue generating opportunities, a discourse on the professionalism of staff and growth of new management practices, to amendments in laws and governance ideals, and practical changes to language, curriculum, and programs. Taken together these practices open up spaces to see higher education also as a private good, as expressed by Mr. Wächter in the *Chronicle* article.

In addition to exploring the various discourses surrounding the rationales for *why* universities and other higher education stakeholders engage in attracting international students, this research project also examines *how* these changes are causing shifts in institutional ideologies and practices. As internationalization moves towards a more economic rationale, universities shift towards more administrative management and rely on intermediary organizations to offer more accessible courses, market these in an attempt to recruit the "the best and brightest". German universities as described by Burton Clark (1983) embody the classical "bureaucratic oligarchy," characterized by "a combination of political regulation by the state and professional self-control by academic oligarchies" (p.140). In this construction, state ministries significantly influence universities through intervening in procedures, budgets and structures while allowing faculty members to maintain a strong academic self-governance (Schimank, 2005). The move away from the state directed arrangement is occurring. Administrators are shifting their responsibilities away from the maintenance of university infrastructure and

implementation of policies according to state-defined procedural rules towards following university leadership defined goals and using performance governance (Krücken et al., 2009).

The breakdown of the traditional state system was called for in many Commission documents, as they argued that the,

system has become too large and complex for the state to sustain its position as sole regulator and funder, [hence] that market competition within and between universities will create more efficient and effective institutions and that management principles derived from the private sector which monitor, measure, compare and judge professional activities will enhance higher education functioning (Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005, p. 58).

As such new governance and management perspectives and practices have been introduced, which emphasize a new professionalism and a New Public Management (NPM) governance framework. These changes contribute to an academic capitalist framework.

Academic capitalism speaks to the degree to which university and industry/market actors accept market mechanisms and the rhetoric of competition, job creation, national wealth, and a global playing field in dictating the kinds of students recruited, education provided, and research being funded. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) “see the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime as ascendant..., academic capitalism has not replaced the public good knowledge regime. The two coexist, intersect, and overlap” (p.29). The move away from the traditional public good perspective does not imply a complete rejection of the ideology, but rather that the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime is mobilizing resources and perspectives away from the more traditional perspective of education. As this occurs the public good advocates struggle to compete with fewer reserves². Academic capitalism argues that with the decline of the state and the rise of market rationale, rules focus “not on social welfare for the citizenry as a whole but on

² Additionally, the change academic fields experience when they move towards becoming a profit center it is caught between being part of the ‘traditional’ university and a quasi-market, leaving fields and actors fragmented. This paper will not delve into this topic, yet as actors experience the various roles they are expected to play inevitably influences how they interact with students and recreate the structures.

enabling individuals as economic actors” (ibid, p. 20). Thus, education is seen as an economic investment with individual contributions and returns and the notion of public good becomes a byproduct of the accumulation of private goods. As such, there is a marked shift in the rationale for why countries engage in funding international students and scholars and promoting collaborations—from learning about a new culture/language to one that sees the recruitment of students and scholars as an economic “brain gain” (Hawthorne, 2008; Vincent-Lancrin, 2008).

German higher education reforms within an academic capitalist framework are in part due to the changing reward and sanction structure. In looking at internationalization and the pressure to attract increasing numbers of international students, rewards begin to revolve around the “number of student ‘customers’ captured and the degree of financial surplus created” (Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005, p. 39); rather than measuring learning outcomes. Although Germany’s financial surplus is calculated in brains rather than ‘bucks’, many of the same reward and sanction mechanisms are involved in these transactions. In viewing international students as sources of income (a common practice in many Anglo-American institutions) they are no longer prized for their cultural contribution to campuses but rather are “captive markets being socialized into consumption-focused capitalism” (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p.280). Capitalism and its university-counterpart, academic capitalism, exist by continually accumulating new resources. Thus, as domestic populations begin to stagnate, capitalism’s logical next step is to expand to new continents, nations, and regions; and find new possibilities for profit and privilege (O’Hara, 2004). Universities entering into academic capitalism can be seen as adapting from a more public good perspective towards a market logic. In this context, international student *mobility* is looked at as an international student *market*. Thus, academic capitalism provides a framework to analyze how actors inside and outside higher education accept, promote, or reject more

competitive and commodifying behaviors to attract international students. In so doing, they bring forth new logics for internationalization.

Two primary ideological shifts prompt the commodification of university programs and courses. The first is the emphasis on competition for funding and students, needing to select programs that are more applied and transferable. The second is the growing dependence of resource allocation on undefined notions of excellence. Competition discourse is used to encourage universities to adapt to an undefined global standard of ‘quality’ rather than promoting cultural depth, multi-lingualism and diversity (Teichler, 2007). In recent European higher education policy documents and their inspired programs, namely the Bologna Declaration and the Lisbon Strategy, as well as the German Excellence Initiative, universities are encouraged to transform into more vertically differentiated and competitive institutions, justified as promoting more quality institutions. Münch (2011), however, does not agree that the competition produces quality logic in the German higher education system, but argues that competition for “money, renowned scholars and intelligent students....focuses on the power game of academic capitalism” (p.2).

1.4 Research questions

Although academic capitalist practices were first identified in Anglo-American countries, similar impulses are now moving through Europe as actors are using a variety of state resources to create new circuits of knowledge that link higher education institutions to the new economy/knowledge society. Through European and German funded initiatives, universities engage in competition to acquire funding aimed at increasing international visibility, prestige, and international students on campus. The competition, according to Münch (2011a) “has nothing at all to do with the actual research and teaching proceedings, yet it has a lasting effect

on these proceedings...created by the Shanghai rankings of the 500 most visible universities in the world” (p.4). Within a ranked and classified world of higher education institutions, universities must become marketers—although in Germany this does not imply revenue generation. German universities are promoting themselves and their services to attract brains and international recognition.

According to these metrics, there is an acknowledged need to expand and develop managerial and professional capacity to attend to the flow of resources and new priorities. I explore *how* pursuing internationalization projects and initiatives contribute to opening up of new spaces, bring in new actors, new standards, and a new perspective on internationalization. The research also focuses on the shift in individuals’ perspectives—faculty, students, administrators, as well as federal-level stakeholders—as they engage in internationalization endeavors. *What* is actually changing—recruitment, management, services? What are the challenges and opportunities resulting from the increased attention to internationalization? Is there room to maneuver? *Who* contests or supports the move from a public good to a more market orientation? The study highlights that German universities are moving towards a new logic in internationalization policy and practices, but as these logics are in transition actors demonstrate an ambivalence to engage.

The study seeks to understand why and how internationalization projects are being undertaken, not to judge the number or quality. To focus on the individuals involved in carrying policies forward, I undertook a qualitative study that focused on the shift in German universities from a public good perspective towards viewing education as a private benefit through the lens of internationalization. Interviews with selected university administrators, professors, international graduate students, and higher education organization staff fill in these concepts with

stories, explanations, and detailed descriptions of the daily work of internationalization. The viewpoints clarify the progression of internationalization, and provide the context for determining if internationalization is indeed carrying universities farther away from their public good ideals and towards an academic capitalist approach. The pervasiveness and acceptance of internationalization provides an umbrella under which many activities and initiatives can shelter. As Teichler (2009) ironically points out, “a university willing to paint its toilets green instead of white would nowadays claim that this had been done to contribute to internationalization” (p.23). Thus, I attempt to narrow the scope of the project to how internationalization initiatives are being employed to prepare or train faculty and administrators to be more market-facing, as well as explain how internationalization is shifting university behavior. I outlined three primary research questions to focus the analysis,

1. How has ‘internationalization’ evolved as a concept? Is it contributing to university repositioning in the evolving ‘market’ for international students?
2. Are the concurrent initiatives and rationales for internationalization facilitating a shift from a public good perspective to one that privileges knowledge as a commodity?
3. As universities engage in internationalization endeavors that are permeated with various logics, how are actors participating or contesting the various programs and objectives?

1.5 Organization of study

Building from these research questions, the dissertation is structured into seven chapters. Chapter one outlines the basic argument and identifies the underlying rationale for the research problem and approach. Chapter two provides the context and conceptual frame for the study by presenting a brief overview of the history and structure of the German higher education system, followed by the theoretical framework of academic capitalism. Chapter three details the project methodology explaining the case study approach and the overall research process. Chapters four, five and six weave together the existing literature with the collected data. The first of these, chapter four, looks at the rise of European and German policy frameworks that support a more market-facing approach to internationalization, and responds to the first research question. Chapter five addresses the second research question through interview data from key actors in two intermediary organizations, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the German Rector's Conference (HRK). The actors in these organizations were asked to analyze their organizational role as they mediate and transmit the Commission's and the German federal government's internationalization goals to universities. These organizations are particularly impactful due to their role in providing funding and competitive incentives. Chapter six explores the third research question as actors—administration, faculty, and graduate-level international students—express ambivalence towards the changing logic of internationalization and new internationalization initiatives. Each of these chapters is divided into four themes: (1) the evolving role of policy, practice, and/or perspectives; (2) the changing logic of internationalization in which actors recognize the new opportunities and take advantage or reject these new spaces for action; (3) the tensions that exist within internationalization; (4) the new social order that may be developing as new practices and perspectives become embedded. The

dissertation concludes in chapter seven with a discussion of the study's implications and a look at how the theoretical perspective of academic capitalism was analytically applied.

1.6 Conclusion

In the contemporary economy where the creation of knowledge, especially marketable or commercial knowledge, is one of the most important factors of production, Germany's push to internationalize through increasing the number of international students is not uncommon (Cremonini & Antonowicz, 2008). According to the American National Science Foundation, this has been accomplished in the US due to the role international students play in universities, first, by expanding or maintaining graduate programs due to their tuition; second, based on their participation in research; and lastly when they move into postdoctoral positions that many US graduates would not accept because of poor pay and uncertain future employment (Hawthorne, 2008). This situation underscores Cremonini and Antonowicz's (2008) argument that international student flows "are important descriptors of a country's capacity to be an "academic powerhouse" (p.55). Germany's (and the European Commissions') willingness to adhere to, if not follow outright the US's academic perspective, has triggered a competition among universities for material and symbolic capital, influenced what research is funded, how scholarship is judged, and who is able to manage the process (Münch, 2011b). These competitive aspects represent the ascent of the academic capitalism/learning regime and the hollowing out of the traditional public good perspective of higher education.

In spite of the fact that German universities do not charge tuition, their motivations to attract international students can be seen as grounded in an economic rationale. As such, Germany has begun to follow a model for international student recruitment that has allowed a host of new initiatives, programs, and organizational forms to develop an "academically

attractive” country. Cremonini and Antonowicz (2008) suggest that government policies and universities must create ideas that can be exported, market knowledge effectively (e.g., patent arrangements), support the in-flow of international students and researchers, endorse the establishment of campuses abroad and international academic cooperation, and adopt a client approach to students. Presumably, countries fostering these premises will make it onto international students’ ‘radars’ as well as be identified by ranking organizations (ibid). By definition, these measures are tenets of academic capitalism and place university operations squarely in the midst of a market framework. Thus, this study describes how university administrators, faculty members, and federal level actors endorse a perspective of academic capitalism through the changing the logics of internationalization, or, more specifically, in the pursuit of international students in a higher education market.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Beginning from the medieval organization of territories, to the Third Reich's centralized control, higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany developed from a series of historical events and conditions that continue to impact the structure and funding of higher education. This chapter broadly explores some of these historical events and how they contribute to the current university system. The chapter begins with a description of the Humboldtian ideal of the unity of research and teaching and its guiding role since its inception for university practices and policies. In addition to this ideal, I detail various stakeholders within the higher education arena including the federal-level coordinating organizations, the German government, and European policy makers and identify various events and reforms. These actors and practices set the framework to argue that German higher education reforms were initially prompted by internal needs but in the 1980s begin to incorporate European and international impulses. The change from internal to external impulses marks a distinct shift in the higher education system's trajectory. Paralleling these reforms is a change in Germany's overall capitalist society. The transformation to the guiding philosophy of German universities is identified as a move away from a public good perspective towards a more market facing, academic capitalist approach. The chapter concludes by exploring academic capitalism as a conceptual framework and proposing how the analysis will be applied to the internationalization of German higher education.

2.2 Background: German Federalism and the Humboldtian ideal

Since the early universities' founding in the 14th century in some of the territories that now make up Germany, namely Heidelberg (1385), Cologne (1388) and Erfurt (1372), they have been closely aligned to the *Land* (state) in which they originated. Universities in the Middle Ages were organized as “groupings of individuals, a ‘societal community’” (Schwinges, 2004, p. 203), deeply connected to their regional environment. The historical importance placed on the universities and Germany's commitment to higher learning is evident in that in 1789, thirty-five of Europe's 143 universities were German, inclusive of a student population of 7,900 (Charle, 2004).

In 1809, Wilhelm von Humboldt initiated a profound change to the university-state relationship by introducing a new university model. Humboldt, moving away from the prevailing French model, designed an ideal-type university around the forward-thinking ideas of Friedrich Schleiermacher (Rüegg, 2004). Schleiermacher's educational philosophy challenged the idea that universities were simply to pass on recognized and directly usable knowledge (ibid). In contrast, he espoused an ideal of *Einheit von Forschung und Lehre*, or unity of research and teaching, on which an education system would demonstrate how knowledge is discovered and integrated into teaching (ibid). The new guild-like system incorporated autocratic and autonomous faculties, allowed professors to have the freedom to follow research where it led, and combined it with teaching. The *Länder* bestowed civil servant status upon professors and imbued them with this freedom in exchange for adhering to certain regulations such as obeying the law and giving up the right to go on strike (Kehm, Michelsen, & Vabø 2010). The Humboldtian ideal was so important to both the *Länder* and professors that it was formalized by the Prussian state in the Paulskirche constitution of 1849 and the 1850 constitution of Prussia, which lasted until World War I.

At the conclusion of World War I and the creation of the Weimar Republic, Germany's 1919 constitution did not break with the Humboldtian tradition. Rather, it altered the ideal of the unity of research and teaching by giving the national government the right to introduce general laws with basic principles applicable for the higher education system (Rüegg, 2004). Until this time, the responsibility for the university system had rested exclusively with the *Länder*. The new provision did not change the status of universities or their relationship to their individual *Land*, yet it opened up the possibility for federal regulation. The *Länder* took little notice of the federal right until 1934, when all higher education institutions were placed under control of a newly formed ministry in the Third Reich (Braband, 2004). It was also during the Weimar Republic years, in 1925, that the "Akademischer Austauschdienst e.V." (Academic Exchange Service) or the DAAD was founded (German Academic Exchange Service, 2011a). Although the DAAD was the first organization to coordinate university level international relationships throughout the country, it quickly and successfully assumed the responsibility for administering all universities' student and academic exchange programs. By 1937, the DAAD had established formal relationships with ten countries, offered 110 exchange scholarships (primarily with the United States), and had opened nine branches of the exchange service in various European countries (ibid). However, the impact of the Third Reich was as devastating for the DAAD as it was for universities as they both came under the political control of the Nazi regime.

Following World War II, the occupying Allied forces closed the West German universities due to their perceived willing support of the Third Reich's ideology (Remy, 2002). Although American forces sought to have them blocked indefinitely, universities were reopened in 1946. The universities adopted their pre-1933 organizational structure, but contemporary researchers criticize that the de-nazification of professors' and university personnel was less than thorough

checked (ibid). Administrative responsibility was given back to the *Länder*, albeit with strict precautions against state encroachments (Braband, 2004). The occupying forces concentrated efforts on the enormous task of reconstructing German society and physically rebuilding universities. In turn, they delegated the responsibility of restructuring the universities to ‘untainted’ professors (Remy, 2002). With this authority, and as a way to forget or diminish their role in supporting the Third Reich, the faculty fostered a myth of the autonomy of science and preservation of the Humboldtian tradition even during the Nazi era. Not only did this “whitewashing of the Ivory Tower” (ibid) allow professors to reclaim control in the universities, it eliminated any suggested structural changes.³ Nonetheless universities were seen as a vital to the economic reconstruction and reform attempts were passed over as more pressing concerns dominated the attention of the West German Federal Republic.

With faculty members’ commitment to the Humboldtian ideals and society’s need to create stable institutions, faculty members were given equal, if not greater, autonomy and influence within their institutions than they had experienced at any other time in history (Remy, 2002). The strength of the faculty was supported by the newly created *Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz* (West German Rectors’ Conference or WRK). Founded in Munich in 1949, the membership of the WRK was comprised of higher education institutions and formally represented by their Rectors (German Rectors Conference, 2011a). The WRK was active in supporting faculty members and their right to self-govern, as the position of Rector was simply a revolving position among the faculty members and positioned at the core of the university leadership and administration (ibid). The *Länder* ministries accepted this governance arrangement due to the

³ There were two noted attempts to reform the universities written by professors and other interest groups in the British zone (‘blue report’ or *blaues Gutachten*) in 1947 and in the American zone (*Schwalbacher Richtlinien*) in 1948. Both reports presented similar reform agendas: internal democratization of the universities; reduction of the possibilities of state intervention in favor of more academic freedom; definition of sole legal responsibility of the ministers of culture of the *Länder*. Neither documents received significant attention (Braband, 2004).

recent history of the Nazi government's intrusion into universities and the Humboldtian ideal of freedom of science and learning. Thus, until the end of the 1960s, there was minimal state or federal intervention or influence on the internal structure of universities (Braband, 2004). With the reinstatement of faculty at the helm of universities and the founding of the WRK, faculty members collectively sought to reestablish the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (German Academic Exchange Agency or DAAD). The reestablishment of DAAD in the early post war years was just as much a vehicle to regain partnerships and academic connections outside Germany as it was to promote mobility. Reconnecting with other countries was accomplished through stays abroad, scholarships for foreigners to study in West Germany and for West Germans going abroad, and the exchange of practical interns/student trainees (German Academic Exchange Service, 2011a). In addition to the WRK and DAAD, the *Länder* decided to create three other coordinating organizations: the *Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister* or Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Culture (KMK), the *Wissenschaftsrat*, or Science Council and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* or German Research Association (DFG) (Teichler, 1992). These coordinating organizations set guidelines for minimum conformity between the *Länder* higher education systems, acted as an advisory body for the *Länder* for matters regarding higher education science and research, and provided funding for research, respectively.

Mass higher education

Beginning in the middle of the 1950s, a high number of new students compared to previous years entered into German universities. The number of first-year entrants at universities grew exponentially from around 112,000 in the 1950s to over one million by 1980 (Teichler, 1992). Reforms to university governance, organization, and teaching became inescapable; however,

changes were limited by the fact that the university elite sought to maintain many of the traditional practices (Braband, 2005). Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, a restructuring through formal and informal policies and initiatives was implemented to serve a more socially and economically diverse student body. And, the Humboldtian professorial ideal—equal time for research and teaching—was adapted. The increase in the number of students without a corresponding increase in funding caused universities and the *Länder* to look to the federal government for more assistance. Schimank and Winnes (2000) noted that this lack of funding led to a ‘crowding out’ of research by teaching and a ‘driving out’ of research projects to extra-university research-only institutes (i.e. Max-Planck Institutes, Leibniz Associations, Fraunhofer Society or the Helmholtz Associations⁴) during the 1970s. The increase in the number of students caused Chairs, or professor led departments, and the support staff (doctoral and post-doctoral candidates) to expand, however not at the same rate as student enrollment. Universities therefore had difficulty in maintaining the balance between providing quality teaching and research (Enders, 2001). The functions of the university were becoming subdivided and specialized: research was funneled to the extra-university research institutes and a new type of higher education institution was developed to focus on teaching vocationally oriented courses (e.g. engineering, economics, etc.). The role of the University of Applied Sciences or *Fachhochschule*, was designed to ‘unburden’ the universities from the ‘student mountain’ (Krücken et al., 2009, p. 16). Despite the intention to create more space in the universities, the

⁴ These independent research centers or ‘extra-university’ institutions have always been federally funded through the German Research Foundation (DFG); and as such have never been challenged with funding decreases or given teaching responsibilities. Thus, during the height of the student expansion coupled with decreased funding from the *Länder* university professors responsibilities tilted towards teaching at the expense of research. This caused negative reactions to the extra-university institutes as faculty felt they were losing, according to Schimank and Lange (2009), “that part of their work which has the highest intrinsic attraction to them and gives them their peculiar reputation among colleagues and within the larger society, but also that universities would no longer distinguish themselves from the *Fachhochschulen* [Universities of Applied Science]” (p. 54). Furthermore as Münch (2011b) suggests, if the funding that was and currently still is directed to the extra-research institutions would go to universities there would be a better mentoring rate for undergraduate studies as well as doctoral studies allowing students with access to high quality research.

Fachhochschulen did not alleviate the increasing number of students as all school leavers with an *Abitur* or Gymnasium completion degree had a constitutional right to access higher education in any institution; thus, the original plan to divert 60% of higher education entrants to the *Fachhochschulen* was not possible to enforce (ibid). Furthermore, demographic indicators projected a decline in students after the mid-1970s, which provided justification for the *Länder* to avoid hiring more staff in the universities and simply restricted access (numerus clauses) to certain subjects (Teichler, 1992).

The expansion of Germany's higher education system called for formal amendments to the Basic Law.⁵ The Basic Law authorized joint *Länder*-federal tasks such as the construction of buildings, the promotion of research of national importance; and a system of financial aid, which by 1971 the federal government formalized into a comprehensive and nationally standardized law *Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz*, known as the BAföG (Teichler, 1992). In 1969, additional shared tasks between the *Länder* and the federal government, including the expansion of higher education and the support of research (Hüfner, 1987). In this arrangement, the federal government was given more rights and took on more responsibilities in the *Länder*-controlled higher education sector. But, the shared power brought forth challenging discussions on the coordination and standardization of West German higher education. The federal government's response to the lack of common standards came in 1976 with the development of the *Hochschulrahmengesetz* (Federal Framework Law or HRG) that laid the groundwork for harmonizing the *Länder's* higher education systems (Scharpf, 2005). Most *Länder* governments responded to the HRG by mandating that universities have more oversight over Chairs and

⁵ Following World War II, the Federal Republic drafted the Basic Law for West Germany that divided the rights and responsibilities for states and the federal government (Wolter, 2006). The Basic Law attempted to equalize the differences in *Länder* through a fiscal regime of shared income and a system of jointly financed and planned programs in politically relevant areas, including higher education (Scharpf, 2005).

encourage a more equal distribution of responsibility: departments replaced faculties, university presidents were provided with longer terms, and a more professional administration was introduced (Jarausch, 1997).

Focus on international comparisons

In 1980 a new conservative government coalition was elected. The government coalition sought to expand the federal government's mandate in higher education (Hüfner, 1987). Hüfner (1987) attributes the government's success to the combination of the still unmanaged and increasingly high number of students (there was an increase of over 500,000 students from 1970 to 1980) and general global trends of neo-liberal capitalism. These conditions provided a platform for the Federal Minister for Education and Science, Dorothee Wilms, to launch the "Guidelines for a Revised Higher Education Policy from the Federal Perspective" (ibid). In this document, Wilms, representing the federal government, presented a plan to shift state intervention in higher education towards market-oriented mechanisms. This plan included competition for students and academic reputation, autonomy for higher education institutions through greater decision-making capacity, and a new funding scheme based on incentives (ibid). The change in the perspective of German policymakers was debated throughout the 1980s, but remained secondary to the unexpected German reunification in 1990.

The profound global shifts that occurred with the break down of the Soviet control and the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990⁶ were understated in the education realm (Welch, 2010). The breaking down of the physical wall not only brought reunification to families and German culture, it also forced social institutions to integrate. In the education

⁶ Since reunification in 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany consists of 16 *Länder*, or states: Baden-Württemberg, Bayern (Bavaria), Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein and Thüringen. The 11 *Länder* in the former West were established after 1945. The *Länder* that made up the former GDR, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen and Thüringen were re-integrated in 1990 after being abolished in 1952 by the GDR and replaced with 14 districts.

sector, there was a wholesale transfer of policies, practices, and personnel from West to East Germany (ibid). The former German Democratic Republic (GDR) and its education system was judged as ideologically tainted, highly centralized, regimented and closed-off from external influences (ibid). However, some aspects of the system were identified as worth maintaining, for example, the strong teaching profiles of the mid-level staff (who, contrary to their counterparts in the West, were on permanent contracts), the tight course structure, and the much shorter degree completion periods” (Mayer, Müller & Pollak, 2003, p. 20). Despite these concessions, the education system in West Germany, and the coordinating institutions (the WRK, the DAAD, and the Science Council), were implemented throughout the former East. Upon admitting the Eastern states’ higher education institutions, the WRK adopted the name *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* or German Rectors Conference (HRK) and the DAAD opened all of its programs for professors and students located in the former Eastern universities.

After the relatively seamless integration of the East and West in the mid-1990s, the higher education reform debate resumed. Discussions had evolved from focusing on national or European integration and positioning to confronting external demands and competition found in the global ‘knowledge society’ (Welsh, 2010). To begin situating the German higher education system within the knowledge society, amendments to the higher education Federal Framework Act (HRG) were introduced in 1998. The amendments included performance-based competition for resources and hierarchical organizational governance (Enders, 2001). Some universities created boards of trustees to begin opening up to other stakeholders, in particular the business community (Mayer et al., 2003). Through these 1998 amendments German higher education policy-makers were taking major strides to “transform German higher education according to market principles and aimed to improve German higher education institutions international

competitiveness by means of deregulation and performance-oriented incentives, rewards and funding” (Prichard, 2006, p. 93). In 2004, the amendments were legally challenged by a coalition of conservative academics and some *Land* governments, declared unconstitutional, and eventually dissolved in the HRG⁷ in 2006 (Kehm, 2007; Scharpf, 2005). Despite the collapse of the HRG, many of the university-state governance reforms were maintained in university practices. The market-facing amendments fostered a discourse that challenged the Humboldtian, professor-led ‘first among equals’ system. They offered solutions to manage the challenges of dwindling state resources for higher education. And, they created a competitive perspective for university policy makers positioning the German higher education system in the international arena.

2.3 Internationalization and competition

European-wide internationalization initiatives

Germany’s move towards becoming internationally competitive was congruent with European-wide ideological shifts and programs that had been in practice since the 1970s. The European Economic Community (predecessor to the European Union), took its first step into higher education policies by introducing the Joint Study Programmes (JSP) initiative in 1976 (Baron, 1993). The goal of the program was for the EC Commission “to create more convergence and congruence in the contents and structure of higher education and research between the various member states” (ibid, p. 51). In the 1980s, the European Community took

⁷Although the 2006 federal reform profoundly changed the *Länder* -federal government policy relationship by removing the federal government’s rights in the higher education sector, the federal government continued to maintain a significant influence in research policy, provide funds for the student financial aid system (BAföG) and are active in German higher education internationally (Gabriel, et al., 2007). The federal government’s willingness to step out of higher education policy was explained as a way to “disentangle competencies” (ibid). Currently the *Länder* and universities negotiate support on various issues such as the Higher Education Pact 2020 (*Hochschulpakt*) that deals with funding of student enrollment.

further steps into higher education bolstered by the ruling of the European Court of Justice that the European Commission had the right to promote “any form of education which prepares for a qualification enabling the holder to enter a particular profession...even if it includes an element of general education” (quoted in Field, 1997, p. 37). Although the Commission did not have any formal mandate or legal rights in the education sector, the Commission actively promoted a ‘diversity through unity’ perspective on the basis of the 1984 judicial decision. The Commission created nine new education and training programs between 1986 and 1991 and spent close to one billion Euros to encourage European student mobility and the mutual recognition of university courses (ibid). The largest of the action programs was the ERASMUS program, initiated in 1987, which supported curricular innovation, faculty teaching exchange, European student mobility for up to one year, and other information transfer activities. Teichler (2004) describes the ERASMUS program as the first step in the qualitative change in internationalization endeavors; the second step—the Bologna Declaration—would take another 10 years to realize, yet the stage was being set to move from an ideal of “cooperation and mobility on equal terms, and towards systematic and strategic internationalisation” (ibid, p. 1).

The Commission’s influence in higher education and its link to international competitiveness continued to grow in the 1990s. The Commission expanded its reach into education with the 1992 Treaty on the European Union, often referred to as the Maastricht Treaty. The Maastricht Treaty dealt with education in an explicit manner for the first time in the history of treaties between Member States and the European Commission (Bruno, 2009). The treaty argued for further integration of education and training between the Member States, but maintained and specifically stated in Article 126 that the Commission “fully respects the responsibilities of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of

education systems (Ertl, 2006, p. 11). Bruno (2009) argues, however, that in spite of the Commission's respect for the jurisdictional boundaries, it more actively promoted inserting notions of competition into public sector arenas.

Marginson and van der Wende (2007) note that an increased emphasis on competition in higher education was related to the awareness that "Europe had lost its position as the number one destination for foreign students to the United States, was losing too many of its own graduates and researchers to R&D positions in the United States, and had substantially less efficient degree structures than the United States because its graduates entered the labour market at an older age than did American graduates" (p. 45). To counter these trends, the Commission outlined a document in 1993 that plotted the way forward for the 21st Century by merging economic and social goals through growth, competitiveness, and employment (Bruno, 2009). This new perspective was also reflected in the ERASMUS program. Through the ERASMUS program a new competitive perspectives could be detected in the organizational arrangements that moved exchange partnerships from the department level (faculty led) to an institutional (administratively led) level, and the previous emphasis on European diversity was adjusted to one that supported promoting a distinct 'European Dimension' (compared to an American or Japanese) in the course programs (Teichler, 2008).

Bologna Process and Lisbon Strategy

In 1998, European higher education took a dramatic step towards changing the logic of internationalization. Germany, Italy, France, and the UK gathered in Paris, France, and developed a plan to 'harmonize' their higher education systems. One year later 29 European heads of state met in Bologna, Italy, to formalize the discussion into what has become known as

the Bologna Declaration. The Bologna Declaration established a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) whereby university qualifications would be more comparable and transferable (Bologna Declaration, 1999). They codified a three-tiered study program (Bachelor's, Master's, and doctoral degree); adopted a European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) to facilitate mobility between institutions; and emphasized a quality assurance system (ibid). Higher education systems were expected to become more efficient and flexible and more attractive to non-European students through the EHEA (Adam, 2001). Germany's involvement as one of the four architects of the Bologna Process not only allowed a deeper, more harmonized, and internationally attractive European higher education space to develop, but also opened a window of opportunity, a "European excuse," in which countries could embed domestic reform agendas (Feldbauer, 2008; Heinze & Knill, 2008)⁸. The Bologna Process provided an opportunity for Germany to nest the failed Federal Framework Act 1998 amendments and provided the Commission with the opportunity to begin more aggressively aligning higher education with economic growth. Thus, the Lisbon Strategy was born.

The Lisbon Strategy, created in 2000 and refocused in 2005, was the beginning of the Commission's platform to direct higher education efforts towards the goals of economic growth and jobs. In the 2005 communiqué, *Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling universities to make their full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy*, the Commission clearly articulated the link between higher education institutions and the creation of an economically successful Europe. Comparing European to Anglo-American universities, the Commission critiqued current practices and attributed the lack of success to weak international competitiveness, uniformity of universities that lead to 'average' quality, insularity from industry, over-regulation by the state,

⁸ According to Feldbauer (2008), the question why only France, Germany, Italy and the UK came together and outlined what became the Bologna Declaration was because Claude Allègre, the French minister, only invite them to the initial meeting in Paris.

under-funding and dependency on the state (European Commission, 2005). In the same document the Commission offered suggestions to correct these practices through a “modernization agenda” (ibid). The agenda emphasized the attractiveness of the European higher education system, the need for higher and more efficient educational investment, and better governance and institutional management strategies. Governance, as it is discussed in *Mobilising the brainpower of Europe*, focuses the attention on “less *ex ante* checks and greater *ex post* accountability of universities for quality, efficiency and the achievement of agreed objectives” (European Commission, 2005, p. 7). The discourse is strikingly familiar to the New Public Management (NPM)⁹ discourse that emerged in the 1990s to reform public service governance practices. Although the Commission did not overtly refer to NPM, the language is present in many of the Member States’ reforms and processes (Kwiek, 2008).

New Public Management

Similar to the modernization agenda, NPM in universities has come to stand for more market, less regulation, and stronger leadership (Schimank, 2005). Marginson and van der Wende (2007) describe the NPM template as transforming national systems into economic markets. NPM is able to create these markets by supporting government organized competition between institutions and managerially steered competition between academic units, moving financial arrangements away from the state, facilitating performance incentives to lower costs and engaging in entrepreneurial activities (ibid). NPM has also created incentives for faculty to link with industry, rewards them through output-based funding; but also creates new

⁹ The New Public Management grew in prominence first in the 1980s in the Anglo-American countries and in Western European countries (outside the UK) in the 1990s. In the UK, where NPM arguably took hold in its most idealized form, was a result of citizens demanding smaller, cheaper and more effective governments while at the same time demanding quality public services and practitioners (Evetts, 2009).

accountability and audit mechanisms. In sum, NPM has been shown to strengthen “hierarchical management by rectors and deans, as well as by state authorities and external stakeholders—including industry – while implying deregulation in budgeting and personnel management, and in the approval of programs” (Schimank, 2005, p. 364). As such, these changes encourage more institutional and managerial regulation, which has been associated with creating new tensions between faculty and the administration (Musselin, 2005). Proponents argue, however, that the private sector approach to management is needed to function within a market era which emphasizes flexibility, clearly defined objectives, and results orientation. In essence, NPM offers a new governance relationship for states and their higher education institutions.

The reforms associated with NPM promote a “generic model across the public sector, based on a vision of the primacy of the private commercial enterprise in competitive markets, populated by rational individual managers and consumers, mastering the world through calculation, and governed by economic incentives more than by law or norms” (Olsen, 2009, p. 4). Traditional university values and faculty autonomy are thus hollowed out, which allows universities to “look and feel like just any other form of collectively organized activity in late modernity” (Meek, Reed & Jones, 2002, p. xx). University actors chafe at the new oversight found in these NPM governance arrangements and controls. One of the major objectives to the NPM reforms in higher education has been to create competition. Within NPM a new approach to academia emerges, one that conflicts and interferes with traditional notions of professional autonomy and academic freedom. The values of disinterested inquiry and respect for the integrity of the subject matter conflict with a new set of pressures to provide market-ready courses with demonstrable relevance to labor market conditions and prospects (Olsson & Peters, 2005). Traditionally, faculty followed the Humboldtian standard of autonomy and self-administration

and guarded against the “instrumentalization” of academic endeavors to meet external demands (Münch, 2011b). However, under the NPM reform rhetoric autonomy shifted from faculty to institutions whereby university leadership received a “mandate to marshal the institution’s resources behind the university’s mission and thus to encroach somewhat upon the professors’ unlimited right to his or her own academic agenda” (Weiler, 2005, p. 183). The shift from individual to institutional autonomy allowed the Commission and national governments to continue to champion new initiatives that support competitive behaviors as seen in the Commission’s ‘Europe 2020’ strategy. This strategy focuses on how German universities can compete with American universities by enhancing innovation and research through attracting top students and researchers (European Commission, 2011).

Comparison to the American higher education system

The European Commission, and in many aspects Germany itself, modeled higher education reforms on the American system, or the ideal of the system, in order to compete with US universities. It is therefore not surprising that many of the internationalization processes can be compared to American organization and management systems, especially in terms of research (Münch, 2011b). However, unlike the scripted nature of higher education reform in Europe, higher education internationalization is not a process managed by the US government (Marginson & van der Wende 2007). Internationalization within the US is a collection of actions undertaken by American institutional actors and faculty in dealings with partners in other countries. One cannot account for the differences between the US and European internationalization processes in higher education systems with competition mechanisms alone, but must look to society’s broader organization (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2011).

2.4 The competitive society

Coordinated market society

The way German universities compete in the global knowledge economy is not only connected to the particular governance arrangement, but is also coupled to the nation's unique social, political, and economic system. Organizational entities within a society can be analyzed as shifting in similar ways due to the "struggle between pressures for an expansion of markets and increasing commodification of social relations; and social demand for political stabilization" (Streeck, 2009, p. 4). The tension that results from introducing market logics into social welfare structures creates space for new practices. In his work, *Re-Forming Capitalism*, Wolfgang Streeck (2009) presents institutional change as grounded in individual behavior and societal transformation. These transformations, however, exist within the confines of a capitalist system. Actors' choices are governed by the opportunities and constraints of the social order thus they seek new avenues to expand their profits and increase innovation.

Germany's post-war system of organized capitalism could be described as a coordinated market society (CME), whereby collaboration and coordination were prized over competition (Hall & Soskice, 2001). Within CMEs companies often train individuals through apprenticeship programs. What evolved was a dual-system of education with vocational education being organized and funded by the government and firms and academic education being directed by universities. The state took on a coordinating role for education and training, allowing companies and individuals to take a long-term perspective on employment and invest in gradual innovation.

Liberal market economies (LMEs), in contrast to CMEs, are characterized as dependent on market-based relationships, arms-length agreements, and institutions promoting the formation of general, transferable skills (Hall & Soskice, 2001). LMEs are characterized by an open higher

education system that allows individuals and firms to continually redefine the skills that are needed. The state reduces its intervention in the education system and shifts to a role of increasing the protection of private property rights, a free market, and free trade in order to promote radical innovation (ibid). In essence, a LME is an ideal type society, that supports a neo-liberal perspective, and where individuals are able to pursue the initiatives they see fit and within a market that is not influenced by a regulatory state (Harvey, 2005). The authority of this economic approach is evident in the ongoing General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) of the World Trade Organization (WTO)¹⁰. GATS has become a legal platform for nation-states to negotiate the trade in educational services including rules, principles and procedures for the behavior of countries working in transnational higher education.

Within these two ideal types capitalism takes on different forms depending on the ‘culture’ or national economy. Institutions can be analyzed within a particular capitalist system as they follow a national system of social rules and actions, formal laws as well as incorporating normative, accepted practices. Institutional changes, therefore, are contingent on human actions as they engage in “rule-making, rule-taking, and rule-breaking” (Streeck, 2009). These concepts explain how actions under a particular set of normative or explicit rules may create positive externalities. However once actors begin expanding these acceptable actions, the outcomes may reverse and create negative externalities¹¹. The accepted range of actions and beliefs within an institution form a pattern of meanings that transcend individuals and become collective values, in essence, a culture. Capitalism as culture describes the way individuals and institutions consume,

¹⁰ Unlike other WTO agreements, GATS provides a legal framework and negotiates a system of rules related to trade liberalization through the discussion rounds and takes place in the *Council for Trade in Services* of the WTO. Member countries are required to be involved in negotiations but they do not have to agree to the liberalization of services.

¹¹ For example, at the outset of university-industry cooperation in many Anglo-American universities there was a great deal of success as publicly funded resources (university laboratories, scientists’ skills, etc) were more fully used to benefit the public, but as the relationship changed to allow for private accumulation (copyrights, patents, etc) the effect has been a race towards commodification of knowledge, industry-directed research, and greater privatization.

work, or reject the practices as well as balance market expansion and social structures. This implies that capitalism itself is,

...characterized by distinct *institutional configurations* that generate a particular systemic “logic” of economic action [...] and thus evolve “historically” in the sense of being open to political contention and ideological reinterpretation. By applying the logic of a “historical institutionalism” scholars have shown the broad types of capitalism to be far more dynamic than previously assumed (Jackson & Deeg, 2006, p, 36).

Streeck (2009) applies a historical institutionalism to the analysis of German capitalism. In the analysis, Streeck highlights a patterned disintegration from the ideal-type *Modell Deutschland* in which the government and organized social classes cooperate and jointly manage risks and opportunities to an internationally competitive, market orientation. The disintegration of *Modell Deutschland*’s organized form of capitalism can be attributed to the simultaneous actions of the banks, legislative reforms, large industrial firms, and the government (ibid). However, each institution’s restructuring can be seen as originating independently and endogenously as well as being part of an overall shift in the broader European and German social order. The traditional network of large German firms and banks had previously formed a united business sector. The network had served to protect national interests and the public good, but dissolved their collective commitments in order to privatize and become internationally competitive (ibid). Streeck (2009) contends that,

Internationalization resembles at least as much a break-out of powerful domestic actors seeking new opportunities for growth outside the confines of the national political economy, also to shed burdensome obligations imposed on them as a price for being allowed to utilize for private purpose the common pool of their society’s good will (p. 190).

A growing group of individuals who were disconnected from public careers, including previous leaders and CEOs, led the promotion of the private market approach and connected to the

international discourses (Streeck, 2009). The shift in conceptions of public goods and private goods by powerful actors can be understood as altering the benefits society and individuals ‘deserve’ to receive.

University behavior paralleled the movement of German banks and large industries towards a more market-based economy. Universities are significant actors in a nation’s economic structure because they are grounded in systems of innovation and technology transfer. In Germany, universities have traditionally operated within the coordinated market economy, working with other institutions to provide education and training and with the government to provide tuition-free education. However, as the above discussion has shown, the liberalizing reforms of the European Commission and German federal government shifted the economy, propelling market-like behaviors and relationships to renegotiate the notion of public good.

Public good

The most widely accepted definition of public good derives from the neo-classical economist, Paul Samuelson, as set forth in his 1954 article, “The Pure Theory of Public Expenditure” (Marginson, 2007; Tilak, 2008). In his definition, goods are naturally public, implying they are non-excludable and non-rivalrous, meaning that goods cannot be limited to any one individual and they cannot be depleted. In contrast, private goods are produced in the market for individuals to select and personally consume. The definitions of public and private goods rest on the assumption of a perfectly functioning market. The case for categorizing higher education as a public good rests on the fact universities create universal knowledge and information (Marginson, 2011). Once knowledge is disseminated it is both non-rivalous and non-excludable and its benefits can spread throughout the world. Knowledge was generally

considered public until neo-classical and neo-liberal economists began applying a market logic to education (and many public sectors). Knowledge, and the production of knowledge, became viewed as a commodity. In keeping with market metrics, economists attempted to calculate, in monetary terms, the private, individual benefits garnered from a university degree. However, few have attempted to calculate the public, societal benefits, which are difficult to measure. Leslie and Johnson (1973) questioned the neo-classical economic approach to determining public and private goods within higher education and found that as universities are not operating as a perfect market, individuals do not choose universities based on rational economic factors. For example, they may select a university that is close to home. These personal factors create a situation in which the market logic cannot be fully applied and the ‘true’ public or private benefit of postsecondary education cannot be calculated. However, as policymakers and funding agencies look more to the bottom-line, they willingly accept the neo-classical perspective. These actors gradually come to see the university as replaceable by other agencies offering certificates and conducting research for pay, as seen most visibly in the GATS negotiations that include education as a service. The reorientation of public goods and the activities deemed appropriate in those categories, follows the same logic described by Streeck (2009) in explanation of actors who continually seek new channels for profit making activities and disregard the traditional institutions of the coordinated market society

2.5 Layering of logics

Academic capitalism

The changing economic and social philosophy that aligns higher education with the production of private goods also causes a corresponding realignment of university system

dynamics. Actors begin to accept the idea that knowledge is a commodity, whereby educational processes can be captured and packaged in order to be bought or sold under market conditions. The process of layering these commodity-driven perspectives with the public good ideals creates new dilemmas and trade-offs for universities (Deiaco, Holmen, & McKelvey, 2008). Questions begin to arise: are universities similar to firms? Are universities transforming into profit centers for knowledge-based services? The adaptation of universities to market logics has been theorized as academic capitalism and is highly visible in Anglo-American contexts (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The adoption of neo-liberal market policies in the 1980s by Anglo-American higher education institutions gave rise to academic capitalism. Changes included competitiveness legislation, altered governing mechanisms, immigration laws, demands for quality assessment, and alterations to universities' structures (Ameral, Jones & Karseth, 2002). Academic capitalism describes these structural changes in several of the Anglo-American public research universities and highlights an ongoing repositioning of the academy within the knowledge society (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004).

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) date the emergence of academic capitalism to the landmark Bayh-Dole Act of 1980. This law allowed universities and researchers to patent discoveries with federal funds. In 1983, an executive order expanded the Bayh-Dole act to include corporations. Market logics also began to invade other dimensions of higher education. Tenure, the protected status of faculty as laborers, started to erode as more "teachers" were hired as adjunct faculty. The federal government touted a student choice model by shifting student-aid from grants to loans. And universities outsourced service delivery such as cafeterias, sports facilities, and career counseling to external companies (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Over time, these changes have resulted in greater segmentation among universities. In the UK and Australia, the

segmentation was formalized in a national education policy that allowed universities to set differentiated tuition and fees for international and domestic students, with international students paying the full cost. Universities were permitted to retain the revenues, further perpetuating disparities (Marginson, 2001). These events and policy changes formalize markets as dictating institutional behavior.

Unlike in the Anglo-American context, the European move towards academic capitalism was accomplished in a highly scripted manner (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2011). Member States' national governments and the Commission have promoted higher education as an engine for economic growth and called for significant changes to universities practices, structures, and course offerings through a series of programs, funding and ideological discourse. Germany has pushed for more significant changes in its higher education system in the wake of Bologna Process and Lisbon Agenda. In line with Streeck's (2009) analysis of other institutional changes,

European integration offered effective support for governments intent on turning over previously public assets and responsibilities to private market forces. Privatization of the German postal, telecommunications, and railroad services would have been considerably more difficult, if not impossible, had it not been mandated by the EU—a mandate that, in turn, would not have passed without the German government's assent (p. 74).

German higher education transformations, therefore, can be seen as moving toward an academic capitalist mode of operation through actions that promote private benefits and a more commodified approach to education. In furthering the idea of private benefits, educational processes are perceived as goods that can be captured and packaged in order to be bought or sold under market conditions. Germany is supporting this commodifying practice through the Excellence Initiative, a competitive endeavor that creates 'national champions' in place of the traditions of equality of resources and university standings. The new emphasis on differentiation

within the German system, achieved through competitive means, creates more than a top, middle, and bottom tier of universities. It creates a system stratified by resources. As Münch (2011b) writes, “in research, success depends not only on one’s own abilities and efforts, but also on external conditions, on the difficulty of the research theme, the available equipment, the access to the networks dominating a research field, and the position of the field in the realms of science” (p.2). The process of intensifying competition and stratification into the German system transforms universities into enterprises competing for market shares (ibid). These reforms question the relationship between the role of universities in society and the perspective of German policymakers on knowledge production. It is through the changes that, “the new academic capitalism is legitimated with a rhetoric of competition, excellence and elite, which promises a major liberation from encrusted structures, the opening and the break-up of new horizons” (Münch, 2008, p. 6).

Although Slaughter and Rhoades’ (2004) or Münch’s (2008, 2011) analyses do not address internationalization directly, both apply a critical lens to university transformations that can be applied to changes in international student mobility. To compete for the ablest students, higher education institutions have sought to standardize and market knowledge while third party entities have created means of comparison. Universities adapt traditional modes of operations to Anglo-American business principles that focus on revenue-generating opportunities and selling services “to anyone willing to pay a high price for western credentials” (Lewis, 2008, p. 57).

Brandenburg and de Wit (2011) point to the changes in Germany’s internationalization rationales occurring in the last two decades as a move “from simple exchange of students to the big business of recruitment and from activities impacting a small elite group to a mass phenomenon” (p.15). The shift in the logics underlying internationalization efforts has been facilitated through

the birth of new organizations and the expansion of networks of actors. It is in these created realms that discourses and practices emerge and are perpetuated and managerial capacity is extended to connect universities to the knowledge economy (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004)

Intermediary organizations

The growth of academic capitalism in universities is facilitated through intermediary organizations and new professional managers. Intermediary organizations within the higher education arena are external entities (to higher education institutions) that “promote closer relations between universities and markets” (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2011). Intermediary organizations link public, non-profit, and private sector entities to build or solidify research, marketing, or programmatic endeavors to assist universities’ entrepreneurial activities. As inter- and intra-competition at all levels increases—for resources, students, faculty, and international rankings, intermediary organizations serve to mediate funding, shape policy, and transmit the evolving ‘rules of the game’.

The changing economic conceptions open new spaces and roles for intermediary organizations. As described above, European and German policymakers embraced a new competitive market-facing agenda and wove it into federal and *Länder* higher education policies, funding schemes and initiatives. In Germany, many of the established federal-level coordinating organizations that united the higher education institutions in the early years are now becoming more involved in agenda setting and exporting policies (Welsh, 2010). These coordinating organizations include the German Science Council, the German Research Foundation (DFG)¹², the Max Planck Societies, the German Academic Exchange Agency (DAAD), and the German Rectors’ Conference (HRK) (ibid). Of these organizations the DAAD and HRK have been

¹² The DFG provides funding for basic research on a competitive (peer review) basis and encompasses all disciplines

central to the European and German higher education internationalization processes, as described previously. They stimulated interest in universities as well as in public discussions, debating for example, the place of higher education within GATS (Hahn, 2003). The HRK and DAAD's history and extensive involvement in the higher education sector lends them credibility within universities. Yet since 2006 with the federal government's withdrawal from higher education institutions, the HRK and DAAD's role is evolving into becoming intermediary organizations as they assume a more globally competitive stance towards higher education in general and internationalization initiatives in particular.

In the US, intermediary organizations brought together political leaders and university actors to generate policies that would enhance the US's position in the global economy (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Intermediary organizations were positioned such that they regulated the discourse on competition and human capital. Similarly, in the 1980s, European political and business groups coordinated efforts to bring about a European perspective on global competitiveness. In 2008 the idea was formalized in the founding of the European Higher Education-Business Forum. The Forum has expanded the European political and business groups' previous efforts by bringing together the worlds of university academic and business enterprise (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2011). The Forum is also collaborating with other European Commission committees and expert groups, and continually expanding both in membership and purpose. Its primary function centers around knowledge economy policy and within that linking sectors, expanding discourses, and developing benchmarks to determine best practices (ibid). By directing the flow of resources, the Forum indicates the importance of knowledge economy policy both in terms of financial as well as emblematic exchange. In addition to focusing on resources, intermediary organizations engage in the flow of commerce through organizing

opportunities for members and non-members to compete and collaborate for goods and services. Similar roles are carried out by the DAAD and HRK in Germany.

Metcalf (2010) posits that actors in intermediary organizations manage commercial flows and pursue revenue by undertaking entrepreneurial endeavors similar to Anglo-American higher education institutions. As such, the actors within the intermediary organizations and universities can be seen as a new class of professionals. Comprised of business elites, middle to high-ranking government officials, and other highly educated scholars, they are needed to carry out the increasing number of mandates, initiatives, and managerial tasks associated with seeking resources, measuring productivity, and evaluating members. The actors act as ‘boundary-spanners’ link organizations through networks, facilitate movement between institutions and support “publicly visible form[s] of affiliation...such as organizational logos, partnership programs, and naming opportunities” (Metcalf, 2010, p. 509). The growth of these intermediary organizations in Germany is tied to the decline of the strong coordinated market society and emergence of more market-responsive institutions.

Professionalism

Actors within universities and those involved in intermediary organizations accomplish the “institutional work” of moving market initiatives to fruition. These actors can be neither conceptualized as “cultural dopes” nor as “hypermuscular entrepreneurs” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), but are individuals who are creating, maintaining, or disrupting opportunities brought forth in the new economy. Recent scholarship takes a renewed interest in understanding the actors’ authority in creating, maintaining, or disrupting institutional change and links it to the discourse of professionalism (Suddaby & Viale, 2011). Evetts (2011) hypothesizes that there is a

new discourse on professionalism brought about as actors within public organizations are diverging into two types of professionals, the classical ‘occupational’ professional and a new ‘organizational’ professional.

Traditional occupational professions emerged at the intersection of market-demand, education or training in higher education, and privileged access to employment. Additionally, professions were regulated by state authority in consultation with higher education experts, who have been instrumental in upholding standards and keeping pace with changes in a particular field. Although these gate-keeping pathways did not have actual power to monitor or regulate professionals once they were formally credentialed, rather acted as legitimizing organizations that embodied the values and norms of the profession (Brint, 1994). In addition to these characteristics, professions also set their own standards for how their work would be accomplished, when it would be completed, and where it could take place. Brint (1994) described this level of control as technical autonomy. Technical autonomy represents a space where the individual worker rather than the organization is sovereign. This is this crucial distinction—self-direction versus continual monitoring—that traditionally separated occupational professionals from other groups. In recent years there has been further discussion on the definition of “professional”. Instead of replacing the ‘occupational’ professional or adjusting the definition outlined by Brint (1994), a second description, an ‘organizational’ professional as been conceptualized (Evetts, 2011).

Similar to Brint’s description of the traditional professional, Evetts (2011) illustrates how the organizational professional emerges from the knowledge-based, service-sector work that is expanding in contemporary society. Intermediary organization and university actors engaging in NPM practices typify this new type of professional as they direct flows of knowledge,

individuals, and services. Unlike the traditional occupational professional's reliance on a technical field, the ideal organizational professional is bound to the discourse of control and management, the integration of rational-legal authority and hierarchical structures of responsibility and decision-making, and the standardization of procedures and practices (ibid). Occupational professionalism is based on autonomy and discretionary judgment and grounded in codes of professional ethics; in contrast, organizational professionalism grew out of demands for measurement, quality control, target setting, and performance review. The occupational discourse prizes individualization and competition "where individual performance is linked to the success or failure of the organization" (ibid). Despite the fact that most public service organizations' outputs are not easily standardized or measurable, the organizational professional's focus on evaluation and performance review attempts to do just that through modeling and comparing equivalents and introducing market-like controls including benchmarking, competition, and accountability demands. We see organizational professionals emerging in university and intermediary organizations as actors begin engaging in more academic capitalist practices

2.6 German academic capitalism?

The transformations in German society writ large and the higher education sector specifically reflect a growing emphasis on reform based on national and international competition. Supported by the European push to link higher education to economic growth, countries have altered funding, governance, and the rationales to motivate change. Higher education leaders are creating more market-based conditions, described by Streeck (2009) and visible in the GATS discussion rounds, and are pushing faculty into competition with one another. This competition is "destroying the academic community...[and facilitating] the

material struggles for better positions in the field by symbolic struggles for reputation, definitional power” (Münch, 2011b, p.10). The competition for institutional reputation in Germany is contributing to the growth of academic capitalism. Unlike the Anglo-American counterparts, German universities do not earn a direct financial gain from their entrepreneurial endeavors. However, universities enroll international students and scholars to bolster reputation and prestige. The German government is supporting these competitive elements by offering incentives and rewards for increased autonomy and flexibility in funding, performance-targets for faculty, and implementing transparency and accountability mechanisms related to output. The intermediary organizations transmit these practices through their use of incentives and rewards and highlight the ‘best’ performing universities. Furthermore, they encourage more institutional control by establishing professional standards for university administration, by pushing for self-governance: an independent accreditation system and university controlled admission policies, and by encouraging universities to develop the capacity to earn revenue (German-Austrian Conference, 2003). In essence, universities, or the new cadre of professionals within, are being molded—through policy and practices—to become strategic actors pursuing internationalization as a means to justify many competitive and market-facing initiatives. The change has caused a redistribution of resources to universities and disciplines, a differentiation between universities and the students who attend the universities, an alteration of the research conducted, a codification of new organizational professionals, and an increased authority to intermediary organizations.

Academic capitalism describes the friction that arises due to conflicts from layering market-facing initiatives along-side or on top of the traditional roles of teaching, learning, and pursuing basic research. In addition to the divergent values residing in universities, there are

different forms of academic capitalism existing across countries due to a country's particular capitalist system (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The incentives and pressures produced by capitalism create the space in which new actions are deemed legitimate. The European Commission can be seen as working to align Member States' national values and actions to those of the new knowledge economy promoting innovation, competition, and economic growth. Through the Lisbon Strategy, the Commission is making significant inroads into national higher education systems and practices, creating a firm link to economic success and growth. In creating this link, the higher education sector is subject to substantial changes in its function and form, namely a shift from notions that education is a public good to one that promotes private goods and investment. In Germany, the transition from a public good ideology to an academic capitalist approach is in line with the disorganization of the country's economic model (Streeck, 2009). The tangible signs of this change in universities are in the form of New Public Management practices, the creation of the vertical differentiation of universities through the Excellence Initiative, and the increasing importance given to competition in international arenas. The ideological shifts accompanying these practices emphasize competition for funding, students, and researchers, and focus on creating a differentiated higher education system based on undefined notions of excellence. Although a transition towards academic capitalism in German universities appears to be occurring, its effect is not all-encompassing. Different values co-exist. Market-oriented, private good ideals are promoted, yet advocates of the public good work to maintain aspects of this social welfare ideology.

2.7 Conclusion

The dramatic shifts within the German political economy challenge the traditional role, practices, and ideology of higher education. Olsen (2007) describes this situation as the

opportunity and challenge for higher education institutions to redefine their pact with society. To fully understand how higher education institutions are transforming and the main arguments for doing so, it is necessary to look at the underlying factors and actors promoting the change processes. As Olsen (2007) writes,

The rethinking, reorganizing and refunding of the University are part of processes of change in the larger configuration of institutions in which the University is embedded. These processes link change in the University to change in the role of democratic government, in public-private relations, and in the relationship between the local, national, European and international level. The current dynamics raise questions about the University's long-term pact with society (p.25).

Society, and the higher education institutions within it, is not a static entity, rather it is continually evolving as evidenced by shifts in governance, practices, and ideology. The on-going process to define higher education institutions' pact with society can be traced by their underlying mechanisms yet it is important to understand the rationales for change and the effects that may occur. As the European Commission and German policymakers push for a higher education system that closely resembles the Anglo-American model, it is evident that higher education institutions' relationship to state government and society will follow more market-oriented practices that reward economic growth and innovations. These changes are not fully accepted, especially at the core of universities. Faculty members hold to traditional beliefs and practices and attempt to maintain the emphasis on basic research and teaching. Thus, as the academic capitalist perspective emerges, it is actors' 'institutional work' of creating, maintaining, or disrupting new initiatives and opportunities that provides a more realistic understanding of the change processes. These topics will be fleshed out in the forthcoming chapters.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study attempts to describe the process of the shift in German universities from a public good perspective towards viewing education as a private benefit through the lens of internationalization. The investigation relies on the experiences of actors in selected universities and the German Academic Exchange Agency (DAAD), the German Rectors' Conference, and GATE Germany who are engaged in activities labeled 'internationalization.' Guided by the premises of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), which outline the mechanisms that allow universities to shift their policies and practices to focus on being successful in the knowledge-based economy, this research qualitatively explores if and how the change from a public good perspective toward a private benefit is occurring in German internationalization processes. The importance placed on attracting international students to increase the international competitiveness of universities is described in the previous and subsequent chapters. The German and European perspectives on higher education provide a platform to understand that the emphasis placed on internationalization exists and is increasingly being linked to economic success. Yet, in order to understand how the perspective is operationalized, incorporated, or dismissed by universities, it is necessary to look at practices. I thus designed my research project in the qualitative paradigm, focusing on using interviews with higher education stakeholders—administration, faculty members, international students and federal-level organizations—to discuss how they are (or are not) engaging in developing a competitive edge,

increasing managerial structures, and participating in initiatives to attract international students. Through studying the changing logic of internationalization I identified and questioned the activities of the actors in their various positions as they reacted to various programs and initiatives occurring in the German higher education landscape. My research was guided by the following questions:

1. How has ‘internationalization’ evolved as a concept? Is it contributing to university repositioning in the evolving ‘market’ for international students?
2. Are the concurrent initiatives and rationales for internationalization facilitating a shift from a public good perspective to one that privileges knowledge as a commodity?
3. As universities engage in internationalization endeavors that are permeated with various logics, how are actors participating or contesting the various programs and objectives?

The qualitative research approach was chosen over the quantitative or mixed methods approaches in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the “cultural, everyday, and situated aspects of human thinking, learning, knowing, acting and ways of understanding ourselves as persons” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). According to Creswell (2009), the choice of one approach over the other is not a definite split, rather it is dependent on the nature of the research questions, the project’s purposes, and the resources available. I thus selected the qualitative strategy to explore knowledge through individuals’ perspectives and daily activities (Bryman, 2004). My research questions focus on explaining how and why the logic of internationalization

is changing in German universities and organizations. To understand the change processes from a qualitative perspective I must interact with actors in their natural setting and provide a descriptive and detailed account of their activities (Toma, 2006). In order to understand the complexity, depth and theoretical aspects of the various actors and their interpretations of their situations, the research was designed to employ qualitative research tools that relied on data collected in three ‘case’ universities and two federal level coordinating organizations. These cases bounded the study and provided the context in which I could explore the process of the shift in German universities from a public good perspective towards viewing education as a private benefit through the lens of internationalization.

This chapter will begin by providing a brief description of the selected cases as they follow European and German policy initiatives that push internationalization endeavors by expanding upon the current issues in enrollment and funding for German *Länder* and universities. Following this description, I will offer the rationale for the selection of the particular universities and selected interviewees, and provide an explanation of the data collection tools—in-depth interviews, non-formal observations and relevant document analysis—as well as questions of ethics and access. Last, this chapter synthesizes the research in terms of its trustworthiness as a study and outlines the role of the researcher.

3.2 The setting: Higher education enrollment

In discussing internationalization through the lens of attracting international students, it is important to highlight that enrollment of German students in German universities has been a subject of considerable debate and reform since the 1960s. The enrollment dilemmas were amplified in the past five years due to the former West *Länder* decision to change from a 13-year

Gymnasium (high school) study to a 12-year study program; this change calls for twice as many university places to account for the double, or two-class, graduation (Gabriel et al., 2007). Most universities are already operating at capacity, but it is the legal right of any student with an *Abitur* (diploma) to enter into a university. Although enrollment is formally the *Länder* responsibility, after the 2006 federal reform profoundly changed the *Länder*-federal government policy and funding relationship, the federal government and *Länder* did established the Higher Education Pact 2020 (*Hochschulpakt*) in 2006 to address the overflow of German students (ibid).

The Higher Education Pact was created to deal with the imbalance of new student enrollment in the *Länder*, divided into two time periods: 2007 to 2010 and 2011 to 2015 (Gabriel et al., 2007). In the first period, 1.13 billion Euros were to be equally provided by the *Länder* and the federal government, to support a projected increase of 90,000 students in universities. In this agreement universities would be provided with 22,000 Euros per student over the course of a 4-year degree. In essence this provides universities with 5,500 Euro per year per student. The difficulty in this arrangement was that there is a significant difference between the Western and Eastern German *Länder*, and the economic conditions between the various *Länder*. In the Higher Education Pact the large Western *Länder* (Bavaria, Baden-Wurttemberg, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Hesse, Lower Saxony, and North Rhine-Westphalia), agreed to accept the additional 90,000 new entrants into their universities, while the Eastern *Länder* (Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania) and the city-states (Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin) would receive funding to maintain their capacity (ibid). In the second phase, 2011-2015, the Federal Government and the *Länder* increased their funding per student to 26,000 Euros and to account for the projected 275,000 additional university students due to the shortened school cycle and resulting in twice as many students

completing their schooling during one graduation year and entering university (ibid).

The difference in student enrollment per *Länder* is attributed to a migration in the number of younger age groups, the so-called “post-unification slump” or *Nachwende-Knick*, a continued migration from the former Eastern to Western German *Länder*, and the fact that the Eastern *Länder* always had a 12-year school cycle and thus did not ‘benefit’ from more entrants due to the shortened school cycle (Gabriel et al. 2007). This situation increased the pressure on all *Länder* to adjust to these demographic trends

The above-mentioned conditions not only affect the funding and demographics of student enrollment, but also influence the rationales for *Länder* to actively recruit and enroll international students. For the former Eastern *Länder*, the mandate under the Higher Education Pact to maintain their current enrollment numbers, with a definite outflow of local students, means that international students are needed to maintain funding. The Western *Länder* universities, with more and sufficient student entrants, may recruit international students out of the desire to increase prestige or to fill high status areas (engineering, natural sciences, etc). Set within this framework, I designed my research project to be able to discuss the various motivations and purposes to engage in internationalization.

3.3 Research design

Document analysis

I selected a qualitative research design that relied on three universities and two federal-level coordinating organizations working on internationalization agendas. The decision to look solely at universities rather than other higher education institutions within the German higher education system was due to the fact that other institutions of higher education are not fully included in all of the European and German higher education policy directives. Universities are

considered the top organizational type within the German higher education system; their actions set the pace and course for the overall system. Thus when analyzing current changes the effects are most evident in these institutions of higher education. In addition to universities, the research project included two federal-level coordinating organizations, the German Rectors Conference (HRK) and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), that address higher education policy. These institutions have been and continue to be instrumental in the internationalization processes at universities. These organizations provide an influential and relatively under-studied network that facilitates university internationalization efforts through programs, funding, and policy. Thus, the research project incorporated the perspectives of these external organizations as individual entities working for German internationalization, as well as their role interacting with universities as they are becoming more internationally oriented.

Drawing on the methodological tools of a qualitative study, my research began with a thorough literature review and document analysis, focusing on various articles, white papers, working papers, communiqués, and budgets from the EU, the national German level, and at the eventually selected institutions. Documents were chosen based on their direct relationship to higher education policy development or amendments, new management structures, discussions related to attracting international students, markets in higher education, and specific themes such as the Excellence Initiative, tuition fees, role of DAAD and HRK. Policy documents differ in how explicitly topics were discussed and demonstrate multiple (often conflicting) objectives. These normative sources were analyzed as a basis to understand the ideal transformations and dominant ideological perspective. Although most of the selected documents were written in English, the policy papers that were written in German were first translated by Google Translate and read over for clarification and meaning by a German colleague. These rough translations

were used for background data and not analyzed with the coding schema employed for the interviews conducted in English.

Other document sources were identified by selecting key words: mobility, international student, international partnerships, competition, etc. These terms emerged from preliminary readings. Using the highlighted terminology, I conducted an online search of journals focusing on higher education journals based in Europe, for example Higher Education in Europe, Higher Education Management, Journal of Studies in International Education, European Journal of Education, and the Comparative Education Review. Additionally I looked at publications from European institutions working on international higher education (e.g. CIHE publications, CHER country reports and articles) and other recognized media outlets (the Chronicle of Higher Education, local newspapers, OECD, World University News Report). Computerized databases such as ERIC, the Social Science Citation Index, Google Scholar, ProQuest, Dissertation Abstracts and Sociological Abstracts were also used. The majority of the collected literature was written in English. Online searches for German articles were conducted to determine the amount and type of articles being written in German to ensure that I had a general understanding of the German approach to the literature. However, the document analysis and literature review was based on sources written in English.

The document analysis addressed, either explicitly or implicitly, the research questions mentioned above. These texts concentrated on the period 1998-2011. Germany and the EU formally entered into the Bologna Process and Lisbon Strategy between 1998 and 2000, and since that point have engaged in continual reform of the higher education system, most dramatically with the introduction of the Excellence Initiative in 2006. German higher education policy texts that have taken up the debate on implementing the Bologna Process, Excellence

Initiative, and various other internationalization initiatives were selected to understand the historical basis on these policies as well as follow the discourse that is taking place in the German higher education policy arena. These documents were analyzed through a categorization analysis, identifying recurring themes and noting the commonalities and differences in various contexts. This technique seeks to explain how the drive for international students affects and motivates institutions differently. For this reason the three universities that were selected as the cases share certain characteristics but also exhibit distinct differences, detailed below. In this way I am able to understand if and how trends are affecting specific types of universities or are varied based on, for example, the size, location, or funding of the universities.

Case selection

Although each selected case is unique and therefore findings or implications cannot be completely transferred to every university, I chose universities based on the reasoning that they “may serve as aids for the transition from general principles to specific practices” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 67) to understand the change processes. As such the case selection included: a mid-size university in the former East, a mid-size university in the former West, and one of the nine Excellence Initiative designated universities as the three case study universities. These universities represent various dimensions of the German higher education system, namely different size, prestige factors (as denoted by the excellence initiative), number of international students and their fields of study, disciplinary offerings, historical/cultural characteristics,¹³ and

¹³ According to Wagner et al. (2003) “Demographic data show that living in the Eastern or Western part of Germany offers differential opportunities for contact with foreigners. Structural equation analyses reveal that this difference, in turn, influences the number of foreigners in the neighborhood or classroom” (p.22).

geographic location¹⁴. Selecting cases that represent these characteristics offers the possibility for a more common understanding of the entire system as opposed to selecting, for example, only top-tier universities or those that attract the highest number of international students (Agasisti & Bianco, 2007; Göbbels-Dreyling, 2003).

The mid-size university located in the former East has a long history making it one of the earliest established universities in Germany. In 2008, the university reported a total student population of 21,000, of which 1,300 were international students (Wissenschaft Weltoffen, 2009). As this study focuses on graduate-level students it is important to note that the university enrolled 209 doctoral students placing it directly in the middle range of all German universities with graduate-level international students. German Language and Literature was reported as the most popular field of study for international graduate students, making it unique compared with other universities (ibid). The university is organized into ten fields of study: theology, law, economics and business administration, philosophy, social and behavioral sciences, mathematics and computer science, physics and astronomy, chemical and earth sciences, biology and pharmacy, and medicine. This organizational structure allowed for a comparison of resources allocated based on discipline. In 2007 one graduate school received funding through the Excellence Initiative program. Furthermore, the university (as decided by the state) does not charge tuition.

The university located in the former West was also established as one of the earliest universities in Germany. It has a total student enrollment of 20,000 students including 1,800 international students, an average number for a West university. Of the international students at this university, 202 are doctoral candidates, with the majority in the most popular field of study

¹⁴ Research conducted by Fritsch et al. (2008) draws attention to the continuing inequalities between the former East and West German universities in terms of the amounts of funding/grants awarded and student enrollment.

for international students, Economics and Business Administration. The university offers similar disciplines as the Eastern university, with the additional offerings of: psychology, history and cultural studies, foreign languages, and education. In 2005 it was one of the first German universities to receive an internationalization award, the national ERASMUS agency to higher education institutions for quality and innovation in the implementation of European mobility measures, granted by the DAAD. The *Länder* and therefore the university do not charge tuition.

The selected Excellence Initiative university is a top-ranked university in Germany, with a total student body population of 31,000. There are 4,300 international students of which 670 are doctoral candidates. The greatest numbers of international doctoral students are in the field of Economics and Business Administration, closely followed by German Language and Literature. The university has maintained a no-tuition policy.

The selection of the three universities was based on the highlighted characteristics and their record of attractiveness to international students. I selected one top-tier university, as indicated both by its full Excellence Initiative accolade and by the number of international students. Additionally, I included two well-established universities that had not been awarded the Excellence Initiative university concept accolade, yet which enrolled a similar number of international students. Yet by paying attention to the sampled universities' distinct fields of study and different locations and historical conditions, the research attempts to capture a variety of characteristics that describe the opportunities and challenges of attracting international students. Although universities do not have control over all of the features that have been shown to increase student mobility to particular institutions—personal reasons (employment, status, and lifestyle), historical and cultural factors, country and/or city perception—they have some control over other features shown to influence international students decisions, such as institutional

image and program evaluation (Cubillo, Sanchez & Cervino, 2006). Furthermore, how universities are able to define their institutional image and program offerings is linked to the critical factor of resources. Academic capitalism highlights the difficult decisions universities make due to funding changes, with results skewed towards centers that have possibilities to produce additional funding and/or other measures of success in international rankings. Additionally, universities do not all have the same assets (star faculty, high tech laboratories, etc.), thus causing less-resource intensive universities to have to make critical decisions of where to allocate resources. Although universities may not want to dedicate funding in areas that may attract more international students, the combined rhetoric of European-wide policies (Bologna and Lisbon Processes) and German national policies (Excellence Initiative) does not make this a choice. Universities face powerful incentives to encourage international students to enroll on their campuses; the question is to what extent and degree do universities engage in these actions?

In addition to the universities, the perspectives of two federal-level coordinating organizations—the DAAD and the HRK – were incorporated into the analysis. In comparison to many other countries, these organizations play an active role in the current internationalization efforts of universities. The significance of these organizations' places within German and global internationalization efforts is not of minor consideration as their position is one that provides needed resources for universities as *Länder* budgets are being reduced. Furthermore, as the federal government is no longer involved in higher education policy, the HRK's and DAAD's access to university leadership and international offices allows them to actively promote a national perspective in the internationalization process. This role repositions the HRK and DAAD within the overall higher education landscape. As coordinating organizations, they link university internationalization to local concerns, to global discourses around economic growth,

and to the rhetoric of success in the knowledge society. As such these organizations' activities constitute important push and pull factors encouraging and facilitating the activities within the universities. These organizations provide an influential and relatively un-researched network that facilitates internationalization efforts through programs, funding, benchmarking and policy.

Access and ethics

Having selected the universities and organizations to investigate as the cases, the next step was to purposefully decide on the participants that would offer insights into the research project. Interviews with key actors in different positions within the higher education landscape were necessary to understand how transformations are incorporated into university practices. Grounded in the framework of academic capitalism and guided by interview protocols (Appendix 3), I sought out participants who would be able to respond to the questions. University administrators/managers, faculty and international students were identified as key informants within universities and program leaders in the DAAD and HRK were selected as they offered the opportunity to verify data by asking similar questions about the same international initiative or endeavor. Interviewees were chosen based on the participants' role in the university or organization associated with interest or direct work with international students and functions related to these goals (i.e. participation in recruitment fairs, courses designed for non-German speakers, policies developed to attract overseas students, etc). University actors were selected due to their activity in committees dealing with internationalization or for having active connections with other researchers/universities abroad. In the administration, specific individuals whose duties involve recruiting, managing, supporting international students were preferred. International students were contacted via the international student office, and selected

based on field of study and status in the university (graduate student). Within the DAAD and HRK, representatives were identified based on their position/job responsibilities as indicated on the organizations' web pages. In several instances with participants both in universities as well as in the coordinating organizations, the interviews prompted the respondents to suggest that I should speak to colleagues or others who were familiar with the topic through previous work in the area or involvement in a manner not indicated on the initial webpage search. I therefore arranged additional interviews with these individuals. Each selected actor within his or her particular field maintains different interests and makes different strategic choices with regard to imposition of new federal and state laws. My research design thus unearthed a variety of perspectives and opinions regarding the research questions and key concepts, namely internationalization.

University administrators and faculty, and the coordinating organizations' participants were contacted by email, having located their email addresses from the various institutions' homepages. International students were contacted through the international office. An international office staff member sent an email to all graduate-level international students, which included a brief description of my dissertation project, my contact information and request that they contact me if interested in participating in an interview. Once I received an email in return from any of the potential interviewees I emailed a copy of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Invitation and Consent letter (Appendix 1) and asked that they read through it and, if they found it acceptable, contact me to make an interview appointment. In all instances the letter of Invitation and Consent was approved, and arrangements to meet in either the interviewees' offices or in a public location were agreed upon. As described in the IRB letter, all interviewees would remain confidential. Therefore throughout the dissertation each quote is labeled with an

individual code. The code list is presented in Appendix 2. This research is registered and approved by the University of Georgia Institutional Review Board.

Interviews and observations

Interviews constituted a substantial portion of the fieldwork and research data as they provided first-hand and in-depth narratives on how university and organizational actors are adapting to the transformations occurring around the internationalization of German universities.

According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009)

interviewing is an active process where interviewer and interviewee through their relationship produce knowledge. Interview knowledge is produced in a conversational relation: it is contextual, linguistic, narrative, and pragmatic. The conception of interview knowledge presented here contrasts with a methodological positivist conception of knowledge as given facts to be quantified (p.19).

Interviews generate data that are not fixed but rather point to multiple realities (Stake, 1995). These data may not be fully reproduced, as the situation cannot be exactly replicated. However, through interviewing various and multiple actors, the knowledge produced in an interview can be affirmed. In my study, I conducted a total of 45 interviews with administrators, professors, international graduate students and coordinating organization representatives. They were carried out between September 2010 and April 2011. All but three of the 45 interviews were conducted in English. These three interviews were conducted in German and not audio recorded. In total thirty-seven of the forty-five interviews were audio-recorded. The interviews that were not recorded were due to participants request not to be audio-recorded (five of the cases) and in three instances technical difficulties with the audio recorder. All interviews followed a semi-structured questionnaire to allow for new themes to emerge during the interview and be follow-up on, and lasted between 45-90 minutes. All but the eight interviews not recorded

were transcribed, thus these were not systematically analyzed but rather used as background information to capture less directly relevant information needed for the analysis.

Interviews with administration, professors and institute staff were designed to find out how their work and perspectives have changed or stayed the same in relation to internationalization transformations, to elucidate individuals' understanding of why certain internationalization initiatives were introduced, and to highlight the motivations and attitudes that prompt participants to continue with the changes and/or seek avenues for disruption. International students' interviews focused on their awareness of the flow of international students, the competition between universities to attract students, and changes made in order to recruit students. All interviewees were self-described as fluent or highly competent in English due to having lived in an English speaking country, studying in courses that used English as the medium of instruction, or using English in daily work. Nonetheless, some questions had to be reformulated or explained to communicate the meaning of the question.¹⁵

Table I: Interviews

	University of the East	University of the West	Excellence University
Administration	5*	3	3
Faculty	5*	5	2
International graduate students	4*	5*	2*
Total number	14	13	7

*Two faculty and one administrator from U. of East, and five students (two from U. of East; two from U. of West and one from Excellence U.) interviews were not audio recorded or transcribed, rather included in the field notes.

	DAAD	HRK	GATE Germany
Administration	5	4	2

¹⁵ Interviewees were approached in English and made aware that the interview would also be conducted in English.

According to Bourdieu (1999), it is difficult to fully know what one is doing when one sets up an interview because it is not possible “to know the effects one may unwittingly produce by that kind of always slightly arbitrary intrusion inherent in social exchange” (p.608). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) support this perspective and note that, “being familiar with value issues, ethical guidelines, and ethical theories may help the researcher to make choices that weigh ethical versus scientific concerns in a study. In the end, however, the integrity of the researcher—his or her knowledge, experience, honesty, and fairness—is the decisive factor” (p.74). With this understanding, I approached each interview as well as the entire fieldwork with significant preparation, including a visit to Germany in July 2009 to discuss the research project and design with principal informants. Furthermore, the majority of the interviews (not including the graduate students) were conducted with elites, or those in positions of authority who have participated in other interviews and other publically visible situations. Therefore an additional concern was to be able to move beyond the “talk tracks” and to elicit different viewpoints and underlying rationales (ibid). In most interviews, I feel I was able to accomplish this goal as seen by comparing the interviews with publicly available information on the topics.

In addition to interviews and document analysis the research design incorporated selective participant observation. Observations contribute to understanding the overall case as they offer a third method of validating information. Universities are complex, dynamic systems that embody various explicit and implicit missions that are communicated in a variety of ways (Kerr, 2001). Often the written documents and more cautious interviews may censor responses or provide the ideal rather than actual situation. Furthermore, actors themselves may not reflect on the “drama of the commonplace” (Stake, 1988, p. 260), as they are embedded in the interactions, and therefore may not think it important to share particular details. Through observations in courses,

program meetings and university events and my role as an ‘outsider,’ I perhaps noticed what was considered routine behavior through paying close attention to interactions.

In this research project, as a single researcher, it was not possible to observe all faculty members’ meetings or interactions with administration around the key topics (applying for excellence initiative funding, discussing internationalization), thus observation was done as an international student (my formal status during the fieldwork) on two different university campuses for several weeks at a time. During this time as a participant observer I was able to follow some of the administration and faculty members’ claims about recruitment techniques, information provided to students through the ongoing activities as well as participate in an German-language course and sociology course that attracted international students. In these settings it was possible to contextualize some of the reforms (e.g., increasing the number and ‘quality’ of English-language courses for international students) discussed in the interviews as well as interact with other international students and engage with them in a non-formal interview setting to discuss perspectives on initiatives designed for them. These observations provided notes to contextualize comments and stories brought up in interviews and contributed to my understanding of internationalization, but have not been incorporated into the analysis in the same manner as the interview data.

Data Analysis

After completing each interview or a series of interviews, or recording observations into my field journal, I began to transcribe the collected data. In regard to interviews, the transcription was from audio to written text, and with observations this was to elaborate on the field notes by “making sense out of the data” (Merriam, 1998). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009)

call attention to the fact that “to transcribe means to transform, to change from one form to another” (p.178), implying that in analyzing the data through the written text certain ideas and comments are decontextualized and some meaning is lost. To counter these potential effects I included information about the context in the observation notes, and transcribed the interviews myself, adding details about the interviewees’ comments (i.e. ironical statement; making a joke, laughed, etc.) in an attempt to retain as much of the context as possible. Additionally, interviews were recorded verbatim. Despite interviewees’ fluency in English, some German words or phrases were used, or slightly different words were used when the interviewee could not come up with a quick translation. For example, one international office interviewee noted “from my point of view it’s just single projects that might be combined somehow but there’s no *red tape* for me.” The interviewee meant to say ‘red line’ indicating a strong connection between projects, but instead used the word ‘tape.’ Although this does not detract from understanding, to be true to the transcription, I left the original statement in the transcription.

The analysis of the transcriptions and field notes began during the process of transcribing the interviews or reviewing the field notes. In assessing the material I developed themes and codes as I transformed the oral to written text. I began comparing actors’ stories to one another as well as the literature, and highlighted exceptions to the emerging patterns. Stake (1995) writes that it is during the analysis phase that researchers are continually pulling statements apart from the text and putting them together in more meaningful or analytical structures. Qualitative research relies upon a theoretical framework to guide this process of abstraction (Bryman, 2004; Merriam, 1998). Through this process I was able to “develop conceptual categories... and illustrate, support or challenge theoretical assumptions” (Merriam, 1998, p. 38).

The drawback to this method of analysis is described by Hammersley (2008) “any researcher is caught between equally impossible ideals: on the one hand, seeking to portray the world as it is in all its diversity and complexity; and, on the other, rendering it down into some coherent and stable representation” (p.45). One way to account for this is to continually move between the categories and text, and the other supporting data. Furthermore, the transcription and analysis were occurring side-by-side with the data collection while in the field. This recursive and dynamic nature allowed me to stay ‘in context’ throughout the entire process.

The categories I developed to help in organizing and managing the data emerged throughout during the transcriptions. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), there are several methods for coding interview (and field note) data including developing categories in advance or throughout the analysis from previous literature and theory, or refining categories from interviewees’ comments. Literature suggested that a focus on English language courses and tuition fees would be important topics, however other topics such as the Promos program or introducing ‘welcome services’ (i.e. housing, language courses, etc) proved to be topics interviewees detailed. Although the categories emerged during the transcription, from the interviewees’ words and descriptions, I also reflected on the literature review that highlighted important topics and discussions ongoing in the field of study. With the categories in mind, I reread the interviews and field notes several times, both as a means to narrow the number of categories and to reexamine the meaning of the categories. This review of data also served to remind myself continually of the study’s context. Just as with any written text, different interpretations exist which lead to different analysis and meanings. To support my analysis I attempted to follow Bourdieu’s (1999) perspective that,

...the discussion must provide all the elements necessary to analyze the interviewees positions objectively and to understand their points of view, and it

must accomplish this without setting up the objectivizing distance that reduces the individual to a specimen in a display case. On the other hand, it must adopt a perspective as close as possible to the individual's own without identifying with the alter ego (which always remains an object, whether one wants it or not) and turning into the subject of this worldview (p.2).

In attempting to balance the positions Bourdieu describes, I discussed the research analysis with colleagues who were only familiar with the topic rather than with the setting. I took this step in an effort to ensure that I had not 'gone native' by assuming the stance of the interviewees. I also informally discussed my research with those working in the universities and internationalization to maintain the perspective of the 'insiders.'

3.4 Trustworthiness

For a qualitative study, trustworthiness is one notion researchers use to support the validity of a researcher's claims and methods throughout the investigation (Bryman, 2004). Merriam (1998) writes that due to "the applied nature of educational inquiry... it [is] imperative that researchers and others have confidence in the conduct of the investigation and in the results of any particular study" (p.199). In essence, trustworthiness is asking if the study was conducted in a transparent manner from data collection to analysis to writing the dissertation. To evaluate the trustworthiness of the study readers evaluate the quality of the process through a critical reading of the presented research. The trustworthiness of a study is comprised of four issues: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. These terms are used in place of other concepts such as reliability, validity, or objectivity in an attempt to reflect the *quality of and in* the study, rather than discussing how data was unobtrusively measured and constructed. The use of trustworthiness and its four themes therefore not only adequately describes and explains the methods of this study, they also represent the qualitative research paradigm.

Credibility can be defined as a plausible or ‘credible’ interpretation of the data collected (Bryman, 2004). This investigation addresses credibility by triangulating the data sources. Stake (1995) defines triangulation as “an effort to see if what we are observing and reporting carries the same meaning when found under different circumstances” (p.113). It is nearly impossible to replicate a fieldwork experience, and often two different researchers would have different interpretations of the same data. Nonetheless, by employing two in-depth data collection techniques—document analysis and interviews—and one secondary technique—observation, this study has attempted to provide a reasonable level of information to support the researcher’s analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, I attempted to enhance the credibility of the study by providing a rich description of the context and presenting significant portions of the data in the analysis chapters.

Through discussions with colleagues in Germany as well as other researchers involved in international higher education, I shared my initial analysis and perspectives to receive feedback that supported, challenged or offered more nuances to my interpretation. Discussions with colleagues offered a means of cross-checking and added credibility to my analysis. Despite these efforts, several methodologists (Bryman, 2004; Kvale & Brinkman, 2009; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Toma, 2006) highlight that the primary research instrument is the individual researcher, and as such it is important to understand the biases, perspectives and assumptions of the researcher. These will be elaborated on at the end of this chapter.

Transferability is concerned with the extent to which the findings can be applied to other situations. In other words it is a description of the generalizability of the findings or interpretations. Many scholars and researchers identify the difficulty with the question of generalizability in qualitative investigations. Unlike quantitative studies that rely on random

sampling and assume equivalency between sample and population, qualitative research focuses on individuals' unique perspective and specifically chosen cases and participants (Merriam, 1998). Kvale and Brinkman (2009) identify the benefits of the unique perspective found through qualitative research by noting that knowledge is not universal and valid for all places and times, thus social and historical “contextualized modes of understanding and acting in the social world” (p.261) are also valid within the range of scientific knowledge. Stake (1995) extends this perspective by stating that, “people can learn much that is general from single cases” (p.85). Although this study relied on data from actors at three universities and two coordinating organizations, the transferability of the study—even to other German universities—needs to take into consideration the particular conditions. Therefore, to support the transferability of the data it is important to provide sufficient information about the raw data as well as connect it to existing literature and theory, which I attempted to do in chapters four, five and six.

A third aspect in determining the trustworthiness of the research is dependability or the “extent to which research findings can be replicated” (Merriam, 1998, p. 205). Despite the fact the human behavior or interactions (i.e. interviews) cannot be completely re-enacted, it is important to look at the research process and determine that the “results make sense—they are consistent and dependable” (ibid, p. 206). According to Bryman (2004), dependability in research encompasses a data collection process that can be reviewed at any stage by colleagues to offset subjectivity or careless data collection by the researcher. Hence, throughout this chapter I have attempted to give a detailed overview of the research process and strengthen the dependability of the study. Despite these considerations I recognize that in the semi-structured interviews the course of interview is not fully captured in the written questionnaire. As Bourdieu (1999) points out, “one only needs to have conducted an interview once to become conscious of

how difficult it is to focus continuously on what is being said (and not solely in words) and think ahead to questions which might fall ‘naturally’ into the flow of conversation, all the while following a kind of theoretical ‘line’” (p. 610). Thus certain questions were inserted to continue the interview’s flow or to follow up on topics initiated by the interviewee. This approach makes the replication of the study nearly impossible. However, through similar interviews and observations it would be possible to categorize the data in a similar manner.

Lastly, the confirmability of the research refers to the degree to which others can support the findings through a check of the research methods employed (Bryman, 2004). Confirmability is essentially an audit of the research process, thus there should be a clear trail of evidence from the initial research question, to the methods used leading to an explanation of the findings. Detracting from the audit are the researcher’s biases and subjectivity which, if not identified, may be included in the meaning ‘found’ in the data

3.5 Researcher’s role

Noted throughout the chapter, my role as the primary research instrument is inextricably tied to the trustworthiness and quality of the study. From the research design to interviews to data interpretation, my personal biases, prejudices, and choices are woven into the research project. The benefit is that my interest in the topic continued to motivate me to dig for new insights, to gather more data, and to discuss the research in my ‘free’ time. There are, however, reasons that this same positive quality also influenced the study due to personal biases and experiences (Merriam, 1998). It is thus important that I briefly outline my “subjectivities” and that I was an American student researching German universities.

My interest in exploring the internationalization of German universities developed from both personal and professional motivations. Having studied abroad in my undergraduate and

graduate study made me aware of the differences in countries' perspectives, opportunities and services available for international students. This was magnified when I then worked in a university in an international context as an administrator for two international master degree programs. Why did we want to recruit international students? What were the motivations for the university to devote more resources to attracting, supporting and caring for international students? Taking these different positions together I decided to look at the situation from a more 'objective' approach, and thus chose a country in which I had neither studied abroad nor worked to conduct my fieldwork. Furthermore, I selected Germany due to its position as a visible leader in the European Community and financial contributions to the European Commission's higher education initiatives.

In the German case study I had the chance to see and interpret events and discourses surrounding internationalization from a different perspective. This perspective proved perhaps implicitly comparative due to my work abroad and my embedded American lens. This outside position, however, also yielded some difficulties as it limited my full understanding of the context and situation. I attempted to correct for this deficiency by discussing my research with German colleagues to 'check' its dependability, but I am aware that I approached both the data collection and interpretation from a different perspective. Even the choice of theory, although recently used by the German scholar Richard Münch (2011), is a typically Anglo-American perspective on university changes. On the other side of this, however (and pointed out by German colleagues), came the benefit that interviewees were perhaps more open and explained their perspectives more thoroughly, with the assumption that I did not have the first-hand knowledge of the German university system. With these different positive and negative

connotations, I have come to see the research project as beneficial and offering a unique and trustworthy perspective, in line with the philosophy of qualitative research.

CHAPTER 4

GLOBAL AND NATIONAL INTERNATIONALIZATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the macro-level ambitions, examining how European and German actors and organizations have used internationalization programs as a mechanism to promote marketing, competition, and differentiation within higher education institutions. The original logic of internationalization was embedded in the German Academic Exchange Agency (DAAD), which grounded many of its policies and practices in its 1925 founding ideals of academic partnership and responsibility. Currently, however, an economic perspective that amends the partnership approach and posits the need to attract international students for success in the knowledge economy is motivating universities and coordinating organizations to engage in more market-facing initiatives. Internationalization is often used as the ‘positive’ side to the globalization discourse¹⁶, in that internationalization is associated with “peace and mutual understanding, quality enhancement, a richer cultural life and personality development” (Teichler, 2009, p. 95). Yet it is evident through interviews with professors, administrators, students, as well as the DAAD and the German Rectors Conference (HRK) representatives that internationalization discourses are being transformed in a highly scripted manner.

¹⁶ According to Marginson and van der Wende (2007) “Globalization was and is understood primarily in terms of the growing pressures of global economic competition while internationalisation continued to be synonymous with a more cooperative approach to higher education, or at least to carry less political or ideological baggage. This distinctive and contrasting use of the terms persists in many policy circles in Europe” (p. 11).

Rationales for internationalization are shifting from partnership and academic betterment to competition and economic growth. These are not isolated moves, but are in line with the disorganization of Germany's coordinated market society (Streeck, 2009). In adopting more market-based practices, universities must now renegotiate their contract with society. The narrative of higher education is moving away from that of higher education as a public good to those that align more closely with academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Münch, 2011). Although Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) and Münch (2011) do not directly address internationalization in their analyses, their work highlights how universities and other stakeholders have accepted and responded to market mechanisms. Competition, job creation, and a global playing field have come to drive the prioritization and funding of research and programs. The incorporation of an academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime does not imply a complete rejection of the German public good ideology, but rather a layering of the two perspectives (for a discussion of layering as a mechanism of institutional change, see Streeck & Thelen, 2005). The universities embracing academic capitalism are regarded as adapting traditional modes of operations into competitive practices that standardize and commodify their 'services.'

Internationalization efforts, namely increasing international student mobility, were one of the main motivations for the reform of German universities. Within this framework, I focus on the first research questions in this chapter: How has internationalization evolved as a concept? Is it contributing to university repositioning in the evolving 'market' for international students? The chapter begins with an examination of the accumulation of European competencies as they have directed the course of internationalization, brought about a change in the logic of internationalization, and created new definitions of internationalization that are opening up new

spaces for actions. Three endeavors, the Guide to Academic Training and Education (GATE) marketing initiative, foreign backed universities, and the Excellence Initiative demonstrate the rise of marketing, competition, and differentiation. Though very different in scope and meaning, these three programs exemplify the evolving *Zeitgeist* of internationalization of German higher education.

4.2 Evolving roles: Global trends and national traditions

The internationalization of German universities after World War II was thoroughly embedded in the foreign policy objectives of regaining a place in the international community, maintaining ties to Germany's former colonies, and strengthening the German language (Chandler, 1985). This perspective created an open-door policy to foreign students and scholars until the late 1970s when higher education institutions moved from a collection of individual universities to a more nationally aligned higher education *system* (Teichler, 2008). In looking at higher education systems as a unit rather than individual institutions, individuals and institutions are linked together and treated as a united entity rather than as singular actors engaged with knowledge, academic fields, or the government (ibid). The European Economic Community (EEC) used the idea of countrywide higher education sectors to begin promoting a more cohesive European education area through the Joint Study Programme (JSP) in 1976. Through the JSP, the dual notions of competition and cooperation were inserted in national higher education agendas. In these conceptions "cooperation is seen as the pathway towards stronger global competitiveness of the EU as a whole. On the other hand, the EU is seen as an internal market subject to internal competition strategies, which were likewise introduced to achieve stronger global competitiveness" (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007 p.53). The ERASMUS program

soon followed the Joint Study Programme and furthered the two discourses. It is worth noting that the European policymakers emphasized the *cooperation* aspects involved in international mobility in early policy documents. The policies highlighted the benefits of “personal and professional qualifications in terms of foreign language proficiency, knowledge about other countries, intercultural skills, etc” (Baron, 1993, p. 51).

By the 1990s, the Commission and the member states’ international policies began touting competition as its primary motivation (Bruno, 2009). Germany’s newly formed conservative coalition government supported the emphasis placed on competition by the Commission through promoting contests between the *Länder* (states) and the universities in their jurisdiction. In the late 1990s there was another turn, this time towards international competition, which developed in line with the rise of global rankings schemes (Welsh, 2010). Germany and other European countries responded to increased international competition with the Lisbon Strategy that aimed at turning Europe into the most competitive unit in the global knowledge-based economy. Building from the Lisbon Strategy, the European Commission introduced the Bologna Process and the goal of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) to connect higher education and labor market outcomes (Beerkens, 2008). Although the Bologna Process and Lisbon Strategy evolved from separate initiatives, the Commission worked to assume leadership of both initiatives with the intent of creating a united, more competitive Europe (Keeling, 2006; Robertson, 2007). One DAAD interviewee described this development,

When I look at the German case, much that has been realized by the Bologna Process has been in discussion ever since the 70s. In a way, we’ve been moving from a small, elite system of higher education for people from privileged classes to a huge education system for varied classes. And somehow we had to have a modernization of our system, but no one ever had the power to push to that. So in a way, that’s my interpretation, politicians all through Europe, they were really just too happy to have a Bologna process (DAAD 1).

The focus on international competitiveness expanded from inter-European student mobility to placing importance on attracting students from outside the European Union, as seen in the 2004 Erasmus Mundus program¹⁷ (OECD, 2009). The Erasmus Mundus program was modeled after the American Fulbright program and designed to provide international student mobility with a “robust competition orientation” (Wächter, 2008). Through these initiatives and other Commission communiqués, documents and policies, higher education institutions were pressured to reform or standardize their programs to create more harmonized¹⁸ and marketable programs and to enhance international/global competitiveness (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). Affirming this narrative, the Bologna Process and Lisbon Strategy also calling “for a new social contract between the higher education sector and society” (Keeling, 2006, p. 206).

4.3 Changing logic of internationalization: From mobility to market

Rationales for internationalization

The rationales prompting Europe and Germany to recruit and enroll international students throughout the 1980s and 1990s can be grouped into four categories: political (diplomatic investment and national security), cultural and social development (language acquisition and personal growth), educational achievement, and economic growth (de Wit, 2002). The competition for attracting international students soon grew into a global industry with over 2.8 million students enrolling in educational institutions outside of their countries of origin in 2007 and generating \$13.3 billion in revenue. With the growth, the economic dimensions began to subsume other rationales and have become the key driver for internationalization. Even though

¹⁷ According to the OECD (2009), in the 2007-2008 academic year, the Erasmus Mundus program accepted almost 1200 students and 211 scholars into the various masters programs. The program was based on the Fulbright program, which also enrolls 1300 international students and scholars each year.

¹⁸ Although signatory member states' higher education systems converged in terms of degree structures, and common frameworks for quality assurance and for qualifications, there are substantial differences in the implementation (see e.g. Witte 2006).

Germany's interest in attracting international students was not focused on generating institutional revenue, it has increasingly been linked to producing qualified labor. The German Chamber of Industry and Commerce (DIHT) projected a shortage of 400,000 skilled workers and policymakers used this to push an economic rationale for recruiting international students (Gardner, 2010). As the workforce demographic indicator now links companies both at home and abroad staffing needs to international students, the economic rationale has gained prominence in the public discourse. A DAAD interviewee expressed this change,

What I do notice is that economic considerations have become more present than they used to be 10 years ago. All this discussion on “we need these people to work here” this is also something, which would not have happened in the same way (DAAD 1).

The German government supports these economic rationales through adapting laws and offering competitive funding to universities. Governmental initiatives include the GATE Germany marketing scheme, the growth of German-backed universities, and the Excellence Initiative. Supported by the federal government and administered by the DAAD, HRK and the German Research Council (DFG), these endeavors point to the changing dynamics of internationalization and the shifting roles of the actors involved in the process. Hahn (2003) described these changes as being driven by a new *Zeitgeist* whereby the coordinating organizations—the DAAD and HRK—and the federal government are attempting to make Germany a “strategic global player in the global higher education (and science) market” (p.199).

Germany's shift from a welfare state that operates with a coordinated market economy to a more competition-and market-driven system encourages German universities to develop competitive frameworks to attract international students. Creating a competitive framework is a first step in reconfiguring the system of social rules and social actions. As discussed in chapter

two, the post-World War II society in Germany was ordered by a network of large firms and banks that created a united business sector and protected national interests and the public good. In the mid-1990s that system began to dissolve, allowing for increased privatization and made international competitiveness a priority for previously public service firms (Streeck, 2009). Powerful actors began to shift their conceptions of public and private goods and altered the benefits they extended to society and individuals. In time, the public came to accept new rationales and practices in the distribution of goods and services. Similarly, the changes in the internationalization initiatives in German (and other European) higher education systems focus less on academic partnerships and more on competition, differentiation, and marketing. Scholars and my findings support that the public-good perspective is being amended by an academic capitalist approach to internationalization. As one DAAD interviewee expressed, “I’m wondering how we are going to adapt it [international mobility grants] to the new situations and somehow make it have as little paradoxical effects as possible” (DAAD 1).

GATS and becoming a ‘global player’

The changing *Zeitgeist* of internationalization can be understood as a process (Hahn, 2003). The shift from university engagement in international student *mobility* to competing in an international student *market* can be traced on various levels and linked to rationales from various actors. In the global policy arena, evidence of the perspective shift is most obvious in the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) General Agreement on Trade in Services’ (GATS) incorporation of higher education as a tradable service. Within the WTO, public services are based on economic concepts (i.e. the mode of service delivery), rather than the nature of the service or their function as a common good. Moreover, the WTO defines public goods by the economic definition: as

non-rivalous and non-excludable goods (Scherrer, 2005). The aim of GATS was to “expand world trade in services by means of establishing progressively liberalized multilateral framework of principles and rules for trade in services” (Verger, 2010, p.3). In essence, GATS has become a legal platform for nation-states to negotiate free trade in education and the requisite rules, principles, and procedures for countries participating in transnational higher education. Unlike other trade agreements, the commercialization of services involves more complex negotiations as services are typically “consumed where they are produced and are both produced and consumed simultaneously” (ibid, p.3). With this relationship, GATS divided the discussion into four modes of liberal provisions: mode 1 consists of cross-border supply (franchising courses or degrees, including distance education and e-learning); mode 2 focuses on consumption abroad (the consumer moves to the provider country, including traditional student mobility); mode 3 is dedicated to commercial presence (foreign service provider establishing facilities in a second country, including branch campuses or foreign-backed initiatives); and mode 4 is concerned with presence of natural persons (persons who temporarily travel to another country to provide educational services) (OECD, 2004). In approaching higher education from this economic perspective, the GATS discussion and agreement has “given an impulse to a new logic of commercial and competitive higher education exchange” (Verger, 2010, p. 4). Furthermore, it encourages the commodification of knowledge, promotes free trade of the knowledge, and stresses its private benefit aspects (Altbach & Knight, 2007).

Germany’s commitment to GATS began in 1994 as the European Union, on behalf of the Member States, negotiated a more free market position in regard to higher education¹⁹ (Hahn,

¹⁹ GATS negotiations are primarily concerned with trade liberalization, based on the method of demand-offer. Demand-offer implies that country A demands countries B to liberalize certain sectors where country A has exportation interests. In response, country B presents an offer of liberalization that can be further modified throughout the negotiation process. The discussion round closes when all member countries present a definitive list of offers that will be integrated in the GATS as a part of the new liberalization commitments of the member countries (Verger, 2010).

2003). German stakeholders were not actively engaged in the GATS discussions until the end of 2001 when various federal ministries and coordinating organizations, namely HRK and the DAAD, began understanding the extent of the trade commitments made by the European Union on behalf of its Member States (ibid). Germany recognized the growing importance of the higher education sector within the GATS negotiations and set the intention of becoming a pro-active participant, a 'global player' within the international arena. Hahn (2003) notes that the turn towards assuming the role of a global player in higher education "does not quite conform to the cultural tradition of German's higher education institutions and their underlying Humboldtian spirit" (p.204). Nevertheless, emboldened by GATS and equipped with the Bologna Process's structural cooperative reforms and the Lisbon Strategy's emphasis on competition and labor market success, Germany began actively promoting its 'best' programs to become more internationally competitive. The profiling and marketing practices can be seen in the GATE Germany initiative, through the strong support for foreign-backed universities, and in the development of the Excellence Initiative.

Profiling and marketing: GATE Germany

The idea of German universities engaging in competition and marketing for international students was non-existent and an unthinkable or "no-go" (GATE 1) topic until the last ten years. Changing demographics coupled with shifting European and German perspectives on higher education, however, opened the way for the establishment of the GATE Germany marketing initiative. GATE Germany was initiated in 2001 as a joint-initiative of the DAAD and the HRK. GATE was designed to jump-start the country's international marketing campaign by helping German universities engage in the international competition for students through marketing and

recruiting. The stated objectives of the initiative are: to promote German higher education institutions as attractive international destinations for study and research, to provide information to potential students about these opportunities, and to offer marketing tools to universities (GATE Germany, 2012). GATE does not promote individual institutions, rather a unified ‘Study in Germany’ approach. This strategy developed due to the realization that no single German institution could individually compete with the Anglo-American universities that have large endowments and professional marketing departments. As explained by one GATE interviewee, “they [universities] are aware of the fact that not one of them is big enough to be its own brand. So they realize that it makes more sense to pull their strength together” (GATE 1). Thus, GATE arose to pool resources and market the overall German higher education system (Scherrer, 2005). Despite this all-for one mentality, not all universities have joined the coordinated approach. As one DAAD interviewee noted,

Of course every *Land* can do what they think is important to do. But of course we would like to create a brand “Study in Germany” and not “Study in Hessen” or “Study in Baden-Wittenberg” but sometimes we’re seeing this. So it’s about information, communication. At least what we are doing is visiting their meetings and see[ing] what they’re doing and trying to get them in the same boat (DAAD 2).

Funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) and the fees generated from the member universities, GATE Germany established a global presence for German universities. The GATE Germany initiative participates in international study-fairs, provides services in foreign countries for German universities, and offers German university staff the opportunity to gain marketing competencies through seminars, courses and workshops (GATE Germany, 2012). GATE’s mission is to market Germany and all its universities as academically strong institutions by highlighting the best-performing (i.e. attracting the most international

students or funding) programs at each university. As described by a GATE Germany respondent,

[GATE] put internationalization onto the map in a much more focused fashion than decades of internationalization work the DAAD had been doing. All of a sudden there were logos, very professional fair presentations. I think all of a sudden it was an interesting higher education debate and an interesting topic. All of a sudden higher education was part of a discourse, a modern, professional, open-minded discourse...universities decided to train their people to be more international, smart communicators. All of a sudden they were more present than they had been (GATE 2).

In addition to these self-described goals, GATE Germany represents a change in the logic of internationalization and is a new approach to internationalization. Hahn (2003) describes it as a “new steering instrument in German higher education and science politics” (p. 206), through which the German government is able to advance its objective of creating a more competitive higher education system alongside its traditional cooperative perspective.

GATE Germany adopted the European Commission’s cooperation and competition strategies to support the goal of German policymakers to be a global player while also encouraging individual institutions to market themselves. Cooperation has long been the norm in the German system that traditionally afforded each university equal funding and status. However, competition and the required institutional marketing to compete are new elements to most of the universities. Competition is not limited to internationalization, but now extends to creating changes in governance, funding structures, and incentives. University actors are being ‘trained’ to compete through these facets. Bruno (2009) suggests that one must learn to be competitive, “competition is neither natural nor self-regulating. Therefore it needs to be arranged not only by laying down the rules of the game, but also by stirring a ‘competitive spirit’” (p. 271). In general, the European approach to competition in higher education was not motivated by

institutional financial gains; rather it was organized around the contest for material and symbolic capital related to research funding, prestige and reputation (Deiaco et al., 2008; Münch, 2011).

Despite the increased attention to competition, GATE Germany wants to ensure that cooperation remains central in its mission, perhaps because, as Marginson and van der Wende (2007) note “a simplistic competition strategy does not necessarily lead to more responsiveness of higher education institutions to the needs of the knowledge society” (p. 54). Whether this is a motivating factor, GATE Germany maintains both competition and cooperation approaches in marketing. In doing so, GATE is expanding upon the generally accepted definition of marketing, but also minimizes dissent and disruption from opponents to more academic capitalist approaches to higher education. Despite the need to publicly balance cooperation and competition, it is evident that the federal government is using GATE as a steering instrument to position Germany as a global player (Hahn, 2003).

Streeck’s (2009) explanation for the shift away from a coordinated market society that puts a prime on political cooperation, social partnership, and reciprocity towards a more market and competition-driven economic model and the corresponding adjustments in political, economic, and social spaces provides a way to understand the crafting of Germany’s new rules and standards for a more internationally competitive university system. Marginson and van der Wende (2007) note that although education systems throughout the world are embedded in certain histories, economies, politics, or cultures, “within and beyond these correspondences, there is much scope for imaginative strategy and for capacity building that will open up future strategic options” (p.16). The GATE Germany initiative shows how the “imagined strategy” to become a global player came to life and moved universities toward accepting a more commodified approach to education.

Marketing requires a distillation of complexity into easily produced, packaged, and ranked services. Thus, universities are encouraged to market and sell their best performing service or product to international students who “symbolize national grandeur and/or are seen as the future customers or business partners” (Scherrer, 2005, p. 494-495). In moving universities into marketing and an arrangement of both collaboration and competition, Germany took its first step towards an academic capitalist perspective on higher education. Furthermore, it opened the door to more market-facing mechanisms and perspectives to come in the GATS services descriptions and with Germany backing of foreign universities.

Foreign Backed Universities

One year before establishing the GATE Germany initiative, the federal government introduced a new scheme within its “Future Initiative for Higher Education” program to allow Germany universities to move into GATS Mode 3 Commercial Presence (Hahn, 2003). Higher education institutions could apply to undertake a number of entrepreneurial projects administered by the DAAD, the most visible of which were foreign-backed universities. Similar, yet distinct from branch campuses, foreign-backed universities were a new trend in Germany and elsewhere. The better-known branch campus can be broadly defined as offshore divisions of a higher education institution operated by the parent institution (Becker, 2010). In contrast, foreign-backed universities are typically not for profit institutions supported by local individuals, local governments, or enterprises (Lanzendorf, 2008). Additionally, foreign-backed universities are often organized in close collaboration with business and industry to contribute to local economic development (OBHE, 2008). In this arrangement, the local funding partner provides the initial financial support for the new joint-university while the academic partner or ‘mentor’ comes from

a foreign university. In essence, foreign-backed universities are local institutions that are academically linked to one or more universities located in another country (ibid). The foreign academic mentors are responsible for curricula and quality assurance, the training of lecturers, providing teaching staff from the home university, and fund-raising ventures. In Germany, the funding for the university partners falls under the DAAD administered “German Study Programmes Abroad.” Opened in 2000, it initially received 10 million Euros from the Federal Ministry for Education and Research.

In addition to supporting what Labi (2012) identified in the *Chronicle* article mentioned in chapter one, as a local or regional higher education development, there is also an economic rationale for German financial support and universities’ participation in foreign-backed universities. This is evident in the choice of the location as well as the fact that these ventures provide access to graduate-level international students. A DAAD interviewee commented on these motivating rationales, stating that many institutions become involved in foreign-backed universities to get “into contact with students they can recruit for either a master program or for doing their PhD in Germany” (DAAD 5). Additionally, the location of the German-backed universities is strongly related to market rationales. The same DAAD representative commented on the intentional positioning of German universities in strategic locations,

...not all the people there feel so comfortable with American universities in that field. So I suppose that’s also the reason, they’re looking for an alternative, not being American or British....But I think that’s why German universities they tend to grow bigger than somewhere else. There are many, many projects in China, all over China, which is funny because, although its an emerging market it doesn’t show in India or Brazil, but we expect actually to get more projects in India and Brazil in the next couple of years (DAAD 5).

As the interviewee noted, Germany is now looking to expand operations to the most active higher education markets—China, India, and Brazil. These identified areas were targeted to

complement Germany's existing presence in the Middle East. Beginning in 2001 with the German University in Cairo, Egypt, German-backed institutions were initiated in Jordan, Syria, Oman, Lebanon, and Turkey²⁰.

In the first call for applications in 2001, there were 123 universities and *fachhochschulen* submitting project proposals. More than half of the proposals were in engineering, a field Germany is profiling as one of its strengths (Bhatti, 2005), and 29 were selected. A DAAD interviewee pointed to the high number of applications as indicative of the program's success. She went on to say that officials were surprised, as they thought they would have "to give them [universities] a little push to enter the international markets...and it turned out, a lot of universities have been kind of waiting for that push, I think. It was over 70 applications in the first round. So I think it was just about time" (DAAD 5). Although the number of applications may indicate a significant interest in the field, it does not address the underlying motivations for engaging in these endeavors. The time and effort involved in the application as well as the actual project durations are far more costly than would be warranted by a mere recruitment tool. And, while universities can and do charge tuition, most universities receive less than \$2,400 a year per student (OBHE, 2005). Thus, there may be other factors influencing program participation. A HRK interviewee noted the projects have political and often economic impetus,

With branch campuses, as you know, you find a lot of political projects...I mean a lot of projects have come top-down from politics, so then it's a little upside down. Politics says "we need this because it's politically important, please, somebody would you please come and help us." Which makes things more difficult in a way, because you end up having some university presidents feeling obliged to participate and then they have to go hunting in the university for some professors who are interested to participate. But it doesn't mean it's a good project in the end, but sometimes I've seen that the beginning phase is very difficult, because of that, because it wasn't bottom-up (HRK 1).

²⁰ As Jabeen Bhatti (2005) reported in *Deutsche Welle*, German universities were selected by Middle Eastern partners due to highly regarded education, industry, and engineering fields, and by German partners due to political motivations.

The political dimension of the German-backed universities aligns with the German government's highly scripted move towards becoming a global player (Hahn, 2003). Indeed, the DAAD's first call for applications, stressed submission of "entrepreneurial projects, which are competitive and can strengthen the position of German higher education internationally" (OBHE 2005, p. 2). Advancing Germany's presence abroad has since been intensified to include the goals of laying "the foundation of future international higher education and economic collaborations, and to attract international students and graduates to Germany itself, thereby potentially helping to strengthen the German economy" (OBHE, 2008, p. 3). The clearly articulated goal of economic gain for Germany speaks to the amplified agenda and changing logic of internationalization. In fact, the German government has actively involved itself in negotiating and founding universities in Vietnam and Turkey, using higher education not only as a means of attracting students but to help ease the long-standing relationships between the two countries and Germany²¹. As a DAAD interviewee explained,

There has been recently, along side the program, a political interest in starting bilateral universities, like the German-Turkish university, the Vietnamese-German university. I think that could actually grow because I think that's kind of specific to Germany because our politicians have this as a means of foreign policy, like public diplomacy. At least I haven't read that any of the other big players in that market do it in the same way as public diplomacy things, but it's worth concentrate[ing]? at the higher education institutions. So I suppose that we'll get a lot more questions concerning, like: why don't we build up German-Iraq university? (DAAD 5).

The political stimulus of these universities combined with the strong orientation towards labor-market programs, both for internationals and German economic gain, highlights the economic imperative embedded in internationalization. At a time of decreasing budgets for

²¹ According to the Times Higher Education (2010) the German-Turkish University is a result of Christian Wulff, the former German president, and his Turkish counterpart Abdullah Gül, attempt to contribute to "Turkish-German Friendship" that have been strained in recent years due to rising anti-immigration sentiments throughout Western Europe. Furthermore, the GDR's reliance on Vietnamese guest workers created a connection between the two nations, which has been further developed in the last twenty years leading to establishing a 'strategic cooperation' in 2011 (German Federal Foreign Office, 2011).

higher education, the federal government committed 397 million Euro in 2010 to the DAAD to promote internationalization endeavors. The funds are not only being used to attract international students, but to recalibrate the higher education system such that university actors are trained to respond to market incentives. To create and manage foreign backed universities, actors must think in terms of transactions costs—judging the costs and benefits of inputs and outputs not in terms of interesting or constructive academic endeavors, but as investments in individual and institutional success. The idea that each decision and action is an investment in personal or institutional reward, rather than fostering knowledge for a non-specific, public good, is a substantial ideological shift. German institutions have moved from promoting international interactions based on academic responsibility, peace, and mutual understanding to strategically orienting endeavors for a competitive environment. Entering into a foreign-backed university partnership requires “financial means and...an economic model” (EIU Admin 1), not simply inserting faculty into a different locale to carry out research and teaching.

The proliferation of foreign-backed universities points to the commodification of knowledge in that courses must be applicable in many contexts, are often offered in English, the language of commerce, and are ‘sold’ to the local students. According to one DAAD interviewee, universities are encouraged “to make more attractive programs, to design more attractive programs, to attract better students, to build a reputation around the world” (DAAD 5). In essence, these programs contribute to standardizing a curriculum transferable to any context, a molding of German universities and their programs into market-ready products suitable for the international arena.

Excellence Initiative

Organized by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the German Council of Science and Humanities, the Excellence Initiative is a federally funded mechanism that pushes universities to become globally visible and competitive entities. It lays out Germany's interest in creating a differentiated higher education system that is internationally competitive in terms of research and high quality graduate training. The federal and *Länder* governments contributed 1.9 billion Euro to the first round of applications (2005/2006) and an additional 2.7 billion Euro for the second round of applications (2006/2007) to support selected universities, departments, and faculty for their proposed five year projects. The competition is organized to fund three different areas: Graduate Schools, promoting a 'modern' path for young scientists and researchers; Clusters of Excellence, promoting interdisciplinary and innovative research; and Institutional Strategies, which "reorganize the university radically to enable it to compete against the strongest international standards" (Fallon, 2008, p. 16). International commissions review the English-language applications to select the 'best' programs. Of the 253 first-round proposals for the graduate school competition, 39 projects were selected and each was awarded five million Euros per year for five years. The Cluster of Excellence competition received 280 proposals with 37 winning 6.5 million Euros per year for five years. And, lastly, nine universities of 47 applicants received the institutional concepts awards of 14 million Euros per year for five years. Rules stipulated that only universities that received both an award for a Graduate School and an Cluster of Excellence could apply for and receive the Institutional Strategy award. Thus, the nine Institutional Strategy universities received more than 21.5 million Euros per year for five years. These nine universities have been dubbed the 'elite' or 'best' German universities.

The stated aims for the Excellence Initiative were three-fold: to reinvigorate the university research centers (in reaction to the growing trend towards funding the extra-research institutes

such as the Max Planck); to strengthen the role of universities in Germany; and, to increase universities' international visibility (Kehm & Pasternack, 2008). The less explicit goals, although cited by many scholars, have been to infuse notions of competition and differentiation into the German higher education system and extend Germany's position to the global arena (see e.g. Kehm & Pasternack, 2008; Münch, 2011; Stuchtey, 2008). Similar to the goals of foreign-backed universities, the Excellence Initiative is designed to boost the entrepreneurial spirit and challenge the traditional view that all German universities are of equal quality and standing. Although some scholars and stakeholders argue that there were always differences between the 'quality' of German universities, a DAAD interviewee confirmed,

I think traditionally in Germany the idea to compete, it doesn't really sound very sympathetic. People feel shy about it or they didn't want to admit they were doing it, etc. That's what I feel, that somehow with the EI now suddenly the spirit is different and somehow people dare to say we're trying to be good and we're also trying to be better than the university next door. Maybe in a ways its less hypocritical than it use to be. Of course, I mean, I don't think we have so democratic and egalitarian as we pretended to be in the past (DAAD 1).

Whether these principles were in fact the reality, this explanation postulates an acceptance of highlighting nine 'elite' institutions and devoting resources to begin propelling them into a group of top-ranked universities. Unlike the GATE Germany initiative that attempts to market "Study in Germany" rather than any one particular university, the Excellence Initiative encourages universities to take a step further to identify their own "unique selling points" (GATE 1). The selling points form the foundation of a diversified higher education system, but also are a means of alleviating a strong reaction from the less elite universities as they allow for a belief that this group may be able to gain attention based on one or two academic strongholds.

Germany's aspiration to be a global player in the knowledge economy requires having powerful knowledge economy industries able to compete with the other leading countries.

Although the Excellence Initiative purports to select the top universities, Münch (2011b) argues that success is not necessarily decided by the quality of the research, rather success is based on where the research is conducted and published. This does not imply that the nine ‘elite’ universities are not world-class institutions; rather that Germany is devoting billions of Euros to promote—substantively and visibly—only nine of their 105 universities.

Critics of diversification efforts come from two camps. Some see diversification as “too little, too late” if the goal is to compete with the top research universities in Anglo-American countries. Others question whether competition is beneficial for the German higher education system as a whole. A senior professor at the University of the West described the situation:

In a way it is something like this: there are 100 people walking through the desert, some guy has water and he says ‘I want to do them some good I give them some water’ and if you want to give them water in a way which is really optimal, you take them and give them an amount and let them drink.... That is tedious and you don’t see the water anymore after it was drunk. So what you can also do is to take a whole bucket, the whole water, pick out one guy and pour the whole bucket over that guy and say ‘lets make a photo, look how much water I spent.’ That guy is completely wet, all over wet, everybody can see how much. But first of all it was only one guy and second he is wet, it should have gotten inside. Being wet and having the water all over is those universities, which have been chosen as excellent universities (UofW Prof. 3).

By devoting significant resources to nine universities, there is a fundamental shift in research funding. Research that was once based on the intrinsic interest of faculty is now subsumed by a strategic institutional mission. Many faculty members remain ambivalent about engaging in the Excellence Initiative and other competitive endeavors for fear of losing their faculty autonomy. However, they recognize that not every faculty member sees competition as a burden, rather a growing number understand the competitive structures as opportunities to gain resources and prestige. Kehm and Pasternack (2008) suggest that under the Excellence Initiative the higher education system will soon fragment into a small group of top universities in the ‘elite cluster,’ a

mid-level group which are strong research universities, but unable to move into the top stratum; and a large faction of teaching-intensive *fachhochschulen* and less-research focused universities. Faculty members are pushed into the competition to avoid being relegated to the bottom tier of teaching institutions. University administrators see this consequence as a benefit—it eases their responsibility of providing incentives to motivate the faculty.

The university administrators interviewed for this project were generally supportive of the Excellence Initiative as it not only reapportions authority back to the university level, but provides additional resources to institutions. As one university international office director stated,

I think the Excellence Initiative might be some impulse or give an impulse to attract more students. What I think is necessary and may attract people and keep them here is to develop the infrastructure we talked about for scholars and international doctoral students—for their families, to provide good services at the university. We keep talking about a welcome center which is a buzzword for a one-stop agency where people could come to and could get all the problems solved, more or less; not only redirecting them to other places but where they could actually do all the registration process and stuff. It needs some money to do this, it needs personnel to do this but I think if the Excellence Initiative gets though and we get the money we might also have it for this project, which would certainly help us do it. If the money doesn't come, it will take a long, long time to do that and that would help things much (UofE Admin.1).

The pressure to compete in the Excellence Initiative is thus being driven not just by the external funding, but also from within the university. The Excellence Initiative links administrators to funding, creating a more dependent relationship between faculty and administration. The altered dynamic between faculty and administration will be further explored in chapter six.

In addition to the university and federal level internal motivations, other countries' university systems have begun interpreting the Excellence Initiative signals and responding with support of a more 'rankable' system. Most notable is the reaction from the Chinese government

and their universities who are now focusing on creating partnerships exclusively with the nine ‘elite’ universities. As one DAAD representative noted,

...in China they are saying ‘from now on we will only have co-operations with these nine excellence universities in Germany because they are visible.’ This is a good effect abroad, the Excellence Initiative gets more visibility abroad for the German system (DAAD 2).

Many faculty members remain skeptical of the Excellence Initiative due to the uncertainty regarding its (and their) outcomes; however, the coordinating organizations are fully supportive of the Initiative. Their support is linked to the idea that Germany can control the competition. One GATE Germany interviewee noted that through the new systemic changes Germany would find “our own European way of profiling ourselves, bettering ourselves, under global conditions of competition” (GATE 2). The idea that they can continue to channel competition harkens back to the coordinated market society, but as the coordinated market society begins to dismantle the chances of being able to continue to manage competition appears less tenable.

4.4 Tensions

Achieving the status of ‘global player’ is a difficult position to gauge in higher education—is it when one (or more) universities is ranked among the top 10 higher education institutions in the world? Or is it based on the number of Nobel Prize winners found in German institutions? Or is it based on the percentage (or absolute number) of international students and scholars in German universities? These quantitative measures indicate simple vertical differences; yet, as many critics of rankings note, they do not speak to student learning or capture the essence of research and teaching. Despite these concerns rankings²² have come to dominate the higher

²² Marginson and van der Wende (2007) note that two of the dominant world ranking are the Shanghai Jiao Tong University (SJTU), which does not constitute a holistic comparison of universities but they have been interpreted as such, and *The Times Higher*. The SJTU index is determined by publication and citation performance: 20% citation in leading journals; 20% articles in

education landscape, have raised competitive pressures, and have the potential to influence institutional policy and behavior (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). The broad goal of becoming a global player is implemented in part according to the indicators used by ranking systems and organizations. These new initiatives however are leading to unintended and unknown consequences, as one professor noted,

If you have such a federal system like we have, the different states of Germany are supporting each other and you would like to provide the same living conditions in all these different areas in Germany this is connected to the education. If people will move from the East to Bavaria so that their kids can go to a good university then you have to give up also current living conditions in Germany. Therefore the society has to be kind of honest that you have to give up other values which I believe make up the identity of this entire country. And you cannot just change higher education and make this higher education completely international, competitive and what so ever and not the other end (UofE Prof 4).

Although most of the interviewees recognize that pieces from one system, such as implementing performance-pay, competition, and differentiation, cannot simply be inserted into another without other affecting other aspects, many practices undertaken by actors disregard this consideration. The drive continues to be focused on attracting an increasing number of international students to account for a projected demographic decline, thus students are needed to support economic growth. As the previously quoted professor, who is involved in a graduate-level international masters program, stated,

In Germany we are having thousands of open positions and the forecast is in five years there is no more [students to fill them]...and this was the triggering point the federal government put millions of Euros in there to just attract foreigners, and

Science and Nature; and 20% the number of Thomson/ISI 'HiCi' researchers on the basis of citation performance; another 30% is determined by the winners of Nobel Prizes in the sciences and economics and Fields Medals in mathematics, in relation to their training (10%) and their current employment (20%). The remaining 10% is determined by dividing the total derived from the above data by the number of staff. In the *Times Higher* a high value is placed on institutional reputation and on the level of 'internationalization'. A total of 40% of the *Times* index is comprised by an international opinion survey of academics and another 10% by a survey of 'global employers'. The two internationalization indicators are the proportion of students who are international (5%) and the proportion of staff (5%). Another 20% is determined by the student-staff ratio, a proxy for teaching 'quality'. The remaining 20% is comprised by research citation performance.

into the German job market. And since it was clear that just the immigration policy is not solving the problem, at least not fast, because Germany is living from really a highly qualified workforce and where should they come from? So if you are saying we are paying good money for good jobs, yes, its clear we did this for years but where should the applicants come from? These standard Chinese, Pakistani, graduate students, they are not qualified for that. Therefore it was the idea that ok let's qualify them here, they usually have quite a strong basic science program where you do not need sophisticated labs and lets give them a crash course of two years in a master program and then they might be—might be—qualified to fill in for jobs (UofE Prof 4).

This perspective on recruiting international students—as a means to support Germany's ambition to be a global player and internationally competitive—is also causing a shift in stance on topics such as brain drain. As one DAAD actor noted,

Until now the DAAD policy was “you come here for a certain time, and qualify in your subject and you know our culture and language and go back and be an ambassador for our culture, and in the end making business.” I think we have to rethink this way of understanding mobility, understanding the change because of course we can't go around saying “coming here and study here with our money and then join our companies and stay here and work for our society.” This kind of brain drain is not our goal and we don't want it, but I think that sometimes what's already happening that these young people come to Germany are very mobile. If they don't have the possibility to stay here they will go to the third country that's more open with easier possibilities to get a job. And we lose this person and they don't go back. So this is the first thing. The second thing is that sometimes its even lets say better for the country of origin if the person keeps on staying here or another country where he or she can do this research or this studies he/she couldn't do at home so sometimes its better than going back and being there without the lab or possibilities (DAAD 2).

To be able to compete in the international student market, Germany has to balance the tensions between a traditional partnership perspective and competition and entrepreneurial endeavors. The changing function of the DAAD, HRK, and universities themselves demonstrate the effects of these tensions and will be explored further in the following chapters.

Germany is trying to balance these competing rationales through internationalization policy and rhetoric, but like other countries that have moved into more market-facing education, it is

difficult to maintain equilibrium. The cost of recruiting international students and scholars in pursuit of global competitiveness may result, according to one DAAD representative, in “needing some kind of UNESCO agreements on who is allowed and numbers to recruit because already some countries start to pronounce that they feel uneasy about their students, the potential of young people, taken away” (DAAD 5)²³. If this were to come to pass, Germany may have to streamline its goals, thus reconciling its position and practices regarding international student recruitment. If countries were only allowed a certain segment of the market, they would need to outline more clearly which students they wanted and why. Although this may cause a reaction with some actors, they will then be confronted with having to face the motivating factors underlying the funding. Currently, the ambivalence of German actors to the changing logics of internationalization allows for new (and more) projects and initiatives to be introduced and carried out by actors who are able to maintain their own perspective. However as a more economic perspective gains ground, university actors will be forced to confront why they are engaged in these activities.

4.5 Conclusion: A new social order?

The move toward becoming a global player is the basis of the changing *Zeitgeist* in higher education. Not only does the drive to compete reorient the logic of internationalization it also challenges institutions to redefine its notions of public and private goods following academic capitalism’s premises of competition for resources, reorganization of activities, and redefinition of public spaces (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The traditionally equally funded and tuition-free universities provided open access to the benefits of higher education and corresponding status distinctions. In contrast, by introducing a vertical differentiation between universities,

²³ Naidoo and Jamieson (2005) note that in creating a market for higher education, private for-profit providers will seek advantages in the weakly regulated arena, perceiving it as a lucrative export.

competition between students for access to the ‘elite’ universities, as well as university competition for the ‘best’ students created an economically driven market. Despite the fact that some actors do not characterize these changes in terms of a change in logic of internationalization, the contradictions occurring within universities as market-like behaviors enter into institutional practices along-side the traditional roles of teaching and pursuing unbiased research are altering practices.

The GATE Germany marketing initiative, foreign-backed universities, and Excellence Initiative are three visible examples of Germany’s interest in using internationalization to foster partnerships for academic quality to one that attracts students for labor market needs. European and German policy makers support these initiatives through incentives and funding, but there continue to be questions among faculty and some administration. The DAAD and HRK have thus become key actors mediating between universities and federal-level goals. In spite of, or perhaps due to, the dichotomy found within the coordinating organizations, the competition and cooperation narratives are creating ambivalence in how actors perceive and respond to new initiatives. Although promoting both restricts a full-scale move toward competition it also causes less friction with those supporting the traditional public good perspectives woven into internationalization.

In this research, the analysis highlights how the lines between public and private are now blurring within the sphere of German universities’ internationalization efforts. This shift is resulting in a redefinition of public space and legitimate internationalization practices. Versions of academic capitalism vary among countries due to each country’s particular interpretation of capitalism. The incentives and pressures produced by capitalism define the range of actions that are deemed legitimate. The European Commission is working to align Member States’ national

values and actions to those. The ideological shifts are mobilized by tangible practices including the GATE Germany marketing initiative that promotes university profiling and marketing to international students, the extension of a German presence through foreign-backed universities, and the Excellence Initiative that encourages competition and differentiation among German universities. Each of these exemplars moves academic capitalism from the theoretical realm into a practical application for higher education and contributes to the changing logics of internationalization.

CHAPTER 5

FROM COORDINATING TO INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Rationales for internationalization are shifting from partnership and academic betterment to competition and economic growth. This narrative focuses on the layering of a private good perspective on top of the traditional public good perspective and introduces an academic capitalist approach to internationalization. The original logic of internationalization was embedded in the German Academic Exchange Agency (DAAD), which grounded many of its policies and practices in its 1925 founding ideals of academic partnership and responsibility. As internationalization takes on a more economic rationale, coordinating organizations' and universities' interaction with this new logic—an academic capitalist logic—and are changed both ideologically and organizationally. In essence by promoting internationalization from a more private good perspective universities and coordinating organizations are also changing their organizational perspectives and priorities.

The coordinating organizations have always been present in the German higher education landscape due to Germany's federalist structure. These organizations have included: the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the German Rectors Conference (HRK), the German Research Council (DFG), the Accreditation council (*Akkreditierungsrat*), the Science Council (*Wissenschaftsrat*) and the Association of University Professors (Hahn, 2003; Gabriel, et al., 2007; Schimank & Lange, 2009). However, as policymakers shift their attention to the possible economic growth or market-based success related to educating international students, the

coordinating organizations are evolving and becoming, in academic capitalist terminology, intermediary organizations. Intermediary organizations are defined as external entities (to higher education institutions) that “promote closer relations between universities and markets” (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2011). Intermediary organizations link public, non-profit, and private sector entities to build or solidify research, marketing, or programmatic endeavors to assist universities’ entrepreneurial activities. This chapter explores two of these organizations, the DAAD and HRK, due to their association with the European and German higher education internationalization processes.

In this chapter, I analyze how actors in intermediary organizations respond to the introduction of new logics, and how they accept an amended perspective on internationalization and subsequently transmit these to universities through various initiatives. In doing so the actors in the organizations are engaging in institutional work. Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) define institutional work as “overtly political work in which actors reconstruct rules, property rights and boundaries that define access to material resources” (p. 221). Within this conception, the HRK and DAAD’s internationalization programs, funding, and initiatives are analyzed as producing a normative discourse that universities must follow to access resources. These organizations not only help define the international strategies of universities, but also provide needed resources for them in times when budgets are being reduced. Thus, the access the HRK and DAAD have to university leadership and international offices allows them to actively promote a new logic within internationalization processes. The access to key university actors repositions the HRK and DAAD within the overall higher education landscape, moving from moderators between universities and local concerns towards directing global discourses around economic growth and promoting success in the knowledge society.

This chapter addresses the second research question: Are the concurrent initiatives and rationales for internationalization facilitating a shift from a public good perspective to one that privileges knowledge as a commodity? The chapter begins with a description of the DAAD and the HRK noting how their traditional role in the higher education landscape is evolving toward becoming intermediary organizations. As intermediary organizations, the DAAD and HRK not only promote internationalization through new initiatives, specifically the Internationalization of Universities Audit and the Promos program; they are also advancing the technologies of benchmarking, competition, and accountability to position some of the higher education institutions in Germany in the global ‘first league.’ In promoting these technologies, the organizations are themselves being transformed as they seek to upgrade or engage in a new professionalism. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the changing roles of DAAD and HRK as organizations and within the German higher education system as they introduce different logics, managerial processes and structures for universities.

5.2 Evolving roles: From coordinating to intermediary organizations

In Germany, many of the established coordinating organizations uniting the higher education institutions in its federal system are now becoming more involved in agenda setting and exporting policies (Welsh, 2010). The history and extensive involvement of the HRK and DAAD in the higher education sector lends them credibility within universities. Yet with the repeal of the Federal Framework Act in 2006 the federal government was forced to withdraw from higher education institutions, and provided a space for the HRK and DAAD to assume a more prominent and globally competitive stance towards higher education.

The foundations

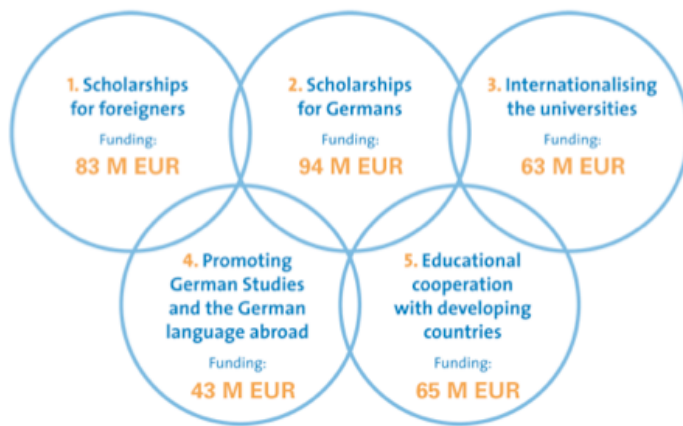
The *Deutsch Akademischer Austauschdienst* or DAAD was founded in 1925 as a scholarship program to provide opportunities for German students to study in the United States. Carl Joachim Friedrich initiated these exchanges from his position at the University of Heidelberg after returning from personal study at Harvard University (German Academic Exchange Service, 2011a). International exchange for students and scholars enhanced the normal university coursework as it expanded approaches and scholarship and allowed students to engage in new languages and cultures. This work became the basis for the DAAD and its rapid expansion. Just twelve years after its founding, the DAAD had created formal relationships with ten countries, offered 110 exchange scholarships, and opened nine branches of the exchange service in various European countries (ibid). This success was credited to DAAD's non-political, non-profit nature and its investment in partnerships to further academic fields of study. Especially after the Second World War, the DAAD became a primary vehicle to establish partnerships and academic connections outside of West Germany, provide scholarships for foreigners to study in West Germany, offer opportunities for Germans going abroad, and administer the exchange of practical internships for student trainees (Baron, 1993). In contrast to the more precise policy objectives touted by other countries at this time, West Germany's goal was to restore its place in the international community by fostering an open door partnership perspective for international student and scholar mobility (ibid).

The good-will partnership approach began shifting in the mid-1970s. In this time, the DAAD began providing groups of domestic students with an international experience as a strategy to improve the 'quality' of West German higher education (Baron, 1993). Additionally, the organization began responding to the political and economic rationales of the European

Commission's 1987 ERASMUS program that promoted international student mobility. Phrases including "pooling of resources in European higher education" and increasing "the competitiveness of the European industry in relation to the American and Japanese economies" (ibid) were inserted into the new European program. Also through the ERASMUS program, the Commission sought to unify member states and stimulate innovation and knowledge economies viewed as less successful than the Anglo-American countries. The DAAD incorporated many of the European trends into their perspective, but continued to maintain and advance their founding ideals of fostering partnerships and furthering academic excellence through international student mobility.

The DAAD reflects more than the European trends. Various federal ministries in addition to the Commission provide funding to the DAAD. In 2008, the DAAD's budget (233 million Euros) reflected contributions from: the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), the Foreign Office (AA), the Ministry of Economics and Technology (BMWi), the Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the *Länder* and the European Commission. The federal ministries contributed 233 million Euros, the *Länder* supported the DAAD with 400,000, and the European Commission gave 50 million Euros for a total operating budget of 298 million Euros (German Academic Exchange Service, 2011b). The DAAD's programmatic areas reflect its various funders. As Figure I below indicates, the focus areas range from economic growth (contributing to the knowledge-intensive industries in Germany or their companies in other countries), development aid (partnerships with other nations), cultural heritage (maintaining the German language as well as Germany-related academic disciplines), and political stability (Germans and foreigners understanding different cultures) (German Academic Exchange Action, 2011d).

Figure I: DAAD's 2008 Goals and expenditures (German Academic Exchange Service, 2011b)



Within these five programmatic areas the DAAD supports 250 programs, 64 branch offices located throughout the world, and scholarships for more than 74,000 German and foreign individuals (German Academic Exchange Service, 2011c).

Unlike the DAAD's founding from within a university the West German Rectors Conference (*Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz* or WRK) was established in 1949 as an external meeting place for university Rectors or presidents. The university leaders used this platform to discuss common issues, problems, and the necessary university reforms after World War II (German Rectors Conference, 2011a). The WRK changed its name to the German Rectors Conference (*Hochschule Rektorenkonferenz* or HRK) after the German reunification in 1990; however, their role and objectives remained the same—to act as the “political and public voice of the universities and other higher education institutions and the forum for the higher education institutions' joint opinion-forming process”(German Rectors Conference, 2011b). As such, their current role brings together 258 member institutions to formulate joint opinions on such topics as research, teaching, learning, knowledge and technology transfer, international cooperation, and governance. The HRK does not provide the member institutions with funding, but offers support

and information to universities. They are often included in university governance by facilitating joint-decision-making between the federal government and the 16 states²⁴ (Schimank & Lange, 2009). The Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) financially supports the HRK, providing the organization with 3.4 million Euro in 2010 (German Rectors Conference, 2011b).

Evolving into intermediary organizations

The historical role of the HRK and the DAAD in unifying universities by coordinating information and funding for internationalization processes contributed to their acceptance and legitimacy as organizations. They bridged the aims of the federal and *Länder* governments with those of higher education institutions and facilitated communication between the two. These roles evolved in recent years due to the increased attention the European Commission and the German federal government have placed on internationalization. The HRK and DAAD moved from their traditional roles of being the “voice of the universities” and a scholarship organization, respectively, “to a motor of reform” (Welsh, 2002, p. 14). As such, they are furthering their institutional mandates on the basis of the growing attention to higher education internationalization in global discourses. The development of these organizations into more prominent positions follows Metcalfe’s (2010) analysis of higher education and intermediating organizations. Intermediary organizations bring together different actors to offer support or provide opportunities for competition and collaboration, and are deeply involved in knowledge exchange. These functions are crucial aspects in the new economy. Although Metcalfe (2010) focuses on the academy-industry-government relationship that exists in the ‘financialized’ Canadian and American higher education landscapes, the description can be extended to

²⁴ Schimank and Lange (2009) note that due to the federal structure and the long-standing role of the three coordinating organizations, German has an established network governance system for higher education.

understand the role of the DAAD and HRK. Because German higher education institutions do not charge tuition, are primarily funded by the *Länder*, and maintain laws that restrict inter-university budgetary decisions, the internationalization agendas of the HRK and DAAD amend these practices. Several of the internationalization agendas and initiatives infuse market-based ideology and terminology into the German higher education arena. Gabriel et al. (2007) note that these “buffer organizations” play a significant role in promoting change within the higher education arena, especially since the collapse of the Federal Framework Act and the retreat of the federal government in the higher education arena. As such, the role of the HRK and DAAD in the higher education landscape is extended, which not only affects their organizational mandate, but also enables them to more actively support the shift in universities from a public good perspective to one that privileges knowledge as a commodity.

The DAAD and the Promos program

The DAAD’s traditional approach to international student mobility and scholarship began changing in the late 1980s/early 1990s in part due to external influences—German reunification and European integration—as well as from factors inside the organization. As one DAAD interviewee stated, “twenty years ago... there was the beginning of this discussion on [whether] German universities should internationalize and have more contacts? And slowly we were talking about that they should not only have an idea of where they want to be, [but] with whom they want to connect, etc” (DAAD 2). The change in the perspective towards universities and engagement in mobility policy occurred in stages due to the timing of various topics and actors (e.g. Commission communiqués, tuition fee discussions, changes in immigration laws). These evolutions not only opened the door to new standpoints on higher education, but also moved

German higher education institutions into the debates occurring throughout the world, most visibly with the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS).

The move from simply administering scholarships and facilitating mobility to fostering new dimensions of internationalization can be seen as moving the DAAD into a more authoritative position as an arbitrator of policy backed with symbolic and material capital. Although this is not the traditional rationale for the DAAD, it is evident that their organizational mission is becoming more aligned to an economic perspective of internationalization as seen in the former DAAD president's message that explicitly linked workforce needs to increasing international students (Gardner, 2010). In one interview, a DAAD staffer expounded on their changing perspective towards international student mobility, "we keep saying that of course its not just a pure philanthropical attitude....we are hoping for the long-term effects" (DAAD 1). The DAAD, with the financial support of the federal and *Länder* governments, has begun focusing its programs towards encouraging differentiation, marketing, and competition. As one university international office interviewee explained,

I think one of the main responsible actors [for internationalization] really was and still is the German Academic Exchange Service....They pushed this even before it had became government policy; now its government policy as well....It helped, you know, that they made it easier for foreign students to stay in the country, that they changed the labor laws. It helped that they really, you know, for the first time developed professional marketing for the last 10 years (EIU Admin 1).

The DAAD's role is thus not only as an organization enacting federal mandates or facilitating scholarships, but is promoting new logics for internationalization. In connecting German universities to the larger internationalization discourses, the DAAD itself is evolving from an organization that is facilitating student and academic mobility and scholarships, to an organization with a range of motivations. As one DAAD interviewee stated,

... until 20 years ago DAAD was just giving scholarships, that was our business, we were giving scholarships to individuals....And then we started creating all these programs like double degree courses at universities and exchange programs and all kinds of co-operations of German universities partners abroad. This became a huge part of our activity.... And so now we have a lot of criticism from universities because they say, well you have become such a bureaucracy (DAAD 1).

The expansion of the DAAD as a bureaucracy is a direct result from its work in creating new programs and engaging in new fields. One DAAD interviewee described “we have invented many, many new programs....I think we just have to continue to be modern and to do whatever the time requires” (DAAD 4). Alongside crafting new initiatives, the DAAD is also transferring responsibility for programs to universities, for example, the Promos program.

Promos was initiated by the DAAD in 2010 to replace the longstanding Freemover program. Just like the Freemover program, Promos offers funding for German students to participate in short-term (one semester) mobility programs related to study abroad, internships, research for a BA or MA thesis, or language courses. Thus, when responsibility for administering the Freemover program was transferred to universities, it was renamed Promos. The DAAD’s decision to pass the Promos program to universities is still being questioned by many of the study participants as one DAAD staff explained, “some would say, ‘you’re starting to abolish DAAD. Why do you do that? Why do you give that away without being forced to do so?’” (DAAD 1). Another DAAD interviewee expressed it in even stronger terms, “it was really a shift of paradigm because at the same time we are losing a very big share of our reason to be” (DAAD 2). Another DAAD staff member provided a response that universities could now select the students who receive the grants, which allows universities to be “a little bit independent” (DAAD 4). However, another DAAD staffer had a different explanation, “But our reason was that we also wanted to get rid of the little things. We thought because its so time consuming, all

these little decisions, all these payments. In a way we said, that we will get rid of that and concentrate on our *top* programs” (DAAD 1, italics mine). Considering that student mobility was the foundation for DAAD, the new conception of ‘top programs’ conveys a message that the DAAD is moving away from its traditional role, and towards a new position within the higher education landscape. As the DAAD’s role is evolving with the shifting logics of internationalization, there is not yet a firm position, which was summed up by one DAAD interviewee,

If you’re too late or too hesitant to jump on something, then you’re out of it. There’s so much competition in the ministries, and everywhere, and everybody has to protect their budget or try to increase it, that would be even better, so you really have to be up to it all the time. I think that’s where we’re going. We can’t just say “we have grants and everything’s wonderful, and we have branch offices all over the world and that’s it, that’s what we’re known for”—that doesn’t work like that anymore. We have to definitely support the universities in their process of internationalization that’s one of our major tasks for the future. Yes, that’s what I would say where we’re heading (DAAD 4).

In wanting to stay relevant and ready to engage in the current trend, the DAAD has begun interacting with universities and the federal government in new ways. The DAAD is also following the federal government’s ‘global player’ discourse and seeking to upgrade its own status. One step is to shed some of its less prestigious programs, such as the Promos, and focus on other more visible and politically engaged projects. As another DAAD interviewee expressed,

I think that we will have to find our own profile as well because with this expansion, brutal expansion sometimes...now we have to see: what are our main fields? Do we want to keep on dealing with mobility? So we have to focus, I think. There will be growth in the future, because that’s happening, its natural. But I think financing will be slightly different in the future, there will be lets say more private money, more money from other governments—this is happening already. DAAD is applying for international projects, from the World Bank and other global players. So this is much more than a national scholarship organization, it’s more of a global player like the cooperation agency, GEZ, and so on.... Siemens is building the metro and DAAD is building the education system, things like this (DAAD 2).

As the DAAD's perception of itself begins to align with the 'global player' ideal, it assumes a new relationship to universities, governments, and other funding organizations. This follows DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) analysis that institutions attempt to move to into new arenas of prestige to continually gain legitimacy. It also highlights Metcalfe (2010) analysis of intermediary organizations as becoming more entrepreneurially oriented. Thus, as the DAAD seeks and gains more material capital and symbolic status by applying for funding from other agencies (i.e. the World Bank), they also gain increased autonomy, reduce their dependency on the federal government, and begin to set new agendas in line with global internationalization scripts.

The HRK and the Internationalization Audit

Unlike the DAAD, which provides international offices and faculty with funding opportunities, the HRK does not offer financially endowed programs. Rather the access to key decision makers in universities paired with its involvement in governance situates the HRK in a politically connected position. In this role the HRK is able to leverage university participation through other stimuli. As one HRK interviewee explained, "it's also a question of incentives. Do you give incentives for certain activities?" (HRK 4). A current program the HRK is offering to universities is the Internationalization of Universities Audit. The Audit was designed to incentivize leaders in higher education institutions to more actively recognize the importance of being an international university (German Rectors Conference, 2011c). According to one HRK interviewee,

...one point for us surely is to make it a topic for them, for the Rectors, that is one of our goals. Because it [internationalization] is often seen as something or was seen as something the international offices do and the rector once in awhile will travel somewhere and it's all very nice, that's it (HRK 3).

The push to have more strategically oriented universities begins with having an overview of the internationalization activities in the universities and from there developing an international strategy, which is facilitated through the Audit process.

The Internationalization of Universities Audit project was conceived in 2009 in step with the development of the HRK's own organizational international strategy in 2008. The HRK presented the Audit as necessary because "only an internationalised university can actively shape the globalisation process and guarantee its own competitiveness" (German Rectors Conference, 2011c). Similarly the HRK's international strategy, entitled *Germany's Universities in the World and for the World*, associates the HRK in supporting universities' preparation for future challenges and opportunities related to the process of globalization (German Rectors Conference, 2008). In linking universities' organizational perspective with how the HRK proposes to support internationalization, the HRK is uniting its 'success' in internationalization with universities adherence to particular practices and perspectives.

The Audit was designed for universities to take a self-referential stance to their current internationalization process, however, "structure wise it's similar to classic evaluation processes" (HRK 1) as seen in Figure II below. The Audit is described as "an independent and systematic advisory process that is tailor-made for each participating university, targeting areas related to internationalization" (German Rectors Conference, 2011d). It is organized into a 10-month consultancy focusing on how university leadership can reach their self-identified goals to internationalize their university. Thus far, the process has been implemented in 24 universities (including the pilot phase) and has added six additional universities in its fourth cycle (ibid).

Figure II: The HRK’s “Internationalisation of Universities Audit” (German Rectors Conference, 2011d)



The 10-month process includes universities own self-evaluation and a three-day visit by international consultants whose role is to help universities approach their internationalization plan strategically and holistically in regard to: “Planning & Steering,” “Study & Teaching,” “Research & Technology Transfer,” and “Advice & Support” (German Rectors Conference, 2011d). After the Audit’s guided self-evaluation and a consultation with outside experts, the institutional leadership must then create internationalization goals and an action plan. In this way, the Audit is intended to support university leadership in developing a pro-active approach to confront the threats posed by globalization.

While this voluntary self-assessment sounds value-neutral, it is structured as a classic evaluation and embodies elements of benchmarking. Beerkens, Brandenburg, Evers, van Gaalen, Leichsenring and Zimmermann (2010) argue that although self-evaluations are primarily used for internal purposes, they can “also serve as input for subsequent external evaluations....

Self evaluation then still is an internal assessment, but through the use of external peers, implicit comparisons with other institutions might be made” (p. 21). Although one HRK interviewee was quick to point out that “in the Audit process as such we do not use defined benchmarks, at least if the institution itself does not define some benchmark as an individual goal” (HRK 1); another HRK interviewee noted,

It will be difficult to put all types of universities into one pool and measure them with the same benchmarks because the goals and motivations of internationalization are very different in the different types of universities. We don’t know at the moment if there will be the possibility to find a common benchmark system... certainly benchmarking within groups, perhaps the defining of clusters could help to find some measurements. Otherwise the goals the universities have defined in the first step of the process will be the target of the first phase of the audit (HRK 2).

These comments reveal that although benchmarking was not used in this first phase of the Audit, it is as much due to the fact that there is not yet an appropriate measure, rather than not wanting to make comparisons. Benchmarking, according to Münch (2011b) is described as a way to produce rankings artificially and, thus, has become “an essential tool of the governance of research and teaching under the regime of the competition of entrepreneurial universities” (p. 11). As a governance tool, benchmarking supports the transition from faculty governance and autonomy to a managerial lead and autonomous institution, an outcome supported by the Audit. According to one interviewee the Audit came about,

... I think 10 years ago, we had a prize for internationalization activities, awarded by HRK to individual professors at universities for their international activities. But now we wanted to change that a bit with more focus on the whole institution rather than individual staff and more focus on future development not on something that has already been done... We sat together here within the international department at HRK for half a year, three colleagues of mine and me and thought about how an audit can look like concept wise and when we had a first draft of a concept we presented it to the federal ministry (HRK 1).

Similar to the DAAD, the HRK is aligning with the global international scripts, often inspired by the Anglo-American countries and written by the European Commission, towards becoming more of a ‘global player.’ The fact that the HRK created the Audit without input from universities highlights their evolving relationship with higher education institutions. Despite the absence of university input a HRK interviewee noted the popularity of the Audit, “after we published the tender we had more than 60 applications, and we could only choose six out of them” (HRK 1). Analogous to the DAAD basing proof of university interest in participating in foreign-backed universities on the number of submitted proposals, the number of applications to take part in the Audit does not speak to the underlying motivation for participating. In place of thinking that the number of applications equates to interest in the Audit, they may simply indicate that university leadership understands that the Audit is akin to an evaluation. University leaders may hope to learn the rules of the game before sanctions or negative incentives for not being ‘international’ are introduced. The Audit highlights how the HRK is moving from being the voice *of* the universities, to the voice *for* the universities, which inserts competition, benchmarking, and new logics of internationalization.

5.3 Changing logic of internationalization: New governance mechanisms

Benchmarking

Benchmarking within the European higher education landscape came into force with the European Commission’s use of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) to encourage Member States participation in the Lisbon Strategy (Bruno, 2009). The OMC has been described as a “soft law procedure assuming policy implementation as a logical and rational top–down linear process from the Commission to States, institutions and citizens” (Veiga & Ameral, 2005, p.

284). Although the OMC lacks formal regulatory powers, it provides mechanisms to encourage Member States to work towards the Lisbon Strategy's goal of making Europe the most competitive region by 2010. Of the OMC mechanisms, benchmarking

...is presented as a simple, good sense, obvious tool based on two irrefutable principles, the need to compare oneself to other people—or more precisely, the duty to do this and to be open to advice and change—and the importance of using this comparison to ascertain and adopt the 'best available practice,' the most interesting/efficient/rational way of behaving" (Pestre, 2009, p. 248).

The HRK and DAAD may not intentionally be trying to foster one way of behaving, however, though introducing various programs and recognizing universities who participate in them, there is a normative expectation being created. As a HRK interviewee noted of the DAAD and the German Research Council (DFG), "we sometimes feel that the DAAD or DFG, they are doing politics by defining programs and we think the universities should decide for themselves what is good for them" (HRK 3). The interviewee did go on to say that the influence of the DAAD or DFG on universities was due to the fact that *Länder* budgets are declining and the federal government cannot contribute directly to universities. Thus, the DAAD projects that have particular directions do become important sources of income for universities.

Funding is not the only motivation for universities, as the Audit project indicates. Symbolic capital is becoming an important component with the diversified higher education system (Münch, 2011c). According to one DAAD interviewee, certain international initiatives have "become a status-symbol—a little bit like a big car or so" (DAAD 1). The pressure to measure a country or institution's 'level' of internationalization results in three interrelated developments: first, as internationalization has shifted from a peripheral to core activity, and increased in complexity; second, there is an emergence of an accountability culture; and lastly, global competition and rankings require standardized indicators from which to measure and

profile (Beerkens et al., 2010). Beerkens et al. (2010) conducted a recent study on the “Indicators for mapping and profiling internationalisation” in which they argue that measuring the internationalization efforts of institutions is beneficial for the organization. The value gleaned from these measurements assist organizations in knowing where they stand vis-à-vis other institutions, help organizations examine the value of their efforts, and support institutions to create a profile from which internal and external stakeholders can judge the organization. To facilitate this process,

...tools and indicator sets have been developed to help institutions or programmes to gain more insight into their internationalisation efforts. In many cases, the purpose of the indicators is to help institutions in analysing their own respective situations (self-evaluation). Other tools are meant to enable comparisons to be made between parts of an institution, between entire institutions or between an institution and the average of those participating (benchmarking). Self evaluation and benchmarking have an internal function, usually aimed at improvement (Beerkens et al., 2010, p. 21).

However, questions remain. Who is calling for the improvement? Who is gaining insights into the internationalization efforts? The HRK’s Audit project claims that it is for universities’ own reference, yet, through simply designing it as a classical evaluation it is not policy neutral, rather it can be seen as facilitating “a managerial scheme for incessantly assessing.... and arranging a “competitive Europe” modeled on private corporations, as a normative model of the competitive organization par excellence” (Bruno, 2009, p. 262).

Although the Audit is the most visible of the internationalization benchmarking tools, evaluations of internationalization are pervasive throughout other practices in the university. One university international office interviewee explained, there are now expectations placed on funding applications,

If you go into competitions and to writing proposals for third party funding there is usually now a little corner that says internationalization, “do you have international partners? Do you have international experiences? Do you have

international co-operations?”....You can’t pretend to say well its something that just happens as it is, you actually have to manage it; so in that way we are driven by external factors (EIU Admin 1).

As the above quote indicates, external stakeholders induce universities to act through benchmarking or by highlighting the ‘state of the art’ of internationalization activities. In doing so, external entities redirect existing motivations and strengthen others that adjust the course of university actions; moreover, they signal the changing logic of internationalization. Although benchmarking is not the only trend pushing universities towards creating more standardized and commodifiable outcomes, it is causing practices and structures to be amended in line with a more market-facing, academic capitalist approach to education. Whether intended or unintended, the changing ideology and practices have led to an acceptance of new evaluation, management and performance mechanisms. In using internationalization as a justification for new activities, the concept itself is also adopting new logics and changing the rationales for engaging in various initiatives.

Competition

In addition to benchmarking, the HRK and DAAD encourage more competitive approaches to internationalization as described in their jointly administered Guide to Academic Training and Education (GATE) Germany marketing initiative. German universities’ foray into marketing began when it was recognized that “Germany maybe became more aware of the fact that we have to, how to say it, to re-launch our international higher education marketing” (GATE 1). Previously, Germany’s links to Eastern European countries guaranteed a steady stream of ‘international’ students. Although referred to as international, these students spoke German and came from similar societies which alleviated the need to provide additional services, such as

basic German language classes or assistance with housing, transportation, or other daily activities. In the late 1990s, this flow of international students began to dry up as the sending countries' education systems began to focus more on teaching English and encouraging student to attend Anglo-American universities (Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). One professor commented on this situation,

Twenty years ago German was the most important language in the Eastern countries, I could go to Budapest and ask any person on the street in German, "I have to go the Parliament," and they could answer me in German. And now I must speak English with them. That is a pity for us. They want to go to England or Australia or perhaps the US to learn the English language (UofW Prof. 2).

Between 2000 and 2009 there was a 77% increase in the number of mobile international students, bringing the total to 3.7 million students studying outside their country of origin (OECD, 2011). Germany attracted approximately 7% (1,786,164) of the total number of mobile students in 2009, a decrease of 2% since 2000. The DAAD identified that this decrease was due to international students choosing English speaking countries over Germany and pushed the organization to begin thinking more concretely about recruitment and marketing to attract international students. Solutions included offering more English-based courses, providing a more user-friendly application process, creating the Excellence Initiative Graduate Schools, and contributing to large-scale changes designed to make institutions more competitive by diversifying the overall higher education system (van der Wende, 2009).

The approach Germany took to crafting a diversified system was through pushing institutions to differentiate both in terms of course offerings as well as institutional type (Teichler, 2008). The Excellence Initiative and the GATE Germany marketing endeavor are two visible programs facilitating this differentiation. Both of these initiatives rely on competition and benchmarking to encourage universities to highlight their 'strongest' or most valued programs.

Bruno (2009) notes that competition is not simply grounded in the highly visible Excellence Initiative or GATE Germany programs, rather it is “something hybrid, heterogeneous, made of conceptual and material elements, of persuasive notions and implicit assumptions, of tangible facts and dedicated databases” (p. 264). In a competitive paradigm universities are increasingly motivated by financial incentives and benchmarks to outperform similar universities. This type of competition is organized by the DAAD, as one DAAD interviewee explained,

...you always need somebody whose doing coordination work, who knows the region of the partner country abroad, and also to set up a competition. Its not possible for the ministries to give the money directly to the universities, but we set up a national competition for funding money and somebody has to do [that]” (DAAD 3).

In accepting the role of facilitating competition and using benchmarks to measure institutions against one another, the HRK and DAAD are creating new relationships to universities as well as fostering the competitive logic of internationalization.

Accountability

In addition to benchmarking and competition, the highly scripted and coordinated nature of programs such as the Audit and the GATE initiative there are attempts to create an accountability relationship. Beerkens et al. (2010) note that, “reforms of higher education worldwide show tendencies towards ... countries’ institutions gain[ing] more autonomy. With this autonomy however also comes the need for accountability from institutions towards governments as well as students and other stakeholders” (p.12). The decision taken by the HRK and DAAD to coordinate the new internationalization endeavors alters the organizations’ positions vis-à-vis universities and the government. The autonomy-accountability framework follows the New Public Management ideology that calls for a shift from the state’s direction (and faculty

autonomy or self-governance) towards giving higher education institutions (the administration) more autonomy, with accountability measures imposed by the state and other external organizations then passed from the administration to the faculty. Within Germany's federal structure, intermediary organizations conduct many of these accountability checks because the federal government cannot fund or institute programs directly for higher education institutions.

The accountability framework also follows the Commission's OMC method of checking Member States' adherence to European initiatives. Through the OMC template, the autonomy-accountability perspective emphasizes a linear progression that has led to continual benchmarking and reporting and attempting to direct university practice to engage in competition (Radaelli, 2003). Thus, the Promos, Audit, and GATE Germany initiative can be interpreted as mechanisms moving universities towards providing administrators with more authority and gaining institutional autonomy. These initiatives are instilling the notions of institutional profiling and competition, and creating opportunities for the HRK and DAAD to develop more professional staff and a more managerial relationship to universities.

Professionalism and managerialism

Suddaby and Viale (2011) look at institutional work through the process of defining an uncontested new space, populating the space with actors, creating new rules and standards, and, lastly, by creating a new social order. Actors involved in these processes are simultaneously engaging in the discourse of professionalism (Evetts 2011), a concept similar to academic capitalism's description of managerialism (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004). Evetts' (2011) analysis proposes an expanded view of professions (a distinct category of occupational work) and professionalization (the process of creating and maintaining the closure of the occupational

group), towards the concept of professionalism whereby new ‘organizational’ professionals operate side-by-side with the more traditional ‘occupational’ professionals. Within this conceptualization, the HRK and DAAD actors’ initiatives can be analyzed as creating new opportunities for themselves and universities as well as promoting new rationales for engaging in internationalization. The combination of new opportunity structures and motivations—funding and prestige—for engaging in internationalization promote an academic capitalism within universities. In other words, through “a series of reciprocal and mutual projects between professions and other powerful actors” (Suddaby & Viale, 2011, p. 427) the discourse of professionalism reconfigures the organizational field. Professionalism for actors within the intermediary organizations result in new dimensions of authority and autonomy, as seen in the HRK’s Internationalization of Universities Audit project, while other initiatives are shed to make room for other more resource-rich endeavors, like the DAAD’s Promos initiative.

Through the lens of professionalism, the actors within the DAAD and the HRK appear to be using internationalization as a space in which they can develop new initiatives, both as a means to engage with higher education institutions and other stakeholders, but also as an avenue to advance their own authority. The creation of the Audit allowed the HRK to move into a new hierarchical relationship with universities, moving beyond their role as the ‘voice of universities’ to a role of consultant on internationalization. As one HRK staff said about the Audit project, “we see our main focus is to give strategic advice and strategic consultancy in the field of internationalization” (HRK 1). The HRK is attempting to direct universities into a system in which they are evaluated by ‘experts’ and shown as to how best to internationalize. Although presented as an opportunity for universities, the message is clear: universities should be internationally oriented and act in a strategic manner, but they will be judged accordingly.

Similar to DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) analysis, German universities' development of international strategies takes on a mimetic function that in many cases does little more than show that universities understand the HRK's and DAAD's new rules of the game. One HRK interviewee explained in a roundabout fashion that they must make people aware of the importance of having a strategy and the advantages of internationalization,

...but what is even more important is that people realize how important it is to compete in a global market, not only on a national level. ... And we're trying to help universities to realize not only the advantages—mostly the advantages—of internationalization. It's a fact in the year 2011 you can't debate it that internationalization is more and more important and people are catching up to it and realizing it more and more. That is why Audit, for example, is such a great success (HRK 4).

As the HRK and DAAD each pursue an agenda which encourages universities to engage in defining an international strategy, they are also positioning themselves in a way that allows them to also be national if not supranational 'players'. As one HRK interviewee stated, "Certainly we do have all the know-how and all the qualification to manage and moderate the whole [Audit] process. But the consultancy as such is done by external experts, which work with us, and for us, in the audit" (HRK 1). In their task of organizing the Audit, the HRK is able to emphasize their professional staff and managerial capacity. Similarly, in moving the Promos program to universities, the DAAD is now supervising international offices carrying out the program as opposed to acting themselves. One international office interviewee commented on this new arrangement,

...and now they [DAAD] have given just a chunk of money which is quite less than what we use to get before, or what the students used to get before, and they gave it to us and said "see how you can get rid of the money, but do it as we tell you, along our criteria." Which gives the work to us (UofE Admin 1).

The intermediary organizations are helping produce a new social order for themselves and universities through internationalization initiatives. In the new order actors are changing their role in line with a new type of professionalism, becoming organizational professionals; through the “commodification of their existing expert knowledge, and colonization of new areas of expert knowledge, they shift sites of professional control to new contexts, new vehicles and new organizational fields” (Suddaby & Viale 2011, p. 436). In the following chapter, the analysis will follow how professionalism in intermediary organizations is being transmitted to university administrations.

5.4 Tensions

The role of the DAAD and HRK reflect the German government’s growing interest in higher education internationalization and the new relationships these organizations have with universities. The federal government is able to advance its priorities through funding intermediary organizations that influence the actions of universities. The DAAD and HRK, however, do not simply enact the federal ministries’ wants; they are organizations with self-preserving and expanding interests. Their concern is both for organizational relevance, whereby they propose certain programs and activities for universities, as well as organizational growth, which can be seen in their formal and informal higher education policy creation. Although the organizations are moving in line with the normative global discourse on internationalization, namely encouraging universities to become more attuned to benchmarking, marketing, and competition for status and resources, actors express some reticence due to the founding rationales of the organization. A GATE Germany interviewee identified that there are competing rationales for wanting to attract international students,

...the partnership approach and transparency, incomings and outgoings, and the academic who should sort of give back as a sort of moral responsibility in addition to the academic responsibility....Having said this we are quite aware of, you know, needing 400,000 skilled workers from elsewhere and sometimes there might be a certain bias in what we say and do. So I think what is very important for us in this day and age is to be honest about this ambivalence (GATE 2).

The ambivalence of internationalization's purpose may be due to the fact that Germany is both following and leading the Commission to align with the dominant global discourses. The assumption is that student mobility and the higher education 'market' lead to human capital development and, subsequently, greater economic prosperity. Policymakers introduce these assumptions into the higher education landscape where they confront the dominant neo-humanist education ideal articulated by Humboldt and upheld by many university actors. In advancing these diverging goals, the DAAD and HRK are key actors pushing through many of the national goals; yet, in doing so, they as organizations are confronted with the conflict between their founding ideals and the contemporary discourse of the centers of power. In acting as a conduit between European and German internationalization prerogatives and universities, the DAAD and HRK must balance competing interests while managing their own organizational mission. Despite the tension, the evidence suggests that they are moving towards a market logic that transmits an academic capitalist approach to higher education rather than upholding internationalization solely for the purposes of academic partnerships.

The need to "continue to be modern and to do whatever the time requires" (DAAD 3) and pull towards being a "global player" (Hahn, 2003) is shifting both the purpose and the mission of the DAAD and HRK. GATE Germany's and DAAD's use of market-related terms—customers, players, branding, finding a niche market, instruments for recruitment, measurement, strategy—ushers in new logics for internationalization. Suddaby and Viale (2011) note that "persuasive speech or rhetoric shape[s] the pace and direction of field-level institutional change" (p.434). As

such, the emphasis on market terminology is the first step in establishing the ‘rules of the game’. Although there is not a financial market in German higher education, the steps being taken by the HRK and DAAD facilitate universities’ positioning and sets a foundation for further moves toward the Anglo-American university system structures. Whether or not a more Anglo-American style of higher education marketing enters Germany, the internationalization discourse and practices can be seen as mechanisms pushing universities toward new endeavors and responding to new rationales. Neo-institutional analysis explains this phenomenon as organizations moving toward rationalized concepts that increase legitimacy in response to mimetic and normative pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The neo-institutional approach offers a valid explanation, but it does not account for the mechanisms driving universities to be more closely aligned to economic rationales. In analyzing the rationales for internationalization it becomes evident that the federal organizations are playing the role of coaxing, perhaps unintentionally, universities toward a more academic capitalist approach to education.

The unique twist on academic capitalism in Germany is that rather than searching for new sources of revenue, Germany’s focus has been on the “currency of brains” (Desruisseaux, 2000). Through the programs offered by the HRK and DAAD, universities are encouraged to acquire resources—the best and brightest students. These students are intended to compensate for projected decreases in domestic populations that may then translate into qualified individuals who will contribute to national economic success. Thus both the federal government and the organizations themselves are repositioning their work with universities to more successfully participate in the global competition for students. As discussed above, to do this they must align more closely to global discourses. Analysis suggests that as the HRK and DAAD move into

marketing and competitive networks of students and scholars, they adapt their organizational logic in keeping with those theorized as academic capitalism.

5.5 Conclusion: A new social order?

Through interviews and literature it appears that the DAAD and the HRK are evolving into intermediary organizations as the organizations engage in internationalization. The HRK and DAAD grew out of Germany's federalist structure to serve as organizational platforms giving a united voice to the *Länder*-run universities. The history of the DAAD runs parallel to the history of initiatives to internationalize Germany's system of higher education. Similarly, the HRK chronicles the trends or topics that have been important for university leadership. Both the HRK and DAAD have collaborated with the federal government to provide higher education institutions with information and opportunities to engage in German, European, and global endeavors. However, within the past 20 years, their perspectives and roles as organizations have been changing: internationalization has increased in prominence, the federal government lost its direct influence in higher education, the organizations themselves chose to evolve, and actors within the organizations developed more professional and managerial roles. As a DAAD interviewee described their changing roles,

Our [the DAAD] main business is still mobility, *Austauschdienst*, and this Audit for internationalization is much more. It's a global concept for the single institution. And this will be the question, if we consider ourselves more than a mobility institution or an agency for institutionalization where mobility is only a part. But who decides it—I don't know? The tendency in the last years was we were opening up and growing and taking other paths of fields or activities, more than only mobility. But of course we are not the only player, it's a kind of competition between the institutions—the science foundation, the rectors conference—who is occupying these new fields? (DAAD 2).

Although there is not an out-right competition between the HRK and DAAD (or the other organizations) their interest in becoming global players drives them to continually develop new projects to attract funding. Moreover, to be accepted within global networks, the actors within the HRK and DAAD must also professionalize, a feat not yet accomplished according to one university international office interviewee,

We profited from the GATE Germany initiative a couple of times. I've also realized that we were working with colleagues that were very passionate about what they do, who were very supportive but again has the same training as I do, who could not call themselves marketing specialists....We're competing here against UK, against the US and against a very, very aggressive Chinese government that is setting goals to attract more, and more and more international students, [they] not only keep their own students in [country] but also attract more and more international students. Not to mention Australia. We're talking about highly professional countries when it comes to this. It's fun to be playing against the top-notch teams but you have to be prepared (EIUAdmin 2).

The HRK and DAAD's roles in preparing German universities for international competition through benchmarking and accountability are limited by the traditional German system and Humboldtian tradition. Although the HRK and DAAD are encouraging universities to move away from their past structures and practices, there are actors within the organizations and universities that resist the changes. Evidence suggests that there is ambivalence in the rationales for engaging in internationalization and the *raison d'être* for the HRK and DAAD as both market-facing and public good perspective co-exist. As the HRK and DAAD evolve toward becoming global players they begin to embody more traits of intermediary organizations. As such, they are significant actors in promoting academic capitalist behaviors in universities by exemplifying and instituting many of the mechanisms of market-facing institutions.

CHAPTER 6

UNIVERSITY ACTORS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the perspective of university actors—meaning faculty and international office administrators—as they respond to and create opportunities within the internationalization efforts initiated by the intermediary organizations, the federal government, and the European Commission. In pursuing or carrying out internationalization projects, actors are intentionally and unintentionally contributing to the opening up of new spaces, bringing in new actors, devising new standards, and formulating new logics for internationalization. Contributing to this reorientation is New Public Management (NPM) practices that transfer *Länder* government responsibilities to university administration, and contribute to the redefinitions of academic and non-academic roles. These role changes are reflected in the literature on professionalism whereby the organizational professionals operate side-by-side with the more traditional ‘occupational’ professionals (Evetts, 2011). In contrast to the occupational professional’s reliance on partnership, collegiality, discretion and trust, the organizational professional is developing due to the rise of managerialism, standardization, assessment and performance review. These concepts are embedded in various internationalization initiatives outlined in the previous chapters.

Building on Evetts’ (2011) discussion of professionalism, university actors engaging in university change processes can be analyzed following Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca’s (2009) description of institutional work, whereby actors are neither “‘cultural dopes’ trapped by

institutional arrangements, or as ‘hyper muscular institutional entrepreneurs.’” (p.1) Rather, some actors are seen as willingly following the incentives and mandates associated with the new logics of internationalization, as they see their position enhanced by aligning with the global and/or national agendas, and/or the belief that these changes are positive for universities, while other actors are maintaining and disrupting the changes. Therefore as a collective, university actors exhibit ambivalent responses and reveal the complexity surrounding internationalization.

Set within this context, the chapter addresses the third research question: As universities engage in internationalization endeavors that are permeated with various logics, how are actors participating or contesting the various programs and objectives? The chapter begins with a description of how academic and non-academic actors from all three of the university cases are changing and being changed within the discourse of professionalism. I focus on the occupational changes and managerial control resulting from internationalization endeavors. As these schemes open up new spaces and call for new actors, a changing logic of internationalization can be seen in the example of one Erasmus Mundus program, and in the creation of new opportunities for both academic and non-academic staff to pursue individual and organizational initiatives. Finally, the chapter explores how the transformation of professionalism, as seen in the outlined projects, shifts actors’ relationships by diminishing the importance of the professoriate and increasing the importance of the administration. This transformation of traditional professional roles contributes to the shift away from a public good ideology and towards a layered system of commodified, academic capitalist approaches on top of the traditional internationalization partnership perspective.

6.2 Evolving roles: Changes for university actors

Expanding professionalism

Within the new organizational arrangements and changing logics of internationalization there are progressively more opportunities for actors. The increased attention to how faculty and administrators engage in projects leads to the standardization of work and demystifies some of the less formal procedures. This brings transparency, but is also linked to measures of control and management. Management activities and new control mechanisms do not inevitably lead to the emergence of organizational professionals overtaking occupational professionals;²⁵ however, as new accountability policies and practices emerge, faculty must codify their competence for performance related reviews and evaluations. These features are part of an audit-culture, which contributes both to the hollowing out of faculty autonomy and to the renegotiation of the academic-administrative relationship. In a performance-review setting, academic work is increasingly “marketed, price-tagged and individually evaluated and remunerated; it is, in that sense, commodified” (Evetts, 2011, p. 415). This in turn “entails changes in professional work relations” (ibid, p. 416). In many cases these new relationships are rarely openly challenged because they lead to new opportunity structures for both parties. The shift in these relations not only renegotiates the administrative-faculty structure, but also identifies the incentives that create competitive dynamics between colleagues. Each professor is no longer simply allocated a certain number of assistants or positions, nor do administrators simply enact routines. Instead, there is contest for resources and recognition whereby actors participate in creating institutional transformations and facilitate a new professionalism (Evetts, 2011).

²⁵ Evetts (2011) notes that several intervening factors make it purely speculative to state that the organizational professionals are displacing occupational professionals, such as: demystification of aspects of professional knowledge and expertise; cases of practitioner malpractice and ‘unprofessional’ behavior, media exaggeration and oversimplification, and political interference (p. 415).

The distinction between occupational and organizational professionals within universities can be seen as two different fields of actors occupying different positions. Occupational professionals reside at the core while organizational professionals work on the organization's periphery. The professionalization of administration seems to suggest that the boundary between these units is shifting. Despite their historic differences, both groups of professionals seem to adhere to new initiatives such as the branches of international offices, described below. Indeed, the new policies and their associated mechanisms are shifting the work of academics "more closely with the interests and needs of their organization" (Kaulisch & Enders, 2005, p. 131).

Within the German higher education system, the analysis of professionalism fits together with the actions of the intermediary organizations. The increasingly authoritative position of these bodies supports the transformation, intentionally and unwittingly, of university administrators from state bureaucrats into organizational professionals. This change in turn increases the strength and size of the non-academic units. Such a change can be seen through four distinct and sequential mechanisms, as outlined by Suddaby and Viale (2011). First, actors use their "expertise and legitimacy to challenge the incumbent order and to define a new, open and uncontested space." Second, actors draw upon their "inherent social capital and skill to populate the field with new actors and new identities." Third, actors "introduce new rules and standards that recreate the boundaries of the field." Finally, actors "manage the use and reproduction of social capital within a field thereby conferring a new status hierarchy or social order within the field" (p. 428).

Within the context of internationalization actors participate in the four steps and contribute to the current transformations in the internationalization logics. As such, the expansion into new, open and uncontested spaces can be understood as the intermediary organizations and

international offices reorganizing the internationalization landscape. The role of international office staff is changing through an internal extension of activities and orientation around the changing logics in internationalization. International offices work within universities to create spaces for economic enterprises such as the use of resources to attract international students and the pursuit of per student funding. This work moves the locus of internationalization from faculty contacts and partners to the intermediary organizations and international offices' strategic partnerships. In doing so, changes are made in the boundary between the academic and non-academic fields. The second mechanism, populating the field with new actors, is accomplished by arguing that more staff are needed to deal with the increasing number and complexity of projects (both externally driven and self-created) within the internationalization projects in universities. The change in staff is linked to the organizational professionalism discourse. Thirdly, by using the internationalization momentum, international offices and intermediary organization actors are able to build from the knowledge and practices surrounding international student mobility while also extending the scope of their professional competencies and enacting new routines. This increased administration in turn contributes to changing the logic of internationalization and the *raison d'être* for the actors. Finally, as the new logic takes hold, a new construction of the social order emerges simultaneously with a reproduction of the existing field with new forms of capital (see Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Although many international offices have not yet reconstructed the boundaries between academic and non-academic staff, the lines have shifted between the faculty and administration, with the expansion of the administration.

Traditional Administrators

The role of international office administrators was significant in the late 1970s as they assisted with the ‘Integrated Study Abroad’ scheme that formalized international study for West German students. Scholarships under this program were provided and institutional partnerships were arranged to guarantee students with accommodation, health insurance and course recognition upon return to their home university (Baron, 1993). The federal government supported these endeavors by expanding its financial contribution, offering additional funds to cover the costs associated with foreign universities’ fees, and extending the use of the student financial aid system (ibid). The federal government cast these policies as ways to further integrate Germans back into the international arena (ibid). Similar to other administrative units, international offices’ work through the 1980s and 1990s supported these and other academic staff projects, funded through university line item budgeting. For international offices this entailed facilitating services for incoming and outgoing students and scholars (i.e. housing, visa, health insurance), and maintaining the flow of information and state funds to the academic units in line with state directed procedures (Krücken, et al., 2009).

In this state-organized configuration, international offices were situated along with all administrative positions on the periphery of university activities. The core functions of universities—research and teaching—were situated in the Chairs, or academic institutes. This arrangement, grounded in Humboldt’s ‘unity of research and teaching’ dictum, granted faculty great autonomy. Yet it also benefited the *Land*, as it placed universities (faculty) under state control in place of a strong central university administration. In fact, in the early years of the Humboldtian university there were only two types of academic staff in addition to the professor, the non-regular professor (*Ausserordentlicher Professor*), who was employed in ‘less important’

academic fields; and the private lecturer (*Privatdozent*), who had not (yet) secured a permanent professorship (Enders, 2001). The Chair arrangement fostered the idea of a “romantic heroic model of all intellectual authority vested in a single mind, the full professor” (Fallon, 1980, p. 47-48). It also limited the hierarchical authority within universities, promoted consensus among collegial bodies, and produced lengthy decision-making processes (Schimank, 2005). Although the ideal of the Humboldtian arrangement was exalted, many scholars argue that the ideal of the Humboldtian university was never fully implemented, even in the 19th century, as it was restricted by the legal and practical framework that cast universities as public institutions under the administrative control of the *Land* (Ash, 2006; Bruch, 1997). Despite these restrictions, universities functioned as autonomous corporations in which faculty had high levels of self-governance (Bruch, 1997). In such a university, managers and administrators were peripheral.

In the 1960s, calls for a more egalitarian university system pushed the German higher education system to become less elite, created more and new institutions, and enrolled a more diverse array of students. The pace of these changes continued into the 1970s and 1980s and caused not only a financial strain on the system, but also called for more faculty, more time devoted to teaching, and transferred some of the non-academic responsibilities from faculty to administrators. The expansion set off a trend of introducing new administrative units, offering more services, and henceforth enlarging the peripheral units’ responsibilities (e.g. quality-assurance in research and teaching). Furthermore, duties that were formerly “individualized and could be traced back to the single professor” (Krücken et al., 2009, p. 19), were moved into routine practices in the administration.

In the mid-1990s New Public Management (NPM) was introduced in Germany, following the world-wide support of it as a “scientifically approved” approach to public administration

(Münch, 2011b). NPM brought about a new governance relationship between faculty, administration and the *Länder* governments in part due to the reduction of block grants and introduction of competitive funding. This arrangement aided in the shift from individual (faculty) autonomy toward institutional (administrative) autonomy (Schimank, 2005). In the previous governance arrangement, each *Land* government maintained a line-item budget, approved the hiring of faculty and personnel, regulated student enrollment, and guaranteed academic self-governance. NPM changed this arrangement, providing university administrators with greater authority to enter into institutional competition for resources, students, position in international rankings, and external support in the face of decreased *Länder* funding (Weiler, 2005). As Schimank (2005) contends, “spelled out in this way, it becomes clear that NPM is not just a bundle of loosely coupled changes, but rather an integrated approach, seeking an overall redirection of the entire system” (p.366). The redirection from individual or faculty autonomy to institutional or administrative autonomy is also supported by the HRK’s Audit, described in the previous chapter, and accompanied by the introduction of a “new professionalism” (*Hochschulprofessionen*). In German universities the new professionalism developed as administrators gained more functional specialization and more diversified job-related profiles (Krücken et al., 2009).

The new professionalism discourse legitimated managerial tasks, developed professional networks and journals to exchange ‘best practices’, and implemented NPM governance mechanisms of performance-reviews, accountability, and target agreements for faculty (Krücken et al., 2009). As one HRK interviewee explained the benefits of new target arrangements,

... if you have these target agreements....if the university president has agreements with faculties, often they do, then you can use this as a tool. Or sometimes they have this with individual faculty, and so they agree on certain

goals with each professor, and this person will get a salary raise if he/she can achieve certain goals (HRK 3).

Senior administrators' use of the new governance mechanisms is encouraged by the HRK and DAAD, as highlighted in the previous chapter. These mechanisms not only move universities in a particular direction, but also transform administrators into organizational professionals by emphasizing "governance and community controls, negotiations between complex number of agencies and interests, and re-creating professionals themselves as managers" (Evetts, 2009, p. 255).

The rise of organizational professionalism in German universities follows the same logic described by Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) analysis of managerial professionals. Slaughter and Rhoades see managerial professionals emerging within university administration by legitimating and expanding administrative processes and developing new organizational knowledge, and are often located in market-facing units. Organizational professionalism, unlike the classical occupational professionalism, depends on formal structures rather than collegial relationships for its legitimacy. In this way projects such as the marketing initiative, GATE Germany, are transferring the necessary authenticity to international offices and senior administrators to direct resources and even individuals towards engaging in international marketing and recruiting increasing numbers of international students. Furthermore the emphasis on profiling and university positioning to increase competitiveness redirects authority from the faculty to the institution and contributes to the acceptance of more professional support services (Kehm, 2006).

Even as this new professionalism enters into universities, the effects on the core activities of research and teaching are not clear. Krücken et al.'s (2009) research into German university personnel reveals that between 1994 and 2004 the number of academic staff and administrators

did not change. By one measure, then, the national system maintained the traditional balance between the two groups. What did change, however, was in the type of administrator being hired. Universities generally moved away from employing middle-grade administrators such as clerical workers, secretaries, technical staff, and others without a higher education degree. Instead, upper-grade and higher-grade staff proliferated with their numbers growing by 10.5% and 23.9%, respectively (ibid). Simultaneously, the number of middle-grade administrators declined by 7.6% (ibid). Furthermore, the Kanzler, head of the administration, reported that this restructuring of administration and creation of new organizational units was a result of senior administration's leadership. This shift indicated the Kanzler's own changing role from state-university mediator towards a managerial profile (ibid). The incorporation of organizational professionals into management has been identified by Evetts (2009) as a strategy to control occupational professional using normative mechanisms including performance review, benchmarking, and a discourse of competition.

International office staff: the Promos program

International offices in German universities are upgrading both the number of staff positions and the qualifications required of those members. Through these staffing initiatives, universities seek to manage the increasing number of students, services, and new projects introduced by senior administration, intermediary organizations, and the national government. The Promos student mobility program, recently transferred from the DAAD to international offices, can be seen as one way of 'training' international office staff to be more professional. In transferring the Promos program to universities the DAAD stated that the international offices wanted the oversight of the German-student mobility program as it provided them with more

autonomy. As one DAAD interviewee expressed “the universities...really wanted some more power, some more independence, some more autonomy for them, their own budget” (DAAD 4). In this way, the DAAD is able to claim that they are responding to the requests made by international offices to develop their units by gaining managerial skills such as budget creation and organizing selection criteria. This increased latitude allows international offices to manage the amount of the scholarship and number of students who receive the funds rather than simply channeling funds from the DAAD to students going abroad. But it also increases the workload for international office staff and allows the DAAD to concentrate on its ‘top’ programs.

The increased administrative responsibility associated with the Promos program is accompanied by self-direction. This means that international officers can decide where scholarship funding should be allocated. As another DAAD interviewee explained, “now the university, they can say, ‘we take this money, we want to foster our relationship with Latin America, we put all the money into the cooperation with Latin America.’ Its good for the university, they can put these accents” (DAAD 1). In other words, the university administration can determine their ‘unique profile’ and strengthen priority cooperations in the countries where they would like to build up a strategic relationship. Although the DAAD interviewee recognized that it might not be beneficial for students, the DAAD supports the ‘accents’ being put on universities, “This year and the next, maybe there will be some friction for the students but I think in the future this change of how to organize short-term mobility, that will help our system” (DAAD 3). The final training piece is to provide international offices with limited overhead funds to manage the program, to encourage international offices ability to lobby the university leadership. “They [international office staff] were complaining like hell--‘we don’t have people.’ We gave them 10% [of the funding] they can keep for the administration but of course this isn’t

sufficient” (DAAD 1). The Promos transfer and training can be summed up in the comment made by a DAAD interviewee,

...this is one of our goals, this change of programs, because we want the universities to get internationally profiled. So if Humboldt [University, Berlin] decides this is our region and we don't want to look to the other countries it's their decision. This will change the landscape in Germany. So we have one university in Berlin that's specialized in exchanges with the Middle and Eastern Europe, so they are the experts (DAAD 3).

Thus the outcome from this transfer of responsibility is supporting international office staff to develop into organizational professionals, able to direct the course of the university in an ordered and strategic manner.

In addition to the Promos program there are a number of other new German and Commission funded initiatives, including Erasmus Mundus, Atlantis, and Marie Claire. As these programs bring in more international students and scholars they require additional services (housing, visa, insurance, etc), a more professional approach, and sophisticated support. Lee, Maldonado-Maldonado, and Rhoades (2006) show in the US that attracting international students prompts new managerial capacity to “undertake and coordinate the pursuit and service of international students, in the form of an infrastructure of personnel and offices designed to work with such students” (p. 558). An international office interviewee echoed this sentiment, “we need some space and we need people to arrange for a better welcome service. What we've done so far, taking care of accommodation or to give advice or to arrange for childcare or for schooling for children, all this has been done before but have to do this on a higher level now” (UofE Admin 3). Therefore, to better serve the recruited students and/or scholars the development of organizational professionals is rarely contested or seen as expanding the administrators' mandates. In leaving the expansion of duties uncontested or unnoticed, the

activities of the international offices shift decision-making authority and resource allocation within universities. In addition to offering services to incoming international students administrators are also increasingly involved in German students studying abroad as noted in the Promos program's partnerships. Traditionally, professors were involved in students' choices of where to study abroad. Increasingly, however, university actors select study abroad locations based on strategic cooperations. As one professor lamented,

They [students] came to me and said "I want to go and make my semester in theoretical chemistry at that university, what should I do?" I said, "you go to that university, I know the person who is doing theoretical chemistry there, go there make your lab course, make the examination let him write a record and come back with the record." He came back with the record. I said, "nice, make a lecture of what you did and then it was fine". And now he has to pass the examinations in terms of credit points and he doesn't know what the examination is and he says, "I rather not do it [study abroad], I face too much difficulty (UofW Prof. 3).

The small and medium-scale changes such as managing the Promos program may be enacted without significant reflection. Cumulatively, however, these changes demonstrate a substantial effect. Each of these steps are often overlooked or even unacknowledged, yet they serve as mechanisms that subtly change university operations. They may enable administrators to move to become organizational professionals, and may even redistribute authority between academic and nonacademic staff. Unlike the large-scale Excellence Initiative or Bologna Process, the day-to-day or case-by-case work is incentivizing international offices to assume more responsibility and associated behaviors that promote a greater professionalism.

Expanding responsibilities

The work done by international officers receives attention and resources from intermediary organizations and senior administration, but what about within the academic institutes? Are

faculty acknowledging, valuing, or challenging the work being done by international office staff?

Unlike the HRK who partner with senior administrators, the DAAD recognizes that its ‘inside’ connection—international offices—often lack the formal authority and power to push significant initiatives into faculty agendas. As one GATE Germany interviewee pointed out,

We often hear from the representatives [international office staff] and they say ‘I see it [marketing to international students] is important that we have to do it’, but they are also under the pressure to explain this necessity and importance within the university structure. That’s why we also try now to target on the top level.... Its interesting to see that sometimes the vision of the university is that ‘yeah we have to become more international and we would like to have more international students’, but it does not necessary really mean that its translated into more budget, more personnel, etc (GATE 1).

International office actors realize that they have limited room to maneuver as they respond to senior management and faculty. Yet many international office actors believe that their work is fundamental for modern universities operating in the knowledge economy, and/or are ‘incentivized’ by an intermediary organization to pursue new projects that inevitably expand their mandates. In doing so, however, many international officers are convinced that those not dedicated to the internationalization objective, namely faculty, should be convinced. This judgment of disinterested faculty may be accurate in some cases, but it also allows for an interpretation of faculty as hidden away from society, cloistered in their Ivory Towers, only focused on their research. With this image of faculty as removed from the complex workings of universities and the new economy causes the practitioners to attempt to motivate professors. As one international office interviewee commented,

All the scientists who write their papers in English, who go to international conferences, I don’t think they...conceptualize it as internationalization, they conceptualize it as ‘our research has becoming more international and that’s why we’re going there’....I think there’s definitely a different worldview from an administrators point of view to professor’s point of view. Professors’ points of view, ‘what’s the intrinsic value for my research?’, for us its ‘what’s the intrinsic

value for the overall institution, the reputation, and the students' experience?' (EIU Admin 1).

This thinking begs the question, what are universities for if not to have faculty researching and drawing international connections based on the relevance to their work? There are faculty members who are highly engaged in international partnerships and exchanges, both for intrinsically and externally driven reasons; however, most faculty members attempt to align these international endeavors with their research/teaching needs. The idea that faculty need to be 'guided' by the international office staff represents a shift in understanding of the role of the university administration. Federal and intermediary organization actors pushing new agendas with the support of the new organizational professionals often promote this shift.

Faculty autonomy to institutional authority

Faculty interviewed for this study were all aware of the changes going on in administration and the broader significance of internationalization. However, their main concern remained research and teaching. Each of the interviewed faculty members was engaged in some form of internationalization—a research cooperation, joint-study program, offering an international masters degree, or working closely with foreign colleagues. This type of internationalization is the fundament on which the DAAD was founded, in contrast to the market-facing internationalization that focuses on creating competitive entities in the knowledge economy. Should these new perspectives on internationalization also be integrated into faculty motivations for international contacts or programs? By attempting to shift faculty alliances towards meeting predefined objectives so that universities can highlight their 'unique selling point,' this administratively scripted outcome may produce less innovation and cripples the search for knowledge. In Münch's (2011c) conception this outcome based system, "lacks of innovation

opportunities, since any knowledge must be canalized through the strictly guarded gate of central control authorities” (p. 24).

The emphasis solely on outcomes has not (yet) come to fruition, as most faculty members still maintain a relatively high degree of self-governance. Nonetheless, this line of thinking challenges the current rationales and activities and promotes a new type of internationalization. The European Commission and the German government actively support these changes in university governance, as seen most visibly in the Bologna Process and the Excellence Initiative. Although the Bologna Process and Excellence Initiative focus on student mobility and research, respectively, in practice they also ushered in numerous structural and ideological changes that contribute to a redistribution of resources and authority. In general, administrators and policy makers gained the ability to carry out significant internal organization reforms.

Bologna Process

The Bologna Process, as discussed in chapter two, was advanced due to the “window of opportunity” that was created in the wake of the 1998 amendments to the (now defunct) Higher Education Framework (HRG) (Feldbauer, 2008; Witte, 2006). These amendments opened German higher education from a state-driven system towards a more flexible, market-facing arrangement, allowing for a more competitive and internationally attractive higher education system to be conceived (Keeling, 2006). The Bologna Process took these perspectives and more firmly grounded them into the higher education institutions through standardizing structures and practices. The interest in comparable structures is in part driven by the need for comparable data, a step towards commodification. Despite recognized and significant differences between and even within systems, international organizations have continued to search for new measures

to compare higher education systems. From the OECD's (2011) annual 'Education at a Glance' to the European Innovation Union Scoreboard (UNU-MERIT, 2011) to the European University Association's 'Financially Sustainable Universities' (Estermann & Pruvot, 2011) to the European Association of International Education's 'Measuring the success in the internationalisation of higher education' (de Wit, 2009), the criteria along which universities can be measured and judged against one another is endless. The streamlining effects of these reports produce benchmarks and imply that there are 'best practices' that can be achieved by formal procedures and judged by 'experts' (Ramirez, 2010).

Measuring best practices can also be found in the stocktaking reports of the Bologna Process, which 'names and shames' countries that are not upholding established standards. The Commission does not have formal competencies to penalize countries, but instead uses benchmarking, incentives, and funding to encourage countries to meet the Bologna ideals. In Germany, the DAAD and HRK are tasked with the responsibility to monitor and support Bologna-compliance behavior of universities. The intermediary organizations naturally rely on university administration to manage the process, but also have their own benchmarking practices to encourage fulfillment. The reluctance on the part of faculty to adopt the Bologna Process has many explanations, yet for the intermediary organizations it is often simplified into an idea that faculty are protective of their traditional positions, wrapped up in their own research, away from the broader understanding of global trends, and "isolated from the working market" (DAAD 2). Furthermore, faculty are seen as "only dealing with academic and scientific stuff" and not having to "prepare you as a student for life after university" (DAAD 2). Thus the hope is "to overcome this with the Bologna process because the Bologna process is focused on the outcomes, learning outcomes and what to do with them afterwards. But it's a change of mentality that needs some

years” (DAAD 2). The emphasis on Bologna as a reform mechanism, moving universities closer to labor-market needs, is often accepted as what is needed in the current global knowledge economy.

Under Bologna, transformations from a one-cycle *Magister* degree to the two-cycle Bachelor and Master degree led to a “blurring of boundaries” in the higher education system, which deeply impacted the fundamental perspective of the dual-higher education system (Kehm & Pasternack, 2008; Witte et al., 2008). With the Bologna Process, *Fachhochschulen* were given the right to advance their status from granting a *Diplom*—a degree between a Bachelor and Masters—to being able to offer both Bachelor and Masters degrees, a distinction previously only granted to universities. Although this could be interpreted as a democratization of institutions, it also changed the traditional purpose and rationale for the dual-qualification structure.

Fachhochschul degrees now upgraded by Bologna provide valid entry into doctoral and independent research and study, and universities undergo accreditation processes that included checks on employability of graduates (Kehm et al., 2010). As expressed by one professor,

We have this vocational education system in Germany where people get three years of education and additional schooling if they are plumbers, so I think a plumber in Germany has gone through three years of learning on the job and three years of schooling. A UK plumber has got 6 weeks of training. I think politicians didn’t recognize that. Somebody who is a plumber in Germany would hold a bachelors degree in plumbing in the UK standards.... But the idea is that you are a better person if you hold a university degree. So now the idea is that everybody should go through university.... So now the *Fachhochschule* are now called universities of applied sciences, and they did a different job years ago. If you’re an employer and you see someone holds a bachelors degree from a university or a university of applied science you need to have some information on what the education was like to signal the value and the main idea of the education your institution provides, this gets more and more difficult (UofW Prof. 2).

The traditional basis of distinction between *Fachhochschulen* and universities rested on the fact that *Fachhochschul* faculty did not engage in academic or research-oriented content, but

focused on teaching a standard course that would lead to formal qualifications in engineering or economics. In reality, this clear distinction was not made; *Fachhochschul* faculty had conducted significant applied research, and university faculty engaged in the *Diplom* and *Magister* studies did have an eye on the labor market. Nonetheless, the shift in both institution types can be seen as opening up a new perspective on the position of faculty and for their formal institutional mandates. For example in the new university bachelor courses, the move to measurable outcomes challenged the long-standing university-school divide that was grounded in the belief that universities were a place for the “creative search for knowledge” based on *Lernfreiheit* (Kehm et al., 2010). The new bachelor course structures and outcomes, monitored by the accrediting agencies, were calling for faculty to define their courses’ employability options, thus moving universities closer to the Anglo-American notion of *in loco parentis* (ibid) as well as a more commodified perspective on university education. As one professor described the situation,

...in former times they [students] started to study, and they studied until the professor said you are good enough and you make your PhD and that was it....I think that is a little bit of an extreme but what you do now is like a bureaucrat, you make this and you make that then you have a credit point and apparently you passed your degree.....Not everything should be as transparent as it is. I’m not talking in favor of confusion and chaos but students should be open for learning, new learning, going for new roads, new avenues and then it may turn out that it is different than it was originally in the program. This is something, which I think sounds terrible for bureaucratic minded person, but a university should not be a center of bureaucracy (UofW Prof. 3).

Unlike the distrust of the professor’s critique of Bologna, the DAAD’s rationale for supporting the reforms towards more managerial processes is simply accepted as the natural evolution as the trend is towards the standardization of courses through quantifiable outcomes. The belief that faculty are engaged in supporting students’ learning and provided them with a solid understanding of the field appears to be hollowed out, replaced with a perspective that only

through a managed and measurable structure will students receive the quality education they deserve. This is not to say that all faculty members prior to the reform were student-centered. Rather that both the lack of expanding the university staff as well as the reward-system, heightened by initiatives that prizes international competition for publications, research funding, often ignores teaching and contributes to moving faculty away from faculty-student engagement.

Excellence Initiative

Following in line from the changes initiated by the Bologna Process, the German government implemented the Excellence Initiative. As described in chapter two, the Excellence Initiative is making some universities more internationally visible, and shaping processes for international students' recruitment and admission that are more 'user-friendly.' Working to make this a reality has required universities to develop a clear profile and to rally around their "unique selling point," (GATE 1). To assist universities in reaching this goal, administrative units must upgrade their services to international students and scholars, a change that calls for more administrators to carry out the activities and more professional services. As one international office staff stated,

What I think is necessary and may attract people and keep them here is to develop the infrastructure we talked about for scholars and international doctoral students—for their families, to provide good services at the university. We keep talking about a Welcome Center which is a buzzword for a one-stop agency where people could come to and could get all the problems solved, more or less; not only redirecting them to other places but where they could actually do all the registration process and stuff. It needs some money to do this, it needs personnel to do this but I think if the Excellence Initiative gets through and we get the money we might also have it for this project, which would certainly help us do it. If the money doesn't come, it will take a long, long time to do that (UofE Admin 1).

The Excellence Initiative, similar to the Bologna Process, does more than create avenues for new research funding. This policy also encourages new practices and renegotiates the

relationship between occupational and organizational professionals. Faculty members are the key actors who must apply for the Excellence funding, and they face increasing pressures from senior administration to do so (Kehm & Pasternack, 2008). Administrators are not only pushing for more research to acquire prestige for their universities, but are also, as the quote above indicates, eager to expand their own structures and personnel. By encouraging academics to apply for grants, administrators affect the core work of faculty. One interviewee involved in an Excellence Initiative application group reported that he was “investing a lot of resources into thinking, which you have to take out of your doing resources. So we had been spending hours, days, weeks in discussion while other things had been delayed” (UofE Prof. 4). Moreover, after a successful application, recipients begin the process of accountability. One professor discussed a colleague who received an Excellence Initiative grant:

They do have a lot of money but all they are doing morning to the evening is thinking how do I spend the money?, how do I write records for the money?, how do I help our university to justify all of this money? They are talking about money, we are not talking science anymore, we are talking on all of this money (UofW Prof. 3).

In addition to changing the work of faculty, the Excellence Initiative underscores a new connection for funding and prestige. This represents a distinct shift in the German university system. In addition to funding students or offering services to support them, a successful application and Excellent title provides universities with currency to market and recruit international students, as the designation is recognized as a ranking mechanism. The consequences of the Excellence Initiative competition thus extend beyond a vertical differentiation of institutions. This policy also reaches into the internal workings of universities’ academic actors and administrative arrangements.

6.3 Changing logic of internationalization: New initiatives

Policymakers, administrators, faculty, students, and other stakeholders are invested in the Bologna Process and Excellence Initiative due to the significant impact that these policies had on higher education institutions and the overall system. These programs bring in new logics or rationales for internationalization that include standardization, commodification, competition and differentiation. Faculty members' responses to the Bologna Process and Excellence Initiative (and other internationalization initiatives) reveal the impact that they are having on core function of universities. These highly visible projects often mask the more mundane organizational processes that also result from pressures to internationalize universities. For example, in two endeavors described below we see that international offices have developed branch offices in foreign countries to recruit new students and faculty members begin engaging in the Erasmus Mundus program to coordinate curriculum across countries. These, and many other internationalization projects, are, as Turner and Robson (2008) claim, acting, "as an institutional catalyst for change, prompting the need for management responses across a range of core organizational functions" (p.102). Internationalization is able to catalyze change in part due to its own changing logic. The rhetoric of internationalization has shifted from a focus solely on quantity (the number of international research partners, international collaborations and number of international students) to an expanded evaluation that seeks to assess 'quality' (research partners within the top-ranked strata of universities, collaborations that contribute to the strategic direction of the university, and international students studying in key areas, often from specific countries).

Achieving both quantifiable and quality internationalization requires greater collaboration between academic and non-academic departments and a clear strategic direction. As argued, this

change makes way for new types of managers or organizational professionals. The changing logic of internationalization also provides avenues for new initiatives beyond the customary reward structures and away from the public good ideology. In moving ahead of the required Bologna reform initiatives, faculty and administrators are able to access new resources—mainly from the European Commission—but often do so with ambivalent motivations. One faculty explained his engagement with an Excellence Initiative project as the, “illusion that you can change something” (UofE Prof. 4). Whether it is a belief that being involved in the Bologna Process, Excellence Initiative, GATE Germany, etc., allows for a voice in these changes, or that these schemes are opportunities on “an individual level towards more entrepreneurial research activities” (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p.199), or both; these ambivalent motivations are allowing for both public good and academic capitalist perspectives to exist. The coexistence of these two motivations is exemplified in development of an Erasmus Mundus Masters program and the build up of branch international offices.

An Erasmus Mundus program at the University of the East

The Erasmus Mundus program is another initiative the European Commission developed for universities to jointly organize and administer master’s degree courses. The Erasmus Mundus initiative seeks to further embed the structural and ideological changes begun by the Bologna Process (Keeling, 2006). It is a program designed to emphasize the ‘external dimension’ of Bologna’s mission, which aims at highlighting universities’ international competitiveness and attractiveness (van der Wende, 2009). In moving from a focus on the flow of international students within Europe to attracting international students outside of Europe, the Erasmus Mundus program extends universities’ missions and responsibilities. These changes

expose the strengths and weaknesses of the preparation for increasing numbers of international students at universities, and highlight their ambivalence (and in many cases inability) to make the necessary changes as seen in the outlined case.

The Erasmus Mundus program in the University of the East began,

...maybe 5 years ago or so, there came a French colleague who we knew from research and he came with this advertisement of the European Community for this Erasmus Mundus and said “will you join us if we organize it” and we said “yes”. This was basically the starting point (UofE Prof. 4).

The reason prompting this department to join the program with their French colleagues was “because this was needed for this internationalization, to have this standardized entry conditions and standardized degree at the end to convince people to come here” (UofE Prof. 4). The importance placed on standardizing the curriculum allows universities to enter into a position whereby “if you are having a comparable program with five universities in Europe you are automatically in a position where you are quite compatible to all other European universities [...] because you are basically finding a common cross section” (ibid). The common cross section could also be understood as enabling the department to be a leading member in setting a European-wide standard for the field of study, thus creating the normative expectation for what ‘should’ be taught. Given that the program brings together five universities in five different countries, it is not unlikely that curricula in other countries’ programs will be modeled after this consortium. The Erasmus Mundus initiative therefore may provide a general discipline framework within European higher education institutions.

In addition to the joint-study aspect, universities entering into the Erasmus Mundus programs must have their own national masters programs. In this particular case, as the department was entering into the Erasmus Mundus masters it was also in the beginning stages of

creating its own Masters degree program as part of the Bologna Process. As both the Erasmus Mundus and the national masters programs were new it was difficult to enroll sufficient numbers of students because the university program was not yet known outside of Germany. However, as the program was internationally oriented and in a designated ‘priority area’ of the university, the *Land* government and local industry worked together to provide funding for international student scholarships to study in the national masters program. The professor explained this situation,

And then each university tried to attract students into their local program directly because with these 20 Erasmus Mundus students you cannot run full-scale programs at all these sites. ... We got a program which is paid by the German federal government and German ... industry which is another 100 scholarships per year (UofE Prof.4).

The program’s link with industry moved the program another step closer to the Lisbon Strategy’s reform ideals by crafting the course towards market-ready students and Germany’s hope to attract international students to fill labor market needs. As the professor explained, “we have to be honest and then we have to teach them [international students] the stuff we believe is a qualification they need and for that we have for sure asked companies “what do you believe [is important]?” (UofE Prof. 4). In an academic capitalist conception, this application of a study program may be considered as a “dramatic break from the past and reflects a significant reorientation at the graduate level to the external employment market” (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p.191). Furthermore by aligning with a local industry the Erasmus Mundus program is better able to ‘sell’ the program to students by offering potential job placements upon completion of the master’s degree.

The success of both the Erasmus Mundus and the national masters degree program, however, cannot depend solely on planning or funding. Students must enroll, study, and graduate in order to fulfill the desired outcomes for making Germany and Europe a more competitive

location. Unlike planning for the course, students are not as easily sketched into place, a reality that caused the academic program leader to reflect,

It's a completely different thing if you make a scholarship program, you are basically buying out people from their cultural environment and you take them out there and say you're studying here, and they have no idea. They have no cultural background in what they are going to expect here, they cannot speak any word of German so they cannot get around here, you have to arrange everything for them....The challenge is really to build up an infrastructure at the site so that they can not only survive but that they can study efficiently (UofE Prof. 4).

Arranging for more and better services was also not something the faculty could do alone.

Service delivery required administrators in the department who were able to support students as well as the central administration and international office staff to be onboard. However, as the program staff quickly found out,

...they [international office staff] are not having the resources to take care of such a program....And the university up to now did not or could not pay attention to that, to provide basically the international office with resources needed to come up with all these resources. It's not just the international offices, it's the language department. We couldn't get any German teachers from the university to teach our scholarship students German classes that they can get along here. We had to basically hire German teachers from the free market and these things (UofE Prof. 4).

The lack of support in the international office was not due to a lack of intention; rather, many international office staff were not yet fully prepared or resourced to deal with this internationalization 'success.' Therefore *ad hoc* responses were, and in some cases still are, common. Such an approach often relied on the individual capabilities of the staff rather than on a formal system that had been designed for the needs of a diverse student body. As one international office staff reported,

And this is a constant battle between the university administration like the international office and the faculties because the international office says.... the caring should be in the faculty. The faculties, they don't have anybody, they have no money for somebody who can take care of that so they give it back to the international offices and say "you should take care of this because you're the

international office” (UofE Admin 5).

Many students also understood these processes. One student in the Erasmus Mundus course commented on the support offered by the university, “we were a bit like victims, we were a bit of an experiment and this program, I think, will be better in 5 years. They are getting a lot of experience from us” (UofE Student 3). Moreover, this student also understood the larger structures operating behind the program and pointed to the rationales for providing the scholarships to the international students,

I’ve heard they want to get some students from some specific regions, because the scholarship that we are getting now is half from the German state and half of it from the company. The companies, I think they want to employ some people and send them as representatives to the [home] countries. [...] I was also thinking like this – they are giving scholarships but they expect something from us. [...] The basic trend, as you probably know, is that the German nation is getting older and older and I think the young generation is not interested in these subjects; and Germany is already a developed country and they have established industry here so they need people (UofE Student 3).

This succinct description of the motivations of program participants is remarkable insofar as it indicates the visibility of the underlying rationales. It also speaks to students’ willingness to participate in this new form of education. Although a few participants indicated some trepidation, most interviewees sought out the individual benefit of a *free* German degree, which they believed would be a valuable currency in the international employment market.

Unlike international students who benefit from the increasing number of programs and scholarships, most faculty and administrators are faced with the practical work of providing the programs and services as well as must come to terms with how these new initiatives are changing the traditional educational practices and rationales for engaging international students. As the professor who initiated the aforementioned Erasmus Mundus project stated,

If you look at Germany there are hundreds of years of history about higher education, academia... to play uncarefully [sic] with all these values would be very stupid. Therefore this is my hardest critique of this entire Bologna Process...this was initiated from politics without any test phase.... Bologna is a process where somebody is standing up and saying “the future will be like that”, and this is completely stupid and dangerous....I think for Germany it would be wise if they would rather do small modifications, adjusting a little bit the boundary conditions. And then letting these very experienced and already successful structures of these German universities evolve carefully, along these lines (UofE Prof. 4).

Despite his understanding of the potential consequences, he was willing to go beyond Bologna and engage in the Erasmus Mundus program that changes structures, curriculum, and new links with industry to gain a degree with international recognition.

Similar to the discourse surrounding the GATE Germany marketing initiative, German actors are taking steps into greater internationalization and contributing to an international student ‘market.’ Nonetheless, many of these actors appeared unprepared to fully accept the potential consequences of such initiatives. Many of these changes seem to reflect the Anglo-American model in which higher education is vertically differentiated, competitive, reliant on outside funding, and employs a growing number of organizational professionals. As in the US, these activities and agendas may lead to stratification, high tuition fees, responding to industry wants for funding, and an administratively directed university. Each of these features characterizes an aspect of an academic capitalist higher education system. This is not to say that an academic capitalist system is inevitable. However, the new initiatives entail consequences, as noted by the faculty who began the Erasmus Mundus project. Similar to the development of new projects and ideologies, administrators are moving into more influential positions as organizational professionals due to various internationalization initiatives. International offices have followed in DAAD’s own footsteps and begun opening branch offices in other countries to coordinate, support and facilitate academic exchange between scholars and students.

Branch International Offices

As the importance of attracting qualified international students intensifies, universities have begun experimenting with new ways to recruit students. One new option is branch international offices. Branch international offices are outposts of the German university staffed with individuals knowledgeable about the host country's education system, the German higher education system, and the parent university. The growth of branch offices exposes the retreat from GATE Germany's coordinated 'Study in Germany' message and individual universities' effort to recruit students. Furthermore, the branch offices allow universities to make strategic contacts that might enhance the profile of the university. This approach to international partnerships highlights the ways in which internationalization is used as a mechanism to further (or create) an institutional strategy and to pursue institutional goals. Through branch offices, the administration is able to demonstrate their dedication towards identifying 'their' region, an ideal the DAAD promoted through the Promos program. Universities themselves are now taking up this task by dedicating resources towards formulating a strategic initiative.

The day-to-day work of the branch offices consist of supporting scholars and students in the foreign country regarding applications to study in the German home university. Branch office administrators also help to, arrange research co-operations between faculty members, and simply provide the university with a presence in the foreign country. Benefits for the home university are better understanding regarding the market in the host country and assistance in promoting the German university abroad. The branch offices allow universities direct access to international applicants by providing advice to the potential students, but also can be seen as intruding into academic competency by 'preselecting students.' The international office interviewee praised this tendency,

On one hand she [the branch office staff person] gives advice to Chinese students: how to apply, what to do, and she's going to preselect them. And she tells them "well, don't bother, you will not be accepted for this masters program." And then she established contacts to a number of Chinese universities – to better Chinese Universities—and then she gave support to our faculty who already had contacts to some Chinese universities (UofE Admin 3).

The success of the overseas international office is determined by increasing the level of recognition of the German home university, through the numbers of hits on the website, the number of applications, or simply the number of students expressing interest in the home university. The branch offices are rewarded for their quantifiable gains as they are helping the home university to meet the international benchmarks defined by the DAAD and/or by senior administration. As one international office interviewee stated,

And this is actually one of our success stories, is that you can actually by building up a presence – a physical presence—abroad and having someone on the spot who can really, you know, tour the country, knock on doors, every now and then present developments, talk to alumni, process this information day by day by day – it really helps (EIU Admin 2).

Although not directly part of the international office foundation, the branch offices are helping the home university offices to become more professionally oriented. Branch offices not only expand the size and staff of the home international offices, they also demonstrate autonomy from senior administrators and faculty by providing opportunities for international officers to manage an off-site facility. Job responsibilities for international office staff accordingly have moved beyond the traditional bureaucratic duties of admission, matriculation, and study plans, into recruiting, marketing specialization, and market expert. These duties suggest that a new type of international office staff is developing. As one international office interviewee noted, "professional staff is very important for the liaison offices. If you don't have them then you're going to fail. Professional staff are also important when you look at recruiting students and

building up a marketing strategy”(EIU Admin 2). The lack of professional staff was echoed in the GATE Germany (2010) publication that reported the lack of professional staff is the biggest factor limiting universities from marketing success. However, when asked how these branch offices contribute to marketing success, the responses acknowledge that the outcomes are ambivalent. As the same international office interviewee explained,

And its really sometimes hard to say “what does it mean: it pays off?” Because with higher education, especially when it comes to internationalization and building up co-operations, how do you measure that? Something can work out in a couple of years, and you have to have a longer perspective....the problem for the university—not the problem, but what they bring in, is this amount of scholarships for our students. So it does payoff (EIU Admin 2).

The payoff, in terms of more students with scholarships entering their university, can be seen as a valid contribution to universities in terms of increasing high-ability students. However, measuring whether this was actually due to the branch office, or was due to other online or career fairs, or to other confounding factors will not be simple. Additionally, the cost of operating a branch office can be substantial. These expenses require support from the German home university, as branch offices are not self-supporting. Despite these factors, many universities are setting up branch offices with the justification that they require a long-term perspective to determine the payoff. The anticipated benefit may come in the form of higher student enrollment, more research collaborations, and a more professional international office staff. Yet, while their long-term benefits remain uncertain, their contributions to the reorganization of German universities seems clear. Branch offices act as expansionary tools that “follow developments in other organizations in both private and the public sector....to gain legitimacy from the external environment of the universities” (Krücken et al., 2009, p. 28).

6.4 Tensions

Ambivalence of purpose

Both administrators and faculty members express ambivalence about the new internationalization initiatives in German universities. The complex attitude towards engaging in the internationalization initiatives proves distinct from the ambivalence expressed by the GATE Germany interviewees. Unlike the intermediary organizations, university faculty and administrators interact with the ‘customers’, thereby seeing on a daily or weekly basis whether students’ needs are met and whether learning is happening. These constructs measure core goals for universities and determine if they are changing. This is not to say that these new initiatives are negatively impacting student learning. Rather, as several faculty and administrators noted, engagement in the competition for new resources reduces time available for the research, teaching, or the support of students’ needs. The rationales for engaging in marketing, recruiting, and offering courses that will attract more international students pull university staff into the murky market-facing arena that demands an easily commodified program. Such a program is likely to be managed and created by a new type of organizational professional, and provided by faculty with increasing accountability demands. Even if the explicit goal is not to commodify faculty’s work or courses, the accountability mechanisms are used to compare similar programs and account for specific outcomes (e.g. the European Commission Erasmus Mundus reports). The reporting and benchmarking often forces programs into similar molds, which restricts actions and may influence courses to be designed and offered in a similar way. Therefore as faculty or administrators follow funding streams and other incentives there is the tendency to begin accepting more administratively run and externally defined program structures. As one international office interviewee lamented,

I mean I think German universities are undervalued a lot abroad, and you might have seen the BBC recently, the British council reports that Germany is top in international. And this is a story that has been repeating and repeating all over, and we try to repeat it as well in our offices. So there is the basis for what we want to achieve, we have the right people but we don't have the right people to sell this message. And we're competing against countries that have the right talent, the right researchers, the right equipments and the right people in the marketing department who know how this game works (EIU Admin 2).

Despite recognizing that the 'game' is being played, actors are ambivalent about their role.

Actors appeared to understand that a new opportunity structure is being set up, primarily with external funds and initiatives, and often based on benchmarks from the Anglo-American system. Thus, in an effort to stay abreast actors willingly engage in the programs but maintain a distant attitude towards the outcome. A GATE Germany interviewee remarked on a British universities' degree of market-facing logic,

Once I attended a talk from a German who has been working at a British university and it was so fascinating to see how they work, really like a business unit. He was working in an international office recruiting and he said that it was impressive how they calculate through it, "oh an Indian student costs that much in input but will bring us that" its really like a business case (GATE 1).

In reaction to the British case, the DAAD still believes "there is still a long way to go" (DAAD

1) before Germany becomes like a business or even interacting with students as customers.

Nonetheless, the idea is present, and various actors in the intermediary organizations and universities take different roles in the institutional work of creating or maintaining these processes. Even if "Europe is still rather far away from going over the top [in terms of marketing]" (GATE 2) it was recognized that "we might just see the tip of the iceberg" (GATE 2). Actors within and outside of universities working with GATE Germany, the Bologna Process, or the Excellence Initiative are intentionally and/or unintentionally contributing to the

proverbial iceberg. Each of these endeavors impacts practices by welcoming notions of marketing, differentiation, standardization, and commodification into universities.

The actors engaging in each new internationalization endeavor appear to do so with significant ambivalence towards their outcome. The decision to move forward with these projects by university actors seems to be made without a clear analysis of their lasting impact on universities' programs and staff. The professor engaged in the Erasmus Mundus program noted that by engaging in this initiative or others (i.e. the Bologna Process or the Excellence Initiative),

society has to be kind of honest that you have to give up other values which I believe make up the identity of this entire country. And you cannot just change higher education and make this higher education completely international, competitive and whatsoever and not the other end (UofE Prof. 4).

Despite recognizing this, the professor engaged in both the Erasmus Mundus program and the Excellence Initiative. This perspective highlights the ambivalence described by Weiler (2005) when he asked: "Does one seize on the chance of a new beginning, and risk not being taken seriously in the community of established and reputable universities? Does one try to distinguish oneself by being different, or by being particularly faithful to the existing institutional precedents, and what are the institutional and professional costs of either strategy?" (p.184).

Commitment to new practices

In contrast to the more ambivalent approaches summarized above, some academic staff fully support the reforms associated with the European and German initiatives. These staff members tend to express the belief that they are being given the chance to "newly assemble things" (UofW Prof. 3). Slaughter and Leslie (1997) characterized such actors as, "academics who act as capitalist from within the public sector; they are state-subsidized entrepreneurs" (p.7). Faculty interacting in entrepreneurial ways are emerging in the expected applied science areas,

but also appear within the social sciences as new opportunities such as providing fee-based courses. Tuition fees in Germany, as mentioned in chapter one, have been a disputed area with advocates noting the needed source of income and detractors who want to preserve the founding public good rationale. Tuition fees were introduced in 2005 with a maximum limit of 500 Euros per semester for general studies in public universities (Bachelor or Masters degree programs). However, for ‘continuing education’ courses such as MBA programs, universities are able to charge competitive full tuition fees. In many cases tuition fees in general, and the extra-university endeavors in particular, were—at least by the end of 2011—unsuccessful. Only two out of the sixteen *Länder* allow universities to charge tuition, and most of the German-backed universities were not yet breaking even. Masters programs that were created with a hope to attract international students (i.e. offering the course in English) seem to be achieving more success.

Some programs simply renamed existing offerings, which Witte (2006) described as “filling old wine into new wineskins” (p.190). One professor echoed this claim, stating, “inventing an English title for a German degree...to call something a Masters of Science and teach it in German is just ridiculous” (UofW Prof. 4). By contrast, many programs were started with the idea that they would attract international students and expand into a fee-based program.

As one faculty who is engaging in this explained,

We’re relatively proud to be able to claim that we took the Bologna protocol by the word, which says in one line, be innovative. And so we really concentrated on something we didn’t have prior to that. So we developed something absolutely new from scratch. We didn’t just take the old magister and turn it into a master (UofW Prof. 4).

The innovative structure of the program, however, was explained as being modeled after the faculty’s personal experience in an English and an American university. “The idea is perhaps

almost something of a private idea because I did a masters degree in England and also in the United States,” he acknowledged (UofW Prof. 4). Furthermore, the program aims to make students market-ready in that they can return to their home country and find work directly in firms. As the professor highlights, in “their final MA thesis which they are now planning, they aim at being members of technology companies in their countries already” (ibid). Finally, the program is being expanded to an on-line program, which requires five students to enroll to keep this aspect of the course going, and will charge 11,000 Euros. In essence this ‘innovative’ course is very similar to any Anglo-American on-line Masters degree program. Yet set within a German context this opens up new opportunities for the professor and the department to acquire financial resources through tuition but is also moving universities away from their founding. A sentiment expressed by another professor “I’m afraid that the universities are in a way misused as machinery for producing people with a standard qualification and my impression is that universities should not be the place for this.... That is now supported by the bureaucratic type of bachelor and master” (UofW Prof. 3). However, in pursuing these new opportunities faculty are willingly opening towards academic capitalism.

6.5 Conclusion: A new social order?

The changes within German universities could not have been accomplished in the past 10 years without the push and pull mechanism involved in global, national, and university policies. Reluctantly or willingly, actors participate in the institutional work of changing the institutional environment. The programs and initiatives have opened new spaces, and have contributed both to the development of organizational professionals, and to the redefinition of occupational

professionals. This new professionalism in turn caused universities to develop new rules and standards. Slaughter (2001) noted this trend more than ten years ago,

We might begin to look at new professionals from multiple fields, ironically, usually certified or trained in colleges and universities, whose professional project is management, not scholarship. The New Public Management in Europe, for example, often pits new professionals within the state against "traditional" professionals inside and outside higher education (p.8).

Enders (2001) expands on this line of thinking. “[T]he new management approach is thus producing a bias toward utilitarian and short-term thinking, clearly defined aims and measurable performances, a “clientilisation” of students, and a “deprofessionalisation” of academic staff,” he writes. This approach to administration reflects “new expectations as regards the future role of universities and academics in society” (p.21). The support for the new managerial or organizational professionals hollows out of the occupational professional and facilitates the European Commission’s Lisbon Strategy. The Lisbon Strategy directs universities towards producing greater numbers of market-ready students who contribute to more jobs and growth. In managing universities away from a public good ideology and towards a Commission-defined role for universities, the German university system has both adopted the Bologna Process and intensified these changes through its own Excellence Initiative. Taken together, as one professor summed up, policymakers “sold the German education system below its value” (UofW Prof. 2).

The pre-Bologna role and purpose for both universities and *Fachhochschulen* follow Streeck’s (2009) description of Germany’s post-war coordinated market society that rested on the interconnections between various societal institutions. In breaking out from the connections, society is trying to import elements of a market-based economy, a model often associated with Anglo-American societies. As stated by another professor,

...there are so many things that fit into each other and if you change it [the higher education system] you have to think about the consequences. I'm in favor of making it more flexible [...] but one should not look on other countries how they do it, but should look at the disadvantages within the German system and see how can we make this better. You can compare it with others but the German system is rather complex itself and the US has also evolved in the course of time and I don't think it would be very wise to introduce parts of the German system into the US (UofW Prof. 3).

As German universities' approach to research and teaching follows the norms and standards of the Bologna Process, the commodification and marketization of universities begins to challenge a public good model of education. Furthermore, the Bologna Process and the Excellence Initiative helped to produce a new professionalism, which in turn yields the new social order of an academic capitalist approach to university operations. Within academic capitalism, the once-unified perspective on higher education is now delineated into production and distribution. In the production sphere, or the knowledge regime, there are changes in funding and laws, while in the distribution sphere, or the learning regime, there is a new emphasis on how to market and 'sell' the new knowledge. In this new capitalist conception of higher education the question remains to be answered as the two logics—academic capitalism and public good—are uneasily coexisting, within the same universities and within actors.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

German higher education is in transition. The uniqueness of this statement is not that it is the first time there is a shift away from the Humboldtian tradition; rather it is due to the nature and extent of the change. Among the many forces contributing to this transition is the changing logic of internationalization. Internationalization initiatives and rhetoric are opening up new spaces, allowing actors to engage in new and different forms of work that bringing in new standards of practice. In turn, these new approaches are fed back into internationalization processes in ways that produce and affirm the new logics and initiatives. Global and national scripts (e.g. GATS, Lisbon Strategy, Excellence Initiative) and actors fuel this cyclical arrangement and, in doing so, have opened the door to academic capitalism.

Academic capitalism outlines the mechanisms that have fostered changes in many of the public research universities in Anglo-American countries in the last thirty years (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). These mechanisms speak to the creation and expansion of intermediating organizations external to universities; interstitial organizations that emerge from within universities that intersect with various market oriented projects; narratives, discourses, and social technologies that promote marketization and competition; expanded managerial capacity and responsibilities; new funding streams for research and programs close to the market; and, new circuits of knowledge (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2011). Philosophically universities have begun to

prize knowledge as a marketable commodity and have reoriented the academic culture accordingly (Hoffman, 2011). In my research project, I focused on how the change in internationalization is shifting universities towards a more academic capitalist approach in Germany.

In this concluding section of the dissertation, I will first offer a brief summary of the research project, highlighting the key findings and their relevance to the three research questions. This section is followed by potential implications of the research project both theoretically and practically and thoughts on future studies. I close by noting the limitations of the study, but also suggest how my dissertation may contribute to the literature on internationalization, German higher education, and academic capitalism.

7.2 Summary of findings

How has ‘internationalization’ evolved as a concept? Is it contributing to university repositioning in the evolving ‘market’ for international students?

The dissertation’s first research question addresses how the changing logic of internationalization—from partnership to competition—serves as a vehicle to carry new practices forward. Hahn (2003) identified and my research supported the idea that Germany’s approach to internationalization represents a reorientation, described as a shifting *Zeitgeist* or changing logic of internationalization. Although Hahn’s analysis in 2003 illuminated the “hidden agenda” embodied in internationalization, almost ten years later it is quite visible. The great brain race is in high gear, ushered along by a host of initiatives, incentives, and funding that are instrumental in shifting from university engagement in international student *mobility* to competing in an international student *market*. Through exploring the various internationalization initiatives (i.e.

Promos, the Internationalization Audit, GATE Germany, Excellence Initiative, international offices branches, foreign-backed universities) and the technologies for change involved in them (i.e. competition, benchmarking, accountability, marketing), it is evident that German policymakers are directing momentum towards joining the top league of global higher education players. Hoffman (2011) highlights that it is not grand gestures that move universities towards international competitiveness, rather it is the “casualness” of practices through which the academic capitalist mechanisms gain their power and influence. Thus, as international offices create branch offices in China, or university leaders elect to participate in the HRK’s Internationalization of University’s Audit, they are affirming new mechanisms and new roles for universities. The initiatives also introduce a new terminology, which Hoffman (2011) describes as actors giving an innocuous term or belief a new meaning. Internationalization is such a term in that it once connoted partnership and academic responsibility and now encompasses competition, benchmarking, and marketing. The vocabulary of the market is inserted into the activities and language promoted by various actors and layered on top of the more traditional concepts of knowledge sharing.

European and German policymakers recognized the potentially conflicting narratives of market and partnership and promoted the discourses of cooperation and competition as complementary. Marginson and van der Wende (2007) note that these two notions—competition and cooperation—are used at the European level to promote a more cooperative EU in comparison with other countries while also spurring competition between the Member States. Similarly, the GATE Germany marketing initiative seeks to promote Germany as a unified study destination while encouraging individual institutions to profile and compete based on their top programs. The dual agendas of cooperation (partnership) and competition (market) reveal a

tension in current internationalization projects, which actors often communicate in narratives as ambivalence. Where does internationalization fall on the cooperation/competition spectrum? Is internationalization still the embodiment of academic partnership and responsibility or has it now settled in the economic camp? As Germany vacillates between these two rationales, actors' reactions to the change processes remain ambivalent. They are unsure whether to reject certain initiatives in opposition to a commodified higher education system, or to embrace reforms in pursuit of funding for scholarships to international students.

Are the concurrent initiatives and rationales for internationalization facilitating a shift from a public good perspective to one that privileges knowledge as a commodity?

The second research question builds on the idea that there are new logics for internationalization and, as such, explores how the underlying rationales are being layered onto the traditional university public good narrative. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) study of US research universities and the research into contemporary reforms in German higher education conducted by Münch (2011) merge in their analyses of the new layering of market logic over the public good perspective. They describe how actors in universities are responding to new rules as higher education engages with academic capitalism. Through the description of the various internationalization initiatives, I highlighted the new mechanisms and language being used to inculcate actors into the academic capitalism framework. Ranging from GATE Germany to foreign-backed universities, the Excellence Initiative, Erasmus Mundus, the Internationalization Audit, to the Promos program, German university actors are being trained to interact based on competition, differentiation, marketing, benchmarking, and the commodification of knowledge. As the market-facing practices become part of the higher education norm, they spawn new

initiatives, which in turn intensify the encapsulation of higher education products into commodities.

The German swing towards a more academic capitalist approach to internationalization highlights how knowledge is being transformed into a commodity. Two spheres of practice exist within any capitalist system: production and distribution. In the production sphere of a university, the emergence of the knowledge regime becomes apparent through changes in research funding and incentives for offering particular courses. German universities do not ‘sell’ education via tuition as Anglo-American universities do; however, German universities have intensified marketing efforts and targeted programs to attract international student talent for purposes of contributing to the national economic viability. Moreover, academic capitalist practices are slowly starting to appear on the distribution side of the capitalist exchange. Notions of how to market and distribute knowledge have surfaced and universities must increasingly look for new avenues to deploy the goods to new users and/or purchasers. Thus, the Excellence Initiative and foreign-backed universities are examples of changes in the distribution of knowledge as a product. These endeavors are facilitating the actions and discourse that redefine notions of public and private goods following the premises of academic capitalism.

European and German policy makers promote these initiatives through incentives and funding, but there continues to be resistance among faculty and some administration. In the field of internationalization, the DAAD and HRK have become key actors mediating between universities and federal-level goals. In spite of, or perhaps due to, the dichotomy found within the intermediary organizations, the competition and cooperation narratives are creating ambivalence in how actors perceive and respond to new initiatives. Although promoting both agendas restricts a full-scale move toward commodification, it also eases friction for those

supporting the traditional public good perspectives woven into internationalization. The result is a layering of a new academic capitalist logic over the traditional public good perspective.

As universities engage in internationalization endeavors that are permeated with various logics, how are actors participating or contesting the various programs and objectives?

The dissertation outlined the perspective of university actors – meaning faculty and international office administrators – and actors in intermediary organizations as they respond to and create opportunities for internationalization efforts. In pursuing and implementing internationalization projects, actors are either intentionally or unwittingly contributing to the academic capitalist order by opening up new spaces, creating new rules, conferring a new status, and creating a new social order (Suddaby & Viale, 2011). Within the context of this study the interviewees expanded on how they participate in the four steps and contribute to the changes in internationalization logics. As such, the expansion into new and uncontested spaces can be understood through the intermediary organizations and international offices reorganization of the internationalization landscape. International offices work within universities to create spaces for economic enterprise such as the use of resources to attract international students and the pursuit of funding for each student. This work moves the locus of internationalization from faculty contacts and partners to the intermediary organizations and international offices' strategic partnerships. In doing so, changes are made in the relationship between the academic and non-academic fields. Secondly, new actors are introduced as the need for organizational professionals arises. The argument is made that more staff are needed to deal with the increasing number and complexity of projects (both externally driven and self-created). Thirdly, through the momentum of internationalization, the organizational professionals in international offices and intermediary

organizations extend the scope of their professional competencies and enact new routines.

Finally, the growth of more professional administration contributes to changing the logic of internationalization and the *raison d'être* for the actors themselves.

The emergence of the organizational profession has affected university administration and faculty and actors within the intermediary organizations. Within the university, international office staff are developing organizational professional roles as they engage in the branch offices. These branch offices often catalyze wider institutional transformations, including training international office actors to be more engaged in entrepreneurial activities and drawing them into new professional responsibilities. Actors in intermediary organizations support these moves to both enhance the university administrators but also to increase the 'consultant' role of the intermediary organizations. Faculty members are also responding to the changing professionalism discourse as seen in the Excellence Initiative. This is the most visible incentive mechanism used by intermediary organizations and university administrators to encourage a race to be a top institute within the university system, around which the leadership can profile, market and compete internationally.

In spite of engaging in branch offices, promoting more professional behavior, or the Excellence Initiative there is still an ambivalence surrounding actors' engagement in these internationalization endeavors. This ambivalence reveals the complexity and layers embedded in the internationalization narrative. The ambivalent approach many actors have towards internationalization has been under-theorized, as Weiler (2005) argued, and remains evident in this research. Much of the ambivalence expressed through the interviews appears to be due to the fact that these projects are new and both actors and institutional practices are still operating according to the Humboldtian ideal and the DAAD's 1925 cooperation and partnership

approach. Unlike the slide away from public good found in the US, Germany is moving in a highly scripted manner. Whereby, as more of the rationales are clearly articulated, I believe there will be less ambivalence among actors and more questions directed towards proponents of the new logics of internationalization.

7.3 Implications and further research

Theoretical considerations

I have portrayed various initiatives involved in promoting internationalization throughout the course of this dissertation. In the primary analysis, I sought to understand how actors were involved in supporting and implementing these initiatives. I then looked to the interplay of academic capitalism, professionalism, and institutional work to help explain how actors were involved in creating, maintaining, or disrupting institutions. I now believe that there is an interaction effect between the three concepts that extends above and beyond their individual explanatory capacities. The theoretical approaches focus more on institutional processes; however considering them collectively allows me to begin to address the behavior of the actors within the institutions. Institutional work conceptually focuses the analysis on actors both as engaging in highly visible undertakings (e.g. Excellence Initiative) and mundane “day-to-day adjustments, adaptations, and compromises” (i.e. Promos program) involved in changing internationalization and institutional arrangements (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 1). Academic capitalism provides a lens to understand the forces that encourage actors to transform the logic of internationalization while pursuing their individual interests. Professionalism is the process actors’ go through as they organize new skill sets, develop new processes, and codify relevant knowledge. Thus, institutional work defines the new work, academic capitalism explains the

motivations for the new work, and professionalism outlines the way the new work is organized into a new specialization.

The interaction of academic capitalism, institutional work, and professionalism occurs at several levels of analysis. In looking at how German policy makers provide financial backing for new initiatives via intermediary organizations, we see that different forms of internationalization projects are positioning Germany in the global playing field. New internationalization initiatives are then developed that reveal the layering of an academic capitalist perspective onto the existing public good standpoint. Actors respond to the changes in internationalization logics through the discourse of professionalism. Thus, through the simultaneous processes of professionalism and engaging in institutional work actors are changing higher education institutions by creating new programs, maintaining current practices, and, sometimes disrupting the more market-facing internationalization initiatives.

In chapters five and six, I argue that the institutional work in internationalization facilitates a class of organizational professionals within intermediary organizations and universities. Evetts (2011) describes this process “as a discourse involv[ing] occupational change and control in work organizations where this discourse is increasingly applied and utilized by managers” (p. 407). In situating Evetts description of the emerging organizational professional within the framework of institutional work, it is evident that the changing internationalization logic is woven into broader change processes related to shifting reward structures. Academic capitalism helps us understand *why* there is a new reward structure and *how* actors’ pursuit of these rewards contributes to a market perspective. Moreover, academic capitalism explains how a market for knowledge and culture of accountability encourages a new organizational professional to

develop. The new organizational professionals function to create, maintain, and even disrupt the university institutions through competition, benchmarking, and/or marketing.

The new initiatives are legitimized through the participation of intermediary organizations and university actors. The actors at the governmental level are able to produce normative narratives grounded in rhetoric and practice that alter the current logics and underlying rationales for engaging in internationalization. Intermediary organizations channel these narratives into universities via initiatives and funding opportunities. University actors take up these new initiatives to further their role, avoid being left behind, or through genuine interest. What individuals may not realize is that in doing so, they are also accepting the technologies of managerialism, standardization, assessment, and performance review. Organizational professionals are often “welcomed by the occupational group since it is perceived to be a way of improving the occupation’s status and rewards collectively and individually” (ibid, p. 408). These new professionals often respond to new endeavors, neither as “cultural dopes” or “hypermuscular entrepreneurs,” but as hard working professionals consumed by the day-to-day work and lacking an understanding of its contribution to overarching transformations of work and institutions (Lawrence et al., 2009). This is the basis for the process of creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions, aspects found in the discourse of a new organizational professionalism. Thus actors consumed by their daily tasks may simply not reflect on the larger philosophical and political economic implications of their work.

Through the GATE Germany marketing initiative we can see how these three conceptual notions—academic capitalism, institutional work, and professionalism—interact in practice. GATE is driven by academic capitalism (dealing in the currency of brains), links actors to engage in the institutional work of creating new internationalization logics, and provides a

working space both in the intermediary organizations and universities in which actors create the tenets of a new profession. GATE Germany's (2010) recent summative report "International Higher Education Marketing in German Universities"²⁶ noted that the lack of university staff and financial resources are the greatest obstacles to professionalization [of marketing]²⁷. In essence, GATE is encouraging university leaders to acknowledge international office staff as an organizational professional. GATE Germany itself also attempts to correct for the lack of a professional marketing staff by offering courses to international office staff as well as generating a normative perspective by highlighting the 'best practices' in universities. Despite promoting internationalization and cultivating a more professional university staff, GATE Germany (which drew many of its staff members from the DAAD), is described as lacking its own professional staff. According to an international office interviewee from the Excellence University,

We profited from the GATE Germany initiative a couple of times. I've also realized that we were working with colleagues that were very passionate about what they do, who were very supportive, but again has the same training as I do, who could not call themselves marketing specialists (EIU Admin 2).

Thus, as actors are convened, they become aware of what they do not know, of the expertise they do not have, and a space opens. Into this space come new actors who bring new skills. These actors then begin to package their skills in such a way that a new profession emerges. Academic capitalism predicts what we see: that more professional actors will be needed to undertake the institutional work of marketing and competing. As such, GATE Germany supports the rise of organizational professionals to engage in the institutional work of promoting a more competitive higher education system, which pushes the system towards a more academic capitalist approach to education.

²⁶ Internationales Hochschulmarketing an Deutschen Hochschulen

²⁷ "Aus Sicht der Hochschulleitungen stehen fehlende Finanzen und mangelndes Personal weiterhin einer Professionalisierung" (GATE Germany, 2010, p. 9).

Through the actors involved in GATE Germany and other internationalization initiatives we see a collective ambivalence comprised of the disparate actions of individuals. Some actors created new programs (the online fee-based masters course or Erasmus Mundus program), other actors maintained their current projects (international offices working with the Promos program), and most actors articulated ambivalence about interacting with internationalization initiatives. Ultimately, actors do not know how to predict the outcomes of the various funding schemes and projects and thus respond with ambivalence. Further research into actors' roles in organizations or how new careers are being formed around internationalization would be beneficial. Gornitzka and Larsen (2004) conducted a study in Norwegian universities in which they looked at the trajectory of administrative posts since the 1990s. They found that there was a process of creating more specialized professional administrative positions such as Women's Rights Officers, Internationalization officers, and External Funding Officers (ibid). The effect of the new administrative posts in universities, they argued, was contributing to the professionalization of administration, but was not challenging the faculty's traditional authority. This is unlike the findings presented by Rhoades (1998) who posits that faculty authority in American higher education institutions has diminished. These different analyses offer an opportunity to look at how the professionalism in German universities is occurring. Are organizational professionals infringing on the autonomy of faculty? Who supports the development of an organizational professional? How is the current ambivalence being channeled? Are actors taking clear stances in regard to more market-facing programs?

Practical considerations

The internationalization logic that prizes a more market-facing higher education system is often benchmarked according to Anglo-American universities. Münch (2011b) points out that this view is skewed, “to the top of American universities, namely Harvard, Stanford & Co.” (p. 15). In focusing on the upper echelon of the US higher education system, policymakers and practitioners outside of the US fail to look at the lesser-resourced universities and often completely forget about the community college sector. With the narrow view comes a failure to understand the consequences of this vertically differentiated system—there are winners and losers between higher education institutions, departments, and students. The traditional landscape of similarly organized and funded institutions in Germany produced a very low level of differentiation and obviated discussions of rankings. Therefore in the race to become a global player, Germany is breaking from this horizontal system and set its sights on creating a vertically differentiated higher education sector, enticed by visions of the Ivy League. It appears that actors have not anticipated the negative outcomes of competition and differentiation in advocating a shift to a vertically demarcated system. In the US there is mounting scholarly and practical work outlining the stratification of universities and the variable quality of education provided. A significant consequence of stratification is the challenge of providing access to diverse groups of students. In addition, the effects of industry funding in universities have led to questions concerning biased or ‘tainted’ research (Washburn, 2005). By focusing on the upper echelon or the US university ‘winners’ without an adequate understanding of the entire system and the much larger segment of less successful universities, German policymakers dismiss a number of important points. They may now begin to contend with issues of access, stratification, and high vs. low resourced departments. Marketing and competition may take on new meanings as they

force a “processes of gradual sedimentation” (Bleiklie & Lange, 2010, p. 175), or layering the economic rationale over the public good perspective.

Many interview respondents expressed that the means of attracting international students has not been fully thought out. The call for more international students often fails to recognize a need for additional infrastructure that supports their study and living environment. In the *Chronicle* article noted in chapter one, the managing director of the Free University of Berlin’s Center for International Cooperation is quoted as saying that German universities are still unprepared to provide international students with more Anglo-American style facilities. Prichard (2005) supports this argument and states that in “the United States of America, which often acts as a model for European reforms, much attention and money goes into making universities pleasant places to live and work, and ensuring that the quality of life is agreeable” (p. 16). International students now expect certain quality of life services, beyond basic services such as housing, once they arrive on campuses. Anglo-American universities have set this expectation with their market-facing “pleasing the client” point of view and provide student organizations, facilities, and opportunities geared specifically towards care-giving services. German universities do not. Policymakers pushing universities to recruit more international students appear to ignore or not recognize the host of still unresolved needs and uncontrollable situations.

As one international office interviewee noted,

As more and more international students are arriving, problems are increasing. For example we had problems, we had students from Syria and Iran and they don’t get a bank account anywhere. You can ask anywhere and unless you, yourself is giving a guarantee for a student you don’t know ... we’ve asked the Rector of the university to please support us and tell the bank “please help those students.” One student felt so discriminated that he went home (UofE Admin 5).

Although universities cannot control the activities of banks, housing rental agencies, or other societal services, German universities must be honest with what they are able to offer international students. Even among the services they could control—language classes, childcare facilities, integration support—the interviewed administrators expressed that there was a lack of staff or recognition by the faculty that they may have to take on more ‘care’ work. As detailed in the Erasmus Mundus program in chapter six, the organizers severely underestimated the extra services international students require. Clearly stated, there is simply more to manage. The notion of providing more services to international student brings us back to the *Chronicle* article, in which Mr. Grieshop offered the explanation that German universities cannot charge tuition fees due to the lack of being able to provide students with the needed or wanted services. Once students are on campus there are a number of other services that must be provided, which requires more administration and more departments to deal with students’ needs, and costs more money. There is a cause and effect relationship that German universities have overlooked or felt they could control in the race to compete with the US. However it is the “casualness” of day-to-day work that is continually aiding the change process.

This study’s implication for policymakers, the DAAD and HRK staff as well as university actors, has been to outline various initiatives associated with internationalization goals. Moreover it has outlined how the actors are contributing to a changing logic for internationalization that may also have consequences for broader changes, as some interviewees also commented on. By “underselling the German model” (UofW Prof. 2) or “to play uncarefully [sic] with all these values would be very stupid” (UofE Prof 4), German policymakers risk entering a race with ill prepared universities. In trying to upgrade them via the Excellence Initiative, Germany is not challenging the global dominance of the Anglo-American

model, rather trying to match it—although with only a look at the upper echelon. I am not attempting to say that Germany will follow the same path as Anglo-American systems, rather in adopting certain aspects of the Anglo-American system based on the top ranked universities there are secondary consequences, including the creation of bottom ranked universities and diploma mills. It is no wonder that actors have remained ambivalent in their responses. It is prudent for them to consider various scenarios and gather information about how things are, how they might change, and how they would want to influence the system changes. A further study may build from this initial research and trace ‘accomplished’ or completed projects to contribute to identifying how institutions and actors have been permanently changed. What are the consequences resulting from, for example, the foreign backed universities or branch international offices? Many of the endeavors were created with seed funding, with the German government, the intermediary organizations, and universities all unsure of how they would develop.

7.4 Limitations of the study

In reflecting on the conception of “creating, maintaining, and disrupting” institutional work, this study lacks examples of any “disrupting” behaviors. This may be a result of the sampling in which contacts in the international offices at universities referred me to faculty interviewees. As such, they directed me to the active and successful internationalization programs and actors. Had I been able to identify conscientious objectors, I may have seen the disruption of the mechanisms promoting academic capitalism and actively supporting the public good perspective. In addition to the dissenting voices, I did not speak to policy makers or industry representatives. I attempted to account for the missing viewpoints of policy makers by weaving literature from critical scholars and policy documents into the data chapters to support

my analysis. As for industry representatives, I would have liked to follow up on the programmatic connections identified by the Erasmus Mundus academic leader, which would have added another level to the analysis and made a strong argument in line with academic capitalism. In an unbounded study, many more interviews could have taken place. However, as stated in chapter three, the generalizability of the study to other populations was not the primary goal, rather the qualitative study is applicable to theory and aims to contribute to the information on German universities' transformations.

7.5 German academic capitalism

Academic capitalism serves as a theoretical lens for understanding how a private good perspective is layered over the traditional public good motive of higher education institutions (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Originally focused on Anglo-American change processes, academic capitalism has recently been extended to look at the political economy of knowledge production in Germany (Münch, 2011), and, in this study, to examine the changing logic in internationalization processes. My research was not intended to make any projections for the broader higher education system in Germany, but simply to map the current internationalization processes and their connection to institutional changes. In doing so, it became evident that initiatives serve a secondary purpose of training actors to be flexible, adaptable, and responsive to more market-centered or entrepreneurial goals. Though actors apparently respond to the new dynamics with a high degree of ambivalence, and sometimes even contradictory behavior, they are nonetheless engaging in the market-making and market-promoting initiatives. Their participation advances an academic capitalist approach to higher education.

The contemporary academic capitalist categorization of Anglo-American higher education systems represents a stark contrast to the traditional German system characterized by strong public influence (through the *Länder*) and the Humboldtian legacy. However, as the analysis of the changing logic of the internationalization processes demonstrated, a comparable development can now be traced in the German system. The traditional public good logic based on a strong partnership perspective is being gradually eroded by a private good approach to the production and distribution of knowledge. Even though German universities refrain from charging tuition fees, which is one of the primary drivers of academic capitalism in the Anglo-American countries, competition and market-centered incentives proliferate and challenge the traditional perception of knowledge as a public good.

The interest in portraying the hollowing out of the public good perspective is not simply a reaction to changes in the status quo. Rather, the public good component has grounded the university into society whereby professors are called upon by journalists, policy-makers, industry representatives, etc. to learn from their research. This situation hardly exists in Anglo-American countries where think-tanks and diluted policy research are used in place of in-depth research. In the Anglo-American countries, it is increasingly difficult to find sustained research programs in universities that are not tied to funding agencies, whether public, private or non-profit, most of which have their own goals. For example, science funding agencies such as the National Institutes of Health or the National Science Foundation increasingly fund ‘translational’ or ‘innovative research’, i.e., that which can be quickly commercialized. In other words, the more research is sponsored, the less disinterested is the knowledge produced. This is not equally present in Germany as faculty members are public servants whose research funding is built into their position, thus their research is expected to be produced for the public good. This

expectation is seen in the fact that newspapers and TV newscasters quote research and interview faculty on a regular basis. Therefore in pushing competition for resources and rewarding particular projects the threat is that faculty will follow funding rather than where their research would lead them. By introducing the mechanisms of competition, benchmarking, and accountability and encouraging internationalization for the sake of internationalization rather than for creating new knowledge the public good is eroded as faculty fear a loss of funding or being relegated to teaching only positions. In layering a competitive, market-centered perspective based on economic performance and market success on top of the traditional logic threatens the services society receives from research and universities.

The HRK, DAAD, and other coordinating organizations in the higher education sector are key institutions in the current change process. Changes are occurring not only in the internationalization arena, but also in the overall political, economic, and social spheres (Streeck, 2009). The change processes create layers of ideology and practices that are built on one foundation, which holds the system together. Change agents therefore must “work around some institutional features that are locked in, but they can add on other elements in ways that do not just reproduce or extend the old institutions, but actually *alter the overall trajectory*” (Thelen, 2002, p. 102). The HRK and DAAD have become key actors in this process as they develop new programs and initiatives that introduce elements of academic capitalism. Not surprisingly, the introduction of academic capitalism into the field of internationalization produces winners and losers. For the time being, the ‘winners’ include the intermediary organizations, which had only played a secondary role in the previous system; international office administrators, who aim at moving to the core of German universities; and members of faculty who are able to use the new space to promote projects that may have been previously blocked. The ‘losers’ are harder to

identify at this stage, as the concept did not previously exist. As yet, the changes are new and few actors may recognize that it is possible to lose, much less that they may be the losers.

Despite the parallel paths, the move towards academic capitalism in Germany is quite distinct from the trajectories in the Anglo-American countries. Each country's version of capitalism and unique institutional settings enable and constrain the shift of their higher education systems. The European Commission can be seen as working to align the national values and actions of Member States to those of neo-liberalism, promoting knowledge production and economic growth. Through the Europe 2020 and European Research Area, the Commission is making significant inroads into national higher education systems and practices. How these links are solidified is not fully clear, nor is the process one directional as Germany's (and other Member States') initiatives influence the Commission, thus creating a circular process of ideas and agendas. What is clear is that transformations in the German higher education landscape is moving universities away from a public good ideology towards an academic capitalist approach, which is in line with the country's overall shifting dynamic. Thus, the incentives and pressures of academic capitalism are affirmed by the larger ideological shift and, based on that alignment, actors then perceive them as legitimate.

Germany's current path is full of various country-specific practices, cultural norms, and traditions despite its transition away from its coordinated market economy. The historical legacy of German higher education influences the change process and the resulting academic capitalism. Thus even as my analysis of internationalization change processes uses Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) terminology and understanding of academic capitalism, Germany's change process and outcomes are leading to a distinct form of academic capitalism. German academic capitalism, as compared to an Anglo-American approach, entails a more scripted transition. The rhetoric relies

on a channeled competition and the idea that supporting nine elite universities will benefit the whole system. Thus, the DAAD, HRK, and centrally formulated political programs such as the Excellence Initiative assume a prominent role in the German variant of academic capitalism as the purveyors and translators of rhetoric to practice. In keeping with the German political economy, competition and market mechanisms have been strengthened within the higher education system. In contrast to the Anglo-American system, Germany has not followed a simplistic path of deregulation. Efforts at coordination have been upheld in the German economy as well as in the higher education system. In conclusion, German higher education can be categorized as a *coordinated academic capitalism*.

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APPENDIX 1

INVITATION AND CONSENT LETTER FOR INTERVIEWS

Date [insert date]

Dear[*insert name*]:

I write to schedule an interview as part of a research study entitled *Academic Capitalism, International Mobility, and the Evolving German University System*. The purpose of this study is to examine how German universities of different size, location, and history are adapting in the evolving academic market to become internationally attractive and how these changes influence the mobility decisions of graduate-level international students. This work conducted under the auspices of the Fulbright Graduate-Student Scholarship. A copy of the interview protocol is included. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

We are conducting a case study of [*insert university name*] and have identified you as a key participant in university-based internationalization efforts. Your participation will involve an interview that will last no more than 60 minutes. The interview will be conducted at your work place and will be scheduled at a time that is convenient for you. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. We will keep all audio-recorded interviews secure and will destroy them after the study is completed.

The findings from this project may provide information on the ways universities engaging in the internationalization discourse, their strategic choices in recruiting international students, measures of success, funding situations, and overall ability to attract international students. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

The goal is to use interviews to inform the empirical work. The results of the research study will be published in academic journals and is the basis for a doctoral dissertation. Your name will not be used without your explicit permission. In fact, without explicit permission from you, the published results will be presented in summary form only, and your identity will not be associated with your responses in any published format. With your permission, we would like to audio-record the interview and produce a written transcript. We will provide you a copy of the transcript and you may review the interview and initial analysis.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me at 0017065420571 or send me an e-mail to sslaugther@uga.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 612 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; telephone 706.542.3199; email address irb@uga.edu.

By consenting to the interview, you are agreeing to participate in the above described research project. Thank you very much for your consideration. Please keep this letter for your records.

Sincerely, Sheila Slaughter, Professor of Higher Education

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF INTERVIEWS AND CODES

Date of Interview	Subject/Position	Code
27-Aug-10	Student/Economic	UofW Student 1
30-Aug-10	Student/Middle East Studies	UofW Student 2
01-Sep-10	Student/Geography	UofW Student 3
01-Sep-10	Student/Economic	UofW Student 4
08-Sep-10	Professor/Law	UofW Prof. 1
08-Sep-10	Professor/Business	UofW Prof. 2
09-Sep-10	Admin/European exchanges	UofW Admin 1
09-Sep-10	Admin/Law	UofW Admin 2
10-Sep-10	Professor/Chemistry	UofW Prof.3
13-Sep-10	Professor/Linguistics	UofW Prof.4
20-Sep-10	Student/Pharmacy	UofW Student 5
21-Sep-10	Professor/Pharmacy	UofW Prof.5
22-Sep-10	Admin/International office	UofW Admin 3
16-Dec-10	Student/German as a Second Language	UofE Student 1
04-Jan-11	Professor/German as a Second Language	UofE Prof. 1
14-Jan-11	DAAD/Gate Germany	GATE 1
14-Jan-11	DAAD/Gate Germany	GATE 2
14-Jan-11	DAAD/Internationalization	DAAD 1
19-Jan-11	DAAD/Liaison Office	DAAD 2
25-Jan-11	Student/Biology	UofE Student 2
25-Jan-11	Admin/International office	UofE Admin 1
27-Jan-11	Admin/International office	UofE Admin 2
27-Jan-11	Student/Physics	UofE Student 3
01-Feb-11	Admin/International office	UofE Admin3
14-Feb-11	DAAD/Internationalization	DAAD 3
14-Feb-11	DAAD/Language and academic Courses	DAAD 4
14-Feb-11	DAAD/Projects abroad	DAAD 5
14-Feb-11	HRK/Audit	HRK 1
14-Feb-11	HRK/Audit	HRK 2
14-Feb-11	HRK/Internationalization	HRK 3
14-Feb-11	HRK/Special projects	HRK 4
15-Feb-11	Professor/Linguistics	UofE Prof 2
03-Mar-11	Professor/Biology	UofE Prof 3
03-Mar-11	Admin/International office	UofE Admin 4
03-Mar-11	Student/Economics	UofE student 4

24-Mar-11	Student/Political Science	EIU Student 1
24-Mar-11	Admin/International office	EIU Admin 1
24-Mar-11	Admin/International office	EIU Admin 2
24-Mar-11	Student/Political Science	EIU Student 2
31-Mar-11	Admin/Coordinator of phd school	EIU Admin 3
31-Mar-11	Professor/Political Science	EIU Prof 1
07-Apr-11	Professor/Physics	UofE Prof 4
20-Apr-11	Professor/Sociology	UofE Prof 5
25-Apr-11	Professor/German as a Second language	UofE Admin 5
27-Apr-11	Professor/Chemistry	EIU Prof 2

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Professors, Administrators

1. Describe your role within internationalization initiatives (what work are you directly or indirectly carrying out) related to attracting more international students to study in the university?
2. Describe how your university has responded to the European, German, and/or university initiatives aimed at attracting more international students to study in German universities?
3. How do you believe the emphasis placed on attracting more international students developed?
For example:
 - Who have been key actors internationally, nationally, and in this institution?
 - Have there been particular external and/or internal conditions that have encouraged this process of internationalization?
 - What role have government policy makers played in promoting and/or contesting the emphasis?
 - What role have university professor/leaders/administrators played in promoting and/or contesting the emphasis?
 - Are there other stakeholders invested in the process of university internationalization?
4. Do you believe there are university-wide or overarching internationalization efforts occurring in the university (versus individual efforts)?
 - If yes, who have been key players in outlining these efforts?
 - If no, why isn't there an overarching effort?
5. What structural changes have occurred due to wanting to attract international students (ex: altering language of instruction, providing new/additional courses, new facilities)?
 - How visible and/or discussed are the changes?
 - Have structural shifts changed individuals' positions (gained/lost hierarchy in the system)?
 - What structures and/or practices have been undone to allow for new initiatives to take place?

6. What are the financial considerations (i.e. tuition fees, increased university expenditures) associated with engaging in the process of attracting international students?
7. What do you believe are other costs and benefits associated with increasing international students in German universities?
 - What are the opportunities and/or constraints for German and international students in a more diverse university?
 - Are there new assessments (accountability requirements) required by institutions for particular fields of study?
8. What other information do you believe would be helpful to know about the internationalization efforts, namely attracting more international students to study in German higher education institutions?

International Students

1. What your previous educational experience, both in your home country and here in Germany?
 - Where did you study?
 - What are your impressions of your academic experience in your previous college/university?
2. What made you decide to come to Germany to pursue further studies?
 - Do you have any friends/colleagues who are here/have been here?
3. Were there other countries/universities you considered in addition to studying in Germany?
 - Why didn't you study there?
4. What were the factors you considered/that influenced your decision to study in Germany?
5. How would you describe your experience with the university in Germany?
 - What have been the benefits and costs in studying here?
 - Would you make other decisions now (after having been here these years/months)?
6. Do you plan on returning to your home country upon completion of your study?
 - Why or why not?
 - If not to your home country, will you stay in Germany?
7. What specific higher education policies/official supports (German or in your home country) that impacted your decision to study in Germany
8. What support/programs/resources from the university here have been important for you to adjust to study and life in Germany?

DAAD

1. Describe your role within internationalization initiatives related to attracting more international students to study in universities?
2. Has DAAD always played the role it is now or have there been changes associated with the emphasis brought by the Bologna Process and Excellence Initiative?
3. How do you believe the emphasis placed on attracting more international students developed?
 - Key actors?
 - Certain conditions?
 - Who is promoting and contesting the emphasis?
4. How do you work with universities? Who are the primary contacts?
5. What changes have you seen due to emphasis placed on attracting international students?
 - How visible and/or discussed are the changes?
6. How are you/DAAD promoting universities to formulate more of an individual profile and international strategy?
7. Competition and cooperation seem to both be promoted, how are they fostered by the DAAD or your department?
8. What are the financial considerations (tuition fees, increased university expenditures) associated with engaging in the process of attracting international students?
9. Are you assisting universities to develop more advanced marketing/recruiting/support services towards and for international students/scholars?
10. What do you believe are other costs and benefits associated with increasing international students in German universities?
11. How are you working with the German Rectors Conference (HRK)?
12. How is the work of DAAD connected to development directives? How are priority areas/focus determined?
13. How is the German language promoted in the scholarships/exchanges?
14. What other information do you believe would be helpful to know about the role of the DAAD in universities' internationalization efforts?

HRK Interview Guide

1. Describe your role within the internationalization initiatives/programs at the HRK?
2. Can you tell me how the Audit process came about? How are you coordinating activities with the DAAD?
3. Has the HRK always played a role in German universities' internationalization efforts? If not, what has spurred the HRK to now engage in this area?
4. How do you believe the emphasis placed on internationalization, namely attracting more international students and scholars, developed?
 - Who are key actors?
 - Are there certain conditions enabling the emphasis?
 - Who is promoting and contesting the emphasis?
5. What changes in universities or in national perspectives have you seen that are related to attracting international students and scholars to universities? How visible and/or discussed are the changes?
6. How is the HRK promoting universities to formulate more of an individual profile and international strategy?
7. Which universities do you/the HRK consider successful ? How do you measure success?
8. How is the HRK assisting universities to develop more advanced marketing/recruiting/support services for international students/scholars?
9. Competition and cooperation seem to be promoted in much of the EU literature on internationalization, how are they discussed within the HRK?
10. What are the financial considerations (i.e. increased funding to universities) taken into consideration with German/HRK initiated activities?
11. What do you believe are other costs and benefits associated with increasing international students/scholars in German universities?
12. What other information do you believe would be helpful to know about the role of the HRK in universities' internationalization efforts?