

The Internationalization of Higher Education: Implications for Canada and the Developing World

Natalie S. Brunet

Since their formation, universities have facilitated the flow of knowledge between different countries through the exchange of scholars; for example, the first universities in medieval Europe brought foreign students from across the continent to study with famous scholars. More contemporarily with the rapid increase in student migration since 1975, the benefits for host countries and home countries in such exchanges have not been equal. The concentration on globalization, as opposed to internationalization, in higher education is undermining potential growth in the developing world. Using Canada as an example, this essay will demonstrate how current practices allow developed countries to subsidize educational programs through the fees of international students to form a highly-skilled immigrant group adapted to its setting, and to develop knowledge to the detriment of other nations. A* critique will be nuanced by recognizing the benefits these countries obtain from increases in international trade. First, the terms globalization and internationalization will be contrasted in the context of higher education. The essay will then describe change in the internationalization of higher education worldwide and in Canada since the end of the Second World War. The factors which have intensified the internationalization of higher education will be also identified. Finally, the paper will compare the benefits and disadvantages obtained by Canada and developing countries with regards to the financing of education systems, the creation of a highly-skilled workforce, the increase in foreign investment and international trade, and the creation of knowledge.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the context of higher education, internationalization refers to forming academic ties and increasing “physical mobility, academic cooperation and academic knowledge transfer”¹ between universities. Globalization, on the other hand, views higher education as “a service sector of the economy, with some of its institutions acting globally much like large multinational firms.”² Though these terms represent separate approaches to higher education, they are not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, by evaluating the goals of a particular policy, it is possible to determine which approach was taken to it.

After the Second World War, international exchanges to tertiary education institutions were promoted under the auspices of internationalization. States recognized “the soft power value of open exchange of ideas and the ability of such exchanges to overcome more obstacles than the hard power show of force.”³ They sought to influence foreign policy, ensure national security, offer technical assistance and improve national and regional identity by sending their brightest scholars out and by attracting academics to study within their universities. While programs such as the Fulbright Scholarship were used as a means of public diplomacy, they were based in academic cooperation and knowledge transfer. However, the economic globalization of the 1980s led to a shift in policy. Instead of hoping to improve international relations, policies now focused on the economic benefits to be gained from higher education. At the time, this was a shift from the internationalization to the globalization of higher education, and thus, higher education institutions concentrated on the commercialization of their services.

The internationalization of higher education is increasing and takes on many forms, such as joint-degree programs, branch campuses, and shared research facilities. The most common form of internationalization is students who study abroad. Today, approximately 2 percent of the world’s

¹ Teichler Ulrich, “The Changing Debate on the Internationalization of Higher Education”, *Higher Education* 48 (2004): 7.

² Eva Egrin-Polak. “Universities in the New Global Economy.” In *Creating Knowledge, Strengthen Nations*. 56-66, eds. Glen A. Jones, Patricia L. McCarney and Michael L. Skolnik (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 60.

³ Jason E. Lane. and Taya L. Owens, “The International Dimensions of Higher Education’s Contribution to Economic Development,” in *Universities and Colleges as Economic Drivers*, 206.

student population studies outside of their home country.⁴ The number of students studying across borders is also increasing with every year. From 1975 to 2000, there was a 300 percent increase in the amount of students studying across borders.⁵ By 2008, 2.5 million students studied abroad.⁶ Overwhelmingly, international students originating from developing countries study in developed ones, and the major sources of foreign students are “the newly industrializing economies of the Asian and Pacific region (Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, China, Hong Kong).”⁷ Estimates predict that this trend will continue and that by 2025, China, India, Malaysia, and Korea will account for approximately 56 percent of the global demand for higher education.⁸ On the receiving end, six developed countries accept almost two-thirds of the international student population. By 2006, “about 63 percent of all foreign students in higher education stud[ied] in the top six countries – the US, the UK, Germany, France, Australia and Canada.”⁹ The internationalization of higher education is a growing market that shows no sign of stopping. However, the reliance on free market practices to regulate the public good of education is detrimental to developing nations. By recognizing the unequal relations between states, it is clear that the reliance on free market practices in higher education enhances the differences between powerful states and those at the periphery by concentrating wealth and knowledge in the developed world.

FACTORS PROMOTING THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Rapid population growth, economic growth, and low returns for skills in developing countries all serve to increase the rate of internationalization of higher education. Students from countries that undergo a quick increase in population will be more likely to study abroad due to limits in the

capabilities of national universities. “Population demographics often exacerbate the mismatch between the demand for, and supply of, higher education within a developing country, as rapid population growth means a rising proportion of school- and university-aged citizens.”¹⁰ There is a lag in the ability for nations to provide educational opportunities for citizens. When the demand for education surpasses the supply, students unable to compete at a national level will be forced to look for schooling options abroad.

High economic growth rates, as indicated by increases in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, also increase the internationalization of higher education. GDP per capita growth creates both the circumstances and the means for students to seek higher education abroad. On one hand, as “higher education is a ‘superior good’, [...] as per capita gross domestic product rises, the demand for higher education rises proportionally faster.”¹¹ Consequently, students from countries with high growth in GDP per capita will seek out foreign educational opportunities. On the other, foreign education is costly, and the higher income earned provides the means to pursue education abroad.

Once GDP per capita is high enough, countries cannot stop the flow of students abroad by simply increasing the number of seats at national universities. As students in a country can afford to study abroad, the largest driving factor is not the lack of universities in their home country, but the differences in skill-prices. A skill-price is the price obtained for labour after developing a skill. “Students from low-wage countries seek schooling in high-wage countries as a mean of augmenting their chances of obtaining a high-wage job in those countries.”¹² When economic growth renders studying abroad an option, the larger the difference

⁴ Kemal Guruz, *Higher Education and International Student Mobility in the Global Knowledge Economy*. (Albany: State University of New York, 2008), 2.

⁵ Dirk Van Damne, “Quality Issues in the Internationalisation of Higher Education,” *Higher Education* 41, no. 4 (2001): 419.

⁶ Guruz, *Higher Education and International Student Mobility*, 2

⁷ Van Damne, “Quality Issues in the Internationalisation of Higher Education,” 419.

⁸ Guruz, *Higher Education and International Student Mobility*, 31

⁹ Surendra Gera and Thitima Songsakul, “Benchmarking Canada's Performance in the Global Competition for Mobile Talent” *Canadian Public Policy / Analyse de Politiques* 33, no. 1 (2007), 69.

¹⁰ Nigel M. Healey, “Is Higher Education Really 'Internationalising'?” *Higher Education* 55, no. 3 (2008): 350.

¹¹ Healey, “Higher Education”, 345.

¹² Roslyn Kunin & Associates, Inc. (RKA, Inc.), “Economic Impact of International Education in Canada” Final Report Presented to Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, June 2009, http://www.international.gc.ca/education/assets/pdfs/RKA_IntEd_Report_eng.pdf. 79.

in price, and the more likely a student will choose to study abroad. The scope conditions of high GDP growth per capita, high population growth, and lower skill-prices are currently present in the booming economies of East Asia. It therefore comes as no surprise that the largest markets for international students are China and South Korea.

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN CANADA

The internationalization of higher education institutions in Canada is a large and growing economic sector for Canada. Surprisingly, "the total amount that international students spent in Canada (\$6.5 billion) is greater than [the] export of coniferous lumber (\$5.1 billion), and even greater than [the] export of coal (\$6.07 billion) to all other countries."¹³ Education services also rank among the top four exports in goods to China, the Republic of Korea, France, India, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.¹⁴ With an average growing rate of 8 percent per year,¹⁵ the internationalization of higher education has the potential to be an economic driver for the nation.

Furthermore, Canada attracts a high level of students for its population size compared to other developed countries. While 5 percent of the global stock of international students come to study in Canada, due to its small population, the ratio of international student to domestic students is 106:1000, which is more than four times that of the United States.¹⁶ The students' countries of origin also reflect the worldwide trend of East Asia as the largest market for international education. A study conducted in 2008 revealed that nearly 50 percent of students come from China, South Korea and Japan.¹⁷ Canada has become a prime destination for students seeking to study abroad because of the languages it uses, the global recognition of Canadian degrees, and the possibility to immigrate

to the country after finishing a degree. After all, English remains the most commonly mastered second language and the most used language in academia.

The internationalization of higher education has been highly beneficial for Canada, resulting in the creation of a highly-skilled immigrant workforce, private funding for its higher education system, an increase in international trade, and knowledge-creation. In the following sections, each of these factors will be analyzed to demonstrate both the benefits and disadvantages they pose not only for Canada, but also for the international student's country of origin. The paper will then establish that current practices of internationalization of international education are detrimental to the further development of these countries.

CREATION OF A SKILLED WORKFORCE

The fundamental outcome of the internationalization of higher education is the creation of a skilled workforce. For Canada, this translates as the creation of a skilled immigrant class adapted to Canadian culture. Immigration is key to maintaining Canada's role as a relatively powerful and stable economic player. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) states that "rates of participation in education will need to grow if Canada is to remain competitive in a globalized labour market as its population ages."¹⁸ Due to the decline in the fertility rate, Canada also has an aging population. There are not enough youth to propel the economic development of the country forward. In order to compensate, Canada will seek to increase the amount of highly-skilled immigration it receives.

The internationalization of higher education helps Canada to increase its level of highly-skilled immigration as it attracts a young educated population to the region, adapts students to the country, and creates a larger pool of applicants from which Canada can choose. Students who have

¹³ Kunin, "International Education in Canada", III.

¹⁴ Ibid., 30.

¹⁵ Ibid., 13.

¹⁶ Gera and Songsakul, "Benchmarking Canada's Performance," 70.

¹⁷ Ibid., IV.

¹⁸ OECD, "Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators 2012, Canada" September 11 2012. Accessed April 4th 2012, <http://www.oecd.org/canada/EAG2012%20-%20Country%20note%20-%20Canada.pdf>, 2.

studied in Canada are especially valuable as they “are easily absorbed into the workforce due to their linguistic proficiency associated with a higher level of education, greater ability to adjust, gather and process information, and the possibility of acquiring country-specific knowledge more rapidly.”¹⁹ The increase in international students in Canada since the 1980s may help account for the notable increase of newly immigrated university-educated individuals. From 1981 to 2006, the percentage of university-educated immigrants to Canada climbed from 39 percent to 61 percent.²⁰ The link between the internationalization of the higher education system becomes clearer when identifying that the region with the highest rate of increase was East Asia.²¹ This region encompasses both China and Korea, nations whose citizens also notably increased their attendance at Canadian institutions in the same time frame.²² As Canada faces labour shortages and a graying population, the internationalization of its higher education and the subsequent immigration of international students provide the country with an essential source of highly skilled labour.

For the home countries, when students choose to emigrate after obtaining a degree, they lose their most productive and skilled class capable of propelling development. This ‘brain drain’ causes countries to “lose their most valuable resource in the generation of [...] knowledge, viz. the highly qualified manpower.”²³ As the most productive members of society, the emigration of students impedes the further development of the country, as they no longer participate in the local economy and are not able to use their knowledge to improve production. Furthermore, skilled workers send back fewer remittances to their home country than migrants with lower levels of education despite having a significantly higher income.²⁴ Lack of

remittances increase the effect of economic losses caused by an emigrating population. The emigration of students who study abroad disadvantages the home country as it diminishes the amount of skilled workers who can propel development within the country without providing any remittances to help dampen the effect of their departure.

However, a caveat must be placed on the immigration of international students. Studying at a Canadian education does not mean they will necessarily receive citizenship, despite their tertiary education. Brain drain “is demand-determined, i.e. governed by the manpower requirements of the host economy – and controlled by the Immigrations Laws of the developed host countries.”²⁵ Canada restricts the flow of immigration, even among those educated within its schools. While Canada gives high-skilled immigrants who have studied within its borders the ability to fast track through its immigration system, it requires students to be employed for at least a year before they are able to do so.²⁶ It therefore comes as no surprise that immigrants in Canada are “substantially over represented in the fields of mathematics and physical science, the health professions, sciences and technologies, and engineering and applied sciences,”²⁷ the same fields which have low levels of unemployment.²⁸ Therefore, despite subsidizing the Canadian economy throughout their studies, international students are not guaranteed the right to immigrate to Canada. Students who study in the humanities, with the highest rate of unemployment, are also those whose skills are not as easily transferable back to their own countries.

DIRECT ECONOMIC INVESTMENT

¹⁹ Gera and Songsakul, “Benchmarking Canada's Performance,” 69.

²⁰ Bonikowska, Aneta, Feng Hou, and Garnett Picot “Do Highly Educated Immigrants Perform Differently in the Canadian and U.S. Labour Markets?” Statistics Canada. January 2011. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2011329-eng.pdf>, 16.

²¹ Ibid., 17.

²² Citizenship and Immigration Canada. “Facts and figures 2008 – Immigration overview: Permanent and Temporary Residents,” <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2008/temporary/09.asp>

²³ Binod Khadria, “Patents, Brain Drain and Higher Education: International Barriers to the Diffusion of Knowledge, Information and Technology.” *Social Scientist* 18, no. 5 (1990): 5.

²⁴ Yoko Niimi, Caglar Ozden and Maurice Schiff, “Remittances and the Brain Drain: Skilled Migrants Do Remit Less” *Annals of Economics and Statistics / Annales d'Économie et de Statistique* 97/98, (JANUARY/JUNE 2010): 135.

²⁵ Khadria, “Patents, Brain Drain and Higher Education,” 13.

²⁶ Simona Chiose, “U.S. Immigration changes could lure foreign students away from Canada,” *The Globe and Mail*. January 30, 2013. Accessed March 4th, 2013, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/education/us-immigration-changes-could-lure-foreign-students-away-from-canada/article7965153/>

²⁷ Roopa Desai Trilokekar, “International Education as Soft Power? The Contributions and Challenges of Canadian Foreign Policy to the Internationalization of Higher Education” *Higher Education* 59, no. 2 (2010): 142.

²⁸ Statistics Canada. “Table A.15 Unemployment rate by field of study, Ontario and Canada without Ontario.” July 9 2012. Accessed April 9 2013, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/81-595-m/2012098/tbl/tbla.15-eng.htm>.

The most direct benefit derived from the internationalization of higher education is the funding of educational programs in Canada by foreigners. "Higher education is increasingly looked upon by government as a major national resource to assist the nation's businesses to compete more successfully in the global marketplace."²⁹ The government recognizes that a highly educated population is an economic driver that enables growth. At the same time, higher education has seen "declining real per student funding from public sources, despite the overall growth of the sector and in direct contrast to the rhetorical importance given to knowledge and higher education by governments."³⁰ In 1984, tuition at York University cost \$1000; accounting for inflation, tuition should have been \$2028 in 2012, while the actual cost was \$5366.³¹ With domestic students already strained by high tuition and with provincial governments unwilling to increase funding, universities need to look to private sources in order to fill the gap between the demand for higher education and the funds provided to offer the services. "Revenue generation has become an important rationale in institutional policies promoting recruitment of foreign students."³² Attracting international students to pay high tuition fees at Canadian universities decreases pressure on Canadians and their governments to fund tertiary education programs.

The "recruitment of large number of foreign students [...], particularly in low cost subjects like business and management where large contribution margins could be earned, became a way to maintain revenues and cross-subsidize both research and domestic students."³³ International students contribute \$4.5 billion directly to the Canadian

post-secondary education system.³⁴ The internationalization of higher education allows Canadian universities to provide educational services for domestic students at a lower cost and to conduct research, despite lack of funding from the Canadian government.

However, when students pay for educational services abroad, it negatively affects the economies of their home countries because the capital they invest in their education leaves the country's economy. The host country's government cannot use the funds as a foundation on which to foster the creation or expansion of an education system in the region. Although international students directly benefit from the education they obtain abroad, by spending their funds outside of the state, they do not foster further education for other members of their country. There are also no potential economic spinoffs. "In 2008, international students in Canada spent in excess of \$6.5 billion on tuition, accommodation and discretionary spending; created over 83,000 jobs; and generated more than \$291 million in government revenue."³⁵ The outflow of money prevents similar spinoff benefits from occurring in their home country. It may also contribute to further delaying the government's ability to enhance the poor education services located in their country. By paying for their tuition abroad, students are undermining the economy and the development of their home country.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The internationalization of higher education can also lead to increases in international trade and foreign investment opportunities. For example, international students will foster professional relationships in Canada. As they understand both markets, they may be able to seek out business opportunities to link their country and Canada together. Institutions serving a large number of foreign students cause a spillover effect "whereby knowledge of the institution leads to knowledge of

²⁹ Michael L. Skolnik, "Balancing Economic and Non-Economic Objectives" In *Creating Knowledge, Strengthen Nations*. ed. Glen A. Jones, Patricia L. McCarney and Michael L. Skolnik. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 111.

³⁰ Egrin-Polak, "Universities in the New Global Economy," 60.

³¹ "2012 vs. 1984: Young Adults really do have it harder today" May 7 2012. Accessed April 10th, 2013. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-investor/personal-finance/2012-vs-1984-young-adults-really-do-have-it-harder-today/article4105604/>

³² Van Damne, "Quality Issues in the Internationalisation of Higher Education," 421.

³³ Healey, "Higher Education", 346.

³⁴ Kunin, "International Education in Canada," 24

³⁵ Ibid., III.

the region, which may assist with facilitating international trade or foreign investment.”³⁶ The knowledge about regions flows both ways, meaning that Canada will also become aware of opportunities in other countries. As previously stated, the countries sending international students are also generally places of high GDP growth and high population growth, in which the potential benefit of international trade and direct foreign investment is raised. As such, Canada’s links with the booming economies of China and South Korea through educational services are particularly beneficial for increases in economic relations. In this case, there can be a net benefit for both the host country and the home country. The increase in the amount of Chinese students in Canada over the past decade may be a factor in explaining the rapid increase of Canada’s foreign direct investment in China. Between 1990 and 2004, investment rose from \$6 million to more than \$1 billion.³⁷ In the case of international trade and foreign direct investment, the link created through the internationalization of higher education can be profitable to both the host and the home country.

KNOWLEDGE-CREATION

The rapid economic globalization of the world after the 1980s has created a system where wealth is synonymous with power. In this system, the creation and application of new knowledge are the factors which propel the creation of wealth.³⁸ Accordingly, centres of power will be located where knowledge is created. Higher education institutions are these hubs. On one hand, through research, professors have the potential to discover innovative technologies that can vastly change the world. On the other hand, by teaching students, they form the next group of people who will create knowledge. However, the potential for the development of technologies that could be of use to the developing world is undermined by the location of universities and by the commercialization of knowledge.

In terms of location, universities are more inclined to create knowledge from their own perspective. “Universities have institutionally grown up within a national political framework and have established specific national educational systems, regulations and procedures, adapted to meet the needs of the domestic economy and culture.”³⁹ Therefore, the education and the research they conduct will be based in the domestic framework they are located in. As the largest movement of population for the internationalization of higher education is from developing countries to developed ones, students who study abroad may not receive the information that would allow them to fully address the problems faced by their home country. For developing countries, the research conducted in these institutions may not be suited to their needs. After all, “a technology designed, produced and innovated in a developed country is best suited to the resource endowments and needs of that developed country.”⁴⁰ The knowledge created in develop world institutions take its social, political and economic situation into account, thereby not making its knowledge automatically suitable to the developing world.

Furthermore, in terms of research, universities are concentrating on projects that will yield economic benefits. As globalization has led to the commercialization of knowledge, universities also concentrate on projects leading to “knowledge-intensive new economy products.”⁴¹ The creation of the global knowledge economy has pushed universities to research in fields that will yield high returns. Once knowledge has been created, it flows from the knowledge hubs to the developing world. Proponents of the

“The development of technologies that could be of use to the developing world is undermined by the location of universities and by the commercialization of knowledge.”

³⁶ Lane and Owens, “The International Dimensions of Higher Education’s Contribution to Economic Development.” in *Universities and Colleges as Economic Drivers*. 205-237. ed. Lane, Jason E. and D. Bruce Johnstone. (Albany: State University of New York, 2012), 210.

³⁷ Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. “Canadian Direct Foreign Investment Abroad (Stocks)” Ottawa, August 2012 http://www.international.gc.ca/economist-economiste/assets/pdfs/Data/investments-investissements/FDI_by_Country/FDI_stocks-Outward_by_Country-ENG.pdf

³⁸ James. J Dunderstadt, “The Future of Higher Education in the Knowledge-Drive, Global Economy of the Twenty-first Century” In *Creating Knowledge, Strengthen Nations*. 81-97, ed. Glen A. Jones, Patricia L. McCarney and Michael L. Skolnik. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.), 81.

³⁹ Van Damne, “Quality Issues in the Internationalisation of Higher Education”, 416.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and The New Economy: Markets, State and Higher Education* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 17.

internationalization of higher education argue that through greater interaction such as student movement, the dissemination of technologies, and know-how transfer will be faster.⁴² They forget to take into account that with the creation of the global knowledge economy, barriers have been put in place to ensure that developed countries can benefit from the technologies they create, the most notable of which are patents.

The flow of knowledge from developed countries to developing ones is also controlled by the developed country. "The terms and conditions governing the transfer of technology from developed to developing countries are linked with the nature of the world market for technology and the place that developing countries occupy in that market."⁴³ As stated by Marginson, "international higher education becomes treated predominantly as a trading and market environment, in which only the production of global private goods is recognized,"⁴⁴ which leads to the commercialization of knowledge in the form of patents, the most concrete manner in which the internationalization of higher education has disfavoured developing countries. Fundamentally, the knowledge produced by higher education institutions has the potential to be a global public good. It is non-rivalrous, meaning that it can be used without losing any value. However, through the use of patents, governments have made the knowledge excludable. Universities and (subsequently) the places in which they are located, seek to benefit from the commercialization of the intellectual property they create. To do so, "[t]he governments of major 'knowledge exporting' countries are enormously active in shaping the rules of border-crossing commercial knowledge transfer in order to maximize their national gains."⁴⁵ This has led to the creation of patents under the World Trade Organization, granting exclusive rights to an invention to the person or state which created it. "Rich countries, home to 15 percent of the world's population, are responsible for over 90 percent of patents granted."⁴⁶ Developed countries have a virtual monopoly of knowledge.

"Barriers have been put in place to ensure that developed countries can benefit from the technologies they create, the most notable of which are patents."

The result of these patents is the exclusion of the developing world from new technologies and products. Although developing countries may have contributed to the human input in creating the product and funding for research activities from the tuition paid by its citizens, they can be priced out of accessing this knowledge, even for necessary goods such as pharmaceuticals. In the global knowledge economy, developing countries send their resources (capital and people) abroad, which are used to subsidize research and create knowledge. Patents then prevent the developing countries from having access to the goods that they have helped to create. They serve to reinforce the economic power of knowledge hubs in developed countries.

However, despite the many negative outcomes of current practices of the internationalization of higher education, the internationalization of higher education is not inherently bad. In order to increase the benefits for the developing world, the internationalization of higher education must become more focused on sharing and exchanging knowledge between tertiary institutions, rather than commercializing knowledge. This will require new frameworks to be created around the notion of patents and knowledge transfer to encourage knowledge transfer and frame it as beneficial for all actors.

CONCLUSION

Canada currently profits immensely from the internationalization of higher education and as a result, the developing world loses direct economic investment, is at risk of losing its skilled population and is restrained from accessing knowledge which it helped create. The only certain benefit they receive from the outflow of students is in the form of an increase in international trade and foreign direct investment. Globalization, with its focus in economics and the monetization of knowledge, concentrates power, knowledge, and wealth in the host countries while extracting them out of the home country of the international student. Without a reorientation of the higher education system

⁴² Guruz, , *Higher Education and International Student Mobility* Ibid., 142.

⁴³ Binod Khadria, "Patents, Brain Drain and Higher Education," 4.

⁴⁴ Simon Marginson, "The Public/Private Divide In Higher Education: A Global Revision" *Higher Education* 53, (2007): 313.

⁴⁵ Teichler, "The Changing Debate on the Internationalization of Higher Education," 15.

⁴⁶ David E. Bloom, "Globalization and the Need for Higher Education Reform" In *Creating Knowledge, Strengthen Nations*. 21-41, ed. Glen A. Jones, Patricia L. McCarney and Michael L. Skolnik. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.), 25.

which would enhance the importance of sharing knowledge between tertiary institutions, developing countries are likely to keep seeing an outsourcing of their skilled population and the continual undermining of their educational institutions.